# THE GREAT POWER STRUGGLE IN CHINA

# THE GREAT POWER STRUGGLE IN CHINA

ASIA RESEARCH CENTRE
HONG KONG

*Published by Asia Research Centre*
*7F, 15 Ventris Road, Hong Kong*

*H*

*2*

*© 1969 by Asia Research Centre*

*All rights reserved*

*First printing, June, 1969*

PRINTED IN HONG KONG BY
YEE TIN TONG PRINTING PRESS LTD.

# CONTENTS

Introduction

## PART ONE

## UPSURGE OF THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Chapter

I The Red Guard Movement 1

1. *The Clarion Call* 3
2. *Red Guards in Action* 7
3. *Exchange of Experience* 17
4. *Praise of Red Guards* 23
5. *Resistance by Capitalist Roaders* 26
6. *Back to School* 29
7. *Red Guard Diplomacy* 34

II Spread of the Revolution to the Countryside and to Industrial and Mining Enterprises 41

1. *The Policy* 43
2. *Revolution in the Countryside* 45
3. *Revolution in Industrial and Mining Enterprises* 52
4. *Abandonment of Production Posts* 63

## PART TWO

## THE POWER–SEIZING STRUGGLE

I The January Revolution 67

1. *An Official Account* 69
2. *Action Against 'Economism'* 74
3. *Call for Whole Country to Emulate Shanghai Experience* 83
4. *Birth of Shanghai People's Commune* 89

II Nationwide Struggle To Seize Power 91

*1. At the Outset* 93
*2. General Orientation and Guidance* 102
*3. Typical Cases of Power Seizure* 118
*4. Formation of Revolutionary Committees* 138

III Reverses in the Power Struggle 161

*1. The "February Adverse Current" and the "March Evil Wind"* 163
*2. The "Wuhan Incident"* 181
*3. The "May 16 Corps"* 196

IV The Impact of the Power Struggle 201

*1. Chaos Caused by Factional Strife* 203
*2. Impact on Production* 213
*3. Impact on Personnel Alignment* 218
*4, The Fall of Liu Shao-ch'i* 279
*5. The Rise of New Leadership* 287

**PART THREE**

THE ARMY'S NEW ROLE AND ITS PROBLEMS

I The Army's New Role in the Cultural Revolution 297

*1. The Basic Tasks of the Army* 299
*2. Military and Political Training* 305
*3. Supporting the Left* 311
*4. Supporting Industry and Agriculture* 324
*5. Military Control* 335
*6. Firm Pillar of Proletarian Dictatorship* 341
*7. The Role of the Militia* 347



II The Cultural Revolution in the Army 353

*1. The Struggle Between the Two Lines in the Army* 355
*2. The All-Army Cultural Revolution Group* 379
*3. Directives Concerning the Cultural Revolution in the Army* 381

III Problems Involving the Army 397

*1. Target of Mass Attack* 399
*2. The Army's Attitude Toward the Masses* 408
*3. Mistakes in Orientation and Line* 417
*4. "Seize A Handful in the Army"* 423

*Appendix*

I Important Documents 429

*1. The "May 16 Circular"* 429
*2. The "February Outline Report"* 436
*3. Summary of the February 1966 Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces and Lin Piao's Cover Letter* 441

II Mao Tse-tung's Directives Concerning the Cultural Revolution 455

III Glossary 467
*Index to Glossary* 486

IV Chronology 487

*Bibliography* 501

## ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| CCP | Chinese Communist Party |
| CCP–CC | Chinese Communist Party Central Committee |
| CPPCC | Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference |
| CPSU | Communist Party of the Soviet Union |
| CYL | Communist Youth League |
| GPCR | Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution |
| NCNA | New China News Agency |
| NPC | National People's Congress |
| PLA | People's Liberation Army |
| PRC | People's Republic of China |
| US | United States |

† = mark of reference to notes in *Glossary*

*Unless otherwise indicated, all selections in this book attributed to official sources carry their original titles.*

## INTRODUCTION

Following more than two years of turmoil and violence, China's Great Cultural Revolution appears to be simmering down and entering a stage of consolidation of what is claimed to be the gains achieved through the Cultural Revolution movement. Therefore, this seems to be an appropriate time to pause and reflect on the magnitude and intensity, the full import and significance of a political movement that threatened at one time to engulf the whole of China and embroil her 700 million people in a civil war.

The book is an attempt to make available, in convenient form to scholars of the China problem and laymen interested in contemporary world affairs, important source materials pertaining to the Cultural Revolution to enable them to have a better insight into what is going on in China today, and make more meaningful interpretations of the fragmentary reports that have emanated from sources in and outside China. It covers events from the latter part of 1966 when the Red Guards first appeared as an instrument of policy, to October 1968 when the military emerged as a dominant factor on the Chinese political scene. These are the crucial months of a desperate power struggle conducted under the euphemism of cultural revolution.

A sequel to the book *The Great Cultural Revolution in China* published by Asia Research Centre in May 1967, this volume is a compendium of such primary sources as official journals, radio broadcasts, statements by Party leaders and formal resolutions adopted by conferences —— all pertaining to developments during this critical period in China. These documents are particularly revealing in the sense that they give the official appraisal of the situation and the policies adopted to cope with it. Materials from Red Guard publications are included only when they throw some new light on the course of events, and when their authenticity and reliability have been fully verified.

Arranged more or less in chronological order, each section or group of documents is preceded by a concise analysis to give the reader enough background to enable him to form his own opinion and make his own asssesment. The "May 16 Circular," the "February Outline Report" and Mao Tse-tung's directives concerning the Cultural Revolution, important documents of the initial stage of the revolution but published too late for inclusion in the earlier work, are contained in the Appendix to the second volume.

Our intention has not been merely to compile a set of documents, but to tell a story in its proper sequence. It is the hope of the editors that this book will be accepted as an objective and comprehensive record of one of the great events of contemporary history, whose repercussions will be felt far and wide in the years to come.

# PART ONE

# Upsurge of the Great Cultural Revolution

CHAPTER I

# *The Red Guard Movement*

*In August 1966, after the the conclusion of the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CCP Central Committee and the publication of its "16-point decision," the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution entered a new stage characterised by the spread of the Red Guard movement to the whole of society. Eight rallies were held in Peking between August 18 and November 26 to mobilise the Red Guards to strike down "those in authority taking the capitalist road" and all "ghosts and monsters in society," and destroy all the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits. — Ed.*

# The Clarion Call

In a letter written by Mao Tse-tung to the Red Guards on August 1, 1966, the militant youth were called upon to "rebel against the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, imperialism, and revisionism and their running dogs," and against "the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road." The text of the letter has never been published, but its major contents were revealed by Yao Wen-yuan, a member of the Cultural Revolution Group under the CCP Central Committee and leader of the Chinese Red Guard Delegation to Albania, when he spoke at the 5th Congress of the Albanian Union of Working Youth in Tirana on June 26, 1967.

Later, on August 5, 1966, Mao Tse-tung wrote a big-character poster expressing his wrath at "some leading comrades who enforced bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the cultural revolution." This was the battle call to the whole Party and the people of the whole country to completely smash the "bourgeois headquarters," said an editorial of the journal *Hung-ch'i*, No. 13, 1967. – Ed.

## *Mao Tse-tung's Letter to the Red Guards*

(Excerpts from a speech by Yao Wen-yuan, leader of the Chinese Red Guard Delegation to Albania, at Tirana on June 26, 1967)

Chairman Mao said that the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards "testify that it is justified to express wrath against and to denounce the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs, who exploit and oppress workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups, and that it is justified to rebel against reactionaries. I offer you my warm support."

Chairman Mao also said: "In addition, while supporting you, we ask you to pay attention to uniting with all persons that can be united." Regarding those who have committed serious mistakes, after their mistakes have been pointed out, they too should be given work and a way out for correcting their mistakes and turning over a new leaf. Marx said: "The proletariat must

emancipate not only itself but mankind as a whole. Without emancipating mankind as a whole the proletariat cannot achieve final emancipation." Comrades, please pay attention to this thesis too.

This letter from Chairman Mao shows his great support, solicitude and encouragement for us Red Guards. It is the supreme instruction to the Red Guards!

This letter incisively shows that the nature and tasks of the Red Guard movement are to rebel against the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, imperialism, and revisionism and their running dogs, to rebel against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, to launch fierce offensives against them, and to struggle to the end against all exploiting classes and their reactionary ideology. The imperalists and modern revisionists have an inveterate hatred for us Red Guards because we want to rebel to the end until all these pests are wiped out.

This letter from Chairman Mao indicates that we must strive to unite with all who can be united. Adhering to Chairman Mao's teachings, we Red Guards have firmly adhered to the general orientation of the struggle in the great cultural revolution. We have tried to unite with the broad masses of youth and other people, making the unity of the proletarian revolutionaries as the core. As to those who have committed mistakes but who do not refuse to correct them after repeated education or do not persist in their mistakes, we actively help these people correct their mistakes...

(*NCNA-English*, Tirana, June 27, 1967)



# BOMBARD THE HEADQUARTERS

## —MY BIG-CHARACTER POSTER

(August 5, 1966)

## MAO TSE-TUNG

China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster and Commentator's article on it in *Jen-min Jih-pao* (People's Daily)* are indeed superbly written! Comrades, please read them again. But in the last fifty days or so some leading comrades from the central down to the local levels have acted in a diametrically opposite way. Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have stood facts on their head and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with themselves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous! Viewed in connection with the Right deviation in 1962 and the wrong tendency of 1964, which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, shouldn't this make one wide awake?

(*China Pictorial*, No. 11, 1967)

*On May 25, 1966, a "big-character poster" was put up in Peking University by Nieh Yuan-tzu and six others of the Philosophy Department of the University denouncing Sung Shuo, deputy director of the department in charge of university affairs under the CCP Peking Municipal Committee, Lu P'ing, president of the University and 1st secretary of its Party Committee, and P'eng P'ei-yun, deputy secretary of the Peking University Party Committee. On June 2 the same year, a commentary in *Jen-min Jih-pao* hailed this big-character poster as the "first Marxist-Leninist poster" in the whole country. – Ed.

## *Completely Smash the Bourgeois Headquarters*

Editorial of *Hung-ch'i,* No. 13, 1967, commemorating the first anniversary of the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CCP Central Committee.

(Excerpts)...This (Mao Tse-tung's) big-character poster is a most brilliant revolutionary document. It provided the guiding thought for the session* and laid down the general principles for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

"Bombard the Headquarters" blasted the lid off the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line and between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters which had existed in the Party over a long period. It made the entire Party and people understand more clearly the main object and task of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The bourgeois headquarters is composed of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road with China's Khrushchev as its chieftain. They are the main target of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and the main task of this revolution is to overthrow them completely.

The big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters" penetratingly exposed the reactionary nature of the bourgeois headquarters, which, adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, enforced a bourgeois dictatorship. Chairman Mao in his big-character poster exposed the fact that some leading personnel from the central down to the local levels "acted in a diametrically opposite way." That means in a way opposed to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and the leading personnel from the central down to the local levels mentioned here are the handful of people headed by China's Khrushchev making up the bourgeois headquarters. The big-character poster laid bare the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist features of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and called on the whole Party to be "wide awake." It was a great call to battle to the whole Party and the people of the whole country to completely smash the bourgeois headquarters...

(*Peking Review,* No. 33, August 11, 1967)

*The 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CCP Central Committee.



# Red Guards in Action

Red Guards went into action to carry out the tasks Mao Tse-tung had entrusted them. The following articles and reports highlighted their activities. –Ed.

## *Declaring War on the Old World*

The Red Guards of Peking No. 2 Middle School wrote a big-character poster declaring war on the old world. Text of the poster was reproduced in the *Jen-min Jih-pao* of August 26, 1966. A slightly abridged translation follows:

We are critics of the old world. We want to criticise and smash all old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits. There is no exception to barber shops, dress shops, studios, old book stalls... etc., that serve the bourgeiosie. We just want to rebel against the old world!

Seventeen years have lapsed since our country was liberated. But, the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits left behind by the old society still exist. The overthrown reactionary classes are not reconciled to their extinction. They always try stubbornly to show themselves and seize from us the ideological front, in an attempt to use the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, conquer the people ideologically, and achieve the aim of reinstating themselves...

The bourgeois lords understand that, in order to reinstate themselves, they must make a breach in their everyday life and cause a deluge of capitalism. In order to please these bourgeois lords and satisfy their extravagant hopes, the employees of barber shops, dress shops, studios, and old book stalls, ... some of those in power and the so-called technical authorities who take the capitalist road have been racking their brains to serve the bourgeois lords and give them every possible convenience. You have put money in command and in the topmost position! You are guilty before the people!

First, we want to lodge the strongest protest against you—barber shops, dress shops, studios, and old book stalls that serve the bourgeoisie... and those in power and the so-called technical authorities who want to take the capitalist road!

In order to stage a capitalist come-back, you have cut such hair styles as "airplane style," "seamless style for youths," "spiral pagoda style" and "wavy style for youths." You have also sprayed perfume on the hair and dressed it with pomade, making the hooligans act frivolously and feel elated.

To restore capitalism, you have made a great number of Hong Kong-style clothes and skirts. Those cow-boy trousers and cow-boy jackets, together with all sorts of nauseous Hong Kong-style clothes and skirts of different colours and fashions make the hooligans feel delirious and act ridiculously.

In order to restore capitalism, you have taken a great deal of vulgar photographs, exalting the young film stars of the bourgeoisie to the skies and making them insane and infatuated. The photographs you have taken are disgusting, hateful, and annoying!

In order to restore capitalism, you have sold a great deal of vulgar, obscene novels of adventure against ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign backgrounds so as to satisfy the scum of society. A large number of bourgeois spirits have been released from your place to poison the youths and teenagers and nourish the buds of their crimes.

There are also the shops. You have placed in them big quantities of perfume, face cream, lipsticks, necklaces... and other luxuries, together with Hong Kong-style clothes and dresses and "rocket-style" shoes. For whom have you got these things ready? Do the workers, peasants and soldiers really need perfumes and wear pointed shoes?

You dislike from the depth of your hearts the innocent, honest, natural beauty of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. The objects of your service are the heavily made-up and gaudily dressed lords and ladies. Your souls are filthy and reactionary. You say superficially that you also serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, but in fact you serve some other people. Now is the time for you to remould yourselves thoroughly!

Have you ever thought of this? If you go on acting in this way, in a few years or a few decades to come, capitalism will be restored in China, and the whole of China will change colour.

At present, the mighty torrents of the great cultural revolution are pounding all fronts occupied by the bourgeois lords. It is impossible to hold the hotbeds of the bourgeoisie any longer! In the past 17 years after the



liberation, the former Peking Municipal Committee did not pay any attention to these matters. It heard and saw them, but ignored them. It indulged these hooligans and disregarded their styles and behavior. It embarked on the road of revisionism and capitalism. It travelled on the road different from that followed by us. Now, we have stood up as masters of the house. With the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao backing us up, we want to look into these matters and look into them thoroughly, though they were neglected before. We want to destroy the hotbeds and uproot the seedlings of revisionism and capitalism thoroughly and rebel against these old ideas, culture, customs and habits.

Chairman Mao has said: "In the last analysis, all the truths of Marxism can be summed up in one sentence: 'To rebel is justified.' It was always said in the past several thousand years: 'It is justified to suppress and to exploit, but unjustifiable to rebel.' Since the emergence of Marxism, the decision of this old case has been reversed —— this is a big merit. This truth has been obtained by the proletariat through struggle and summed up by Marxism. According to this truth, we can give resistance, make struggle and conduct socialism." We want to rebel against the old world. It is justifiable for us to make rebellion!

Now, we can no longer allow the existence of a situation in which the "airplane-style hair," "cow-boy trousers," obscene photographs and vulgar books rule some barber shops, dress shops, studios, old book stalls...! We have this proposal to make to the revolutionary employees in the haircutting, tailoring, and photographic trades:

Do not dress hair in the Hong Kong style! Do not make any clothes and skirts of the Hong Kong style! Do not take any vulgar photographs! Do not sell any obscene books!

We want to get rid of the Hong Kong-style clothes and skirts, eliminate the peculiar hair styles, and burn all obscene books and vulgar photographs in the shortest possible period of time. "Cow-boy trousers" can be cut into shorts, and the leggings thus cut away can be used to mend worn-out clothes. "Rocket shoes" can be converted into sandals. High-heel shoes can be changed into low-sole shoes. Bad books and photographs can be discarded as refuse.

We have this appeal to make to the Red Guards throughout Peking and to all revolutionary comrades: This struggle is a big development that affects the future of China and the world revolution. These problems must not be belittled. These places are exactly where doors are open to bourgeois restoration. Is not the Soviet Union an excellent example? Therefore, we

must block all channels leading to capitalism and unsparingly smash all hotbeds where revisionism is bred.

We also have this appeal to make to the proletarian revolutionaries all over China: Open fire on all remnant old ideas, culture, customs and habits, smash them, and build up proletarian new ideas, culture, customs and habits.

## *Rebellion: The Soul of Mao Tse-tung's Thought*

**In the following article, the Red Guards of the Middle School attached to Tsinghua University declared that "rebellion is the soul of Mao Tse-tung's thought." They pledged to "turn the old world upside down, smash it to pieces, pulverise it, create chaos and make a tremendous mess, the bigger the better!" – Ed.**

Revolution is rebellion, and rebellion is the soul of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We hold that tremendous attention must be paid to the word "application," that is, mainly to the word "rebellion." Daring to think, to speak, to act, to break through, and to make revolution, in a word, daring to rebel, is the most fundamental and most precious quality of proletarian revolutionaries. This is the fundamental principle of the proletarian Party spirit! Not to rebel is revisionism, pure and simple!

Revisionism has been in control of the school for 17 years. If we do not rise up in rebellion today, when are we going to?

Some bold people who were against rebellion have today suddenly turned coy and sky, hemming and hawing incessantly about our being too one-sided, too high and mighty, too rude, and going too far.

All this is rank nonsense! If you are against us, then say so. Why be bashful about it?

Since we want rebellion, the matter has been taken out of your hands! We are going to make the air thick with the pungent smell of explosives. Toss them over, grenades and stick bombs together, and start a big fight. "Sympathy," "all-sidedness," out of the way!

You say we are too one-sided? What then is your all-sidedness? Your all-sidedness looks like "two combining into one" eclecticism.

You say we are too high and mighty? We are "high and mighty." Chairman Mao has said: 'And those in high positions we counted no more than dust." We are going to strike down not only the reactionaries in our school, but the reactionaries of the whole world too. Revolutionaries consider



the transformation of the world as their task. How can we not be "high and mighty"?

You say we are too rude? We should be rude. How can we be soft and clinging towards revisionism or go in for moderation in a big way? To be moderate towards the enemy is to be cruel to the revolution!

You say we are going too far? To put it bluntly, your "avoid going too far" is reformism; it is "peaceful transition." You are day-dreaming! We are going to strike you down to the dust and keep you there!

And there are some who are scared to death of revolution, scared to death of rebellion. Sticklers for convention, obsequious, curled up inside your revisionist shell, as soon as there is a whiff of rebellion in the air, you get nervous and afraid. Recently, heartless censures have every day been poured into your ears, and daily your hearts beat with fear. Don't you feel it insufferable? Hasn't life become unbearable?

Revolutionaries are Monkey Kings, their golden rods are powerful, their supernatural powers far-reaching and their magic omnipotent, for they possess Mao Tse-tung's great invincible thought. We wield our golden rods, display our supernatural powers and use our magic to turn the old world upside down, smash it to pieces, pulverise it, create chaos and make a tremendous mess, the bigger the better! We must do this to the present revisionist middle school attached to the Tsinghua University, make rebellion in a big way, rebel to the end! We are bent on creating a tremendous proletarian uproar, and hewing out a proletarian new world!

Long live the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat!

(*Peking Review,* No. 37, September 6, 1966)

*  *  *

## *The Onslaught*

**In Peking, as well as in other major cities in China, the Red Guards took to the streets and launched a fierce attack against bourgeois customs and habits, all old ideas and culture, according to the following *NCNA* reports. – Ed.**

Launching a fierce offensive against all old ideas, culture, customs and habits, the "Red Guards" in Peking, since August 20, have taken to the streets and have posted revolutionary handbills and big-character posters, held rallies

and made speeches everywhere. Thanks to their propaganda and help, some of the shops whose names had feudal, capitalist or revisionist connotations have adopted names which carry revolutionary significance. The "Red Guards" have also proposed to the revolutionary teachers and students that they speedily remove all school names which have no political meaning. In addition, they have proposed to the revolutionary staff and workers in the service trades that they never again give outlandish haircuts and make outlandish clothing, and never again sell and rent out decadent books or magazines. These "Red Guards" want to thoroughly transform Peking into an extremely proletarian and revolutionary Peking. This rebel spirit and revolutionary action of the "Red Guards" have won the most enthusiastic and resolute support of the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students, revolutionary staff and workers and the city's residents.

The "Red Guards" of the Peking No. 2 Middle School posted on the walls of the capital's main streets a declaration of war on the old world...

The "Red Guards" point out that Peking is the capital of socialist China and the centre of the proletarian revolution; how can streets bearing the foul names which have been left over by imperialism, feudalism and the bourgeoisie be tolerated? Heartily supported by the city's residents, they have proposed changing Ch'ang An (Eternal Peace) Boulevard to Tung Fang Hung (The East Is Red) Boulevard; Tung Chiao Min Hsiang and Hsi Chiao Min Hsiang (formerly the east and west legation quarters, which before liberation were barred to the working people) to Fan Ti (Anti-Imperalist) Street and Fan Hsiu (Anti-Revisionist) Street, respectively; Wang Fu Ching (the Well of the Prince's Palace) to Fang Hsiu (Prevent Revisionism) Road; and Kuang Hua (Glorious) Road, where the Vietnamese Embassy is situated, to Yuan Yueh (Support Vietnam) Road. Spurred on by the revolutionary spirit of the "Red Guards," the revolutionary workers and staff of the department store on the former Wang Fu Ching removed the words "Wang Fu Ching" on the store's sign and it is now called the Peking City Department Store. Tung An Shih Ch'ang (the Eastern Peace Market) has been renamed Tung Feng Shih Ch'ang (the East Wind Market). Hsieh Ho (Peking Union Medical College) Hospital, which got its name from the U.S. Imperialist aggressors, is now known as Fan Ti (Anti-Imperialist) Hospital. Tung Jen Hospital has been renamed the Kung Nung Ping (Worker, Peasant, Soldier) Hospital.

Inspired by the "Red Guards" of the Peking No. 2, 15 and 63 Middle



Schools, the revolutionary workers and staff of the Ch'uan Chu Teh (Collection of All Virtue) Restaurant, which specialises in duck, set out to make revolution and smash to pieces the Ch'uan Chu Teh sign, which has been hanging there for over 70 years, and they put up a new sign — Peking Roast Duck Restaurant. The old workers there said that the three characters — Ch'uan Chu Teh — were soaked with the blood and sweat of the working people who were exploited by the capitalists. In smashing this signboard, they said, they have shown their determination to smash all the vestiges of the capitalist exploiting system and the backward customs and habits left over by the capitalist class.

Since 1964 the workers and staff of the Handley Watch Shop have twice proposed changing the name, but nothing came of their demand because of obstruction by the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. Now, encouraged by the "Red Guards," they have renamed the shop The Capital Watch Shop after a collective discussion.

On the night of August 20, when the "Red Guards" renamed the Hsu Shun Chang (a capitalist's name) tailoring establishment Tung Feng (The East Wind), it drew much applause from people in the streets, and they shouted in unison: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "The East wind prevails over the West wind!"

A big-character poster, sent by the "Red Guards" of the middle school attached to the Central College of Fine Art, was put up in the display windows of the Jung Pao Chai Studio. The poster says: "Jung Pao Chai is a contraband studio. For scores of years it has drained the sweat and blood of the working people and served the bourgeois lords and their ladies and their young masters and misses, served the feudal landlords and their elders and progeny, and served the reactionary bourgeois academic authorities. In short, it does not serve socialism and the workers, peasants and soldiers. Teng T'o*, a chieftain of the sinister gang which opposed the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, was its lord and master and an old customer. The reactionary painter and "donkey trader" Huang Chou (Huang specialised in donkeys) was also one of its props. It has become a market place for the gang of reactionary painters. We are set on finishing off Jung Pao Chai."

The revolutionary action of the "Red Guards" won wholehearted support from the revolutionary workers and staff of the hairdressers, dressmakers, public bath houses and other service trades. In the last few days these workers and staff held meetings, wrote out pledges and issued statements. A cadre in the manager's office of the department stores in the East City said: "As early as a year and a half ago we revolutionary workers and staff of many department stores asked to remove all the old shop names left

over from the capitalists, but the former Peking Municipal Party Committee would not allow us to do so. Our capital's 'Red Guards' have done a good job this time. We give them all our support."

In a letter to the "Red Guards," the revolutionary workers and staff of the Wei Tung (Guard the East) Tailoring Shop (originally the Lan T'ien [Blue Sky] Tailoring Shop) said: "We resolutely respond to your revolutionary initiative. We are in complete agreement with the revolutionary action of the Peking No. 2 and other middle school 'Red Guards' who opposed the making of Hong Kong-style dresses and other grotesque clothing. We pledge never to make or sell such trash. Let us join hands to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to a new and broader and more profound stage." Vertical and horizontal scrolls filled with revolutionary sentiments have now been posted on the doors of many tailoring establishments. They say: "We are going to make plenty of revolutionary clothing quickly, and we are going to speedily sweep away all outlandish clothing." "Up with the proletariat, down with the bourgeoisie!"

(*NCNA English*, Peking, August 22, 1966)

*Former secretary, Secretariat of the CCP Peking Municipal Committee.

* * *

The revolutionary rebel spirit of the "Red Guards" in Peking has sparked off a prairie fire that is sweeping the whole of China...

In Hangchow, Canton, Wuhan, Changsha, Tsinan, Nanchang, Chengchow, Hofei, Nanking, Foochow and other cities, on suggestions from the Red Guards, the old names of streets and shops that are tinged with feudal, capitalist or revisionist thinking have been thrown into the rubbish bin; corrupt bourgeois ways of life and many outmoded customs and habits have been trampled into the dust. New names that shine with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and with a revolutionary spirit have been born, and revolutionary measures to benefit the workers, peasants and soldiers have been put into force. Everywhere there is a vigorous revolutionary atmosphere, an irresistible revolutionary torrent.

In the streets of Canton, the young revolutionary fighters have put up many "big-character" wall newspapers and notices on walls and shop fronts. They pointed out that Canton is the southern gate of our socialist motherland. It was a city with a glorious revolutionary tradition. It was absolutely impossible to continue to allow those dirty names once given its shops and factories by the imperialists and the feudalist and capitalist



classes to smear our socialist city.

The revolutionary workers of many barbers shops, tailoring shops, shoe shops and public bath houses in Nanking have warmly supported the revolutionary proposals of the young Red Guards. They say that anything not in conformity with Chairman Mao's thought will be vigorously rebelled against and mercilessly done away with.

The "Chiu Lin Department Store" in Harbin, established when the imperialists built the China Eastern Railway, has been renamed.

The revolutionary youngsters in Shenyang, in a "big-character" wall newspaper pasted up on the wall of what was formerly called "Fulushou Confectionary Store," said that the three characters of Fulushou comprised a big poisonous arrow shot against the socialist society by the feudalist and capitalist classes, who wanted to persuade the people to work for Fu "happiness," Lu "emoluments," and Shou "longevity." But now, they say, "we will not let them continue to pour out such poison."

The masses of the revolutionary workers of the K'ailan coal mines in Hopei province resolutely smashed the old "K'ailan" sign left by the imperialists and substituted a new name "anti-imperialist coal mines." The old "badge" of the type used by the bureaucrat-capitalist class to control the workers has been replaced by an identity card.

In Urumchi, in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the "Red Guards" pasted up on the walls of the main streets many notices and declarations imbued with heroic revolutionary feeling. The declarations said: Urumchi is the socialist Urumchi of the Chinese people. No influence of imperialism, capitalism, feudalism or revisionism is to be permitted.

On the walls of the Urumchi "People's Theatre" are many big-character posters put up by Red Guards and revolutionary people of various nationalities. In these posters, they declare: "Let the bourgeois 'authorities' who have long monopolised the stage take panic, let them get out. The historic current through which workers, peasants and soldiers will dominate the stage cannot be checked. It is inevitable that we workers, peasants and soldiers will occupy the socialist stage."

In Huhehot, Yinchuan and Sining, too, the young Red Guards have launched a fierce attack on the old ideas, culture, customs and habits.

This revolutionary high tide is now surging forward with increasing momentum. The young revolutionary fighters and the revolutionary masses have voiced their determination to tear up the roots of capitalism and feudalism and destroy every hotbed of revisionism, and to turn every street, every trade, every factory, every people's commune, every shop into a big school of Mao

Tse-tung's thought, into a position for advocating, implementing ar d defending Mao Tse-tung's thought so as to insure the impregnability of the proletarian state...

(*NCNA English*, Peking, August 25, 1966)



# Exchange of Experience

The "exchange of revolutionary experience" was a means to spread the Red Guard movement, which was initially centred in Peking, to other parts of the country. However, as millions of Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students enthusiastically took part in this "revolutionary action," it inevitably imposed excessive burdens on the country's transportation facilities and caused disruption to normal passenger and cargo traffic. It also gave rise to various social problems. Consequently, the authorities had to revise the directives on several occasions in the course of the movement, and finally called it off in March 1967.– Ed.

## *Initial Decision of CCP Central Committee*

The initial decision of the CCP Central Committee concerning the exchange of revolutionary experience was conveyed by Chou En-lai in his speech at a Red Guard rally in Peking on August 31, 1966:

(Excerpts) "At present, students in various parts of the country are coming to Peking to exchange experience, and students in Peking are going to other places to establish revolutionary ties. We think that this is a very good thing. We support you. The Party's Central Committee has decided that all college students and representatives of middle school students in the other parts of the country should come to Peking group after group at different times. Local students and students from other places should strengthen their revolutionary unity on the basis of the principle of making joint efforts to carry through the great cultural revolution well. Questions and differences of opinion should be solved through investigation, study and through consultations on an equal footing. Everybody knows that the great cultural

revolution in every locality and in every unit must be carried out by relying on the masses themselves in that locality and that unit, for only then can it really be carried out well and thoroughly. We believe that the revolutionary action of building contacts on a nationwide scale will certainly and potently deepen the great proletarian cultural revolution."

(*NCNA English*, Peking, September 1, 1966)

* * *

## *Chairman Mao's Instruction*

On November 3, 1966, Lin Piao, while addressing a Red Guard rally in Peking, conveyed the following instruction from Mao Tse-tung concerning the exchange of revolutionary experience by travelling on foot:

(Excerpts) "Chairman Mao supports you comrades travelling on foot to exchange revolutionary experience, the advantages of which are widespread contact with the masses, contact with all aspects of the life of society and a deeper understanding of class struggle in socialist society. It provides better opportunities to learn from the workers and the peasants and to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought on an even broader scale. All this is very useful for the revolutionary teachers and students to have a better understanding of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the correct line of Chairman Mao. Of course, this kind of travelling on foot for the exchange of revolutionary experience must be undertaken in a planned and organised way and must be well prepared."

(*NCNA English*, Peking, November 4, 1966)

* * *

## *Restrictions on Free Travel*

On November 16, 1966, the CCP Central Committee and the State Council issued a circular restricting the use of free transportation facilities by Red Guards and stressing the need for speeding up transportation of supplies. The circular also gave instructions concerning "going on foot to exchange revolutionary experience."

(Excerpts) It has 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 fulfil and overfulfil this year's national economic plan and realise 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 organised manner and with preparation." In order to translate Comrade Lin Piao's call into reality, the provinces concerned may organise 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 *Ch'u* will proceed with keypoint experiments in organised 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 Centre 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. . . .

("Circular of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council on the Question of Revolutionary Teachers and Students Exchanging Revolutionary Experience," November 16, 1966, in *Collection of Documents Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Vol. I,* published by "Propagandists of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, Peking College of Chemical Engineering," May, 1967, and translated in *Current Background,* No. 852, American Consulate General, Hong Kong, October 1, 1968. Hereinafter reference will be made to the original source only: *Collection of Documents, Vol. I,* for short.)

* * *

## *Suspension of the Movement*

On February 3, 1967, the CCP Central Committee and the State Council issued a circular to the effect that no more trips should be made to Peking for exchange of revolutionary experience or visit. On March 19, the Central Committee issued another circular suspending exchange of revolutionary experience all over the country.

(Excerpts) At present, because too many revolutionary teachers and students have gone to Peking, Shaoshan, Chingkang Mountains, Juichin, Tsunyi, Luting Bridge, Yenan 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. The 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 *hsien* must also guard against ovcrcrowding. No more trips should be made to Peking, Shaoshan, Chingkang Mountains, Juichin, Tsunyi, Luting Bridge, Yenan 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 kilometres away from their own places quickly to return to their own places and schools to make revolution, participate in the struggle-criticism-transformation, realise 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 of 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.

(*Ibid,* "Notification by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council Concerning the Question of Exchanging Revolutionary Experience on Foot by Revolutionary Teachers and Students and Red Guards," February 3, 1967.)

To Party committees of all levels, Party committees of all military regions and districts, revolutionary committees of all provinces and municipalities, and all revolutionary mass organisations:

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-way alliances." Meanwhile, students and the masses who went to other parts of the country and other units to exchange 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 experience all over the country should continue to be stopped and the plan of exchanging experience in and after the coming spring is cancelled. It is hoped that leaderships at all levels explain this decision well to the students and the masses...

(*Ibid.*, "CCP Central Committee's Notice on Suspension of the Exchange of Revolutionary Experience All Over the Country," March 19, 1967.)



# Praise of Red Guards

The rebellious activities of the Red Guards were sanctioned by the official organs, the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and the journal *Hung-ch'i.* They praised the "revolutionary rebel spirit" of the Red Guards and extolled them for having performed meritorious service for the cultural revolution. – Ed.

## *It's Fine!*

(Excerpts) We hail the proletarian revolutionary rebel spirit of the young Red Guard fighters of Peking!

Chairman Mao has said: In the last analysis, all the truths of Marxism can be summed up in one sentence: "To rebel is justified."

The revolutionary spirit of the Red Guards will enable our country and people to preserve their revolutionary youth for ever.

The revolutionary action of the Red Guards is a mighty torrent that cannot be stayed by any old conservative forces.

The proletarian revolutionary rebel spirit of the Red Guards is very good indeed!

(*Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial, August 23, 1966; translated in *Peking Review*, No. 35, August, 25, 1966.)

* * *

## *Salute to Our Red Guards!*

(Excerpts) The great proletarian cultural revolution has become a revolutionary movement of the broad masses. This is a new and important indication that it has begun to win victories.

In this mass movement of the cultural revolution the Red Guards have taken on the role of a shock force that makes bold frontal attacks. We raise a cheer for the heroic Red Guards! We salute our Red Guards!

It is not long since the Red Guards took the field, yet they have indeed shaken the whole of society and the old world. The sharp blade of their

struggle is mowing down all resistance. The old customs and habits of all the exploiting classes are being swept out by the Red Guards like rubbish. None of the old parasites hidden in dark corners can escape the sharp eyes of the Red Guards.

The Red Guards are pulling out these bloodsuckers, these enemies of the people one by one. Their concealed gold, silver, valuables and other treasures are being taken out and put on exhibition, and their secret accounts, hidden to await the hoped-for restoration, and their various kinds of murderous weapons are being put on public show by the Red Guards. All these are meritorious deeds performed by our Red Guards.

The actions of the Red Guards are indeed fine!

(*Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial, August 29, 1966; translated in *Peking Review*, No. 36, September 2, 1966.)

* * *

## *In Praise of the Red Guards*

(Excerpts) The revolutionary people throughout China are now vying with each other in praising the Red Guards.

The revolutionary initiative of the Red Guards has shaken the whole world.

The Red Guards are something new that has emerged in the tempest of the great proletarian cultural revolution; they were born and growing up in the great proletarian cultural revolution...

The Red Guards are the shock force of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Their revolutionary actions have roused revolutionary fervour among the masses, bringing about a vigorous mass movement on a still greater scale. Such a sweeping revolutionary mass movement has engulfed in the vast sea of the revolutionary masses the handful of persons in power who have wormed their way into the Party and have taken the capitalist road. Without such a large-scale mass movement, it would be impossible to destroy the social basis on which the handful of bourgeois Rightists rests and to carry through the great proletarian cultural revolution thoroughly and in depth.

The Red Guards are a new phenomenon on the eastern horizon. The revolutionary youngsters are the symbol of the future and the hope of the proletariat. Revolutionary dialectics tells us that the new-born forces



are invincible, that they inevitably grow and develop in struggle and in the end defeat the decaying forces. Therefore, we shall certainly sing the praises of the new, eulogise it, beat the drums to encourage it, bang the gongs to clear a way for it and raise our hands high in welcome...

Our Red Guards have performed immortal meritorious deeds in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party enthusiastically praise their soaring revolutionary spirit, and the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers enthusiastically acclaim their revolutionary actions.

The revolutionary actions of the revolutionary young fighters are indeed excellent! Their meritorious deeds in the great cultural revolution will go down for ever in the revolutionary history of the proletariat...

(*Hung-ch'i* commentary, No. 12, 1966; translated in *Peking Review*, No. 39, September 23, 1966.)

# Resistance by Capitalist Roaders

The first hints of active resistance against the Red Guard rebellion by the capitalist roaders were given in an editorial in the *Jen-min Jih-pao* of August 23, 1966. These capitalist roaders, it says, incited workers and peasants to struggle against the revolutionary students. –Ed.

## *Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Must Firmly Support the Revolutionary Students*

(Excerpts) The mighty current of the great proletarian cultural revolution is battering down resistance of every kind. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "Bells don't ring till you strike them. Tables don't move till you shift them"; "as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself." Those in authority who stubbornly take the capitalist road will inevitably adopt all kinds of methods and means to resist the 16-point decision, suppress the mass movement and sabotage the great cultural revolution. In order to shift the targets for attack, besides continuing to incite students to struggle against each other, they have also stirred up a few workers and peasants to struggle against the students.

Diehards who take the capitalist road have absurdly identified the leadership in their own units with the Party's Central Committee and the entire Party. Making use of the great love which the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have for the Party, and making use of some among the masses who did not know the truth, they have raised such slogans as: defend the Party committee in your own locality, and of your own department; and if there were revolutionary students who criticised them and rose in rebellion against them, those revolutionary students were said to be "anti-Party," "opposed to the Party's Central Committee" and "counter-revolutionary." In some places, a small number of workers, peasants and cadres were hoodwinked and deceived and took part in the struggle against the revolutionary



students.

The use of such slogans to incite a number of workers and peasants to struggle against the revolutionary students is extremely reactionary, and completely contravenes the Party's line.

The Party organisations of every locality and unit must unconditionally adopt the mass line, and accept mass supervision and criticism; they must not under any pretext be allowed to reject or suppress criticism by the masses, they are absolutely not allowed, still more, to brand the masses who criticise them as "counter-revolutionaries" "opposed to the Party and its Central Committee." The Party's Central Committee is the Party's Central Committee. The Party organisation of a locality or an unit is the Party organisation of that locality or unit. If the Party organisation of any locality or unit goes counter to the correct leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and violates Mao Tse-tung's thought, why should it not be criticised? Why should it not be opposed? Why should those who criticise it be said to be "anti-Party," "opposed to the Party's Central Committee" and "counter-revolutionary"?

The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers must not listen to the nonsense of these overlords taking the capitalist road.

It is a very good thing that the broad masses of revolutionary students are rising to make revolution and oppose these overlords. It is a good thing that they are putting up big-character posters; it is a good thing that they are arguing things out and holding great debates. They have the right to parade and demonstrate on the streets, the right to assemble and to form associations, and the right of speech and publication. That they dare, using Mao Tse-tung's thought to criticise the mistakes of the Party committee of their own unit or that of the higher level will simply serve to correct the leadership of these Party committees. As to the diehards, those who adamantly refuse to repent and turn over a new leaf, their downfall is nothing to make a fuss over; it too is a good thing.

The "Red Guards," "Red Flag Fighting Teams" and other revolutionary organisations formed by the revolutionary students are lawful organisations under the proletarian dictatorship. Their actions are revolutionary actions, lawful actions. Anyone who oppose the revolutionary actions of the revolutionary students directly contravenes the teachings of Chairman Mao and the decision of the Party's Central Committee.

The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers form the main force in the great proletarian cultural revolution and provide powerful backing to the revolutionary students. We must take a firm stand on the side of

the revolutionary students and give the warmest and most resolute support to their revolutionary actions.

The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are the best followers of the Party's teachings, of Chairman Mao's teachings, the best upholders of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The 16-point decision of the Party's Central Committee is the newest embodiment of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Any wrong leadership that contravenes the 16 Points and harms the great proletarian cultural revolution must be resolutely checked and repudiated.

The revolutionary students in their struggles may have certain shortcomings. But we must see that their general direction is correct and we must wholeheartedly support them, help them, and have confidence that in their struggles they will be able to distinguish between right and wrong and between what is the right way of doing things and what is not; we must have confidence that in their struggles they will become even more highly steeled and tempered in resolve, even more daring to make revolution and good at making it.

The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and the broad masses of revolutionary students must raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, unite firmly and keep their eyes wide open, never be influenced by the attempts of evil people to sow dissension, and never be fooled by evil people. Workers, peasants, fighters in the Liberation Army and members of the people's police, since their situations are not the same and they are in different posts, may not know the situation in the schools in their locality and may not know the facts and they should not go and take part in the debates in schools.

(*Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial, August 23, 1966; translated in *Peking Review*, No. 25, August 26, 1966.)



# Back to School

As the cultural revolution reached the stage of seizing power from "Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road," the revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guards were told to return to their own schools to make revolution. Assembled in this section are the pertinent instructions. – Ed.

## *CCP Central Committee's Call*

(Excerpts)...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 organisation and discipline, the middle school teachers and students must, by groups and by stages, go through a short-term military and political training.

Revolutionary Red Guards are vanguards of the great proletarian cultural revolution in middle schools. Red Guard organisations should be reorganised, consolidated and developed during the movement. Red Guards should be formed mainly of revolutionary students born of families of labouring people (workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres, and labourers engaged in other fields). Students who were not born of families of labouring 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 organisations in schools is forbidden. Reactionary organisations, 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 organisations must go through intensive political and ideological education and be allowed and helped to rectify their mistakes...

("CCP Central Committee's Opinion on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Middle Schools," February 19, 1967, in *Collection of Documents, Vol. I,* May 1967.)

* * *

## *Re-open Classes and Make Revolution in Primary and Secondary Schools*

(Excerpts) Revolutionary pupils and teachers of primary and secondary schools have contributed a great deal to the great proletarian cultural revolution. At the present time, the great cultural revolution is entering into a new stage, in which the proletarian revolutionaries are forming an alliance to seize power from a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. At this crucial moment when the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, are engaged in a decisive battle, the glorious task confronting the revolutionary pupils and teachers of primary and secondary schools is to respond to the call of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to re-open classes and make revolution, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. Now is the time for the revolutionary pupils and teachers to return to their schools and to seize for the proletariat the positions in the primary and secondary schools.

Primary and secondary schools (including secondary specialised schools, part-work part-study and part-farm work part-study schools) constitute an important battlefront of the great proletarian cultural revolution and an important battlefield on which the proletariat and the bourgeoisie struggle to win over the younger generation. Chairman Mao has said that: "the period of schooling must be shortened, education must be revolutionised, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals must not be allowed to continue any longer." Revolutionary pupils and teachers of primary and secondary schools must resolutely carry out the great task set out by Chairman Mao, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution in primary and secondary schools through to the end, thoroughly reform the old system of education and temper themselves in the acute and complex class struggle, so as to make themselves successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and good pupils of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.



In re-opening classes and making revolution, it is imperative to grasp firmly the struggle between the two lines as the key link. The re-opening of classes to make revolution must be recognised as a class struggle on the educational front. The bourgeois reactionary line must be thoroughly criticised and repudiated...

To re-open classes and make revolution means to open classes in Mao Tse-tung's thought and in the great proletarian cultural revolution...

Revolutionary pupils and teachers in primary and secondary schools must see the situation clearly; they must study and apply Chairman Mao's writings creatively in the course of the struggle, thoroughly criticise and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, eliminate all kinds of non-proletarian ideas, rectify their own ideology and style of work, check up on their organisations, and bring about the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries. On the basis of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries, cultural revolution committees are to be democratically elected by the revolutionary pupils, revolutionary teachers, administrative and ancillary staff and revolutionary leading cadres. These committees will be responsible for leading the cultural revolution movement in the schools and for making concrete arrangements for the operation of classes.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the revolutionary pupils and teachers in primary and secondary schools must firmly adhere to the general orientation of the struggle, the main target of which is a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. All must see to it that the spearhead of struggle is never directed against the pupils. With the exception of a very few ringleaders and criminals who must be punished according to law, the policy of winning over and education should be followed even with regard to those pupils who had joined reactionary organisations. They should be allowed to make revolution and they should not be discriminated against provided they admit their errors. Those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists (referring to people who themselves belong to one of the five categories but not to people who only have this kind of family origin) among teachers, administrative and ancillary staff who cling to their reactionary stand and refuse to reform themselves must be cleaned out from the schools. But it must be realised that the great majority of teachers and cadres in primary and secondary schools are good or comparatively good. We should not exclude and overthrow them all indiscriminately. Towards those who have committed errors, Chairman Mao's policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness

to save the patient" should be applied. They should be actively helped to remedy their errors and return to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Differences of opinion among the masses should be properly resolved by the method of presenting the facts and reasoning things out. We must uphold struggle by reasoning and not struggle by coercion or force. Those revolutionary pupils and revolutionary teachers, administrative and ancillary staff who were branded "counter-revolutionaries," "pseudo-Leftists but genuine Rightists" or "little ghosts and monsters" at the beginning of the great cultural revolution must be conscientiously rehabilitated. We must make a strict distinction between the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people, unite with the great majority and thoroughly isolate the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road.

In re-opening classes and making revolution, Chairman Mao's instruction to "practise economy in carrying out revolution" must be followed conscientiously. State property must be treated with care and must be protected; extravagance and waste must be resolutely opposed.

The re-opening of classes to make revolution in primary and secondary schools is a new test for the revolutionary pupils and teachers. All revolutionary pupils, teachers and administrative and ancillary staff must get rid of all selfish ideas, ignore personal considerations and shoulder the glorious task of re-opening classes and making revolution...

(*Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial March 7, 1967; translated in *Peking Review*, No. 11, March 10, 1967.)

* * *

## *Instruction for University Students*

**Teachers and students of institutes of higher learning were also told to return to school before March 20, according to the following provisions in the "CCP Central Committee's Regulations (Draft) Governing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Currently Under Way in Universities, Colleges and Schools," March 7, 1967:**

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...

(*Collection of Documents, Vol. I*, May, 1967.)

# Red Guard Diplomacy

**The Red Guards played a unique role in China's diplomatic affairs during the cultural revolution. They demonstrated in front of foreign embassies in Peking on many occasions, plastered their walls with hostile posters and slogans, arrested foreign nationals... The following events were typical of this phase of Red Guard activities.**
**– Ed.**

## *The Take-over of L'Ecole Sacre-Coeur*

(Excerpts) At the demand of Peking's Red Guards and revolutionary masses and to safeguard China's security and the interests of the people, the Peking Municipal People's Council announced the banning of the *Franciscaines Missionaries de Marie* and took over *L'Ecole Sacre-Coeur* run by the mission on August 26.

The Peking Public Security Bureau announced the order of deportation on August 28 and deported Olga Fedorowicz and seven other foreign nuns who have been engaged in counter-revolutionary activities. In the custody of Chinese personnel of public security and of the Red Guards, they were deported from China on August 31...

In this vigorous unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought the young Red Guards holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, are sweeping away the reactionary forces of imperialism and revisionism with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt splitting rotten wood. They would no longer permit the counter-revolutionary missionaries who served imperialism to do evil things on China's territory. On August 24, Red Guards from more than a dozen schools including the No. 1 Middle School attached to the Peking "K'angta" (Anti-Japanese Military and Political College) (originally the No. 21 Middle School), the Peking No. 12 Girls' Middle School, the Peking Red Banner School, and the No. 1 Middle School attached to the Peking "Hungta"



(Red Army College) (originally the No. 1 Girls Middle School) rose up against the counter-revolutionary missionaries. Their revolutionary actions were most resolutely and warmly supported at once by the worker, peasant and soldier masses, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals...

They denounced the crimes of the missionaries and expressed warm support for the deportation order issued by the Peking Public Security Bureau. People attending the rally shouted: "Down with US imperialism!" "Counter-revolutionary foreign nuns, get out!" "Long live the proletarian dictatorship!" "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"

(*NCNA-English*, Peking, August 31, 1966.)

* * *

## *Support for Struggle Against "Portuguese Imperialists" in Macao*

(Excerpts) Thousands of Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and pupils from middle schools in Canton held a meeting and demonstrations this morning at which they strongly condemned the bloody crimes of the Portuguese imperialists in Macao and voiced their resolute support for the just struggle of the patriotic compatriots there.

Representatives of the Red Guards in their speeches at the meeting pointed out that the Portuguese authorities, with the support of US-British imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek gang, had even dared to perpetrate a bloody massacre of Chinese compatriots in defiance of the Chinese people. "We have expressed our great indignation and lodged our strongest protest against this provocative action," they said. . .

They solemnly warned the Portuguese authorities: "We are the Red Guards of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao. We are revolutionary rebels armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, who dare to climb mountains of swords and cross seas of fire. We shall resolutely support our compatriots in Macao in their struggle for final victory."

The meeting was followed by big demonstrations.

(*NCNA English*, Canton, December 13, 1966)

* * *

## *Indonesian "Reactionaries" Denounced*

(Excerpts) One hundred thousand people in the Chinese capital —

revolutionary workers, peasants, Red Guards, revolutionary cadres, students and teachers, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army — held a rally in Peking this afternoon to denounce the anti-China, anti-Chinese crimes committed by the Indonesian reactionaries.

The revolutionary masses expressed their strongest indignation against the Indonesian reactionaries who recently colluded with US imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism, wildly persecuted Chinese nationals, dispatched troops and police to encircle the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, abducted the Chinese Consul General in Djakarta and expelled the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires ad interim and the Chinese Consul General.

In the past few days, tens of thousands of revolutionary people have demonstrated in front of the Indonesian Embassy in Peking to voice their wrath at the Indonesian reactionaries' atrocities.

Today, people converged on the Workers Outdoor Stadium, carrying portraits of their great leader Chairman Mao, red-covered copies of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and placards inscribed with quotations. They shouted slogans of firm support for the statement issued by the Chinese government on April 26.

The rally was declared open by Nieh Yuan-tzu, Vice Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

All participants joined in reading aloud some quotations from Chairman Mao. . .

(*NCNA-English*, Peking, August, 31, 1966.)

* * *

## *Support for Arab People's Struggle*

(Excerpts) Over the past three days more than 1.2 million revolutionary people in Peking have demonstrated their resolute support for the Arab people's just struggle against American, British and Israeli aggression.

Today's mammoth demonstrations reached their climax. From morning till late evening, revolutionary people from factories, government departments, schools and rural people's communes marched in an apparently endless stream to the embassies of Arab countries in the capital and the Mission of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. They were expressing their firm support for the 100 million Arab people struggling against aggression by US and British imperialism and by Israel...

The Red Guards, of whose heroism the whole world has heard, and who have given fine service during the great proletarian cultural revolution



in China, streamed into the streets to demonstrate their bitter hatred for the enemy and the warmth of their feelings for their friends.

Red Guards of the Central Academy of Fine Arts and the China Medical College said that the aggressive war launched by Israel, was in reality one in which the United State provided the arms and equipment, while Israel provided the manpower to massacre the Arab people on behalf of the United States, and that British imperialism was a collaborator in this.

As for the Soviet revisionist leading clique, they added, it had once again played the shameful role of No 1 accomplice...

(*NCNA-English*, Peking, June 9, 1967.)

* * *

## *Deportation of Indian Diplomatic*

(Excerpts) K. Raghunath, the Indian Embassy spy sentenced to deportation by China, left here this morning under the escort of Chinese public security personnel and Red Guards amid the shouts of angry slogans.

P. Vijai, Third Secretary of the Indian Embassy in China, who had been declared *persona non grata* and ordered to leave within a time limit, left on the same plane.

More than 1,000 revolutionary people in the capital came to the airport to pour out their wrath at US imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism and the Indian reactionaries. There were thunderous shouts of "Down with US imperialism," "Down with Soviet revisionism," "Down with the Indian reactionaries" and "You dirty spy, Raghunath, get out of China."

When Indian spy Raghunath and Indian Embassy members arrived at the airport, Chinese public security personnel and Red Guards came up to carry out the mission of escorting him in accordance with the verdict of the special people's tribunal of the Peking Municipal Higher People's Court.

In an attempt to evade just condemnation by the revolutionary Chinese masses, Indian Embassy members refused to hand over Raghunath.

This vile act designed to shield the spy immediately aroused great wrath among the masses.

After stern retortion by Chinese public security personnel and Red Guards, Indian Embassy members could do nothing but turn the criminal over.

Wherever the Chinese public security personnel and Red Guards escorted him, people shouted with great indignation: should imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries dare to make provocations

against the Chinese people, they will come to no good end.

In the face of the mighty force of the indignant revolutionary masses, Indian spy K. Raghunath, who became totally dejected, hung his head low and was escorted into the plane by the Chinese public security personnel and Red Guards.

(*NCNA-English,* Peking, June 9, 1967.)

* * *

## *Mission to Albania*

(Excerpts) On June 21, 1967, the Chinese Red Guard delegation headed by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan arrived at Tirana, at the invitation of the Fifth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania. They attended the congress and paid a friendly visit to Albania. With sincere and friendly enthusiasm, the Albanian youth and people welcomed the delegation —— pathbreakers in China's proletarian cultural revolution sent by Chairman Mao, great leader of the Chinese people.

The Chinese Red Guards have now had a year's experience in fighting. However, this was the first time that they sent delegates abroad to attend a conference...

(*China Pictorial,* No. 9, 1967.)

* * *

## *Demonstration in Front of Burmese Embassy*

(Excerpts) Four hundred thousand people today demonstrated in front of the Burmese Embassy in Peking against the anti-China, anti-Chinese atrocities committed by the Burmese government. Including the number of demonstrators yesterday, the total is 600,000.

The incensed masses have expressed resolute support for the Chinese government statement of June 29 and the Chinese Foreign Ministry's note of the day before which lodged the most urgent and strong protest with the Burmese government. They firmly backed the valiant struggle carried out by Chinese personnel in Burma and Chinese nationals living there.

From early morning till late in the evening, contingent after contingent of revolutionary workers, cadres and teachers and students and Red Guard fighters and suburban people's commune members streamed past the Burmese Embassy. Carrying red flags and portraits of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and waving their red-covered *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung,*



they shouted: "Resolutely support the Chinese government's statement!" "Strongly protest the fascist atrocities by the Burmese government!" "The Burmese government cannot avoid responsibility for sabotaging friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples." "The Burmese government must immediately stop creating anti-China, anti-Chinese atrocities and fulfil China's demands. Otherwise, it will come to no good end!" they said...

Red Guard fighters of the Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute said that the Chinese Red Guards maturing under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and steeled in the great proletarian cultural revolution feared neither US imperialism, nor Soviet revisionism, let alone the handful of Burmese reactionaries...

(*NCNA-English,* Peking, June 30, 1967.)

* * *

## *Protest Against Insult of Mao Tse-tung's Portrait by Mongolian Embassy Worker*

(Excerpts) Revolutionary Masses and young Red Guard fighters in Peking yesterday and today demonstrated in front of the Mongolian Embassy, vehemently protesting over an embassy worker's insult to the picture of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people and the red sun in the hearts of the revolutionary people of the world.

The revolutionary masses and Red Guards pointed out that as a result of its reactionary nature and its closely following US imperialism and Soviet revisionism, the Mongolian revisionist leading clique had always been hostile toward and opposed to our great leader Chairman Mao and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and had wildly opposed China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

They said that it was not accidental that a Mongolian Embassy worker should have insulted the picture of Chairman Mao in the Chinese capital. "This is another serious political provocation by them," the Peking revolutionary masses maintained.

Yesterday morning, the Mongolian Embassy worker, Dashonolt, stamped on a picture of Chairman Mao in his car parked near Tunghuamen. This was promptly noticed by passers-by. They pointed out his serious criminal act to him and demanded that he admit his crime and apologise.

However, he refused to pay any heed. Instead, he tried to provoke the angry people still further.

Chinese revolutionary people who were at the scene were enraged by

the criminal act and the arrogance of the Mongolian Embassy worker. They said that they would not tolerate this. While protesting, they read quotations from Chairman Mao in their red revolutionary treasured books, shouting "Long live Chairman Mao, a long, long life to him!" and other slogans.

Revolutionary masses and young Red Guard fighters, who went to the Mongolian Embassy to demonstrate, pasted many big posters and protest messages on the outside walls and on the grounds of the Mongolian Embassy to expose the ugly anti-China features of the Mongolian revisionists who follow US imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

The demonstrators repeatedly shouted: "Down with US imperialism!" "Down with Soviet revisionism!" "Down with Mongolian revisionism!" "Down with Tsedenbal, slave of US imperialism and Soviet revisionism!" "Those who oppose China will come to no good end!" and "Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

(*NCNA-English*, Peking, August 10, 1967.)

### *Demonstration Before British Legation*

(Excerpts) More than 400,000 revolutionary masses in Peking today held a mammoth demonstration before the British Chargé d'Affaires' Office here to condemn the British imperialists for their persecution of Chinese compatriots in Hong Kong.

Raising clenched fists, the demonstrators repeatedly shouted: "The British imperialists must repay the blood debt!", "U.S. imperialism will come to no good end in opposing China!" "Soviet revisionism will come to no good end in opposing China!", "British imperialism will come to no good end in opposing China!" and "Anyone who opposes China will come to no good end!" ...

Young Red Guards and revolutionary students and teachers from many universities and middle schools in Peking surged past the Office of the British Charge d'Affaires. They sang newly composed militant songs. Numerous messages of protest were read out over loud-speakers. A message from members of the "East Is Red Commune" of the Peking Mining Institute declared: "No force on earth can obstruct the powerful torrents of China's great proletarian cultural revolution. The heroic Chinese people are invincible. The Wilson Government of Britain and the British authorities in Hong Kong will come to no good end if they persist in acting arbitrarily and wildly."

(*NCNA-English*, Peking, May 16, 1967.)



CHAPTER II

# *Spread of the Revolution to the Countryside and to Industrial and Mining Enterprises*

*The cultural revolution movement spread quickly to the countryside and the factories and mines soon after the Red Guards rose in rebellion. Vast numbers of workers plunged into the movement and, following the examples of their forerunners the Red Guards, set up their own "revolutionary organisations," went to other units and cities to "exchange revolutionary experience," and rebelled against the "the handful of capitalist roaders." On the other hand, the Central Committee attempted to restrict peasant participation in order not to interfere with vital food production.*

*This stress of caution, however, was later changed to a more radical line, which put the revolution in first place "to take command of production." This change occurred because the "capitalist roaders used 'promoting production' as a pretext to suppress the revolution." – Ed.*

# The Policy

The basic policy for the cultural revolution movement in the countryside and industrial and mining enterprises is "to grasp revolution and promote production." This policy has been upheld throughout the cultural revolution to date. – Ed.

## *Grasp Revolution and Promote Production*

The following excerpts from a *Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial bearing the above title stress the importance of grasping the revolution on the one hand and production on the other, to guarantee that both the cultural revolution and production "go forward without a hitch":

The movement for proletarian cultural revolution and the movement for socialist production are inter-related. The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionise people's ideology and consequently to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. We must look upon the great proletarian cultural revolution as the key link and grasp the revolution on the one hand and production on the other, so as to guarantee that both the cultural revolution and production go forward without a hitch.

This year is the first year of China's Third Five-Year Plan. The broad masses of our workers, commune members, scientific and technical personnel and other working people should carry their soaring revolutionary enthusiasm, called up by the great cultural revolution, into the struggles for industrial and agricultural production and scientific experiment. Acting as masters, we should stand firm at our posts in production and grasp the links in production promptly at the proper time, so that industrial and agricultural production will show still newer features and still greater prosperity.

Leaders of all factories, mines, enterprises, people's communes, units engaged in capital construction and scientific research establishments must

take firm hold of these two links — the cultural revolution and the promotion of production — and arrange their work well. There must be a proper division of work. Two appropriate leading groups are needed; one mainly in charge of the cultural revolution, the other of production, of output, variety and quality, with special attention being paid to quality. The group in charge of production must also take part in the cultural revolution, but their main efforts must be in leading production. A unified leadership over these two groups is necessary; each should not act on its own. Once the masses are fully mobilised and proper arrangements are made, victories are assured in both the cultural revolution and production.

The cultural revolution movement in factories, mines, enterprises, units engaged in capital construction, scientific research establishments and service trades, and the socialist education movement in the countryside, i.e., the "four clean-ups" movement [to clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organisation and economy–Ed.], should be carried out by the revolutionary masses there. If the original arrangements for the "four clean-ups" movement in the countryside or in the cities are considered appropriate by the masses and the movement is going well, then no change is necessary. The Red Guards from the schools and the revolutionary students ought not to go there to interfere in those arrangements. They need not take part in the debates there. Workers, poor and lower-middle peasants are the main force of the revolution. They are fully capable of handling the revolutionary movement in their own organisations well. Beside, conditions in these units differ and they have very big tasks in production. Interference from outsiders who do not understand the situation can easily affect the normal progress of production.

The autumn harvest is drawing near. It promises to be a year of good harvests. Leaders at all levels, and particularly those at county level and leaders of the rural people's communes, must be sure not to let the farm season slip by them and must concentrate all their efforts on making a good job of this year's autumn harvest. When the farm work is heavy, the "four clean-ups" movement may be temporarily suspended. The Red Guards from the schools and the revolutionary teachers and students should organise themselves to go to the countryside to take part in manual labour there, help with the autumn harvest and learn from poor and lower-middle peasants their diligence, revolutionary enthusiasm and other fine qualities as working people...

(*Jen-min Jih-pao,* September 7, 1966.)



# Revolution in the Countryside

Assembled in this section are the CCP Central Committee directives concerning the cultural revolution in the rural areas, and excerpts from an article by the Editorial Departments of *Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* entitled, "Struggle Between the Two Roads in China's Countryside." – Ed.

## *CCP Central Committee Provisions Concerning the Great Cultural Revolution in Rural Districts Below the Hsien Level* (September 14, 1966)

1. The great cultural revolution at various levels below the *hsien* level shall still be carried out according to the original "four clean-up" plan and with reliance placed on the revolutionary masses and cadres of the unit concerned. Except for separate arrangement made by the provincial and district committees, all students and Red Guards in Peking and from other localities shall not go to the organ below the *hsien* level, communes and brigades to exchange revolutionary experiences or to take part in the debates below the *hsien* level. Nor shall the cadres below the *hsien* level and the commune members go to other localities for exchanging revolutionary experiences.

2. During the busy season of autumn harvest, forces should be concentrated on autumn harvesting, autumn sowing and autumn procurement, and the "four clean-up" campaign may be stopped for the time being. Revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guards of urban schools should be mobilised to go to the rural districts to take part in labour and assist in autumn harvesting in organised ways.

3. The campaign for destroying "four-old" and establishing "four-new" in the rural districts should be successfully carried out in a period specially set aside during the slack farming season. For doing this thing, too, poor

and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary masses in the *hsien* concerned should be relied upon; if necessary, the provincial and district committees may systematically organise the Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students of some schools to go to the rural districts to assist in propaganda and action.

3. Cadres below the *hsien* level should, with the help of local revolutionary masses and cadres of their own units, bring to light, criticise and correct their mistakes. Cadres whose problems are particularly serious and who cannot carry on with their jobs should be brought to the attention of the higher Party organisation and may be transferred elsewhere or removed from their office according to the decision of the higher Party committee. Those who are active counter-revolutionaries shall be dealt with according to law. Cadres appointed by the higher Party committee and government should not be directly "removed from office" by the masses.

5. In the case of those leading bodies below the *hsien* level which have been paralysed, cadres should be immediately readjusted to restore and strengthen the leading force, and the work in various localities of the *hsien* should be comprehensively grasped. It is imperative to intensify education for cadres of various levels, bring politics to the fore, make a serious study of Chairman Mao's works, raise consciousness, improve the style of leadership, assume responsibility for work and firmly implement the various policies of the Party in the rural districts.

(*Collection of Documents, Vol. I,* May 1967.)

* * *

## *Letter to Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants and Cadres at All Levels in Rural People's Communes Throughout the Country* (February 20, 1967)

Comrade Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants,
Comrade Cadres Responsible for Rural Work:

Poor and lower-middle peasants are the principal force for grasping revolution and promoting production in the countryside. At the beginning of spring plowing, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee called upon you to earnestly grasp revolution and promote production and mobilise all forces and immediately and actively go into action to do a good job of spring farm work.

Cadres at all levels in rural people's communes must be good at discussing things with the poor and lower-middle peasants and with all labouring



masses, so as to whip up an upsurge of spring farm work.

The Party Central Committee believes that the overwhelming majority of cadres at all levels in the rural people's communes are good or comparatively good. Comrades who have made mistakes should also exert themselves in the course of spring farm work so as to make amends. If the cadres who have made mistakes act in this way, the poor and lower-middle peasants should forgive them and support them in their work. When criticising these cadres, the poor and lower-middle peasants must adopt the attitude of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" in accordance with Chairman Mao's oft-repeated directive.

Under no circumstances should the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists be allowed to speak and act in an unrestrained manner, to sabotage production, to impair the unity among the labouring people and to provoke sectarian disputes. They must, under the supervision by poor and lower-middle peasants, earnestly continue to remould themselves through labour.

Those cadres who have been dismissed during the "four clean-up" campaign must take an active part in labour and remould themselves. Under no circumstances are they allowed to wage a counter-attack and retaliate [upon their accusers].

It is proposed that you consider immediate holding of a meeting of cadres at the three levels of commune, production brigade and production team to arrange for spring farm work. Preparations must be made for the meeting. The time for this meeting must be short, preferably one to two days.

It is also proposed that a meeting of all members of production teams be held to discuss spring farm work.

At the same time, it is proposed that the local units of the People's Liberation Army and military organs at all levels give vigorous support and assistance in spring farm work.

Let us unite under the guidance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

We hope you will strive to win a victory of spring farm work!

(*Ibid.*)

* * *

## *Notice on No Seizure of Power in Production Brigades and Production Teams During the Spring Farming Period* (March 7, 1967)

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 paralysed, the activists among poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary cadres should organise a provisional leading group to grasp spring farm work.

3. The majority of rural cadres (including full-time cadres) 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," criticise 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-up" 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-up" movement must be protected



without fail.

*(Ibid.)*

* * *

## *Struggle Between the Two Roads in China's Countryside*

(Excerpts) In carrying forward the great proletarian cultural revolution at the present time in the countryside, an important fighting task is deeper criticism and repudiation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line which China's Khrushchev advocated for the rural areas and elimination of all its poisonous influence.

China is a big country with more than 500 million peasants. The success or failure of China's democratic revolution depended on whether or not the peasant question could be solved correctly. The success or failure of China's socialist revolution likewise depends on how that question is solved. Since the nationwide victory, the question of whether the Chinese peasants will be led to socialism or capitalism has been decisive for the future of the proletariat and the future of the socialist system.

It is precisely on this question of primary importance that all through the decade and more since China's liberation, sharp, tit-for-tat struggle has been going on between the two roads and the two lines. . .

The history of the struggle between the two roads and the two lines in the rural areas during these 18 years has provided us with extermely rich experience. The following are among the most important points:

First, "socialist society covers a fairly long historical stage. In this stage, classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road continues and the danger of capitalist restoration remains." Since the overthrown landlords and rich peasants are never reconciled to their doom and are always attempting a come-back, and since the influence of the bourgeoisie, the force of habit of the old society and the spontaneous tendency of the small producers towards capitalism continue to exist in society, the class struggle in rural areas has always been very complex and sharp, and extremely fierce at every turning point in history. The struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line of China's Khrushchev on the question of socialist revolution in the countryside is precisely the concentrated reflection of this struggle iriside the Party. In order to persevere along the socialist road, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres must carry the struggle between the two lines inside

the Party through to the end, thoroughly criticise and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line of China's Khrushchev and liquidate its pernicious influence.

Second, the fundamental question in all revolutions is the question of political power. In the final analysis, the struggle between the two roads and between the two lines in the rural areas is the struggle between the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its subversion. In order to attain their criminal aim of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat under the new historical conditions of this dictatorship, the class enemy invariably adopts the methods of causing corruption, division and demoralisation, of pulling out our cadres or sneaking into our ranks, and of using both soft and hard tactics in seeking agents inside the Party. The handful of capitalist roaders in the Party are the principal and most dangerous enemies of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants. And China's Khrushchev is their behind-the-scenes boss. The bourgeois reactionary line he obstinately pushed in the rural areas was a most important component of his counter-revolutionary scheme for restoring capitalism in China and turning the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Should we permit the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party to usurp state power, we would go backward and again be plunged into our old sufferings.

Third, after the realisation of agricultural co-operation, the socialist revolution is not yet completed on the economic front. The struggle between the consolidation of the socialist system of collective ownership and the attempt to sabotage it remains an outstanding question. The enforcement of the San-Tzu-I-Pao* on a large scale was an important measure adopted by the class enemy to corrode and disintegrate the socialist system of collective ownership. The proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants must use the tremendous power of the dictatorship of the proletatiat to consolidate and develop the socialist system of collective ownership so as to take the road of a common prosperity.

Fourth, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants are our social basis in the rural areas for the building of socialism. They are the force on which we rely for realising the dictatorship of the proletariat in the rural areas. In order to restore capitalism in the rural areas, China's Khrushchev always persevered in the bourgeois class line of reliance on the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and Rightists to hit at the poor and lower-middle peasants. We must act in opposition to this and persevere in the proletarian class line of reliance on the poor and lower-middle peasants and unity with the middle peasants throughout the historical



period of socialism, so that the seals of power are held in the firm grip of those who persevere along the socialist road.

Fifth, "the serious problem is the education of the peasantry." "The basic task of political work" of the Party in the countryside "is constantly to imbue the peasant masses with a socialist ideology and to criticise the tendency towards capitalism." But China's Khrushchev desperately tried to hit at the socialist initiative of the peasants and put material incentives into active operation; he did his utmost to induce and utilise the spontaneous tendency towards capitalism, in order to serve the restoration of capitalism. It was a grave struggle to win leadership over the peasants in the ideological sphere. The peasant masses and the revolutionary cadres must place proletarian politics to the fore, persist in putting Mao Tse-tung's thought in command and vigorously fight bourgeois "self-interest" while relentlessly repudiating the revisionism of China's Khrushchev, so as gradually to root out revisionism.

For 18 years, China's Khrushchev stubbornly stuck to his bourgeois reactionary stand, took the poor and lower-middle peasant masses as his enemy, and made trouble, failed, made trouble again, failed again till the current great proletarian cultural revolution brought about his doom. His bourgeois reactionary line against the socialist revolution in the countryside is likewise being swept into the dust-bin of history.

The struggle between the two roads and the two lines in the countryside must be carried through to the end. The great proletarian cultural revolution in the vast countryside must be carried through to the end in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao.

(Joint editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao,* translated in *Peking Review,* No. 49, December 1, 1967.)

*Literally, "three freedoms and one contract" – The "three freedoms" refer to extension of plots of land for private production, free markets and increase of private enterprise. "One contract" means allowing each household to assume contractual obligation toward the State for producing a fixed quantity of grain.

# Revolution in Industrial and Mining Enterprises

Assembled in this section are CCP Central Committee directives concerning the cultural revolution movement in industrial and mining enterprises and a *Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial explaining why and how the GPCR must be carried out in industrial and mining enterprises. – Ed.

## *Ten Provisions (Draft) of the CCP Central Committee on Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production* (December 9, 1966)

(This document is sent forth to the *hsien* and regiment levels and to factories, mines, business, scientific research and design units for discussion and trial application)

1. Firmly implement the directive of Chairman Mao and the Party Centre on grasping revolution and promoting production. The great proletarian cultural revolution is developed for the purpose of promoting revolutionisation of one's mind and moving production forward.

2. Carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and criticise and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line. Firmly follow the 16 Points, make the masses elect the cultural revolution groups, cultural revolution committees or cultural revolution conferences that can represent them, and let the masses educate themselves and liberate themselves in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

3. Except that taken up for discussing production problems once a week, all the available time outside the eight-hour work shall be arranged and used by the masses themselves for proceeding with the great cultural revolution.

4. Stick to the eight-hour day, observe labour discipline and fulfil the production norms.

5. Insure the quality of products and strive for high quality.

6. Let the worker masses seriously discuss, improve or re-elect the



production leadership groups which assume responsibility for fulfilling and overfulfilling the production targets of the State.

7. Problems, if any, must be solved by the units concerned through consultation. When it is necessary to do so the worker masses may send a few representatives to the higher organs (including the Party committees for provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and the regional bureaus of the Central Committee) to reflect their views; when it is particularly necessary to do so they may send a few representatives to Peking to reflect their views; they must not leave their factories and mines in large groups.

8. During the great cultural revolution, the leading bodies of factories and mines are not permitted to attack and retaliate upon the masses who have conducted criticisms and brought facts to light, nor are they allowed to deduct wages and dismiss the workers because the latter have conducted criticisms and brought facts to light. The revolutionary workers denounced as counter-revolutionaries during the great cultural revolution must be vindicated. It is not permitted to transfer the workers from their original production positions or to intimidate and persecute their dependents. The revolutionary workers attacked and compelled to leave their factories must be permitted to return to their factories to take part in production and cultural revolution. Revolutionary workers should receive wages for the period in which they are compelled to leave their factories.

9. According to the provisions of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China the worker masses have the right to set up revolutionary organisations during the cultural revolution.

When disagreements arise in one's unit or between local worker masses and between workers' organisations, discussion must be held with facts placed on the table and things reasoned out. Don't let the undesirable characters make a cat's-paw of you, and don't bring about a state of antagonism. Persist in struggle by reasoning and refrain from struggle by violence. Don't strike others with your hand.

All workers' organisations should maintain the hard-working and frugal character of the working class and refrain from introducing bureaucratic machinery and material equipment that are divorced from the masses. The working personnel of workers' organisations must not, as a rule, detach themselves from production.

10. The workers masses of every unit and the workers' mass organisations may build revolutionary ties and exchange cultural revolution experiences between themselves in their leisure hours in their municipalities.

Students may go to factories and mines according to plan to build

revolutionary ties and exchange revolutionary experiences with the workers in the latter's leisure hours. They may also go to work, labour and study together with the workers according to plan and discuss problems of cultural revolution together. Workers may also send their representatives to local schools to build revolutionary ties.

All those who go to build revolutionary ties with others must not monopolise things and interfere with the cultural revolution of other units.

(*Collection of Documents, Vol. I,* May 1967)

* * *

## *CCP Central Committee's Directive (Draft) Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the Countryside (December 15, 1966)*

1. Firmly implement the directive of "grasping revolution and promoting production" issued by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, which calls for grasping with vigour the great proletarian cultural revolution, stimulating the revolutionisation of people's thinking and promoting the development of agricultural production.

2. The great proletarian cultural revolution in the countryside is to be carried out in accordance with the principles of the Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, i.e. the "16-Point Decision" and the "First Ten Points" and the "23-Points" concerning the Socialist Education Movement. The masses must be allowed to be their own masters and make their own decisions, educate themselves, liberate and rise of their own accord to make revolution. As a rule no work teams should be sent; the dispatch of a few carefully 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 power-holders 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. In the course of the great cultural revolution, solve the problems related to the "Four Clean-Ups" and the "Review of the Four Clean-Ups."

Make great efforts to destroy the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting class and foster the new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat.

The great cultural revolution shall also rectify the practices of bureaucracy and commandism among the cadres, and thoroughly enforce the



system of cadres' participation in labour.

4. In the great cultural revolution in the countryside, it is necessary to rely firmly on the poor and lower-middle peasants and unite with the middle peasants, and gradually achieve the goal of uniting with over 95% of the masses and over 95% of the cadres.

5. The organ of power leading the great cultural revolution in the countryside shall be the cultural revolution committees formed of poor and lower-middle peasants. These committees shall be elected democratically by congresses of poor and lower-middle peasants, and may be re-elected or dismissed at any time if they are incompetent.

The leading groups in charge of production, after being consolidated or re-elected through discussion among the masses, shall be responsible for the work of production, distribution, purchase and supply.

6. Establish and develop, in the great cultural revolution, the Red Guards with youthful poor and lower-middle peasants as the mainstay. Red Guards may join the militia.

In general, the sons and daughters of leading cadres at all levels in the countryside should not 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 the purpose of establishing revolution ties. They should adopt, as in the period of the Land Reform, the policy of staying away.

7. The great cultural revolution in the countryside should be conducted by means of free contending, free airing of views, big-character posters and great debates, i.e., the practice of extensive democracy. The exchange of revolutionary experience may be carried out between the production brigades and communes in times free from production. It is also permissible to organise groups of revolutionary students to go to the countryside for the purpose of establishing revolutionary ties. They should eat, live and labour together with the poor and lower-middle peasants and take part in the great cultural revolution in the countryside, but they may not take everything into their own hands.

In the struggle, the method of presenting the facts and reasoning things out must be used. Insist on struggle by reasoning and not by coercion or force.

Be on guard against bad people inciting factional struggle.

8. It is not allowed to attack and retaliate upon the revolutionary masses who aired their views and put out big-character posters against the leadership during the great cultural revolution, nor is it permissible to deduct their work-points. Those revolutionary masses who were branded as "counter-revolution-

aries," "saboteurs," etc. because they had aired their views must be exonerated.

Landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists are targets upon which dictatorship must be enforced. It is absolutely not allowed for them to rebel against the proletariat or against the poor and 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 the part-farming, part-studying universities and secondary schools should be properly arranged according to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production and in the light of actual conditions.

The primary schools in the countryside are to carry out the cultural revolution together with the communes and production brigades where they are located, and under the unified leadership of the cultural revolution committees of those communes and brigades.

10. In the great cultural revolution, it is necessary to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, taking the class struggle as the key link and with stress on "application." Through the great cultural revolution we must transform the countryside into a big school for studying Mao Tse-tung's thought.

(*Collection of Documents, Vol. I,* May 1967)

* * *

## *CCP Central Committee's Letter to Revolutionary Workers and Staff and Revolutionary Cadres in Industrial and Mining Enterprises Throughout the Country* (March 18, 1967)

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 the 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 criticising 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 labour 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 revolutionisation 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' organisations 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 criticising 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.)

(*Peking Review*, No. 13, March 24, 1967.)

* * *

## *Welcome to Upsurge of Great Cultural Revolution in Industrial and Mining Enterprises*

Now, a new upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution is taking place in industrial and mining enterprises throughout the country. The Chinese working class is the leading force and the most active factor in this revolution for which it has particularly great responsibility. It is



very good that tens of millions of workers rise up to carry out the great cultural revolution. This trend is inevitable. No force whatever can stop this.

Which way should our industrial and mining enterprises go? Are they to advance along the socialist road pointed out by Chairman Mao? Or will they slide down the capitalist, revisionist road? This is an extremely important question which involves the success or failure of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In the past 17 years, our industrial and mining enterprises have made great achievements under the correct leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao and through the hard work of the masses of workers. However, it should be noted that many of our industrial and mining enterprises, to various degrees, are seriously influenced by capitalism, revisionism and even feudalism in political ideology, organisational leadership and in production management. Such influences not only shackle the workers' revolutionary enthusiasm and hinder the devolopment of the productive forces, but also breed the seeds of revisionism and are potential hotbeds of capitalist restoration. In some industrial and mining enterprises a handful of people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road have doggedly opposed Chairman Mao's correct line and done their utmost to engage in revisionist practices in collaboration with landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements who have sneaked into the ranks of the workers, and with bourgeois elements who have not reformed and degenerate elements. They have been vainly attempting to lead the socialist enterprises on to the capitalist road. If we are not resolute in overthrowing those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, if we do not thoroughly wipe out the evil influences of the bourgeois reactionary line and uproot revisionism, our country's socialist economic base will inevitably be undermined, the consolidation of our socialist system of ownership and proletarian political power will be affected and our country will face the danger of changing colour.

Therefore, the undertaking of the great proletarian cultural revolution in industrial and mining enterprises must not be regarded as a trifle and unimportant. On the contrary, it must be carried out and carried out vigorously.

Chairman Mao has always taught us: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." Chairman Mao's policy of grasping the revolution and promoting production means to put revolution in the first place and let revolution take command over production and push production forward. Our methods of developing production are entirely different from those of

imperialism and modern revisionism. Firstly, we do not rely on coercion and, secondly, we do not rely on material incentives. We rely on placing Mao Tse-tung's thought in command, on political and ideological work and revolutionising the thinking of the people. Once the people's political and ideological outlook is changed, spiritual force will turn into a tremendous material force.

Who best understands the significance of grasping the revolution and promoting production? First of all, it is the masses of workers who directly take part in revolution and the actual practice of production. Some worker comrades are most indignant and anxious when they see that the lid on the class struggle in their factories has not yet been lifted and that workers engaging in the cultural revolution are being suppressed. They are also most grieved to see that revolution cannot be made and that production is being affected. They have a high sense of political responsibility towards their great socialist motherland. At present, they are resolutely carrying out the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao by taking an active part in the great proletarian cultural revolution, while sticking to their posts in production and construction. They are persisting in the eight-hour workday, working hard to fulfil and overfulfil their production plans and striving for high quality in products. By so doing, they are sure to be victorious both in the cultural revolution and in production.

In order that the great proletarian cultural revolution can be carried out in the industrial and mining enterprises, serious struggles are necessary. The handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and the very few persons who stubbornly persist in the bourgeois reactionary line are also talking a lot about grasping production, but they are really using this as a pretext to suppress the revolution. Their talk about grasping production is a fake. What they actually intend to do is to suppress the revolution. It is not a fall-off in production that worries these people, what they are really afraid of is that the masses will overthrow them in the revolution. Some of the workers have said: They are afraid of the masses, afraid of revolution, afraid of being dismissed from office—the only thing they are not afraid of is to fail in fulfilling the production plan." This criticism really hits the nail on the head.

When the revolutionary masses struggle resolutely against them, this handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and those very few persons who stubbornly persist in the bourgeois reactionary line try in every way to put up a frantic resistance. They even regard themselves as the "incarnation of the Party" and brand



those who oppose them as being "anti-Party" and threaten them with a settling of accounts later on. They even use "Party or Youth League membership" and material incentives as a bait to deceive and hoodwink some people to act as their protectors. They even manipulate things from behind the scenes, incite workers to struggle against each other, to struggle against students, to create incidents, to agitate for the use of force in struggle, to disrupt production and to undermine the cultural revolution. We, the working class, must maintain a high level of vigilance and smash their intrigues and schemes.

The Party's Central Committee has laid it down that in the great proletarian cultural revolution, no leading personnel in industrial and mining enterprises can take revenge because of the masses' criticisms and exposure of facts. Nor, because of such criticisms or exposure, are they allowed to withhold or cut workers' pay, sack workers, or discharge contract and casual workers. The verdicts on those of the revolutionary masses who have been branded as "counter-revolutionaries" during the great cultural revolution must be reversed without exception. They must not be transferred from their original posts and no threat to or persecution of their families is permitted. The revolutionary workers who have been victimised and were forced to leave their factories must be allowed to return and take part in production and the cultural revolution. They should be paid as usual for the time they were forced to leave their factories. We must firmly carry out the Party Central Committee's stipulations and guarantee that the great cultural revolution in industrial and mining enterprises proceeds normally and healthily.

The working class should firmly observe the decision of the Party's Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, and let the masses elect cultural revolutionary groups, committees or congresses that can represent them. Members to these organisations must not be appointed from above nor is behind-the-scenes manipulation allowed. A system of general elections must be instituted in accordance with the principles of the Paris Commune. Full deliberations and repeated discussions must be carried out by the masses and the election conducted in a serious way. The members can be replaced through election or recalled by the masses at any time.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses of workers have the right to set up every kind of revolutionary organisation. All workers' organisations should maintain the working-class characteristics of industriousness and thrift and should not set up bureaucratic apparatus or acquire a mass of equipment which divorce them from the masses. In general, the working staff of these workers' organisations should not leave production.

The masses of workers and their organisations, on the basis of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and with agreement on the main revolutionary orientation as a prerequisite, must strengthen unity and they must not allow evil people to use them or to create a situation of confrontation. They must adhere to carrying out the struggle by reasoning and not by force or coercion, and they must not hit people. As to those questions on which there are different views and opinions, consideration should first be given to the interests of the revolution and the overall situation and they should be solved through consultation by the method of setting out facts and reasoning and democratic discussion. On questions of principle a common stand must be achieved but on minor questions differences may be reserved.

We must be staunch proletarian revolutionaries, firmly carry out the Party's class line and policies, consistently consolidate and broaden the ranks of the revolutionary Left. We must unite the great majority and organise a mighty army of the proletarian cultural revolution so as to isolate the enemy to the greastest possible extent.

The integration of revolutionary intellectuals with the masses of workers and peasants is an important guarantee that the great proletarian cultural revolution will be victorious. We of the working class should welcome revolutionary students to the factories to exchange revolutionary experience, while the revolutionary students should also welcome local workers to come to their schools to establish contact, so that they can learn from each other, help and support each other for mutual advancement.

Worker comrades throughout the country, so long as we are good at creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in struggle and mastering the invincible ideological weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought, though there might be difficulties and twists and turns on our way of advance, we can certainly brave the winds and storms, march from victory to victory and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

(*Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial, December 26, 1966, translated in *Peking Review*, No. 1, January 1, 1967.)



# Abandonment of Production Posts

Workers, peasants and cadres were instigated to leave their production and work posts in the countryside and go to the cities... to carry out strikes and run the banks... and, in other instances, to participate in armed struggle, according to the following documents of the CCP Central Committee. – Ed.

## *Document of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission (Chung Fa No. 14/67,* January 11, 1967)

To various bureaus of the Central Committee, various 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:

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 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.

(*Collection of Documents Vol. I,* May 1967)

* * *

## *Notification of the CCP Central Committee Banning the Instigation of Peasants to Carry Out Armed Struggle in Cities (Chung Fa No. 218/67, July 13, 1967)*

To 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 organisations:

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, *hsien* 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 organisations 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 organised 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 organisation may use any pretext to instigate the peasants into going to town to carry out armed struggle, nor may the peasants be mobilised 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 "notification" 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 Notification should publicised by production teams among the peasant masses.

(*Ibid.*)

# PART TWO

## The Power-Seizing Struggle

CHAPTER I.

# *The January Revolution*

*In January 1967, Shanghai's "proletarian revolutionaries" seized power from the "capitalist roaders" who had usurped the city's Party and government leadership after first smashing their "sinister plots of counter-revolutionary economism". This movement, now known as the "January Revolution", marked the beginning of a new stage in the GPCR, in which the revolutionaries were out to seize power for their resurgent leader Mao Tse-tung.*

*Assembled in this chapter are an official account of the "January Revolution" and other relevant documents.*
*— Ed.*

# An Official Account

The following excerpts from an article published in the *Peking Review*, No. 8, February 23, 1968, give an official account of the "January Revolution" in Shanghai in January 1967. – Ed.

## *Shanghai Workers Play Vanguard Role in Cultural Revolution*

(Excerpts) The great cultural revolution initiated by Chairman Mao himself aims at nothing less than setting the question of how the proletariat, after seizing political power, can maintain it and prevent the restoration of capitalism. In response to Chairman Mao's great call, the workers of Shanghai together with the nation's revolutionary masses in their hundreds of millions took an active part in the fierce fight in the great cultural revolution and launched a general offensive against the handful of capitalist roaders headed by China's Khrushchev in the Party and against anything that went against Chairman Mao's teachings.

Using as their weapon Mao Tse-tung's thought, Marxism-Leninism at its highest in our time, they relentlessly exposed the capitalist roaders. They covered the walls of their factories with big-character posters, which, like a barrage of gunfire, hit accurately at the capitalist roaders and dealt mortal blows at the class enemy.

The workers laid bare the misdeeds of the capitalist roaders who, in the name of developing socialist production, treated the workers in much the same way as bourgeois employers do. They angrily denounced them for their towering crimes of obstructing and opposing the study of Chairman Mao's writings by the workers. They also exposed the plots to restore capitalism hatched by the capitalist roaders who stressed material incentives rather than workers' initiative and political consciousness, planted their favourites in key positions, put profit in command, gave first place to technique, relied on bourgeois "experts" and clamped down on those workers who dared to stand up to them.

In the face of the mass denunciation, the capitalist roaders were desperate. On one pretext or another they suppressed those who dared to rebel and even faked charges against them. Out of 2,000 workers at one wharf, more than 500 were attacked and persecuted under various charges. Some of the workers' leaders were even secretly sentenced to death or life imprisonment.

But just as Chairman Mao has said: "In the final analysis, their [the reactionaries'] persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale." The fiercer the enemy's suppression, the greater was the number of revolutionary rebels in the factories. They organised many fighting groups and revolutionary mass organisations. Finally, at a mass rally on November 9, 1966, the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters, the militant organisation uniting all Shanghai workers, was formed.

Unreconciled to this, the capitalist roaders had the leading members of the Workers' G.H.Q. shadowed and their telephone calls tapped. They slandered them as "counter-revolutionaries" and tried by hook or by crook to persecute the rebel workers. For a time, a number of leading members of the revolutionary mass organisations had to go underground where they were shielded by the masses...

Nurtured on the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung the ranks of the revolutionary rebels grew rapidly. From a membership of less than 10,000 at the time of its inauguration, the Workers' G.H.Q. increased to 400,000 in a fortnight and within a few months it had over a million members.

The struggle went on. It served as an eye-opener of the people. One worker said: "We asked ourselves why we were being suppressed. It was simply because we were speaking out against revisionism in response to Chairman Mao's great call. We were sure that there must be higher-ups behind the capitalist roaders in our factories."

Investigations by the revolutionaries confirmed that these people were none other than China's Khrushchev and his agents in Shanghai, including Ch'en P'i-hsien and Ts'ao Ti-ch'iu, who had usurped important positions in the old Shanghai Municipal Party Committee.

This handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists played on the deep love felt by the masses for the Party. They branded those who were against them as "opposing the Party." On the other hand, they hoodwinked quite a number of people into setting up a so-called "Workers' Red Detachment"* a counter the revolutionary rebels.

*English translation for "Ch'ih-wei-tui" ( 赤衛隊 ) – Ed.



But all over Shanghai, in workshops, in the streets and in workers' families, more and more people took the side of the revolutionary rebels, while the ranks of the "detachment" dwindled.

When the capitalist roaders found themselves on the verge of collapsing, they resorted to the tricks of economism. It was but a sleight of hand commonly used by the bourgeoisie to bribe the workers, divide them and divert their attention from political struggle.

Showing sudden concern for the workers' well-being, the capitalist roaders raised their pay retroactively and issued all sorts of subsidies at the expense of the state. They also professed support for the workers' revolutionary activities, handed out money to some influential rebels and urged them to travel around "seeking revolutionary experience."

In a matter of a few days, the capitalist roaders signed away millions of *yuan*. They even ordered the banks to "pay the cheques so long as there is money."

By doing so, they were trying to create economic as well as political confusion and even to paralyse Shanghai by cutting off water and electricity supplies and bringing public transport to a standstill.

A number of people fell into their trap and left their jobs. To make the situation worse, the capitalist roaders and their henchmen stopped supplying raw materials and tools to many factories and locked away blueprints.

For a while, some factories had to close down, railway traffic was interrupted and the shipment of goods was delayed. Shanghai appeared to be in a state of upheaval...

A resolute struggle was waged against economism by the workers under the guidance of Chairman Mao's teaching that "education should be conducted among comrades in the trade unions and among the masses of workers to enable them to understand that they should not see merely the immediate and partial interests of the working class while forgetting its broad, long-range interests."

An old worker at the Yangshupu Power Plant recalled: "These tricks are from the same mould as those used by the Kuomintang reactionaries to create confusion on the eve of their total collapse in 1949."

The workers were well aware that it would be political suicide to fall for economism. If the revisionists succeeded, China would be forced on to the capitalist road, and millions of heads would roll.

The Workers' G.H.Q., therefore, issued several urgent appeals to the revolutionary people of Shanghai. One of the documents of historic significance

was the January 4 Message of All Shanghai People signed by the Worker's G.H.Q. and ten other revolutionary rebel organisations (see text on p. 74) It sounded the clarion call for a counter-offensive by the working class against economism.

All this won the immediate support of Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters in Peking and evoked the famous joint message of greetings signed on January 11 by the Party's Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee (see text on p. 83).

Under the solicitous care and support of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee headed by him, the working class of Shanghai responded magnificently. Criticism meetings were held in factories, at which workers threw back at the capitalist roaders bundles of signed authorisations used by them in their attempts to buy over the workers. Many of the workers who had planned to leave for other cities cancelled their trips.

Two ferry workers who had been given 4,000 *yuan* as "retroactive pay" immediately returned the money. The revolutionary rebels of the Shanghai Building Machinery Plant rejected an offer of 30,000 *yuan* from the capitalist roaders.

In factories where members of the so-called "Red Detachment" had left their jobs, the revolutionary rebels heroically took their place, with one man often doing the job of two. Many worked two or three shifts at a stretch. In the spirit of "no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting," some brought their bed rolls to the factories and worked day and night.

Li Hsiao-mei of the No. 17 Cotton Mill recalled: "The capitalist roaders didn't like this at all. They went around hypocritically telling us to take good care of our health and urging us to 'switch off the machines and take a rest."...

Revolutionary staff members in the factories also volunteered to fill the deserted posts in the workshops. And retired workers, revolutionary students and armymen all rushed to the factories, wharves and railway stations to give a helping hand.

The revolutionary workers of the city's power plant proclaimed that power supply would not stop for even one second.

The dockers pledged that they would "grasp revolution and promote production," and would not allow their work to be disrupted.

Similar assurances were pouring in from the city's water plant, railway men, tram workers and all other trades.



In many factories, the workers elected their own "Revolution and Production Committee" or "Provisional Command for Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production" or similar organisations to replace the former management which had collapsed or was in a state of paralysis.

As a result of all this the towering stacks on the banks of the Whangpoo River never ceased to smoke, and electric current and tap water were supplied in a steady flow. The molten steel kept flowing from the furnaces. Railway passenger and freight traffic quickly returned to normal. Machines began turning again. Goods on the wharves were rapidly cleared.

The capitalist roaders' plot burst like a soap bubble. The proletarian revolutionaries took into their own hands the destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the great cultural revolution and the socialist economy...

Recalling the fight against economism, Wang Hung-wen(王洪文) one of the leaders of the "January Revolution" and a responsible member of the Workers' G.H.Q., said: "Today we understand better than ever before why seizing power from the handful of capitalist roaders is a central task of the cultural revolution."

Following the "January Revolution," the Workers' G.H.Q. and other rebel organisations, in consultation with leading members of the P.L.A. units in Shanghai and revolutionary leading cadres, concluded that there was a strong enough basis for setting up a municipal revolutionary committee as the provisional organ of power for the whole city.

So on February 5, the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee was established...

P.L.A. men who had taken part in the battle to liberate Shanghai in 1949 joined in the celebrations. One of them said: "Our comrades-in-arms shed their blood to establish people's power. We must never allow this power to be used against the interests of the working class."

In the midst of joy, the struggle continued. Wang Hung-wen said: "The setting up of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee marked a decisive victory. But we had yet to settle accounts with China's Khrushchev and his like."

A mass campaign was then launched all over Shanghai to repudiate China's Khrushchev and his agents for their frenzied opposition to Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought and for the pernicious influence they spread in the post-liberation 17 years...

# Action Against "Economism"

Eleven revolutionary organisations in Shanghai issued a message to all Shanghai people on January 4, 1967, exposing power-holders' schemes and devices for resisting the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production" and urging the revolutionaries to unite and go into action immediately to crush "all new counter-attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line."

Later, on January 9, thirty-two Shanghai revolutionary organisations issued an "urgent notice" to stop the spread of "economism" and retrieve the grave situation in social production created by the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee. It may be pointed out that this "urgent notice" was not mentioned in the official account of the "January Revolution" reproduced above. – Ed.

## *Message to All Shanghai* (January 4, 1967)

(Excerpts) The mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our Shanghai factories is surging-forward vigorously, smashing through all resistance with the might of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt. We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, follow Chairman Mao's teachings most closely and resolutely carry out the policy of "grasping the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao himself. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." We of the revolutionary rebel groups clearly understand that if the great proletarian cultural revolution is not carried out well, we will lose our orientation in production and slide back in the direction of capitalism. What we ourselves have experienced in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution has increasingly proved to us that only if the great proletarian cultural revolution is carried out well, will production develop on a still greater scale. Any idea of counterposing the great cultural revolution



to the development of production is erroneous.

However, a handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and those who obstinately follow the bourgeois reactionary line have a bitter hatred for the great proletarian cultural revolution. They have been trying by every means to resist the policy of "grasping the revolution and promoting production" put forward by Chairman Mao. Their schemes and devices may be summarised in the following ways:

At the beginning of the movement, they used the pretext of "grasping production" to repress the revolution and oppose taking firm hold of the revolution. When we workers of the revolutionary rebel groups wanted to rise up in revolution and criticise and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, they used the tasks of production to bring pressure to bear on the workers and tagged us up with the label of "sabotaging production." Did they really want to "grasp production?" No. they wanted to defend their own positions and attempted to obstruct our revolution. We exposed their schemes and rose up bravely in rebellion.

Then they resorted to another trick, that is, they played with high-sounding revolutionary words, giving the appearance of being ultra "Left" in order to incite large number of members of the Workers' Red Militia Detachments whom they have hoodwinked to undermine production and sabotage transport and communications under the pretext of going north to "lodge complaints." They did this to attain their aim of undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. More recently, a handful of reactionary elements were even plotting to cut off water and electricity supplies and bring public transport to a standstill. We must drag out these reactionary elements and exercise proletarian dictatorship over them, punish them severely and never allow them to succeed in their criminal schemes.

Comrade revolutionary workers! Go into action at once! Resolutely carry out the policy of "grasping the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao! We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, must become models in "grasping the revolution and promoting production." We must serve as the vanguards and the backbone not only in grasping the revolution, but also in promoting production. Our city of Shanghai, China's biggest industrial producer, plays an extremely important tole in the overall economic life of the country. But lately, in many factories and plants, it has occurred that some or even the majority of the members of the Red Militia Detachments have suspended production and deserted their posts in production. This runs directly counter to the stipulation by the Party Central Committee on grasping the revolution and promoting production and directly

affects the people's livelihood and the development of national economic construction. We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, bearing in mind the teachings of Chairman Mao, have stood our ground in the face of this adverse current, have given proof of our high sense of revolutionary responsibility, and, under extremely difficult conditions, have shouldered all the production tasks of our factories and plants, thus dealing a telling blow against the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and smashing the big plot whereby they have attempted to thwart the revolution by sabotaging production. The actions of these workers are correct and splendid! All of us comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups should learn from them. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports." We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, have the lofty aspiration, the determination and the strength to do still better in both the revolution and production and to carry out Chairman Mao's great call for "grasping the revolution and promoting production."

Masses of class brothers of the Workers' Red Militia Detachments who want to make revolution! "Grasping the revolution and promoting production" is a policy put forward by Chairman Mao, a policy stressed time and again by the Party Central Committee, an important policy which guarantees the carrying through to the end of the great proletarian cultural revolution. To support or not to support, to carry out or not to carry out this policy is itself a matter of principle, a cardinal issue of right and wrong. In allowing yourselves to be incited by those people and by deserting your posts in production, whose interests are you serving? By acting in this way, whose hearts, after all, are you gladdening and whose are you saddening? We hope that you will follow Chairman Mao's teachings, that, on this important question of principle, you will see things more clearly, make a clear distinction between right and wrong, stop being deceived, wake up quickly, return to the proletarian revolutionary line. We, comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups, will certainly welcome you back warmly to make revolution along with us and improve production with us. There is no question of our reprimanding you, because we are all close class brothers, and because the overwhelming majority of you are victims of the poison of the bourgeois reactionary line, are revolutionary masses who have been hoodwinked by those within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and by those who are stubbornly following the bourgeois reactionary line.

All revolutionary students and revolutionary government cadres of the city! Let us closely unite with the masses of revolutionary workers, and in



order to carry out resolutely the policy of "grasping the revolution and promoting production" put forward by Chairman Mao, let us undertake widespread propaganda work and struggle, open fire fiercely and with still greater resolve at the bourgeois reactionary line, crush all new counter-attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line and launch a new upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the factories and plants!...

**The Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters**
**The Red Guards' Revolutionary Committee of the Colleges and Universities of Shanghai**
**The "Rebel to the End" General Liaison Headquarters of Shanghai**
**The Revolutionary Rebel Committee of the Shanghai Journalists**
**The "Bombard the Headquarters" United Corps of Shanghai**
**"The East Is Red" Corps of T'ung-chi University**
**The "Rebel to the End" Corps of the Shanghai Chiao-t'ung University**
**The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Third Headquarters of the Red Guards of the Capital (Peking)**
**The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Red Flag Fighting Detachment of the Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute**
**The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Red Rebel Regiment of the Harbin Military Engineering Institute**
**The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Provisional Cultural Revolutionary Committee of the Sian Military Telecommunications Engineering Institute**

(*NCNA-English,* Peking, January 8, 1967)

* * *

## *"Urgent Notice" by Shanghai Revolutionary Rebel Organisations* (January 9, 1967)

At present, when the great proletarian cultural revolution in Shanghai is entering the moment of decisive battle between the two lines, when the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, which stubbornly clings to the bourgeois reactionary line, is being defeated, the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road are once again hatching new schemes. Colluding with the capitalist forces in society, they are making use of economic benefits to divert the general orientation of the struggle and to incite one group of people against another, causing break-

downs in factory production and railway and road traffic. They have even incited dockers to stop work, causing difficulties in running the port and damaging the international prestige of China. They are making free with the state's money and property, arbitrarily increasing wages and material benefits, and granting all kinds of allowances and subsidies without limit, stirring people up to take over public buildings by force. These are the latest forms under which the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee perseveres in carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line.

In resorting to such base and treacherous means, the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road aim at none other than: (1) Setting themselves against Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, and putting pressure on the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party's Central Committee, by sabotaging production, interrupting communications and jeopardising the national economy and the livelihood of the people, to attain their purpose of undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution; (2) Making use of economic benefits to divert the general orientation of the struggle in the attempt to turn the serious political struggle into an economic struggle, and at the same time to corrupt the revolutionary will of the masses by material gains, and to promote peaceful evolution and allow bourgeois ideas to run riot.

We hereby solemnly warn the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee that no schemes aimed at shifting the line of struggle through disrupting production, interrupting communications and increasing wages and material benefits will ever succeed. The revolutionary rebels who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought firmly exposed this conspiracy and resolutely repulse the attacks by the bourgeois reactionary trend of thought. We must firmly implement the policy of "grasping the revolution and promoting production" put forward by Chairman Mao and, on the one hand, take an active part in the great proletarian cultural revolution while on the other hand remain fast at our posts of production and construction, persist in the eight-hour workday, strive to fulfil and overfulfil production plans, and do our best to turn out high quality products. We believe that the masses of revolutionary workers have a high sense of political responsibility towards their great socialist motherland; they will certainly be able to put the public interest at the fore, and, proceeding from the overall interests of the state, correctly handle the questions mentioned above and seize a double victory in the cultural revolution and in production.

In order swiftly to retrieve the grave situation in social production created by the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, we appeal to comrades-



in-arms of the revolutionary rebel groups of the whole city:

1. The workers, functionaries and students of revolutionary rebel groups must firmly carry through Chairman Mao's instruction of "grasping revolution and promoting production," take an active part in the great cultural revolution, and, at the same time, remain fast at their production posts and set an example in "grasping revolution and promoting production."

2. They should appeal to all revolutionary rebels throughout the country to take prompt action to persuade those workers, functionaries, staff member of enterprises, and apprentices from Shanghai who are exchanging revolutionary experience in other parts of the country to return to Shanghai immediately, so that the great cultural revolution in their own units can proceed effectively and the 1967 production plans can be overfulfilled.

3. All certificates authorising people to leave and exchange revolutionary experience in other parts of the country issued in the past by those in authority in the various organisations and enterprises are declared null and void on the day this document is published. These persons in authority should be made responsible for the return (by instalments if necessary) of the big sums of money to cover exchanges of experience (excluding transport fares) they issued.

4. Apart from necessary expenditure on production, wages, the cultural revolution, office administration and for other appropriate purposes, the circulating funds of all government offices, organisations and enterprises should be frozen as from the day of the publication of this document. This should be effected by the financial organisations at the municipal level and at all other levels under the joint supervision of the revolutionary rebel groups and the revolutionary masses, so as to ensure that the economy of the state will not suffer losses (this does not apply to personal savings accounts).

5. To avoid shifting the general orientation of the struggle, matters related to the readjustment of wages, back payment of wages and material benefits, shall in principle be dealt with at a later stage of the movement. (Special cases shall be handled otherwise after asking the central authorities for instructions.)

6. The integration of students with workers and peasants is the inevitable road by which the students will transform their world outlook and carry to success the great cultural revolution. In order to stir up dissatisfaction among the workers against the students, to sabotage the integration of the students with the workers and to practise "peaceful evolution"

among the students, some persons in authority have gone to the length of paying the students relatively high wages for labour. This is entirely a revisionist practice, and should be stopped as from the day this notice is published.

7. All public buildings and houses confiscated from capitalists are the property of the whole people and shall be handled in a unified way by the state at a later stage of the movement. No one is allowed to seize public buildings by force. After investigation, offenders shall be punished by the Public Security Bureau. Those who incite citizens to seize public buildings shall be dealt with by law in accordance with the gravity of the offence. Those who have moved into houses seized by force must move back to their original lodgings within one week.

8. Strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Those who oppose Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, the Party Central Committee's Cultural Revolution Group, and those who undermine the great cultural revolution or sabotage production, shall be immediatley arrested by the Public Security Bureau in accordance with the law. Those who in the course of the movement undermine social order, beat people up or commit atrocities, commit robbery or larceny must be dealt with by law in accordance with the gravity of the offence; stolen goods must be returned immediately. Those who repeat such offences or after repeated education, refuse to turn over a new leaf, shall be severely punished.

9. The rebel organisations of various units and the revolutionary masses of the city are expected immediately to carry out the above points, and set in motion all organs of propaganda to publicise them and educate the masses.

10. The Municipal Party Committee and the Public Security Bureau are enjoined to act upon the above points. Those who act against the above points shall, after investigations, be immediately punished on charges of undermining the great cultural revolution.

**The Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters**
**The Second Corps of Shanghai Workers Returned From the North**
**The Red Guards' Revolutionary Committee of the Colleges and Universities of Shanghai**
**The Red Guard Army (Hungweichun) Command of the Shanghai Revolutionary Rebel United Committee**
**The Revolutionary Rebel Liaison Centre of Organisations of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee**
**The Revolutionary Rebel Committee of Shanghai Journalists**



**The Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of the Shanghai Sports Front**
**The Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters of Shanghai Medical Circles**
**The Revolutionary Rebel United Command of Workers of Shanghai's Pharmaceutical Industry**
**The Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters of Paper Mill Workers in Shanghai**
**The Rebel Revolutionary Committee of Apprentices in Shanghai**
**The Third Corps of the Rebel Army of Revolutionary Shanghai Apprentices**
**The Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of Shanghai Publishing Circles.**
**The Revolutionary Rebel United General Headquarters of Shanghai Primary School Teachers**
**The Shanghai Workers' Rebel United Committee**
**The Red Guards' Shanghai Revolutionary Rebel Committee**
**The "Bombard the Headquarters" United Corps of Shanghai**
**The Red Guard Army's (Ch'ihweichun) Revolutionary Committee of Shanghai Colleges and Universities**
**The Northeast Regional Command of Mao Tse-tung-ism Red Guards**
**The "Rebel to the End" General Liaison Headquarters of Shanghai**
**The Anting Corps of Shanghai Workers**
**The Third Corps of Shanghai Workers Returned From the North**
**The Whangpoo District Command of the Nationalities Rebel Headquarters**
**The Mao Tse-tung's Thought Red Guard's "East Is Red" General Headquarters of T'ungchi University**
**The Revolutionary Rebel United Command of the Shanghai First Medical College**
**The Revolutionary Rebel Command of the Shanghai Chiaot'ung University**
**The "Rebel to the End" Corps of the Shanghai Chiaot'ung University**
**The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Capital's Red Guard Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters (The Third Headquarters)**
**The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Red Rebel Regiment of the Harbin Military Engineering Institute**
**The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Provisional Cultural Revolutionary Committee of the Sian Military Telecommunications Engineering Institute**

**The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Red Flag Fighting Detachment of the Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute**
**The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Ching-kang Mountains Corps of Tsinghua University**

(*NCNA-English*, Peking January 11, 1967.)



# Call for Whole Country to Emulate Shanghai Experience

In a message of greetings to Shanghai revolutionary rebel organisations on January 11, 1967, the CCP central authorities supported their firm stand in opposing "economism" and called upon the whole country to learn from Shanghai's experience and beat back the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line.

A joint editorial *Jên-mân Jih-pao* and *Hung-ch'i*, expounding this call, described the various forms of resistance and counter-attack staged by the class enemy.
– Ed.

## *Message of Greetings from the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission and the Cultrual Revolution Group to Revolutionary Rebel Organisations in Shanghai* (January 11, 1967)

To The Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and 31 other revolutionary mass organisations:

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 organisations 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 labouring 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...

(*NCNA*-English, Peking, January 11, 1967.)

* * *

## *Oppose Economism and Smash the Latest Counter-Attack by the Bourgeois Reactionary Line*

(Excerpts) The decision taken personally by our great leader, Chairman Mao, to broadcast to the whole country the "Message to All Shanghai People" and the "Urgent Notice" issued by revolutionary mass organisations in Shanghai is an event of great historic importance. It marks the beginning of a new stage in our country's great proletarian cultural revolution.

The salient features of this new stage are:

The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao is being grasped to an ever greater extent by the broad masses. The citadels in which the bourgeois reactionary line has entrenched itself are being captured one by one.

The revolutionary workers' movement, peasants' movement, students' movement and the revolutionary mass movement in the different fields of culture and in Party and government institutions are uniting into a mighty, irresistible revolution torrent. They are launching an all-out general offensive



against the bourgeois reactionary line.

The forces of the revolutionary rebel groups of the proletariat are growing in scale and strength. They are arming themselves more fully with Mao Tse-tung's thought in the course of the struggle, adhering firmly to the general orientation of the struggle, constantly improving the art of struggle and becoming the backbone force of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The majority of the masses are becoming united, with the proletarian revolutionary rebel groups as their core. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the revolutionary masses are taking into their own hands the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the destiny of the struggle [to overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road], the criticism and repudiation [of the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes [and the transformation [of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base], the destiny of production and work, and the destiny of the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist state.

Under the impact of this mighty, irresistible revolutionary torrent, the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and an extremely small number of diehards who are stubbornly pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line are being forced to retreat again and again. Their ferocious, counter-revolutionary features have been or are being exposed. They have been heavily besieged by the revolutionary masses and begun to collapse all along the line.

However, will these reactionary persons lay down their arms and surrender of their own accord? Will they step down from the stage of history of their own accord? No! They will never do so! Like all other reactionaries in the past, they will never lay down their arms and surrender, nor step down from the stage of history of their own accord.

In capturing each fortress, the revolutionary fighters will meet frenzied resistance from the class enemy. At every step forward taken by the revolution, the enemy will play new tricks and resort to whatever schemes they can devise. When one way fails, they fall back on another. When tough tactics do not work, they try kid-glove tactics. When using force does not serve, they use non-violent methods. They mix tough with kid-glove tactics and combine force with non-violence. Their specialty is to wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag and to instigate one section of the masses to fight against another. More often than not, they cunningly take over the revolutionary

slogans raised by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao and distort them in order to serve their counter-revolutionary political purposes. They are now appearing to be ultra–"Left" and pretending to hoist the flag of "opposition to the bourgeois reactionary line" so as to hoodwink and deceive part of the masses. They call white black and switch the target of the struggle by turning its spearhead against the proletarian revolutionary line, the proletarian revolutionary headquarters and the revolutionary masses, by which means they seek to protect themselves and the bourgeois reactionary line and to preserve the old order of capitalism and revisionism.

At the present time, the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the extremely small number of diehards who are stubbornly pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line are colluding with bourgeois elements, speculators, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists in society and using economism to deceive the masses and incite them to undermine production, disrupt financial work and sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution and to wage a struggle against the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party and against our socialist state of the proletarian dictatorship.

The "Urgent Notice" issued by the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and the other revolutionary mass organisations in Shanghai has vividly and penetratingly revealed the big conspiracy of the reactionary elements in the Shanghai area — the conspiracy of using the "sugar-coated bullets" of economic benefits to lure a part of the masses. The reactionary elements freely squander the wealth of the state, arbitrarily increase wages and benefits, wantonly distribute all kinds of funds and materials and stir up the masses to take over public buildings by force and use them as their own. They instigate violent struggles, create incidents, incite a number of workers to desert their posts in production, thus bringing some factories to a standstill and disrupting railway and road traffic. They even incite harbour personnel to stop work. Some leading members of the railway departments use similar means to disrupt rail transport in a vain attempt to sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution. The reactionary elements fancy themselves clever, but in fact they are lifting a rock only to crush their own toes. The more actively they operate, the more clearly they expose their counter-revolutionary revisionist features. They are creating the conditions for their own total collapse.

The game of economism that these people are playing has provided the revolutionary masses with very good teaching material by negative example. It has enabled the broad masses to recognise the real nature of



economism and the need to expose and attack it until it is utterly crushed.

What kind of stuff is economism?

It is a form of bribery that caters to the psychology of a few backward people among the masses, corrupts the masses' revolutionary will and leads the political struggle of the masses on to the wrong road of economism, inviting them to disregard the interests of the state and the collective and the long-term interests, and to pursue only personal and short-term interests. Its aim is to strangle the great proletarian cultural revolution, to disintegrate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system.

This economism disrupts social production, the national economy and and socialist ownership. It promotes the tendency towards the spontaneous development of capitalism and encourages revisionist material incentives in a vain attempt to destroy the economic base of socialism.

This economism is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought; it is out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist stuff. It is garbage picked up from the rubbish dump of old-time and modern revisionism. Under the capitalist system, economism is an instrument for preserving the reactionary rule of capitalism and opposing the proletarian revolution. Under the socialist system, it has an even more reactionary nature and is an instrument for counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration.

In a word, this economism uses bourgeois spontaneity to replace proletarian revolutionary consciousness, uses bourgeois ultra-democracy to replace proletarian democratic centralism and proletarian sense of organisation and discipline, uses bourgeois reactionary illegalities to replace proletarian dictatorship and the extensive democracy operating under it, and uses capitalist ownership to replace socialist ownership. Economism is a new form in which the bourgeois reactionary line launches a big counter-attack against the proletarian revolutionary line.

All revolutionary people and all revolutionary organisations must heighten their vigilance a hundredfold, see through the class enemy's intrigues and subterfuges of economism, completely smash the latest counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The "Urgent Notice" issued by the revolutionary mass organisations in Shanghai has held high the great red banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and resolutely upheld the correct policy of "grasping the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao, thus setting a good example for the struggle against counter-revolutionary economism, or in other words, against counter-revolutionary revisionism.

In their "Message of Greetings to Revolutionary Rebel Organisations in Shanghai," the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party Central Committee 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 Shanghai revolutionary rebel groups, to take concerted action and beat back the latest counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line, so that the great proletarian cultural revolution will forge ahead triumphantly along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. This call will undoubtedly be a great encouragement to the working class and the revolutionary people throughout the country.

In order to smash economism completely, all proletarian revolutionaries should, in the manner of the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai, bring their forces into closer alliance under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and take the leadership of the great cultural revolution and of production firmly into their own hands.

We must carry on patient and painstaking political-ideological work among those people who are temporarily hoodwinked. We must have the conviction that the overwhelming majority of them want to make revolution. The moment they comprehend the truth, they will be able to distinguish clearly between right and wrong on cardinal issues and take their stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

(*Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Hung-ch'i* editorial, January 12, 1967 translated in *Peking Review*, No. 4, January 20, 1967.)



# Birth of Shanghai People's Commune

The "Shanghai People's Commune", a new local state organ and a product of the "January Revolution," was established on February 5, 1967. Its establishment apparently had the consent of the Party Central Committee, in view of the fact that two important members of the Central Committee's Cultural Revolution Group – Chang Ch'un-ch'iao and Yao Wen-yuan – were assigned to serve on its provisional committee. It was, however, renamed the "Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee" on February 24. – Ed.

## *Shanghai People's Commune Inaugurated*

A million proletarian revolutionary rebel fighters and revolutionary masses, and the commanders and fighters of the land, naval and air forces of the PLA stationed in Shanghai attended a grand rally and staged a parade yesterday to celebrate warmly the formation of the Shanghai People's Commune...

This is the greatest day for Shanghai's proletarian revolutionaries!

In a voice that broke the silence of the sky, the voice of a giant, the rally solemnly declared to the whole China and the whole world: The former Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and former Municipal People's Council have been smashed by the proletarian revolutionaries!

The rally solemnly announced: All power belongs to the Shanghai People's Commune!

The Shanghai People's Commune is a local state organ established under the guidance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, under the condition of proletarian dictatorship, and after power has been seized from bottom upward from the power-holders within the Party who took the capitalist road. It is a new organisational form of the proletarian dictatorship...

The Shanghai People's Commune was formed under the joint sponsorship

of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters, the Preparatory Committee for the Shanghai Peasants' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters, the PLA units stationed in Shanghai, and other rebel groups of revolutionary workers, revolutionary students, and revolutionary cadres...

A declaration of the Shanghai People's Commune was read out at the rally. It stated: The former Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Council have been smashed! All power belongs to the Shanghai People's Commune!

It said: The Shanghai People's Commune is a new organisational form, created afresh under the guidance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, of the local State organ or proletarian dictatorship. This follows the total smashing of the State organ of dictatorship which was usurped by the counter-revolutionary revisionists. Its organisational principle is democratic centralism as taught by Chairman Mao. It practises the most extensive democracy over the proletariat and imposes the most ruthless proletarian dictatorship on the class enemies. Its leading members were elected by the revolutionary masses according to the principle of the Paris Commune after the victory was achieved in the general seizure of power from bottom upward. At the present time, the provisional committee of the Shanghai People's Commune formed through the joint consultation of all revolutionary rebel organisations is a provisional, transitional organ of power composed of the responsible members of the revolutionary mass organisations, responsible members of the PLA units stationed in Shanghai, and revolutionary leading cadres who persist in the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao's, and exercises the power of leadership of the Commune.

Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao ( 張春橋 ), a deputy leader of the Cultural Revolution Group under the CCP Central Committee, and Comrade Yao Wen-yuan ( 姚文元 ), a member, attended the rally yesterday and spoke at it... In his speech Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao announced: "On the suggestion of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee and with the consent of all revolutionary rebel organisations which are sponsoring the formation of the Shanghai People's Commune, Comrade Yao Wen-yuan and myself will from today participate in the work of the provision committee of the Shanghai People's Commune..."

(Excerpts from a report in Shanghai *Wen-hui Pao*, February 6, 1967)



CHAPTER II

# *Nationwide Struggle to Seize Power*

*The "January Revolution" in Shanghai touched off a nationwide struggle by the Chinese proletarian revolutionaries, led by their supreme commander Mao Tse-tung, to seize power from the "capitalist roaders in authority." Documents and data collected in this chapter present a narrative account of the movement, from its beginning in January 1967 to its conclusion in September 1968. The problems arising from the movement, its impact on Party and government cadres as well as on the social structure and different sectors of the national economy, the pre-eminent role played by the Army, etc. are dealt with separately in the ensuing chapters. — Ed.*

# At The Outset

The first clarion call for the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the capitalist roaders on a nationwide scale was sounded in a commentator's article in the journal *Hung-ch'i*, No. 2, 1967. This was followed by another call in a *Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial of January 22, 1967. – Ed.

## *Proletarian Revolutionaries, Unite!*

**"The golden monkey wrathfully swung his massive cudgel, And the jade-like firmament was cleared of dust."**

Guided by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the glorious Shanghai working class has formed a million-strong mighty army of revolutionary rebels. Uniting with other revolutionary organisations, they have been meeting head-on the new counter-attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line, seizing power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and establishing the new order of the great proletarian cultural revolution. With a power as irresistible as that of a sharp knife splitting bamboo, they are pressing forward in triumphant pursuit, sweeping away rubbish that impedes the advance of the wheel of history.

This revolutionary action of the working class and other revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres in Shanghai marks a new turning point in our country's great proletarian cultural revolution and the beginning of a new stage in it. This is a great new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The revolutionary principle adopted, and the revolutionary actions taken, by the working class and other revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres in Shanghai have set an example for the whole country and provided invaluable new experience for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Their experience is many-sided. The focal point is that proletarian revolutionaries have united to seize power from the handful of people within

the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, thus taking the political, economic and cultural power of the Shanghai municipality firmly into their own hands.

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, teaches us that the basic question of a revolution is that of political power. The central task of the great proletarian cultural revolution, in the last analysis, is the struggle by which the proletariat seizes power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. This is the focal point of the class struggle in our country at the present stage, a concentrated expression of the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road.

On June 1, 1966, our great leader Chairman Mao himself made the decision to broadcast the text of a big-character poster from Peking University, the first Marxist-Leninist poster in the country. This was in support of the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries of Peking University to seize power from the Lu P'ing anti-Party clique in the university. It was a great strategic move which kindled the flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution now raging throughout the country.

Now our great leader Chairman Mao himself has decided to broadcast the "Message to All Shanghai People" and the "Urgent Notice" issued by Shanghai's revolutionary mass organisations. This is in support of the struggle of the working class and other revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres in Shanghai who united to seize power in the municipality from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the extremely small number of diehards who persistently pursue the bourgeois reactionary line. It is yet another great strategic measure taken in the new situation, one which will stimulate a new leap in the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the country.

Those within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road are just a handful, but in varying degrees they still hold Party, political and financial power in the localities and units where they are entrenched. They always used the power in their hands to attack the masses and undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution.

How do this handful of people use their power to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution?

They use the Party power in their hands to deceive, hoodwink and repress a number of cadres and Party and Youth League members. They attempt to break down our Party's extremely strict proletarian discipline which is based on Mao Tse-tung's thought, that discipline which is essential for the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie. They distort our Party's discipline



into bourgeois discipline, into "discipline" to oppose the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, into "discipline" to resist the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, turning it into an inhibiting magic phrase to repress the masses and oppose the revolution. They stigmatise whoever opposes them as an "anti-Party" element.

Making use of that portion of political power they exercise in those departments and localities under their control, this handful of persons have practised bourgeois dictatorship to suppress the revolutionary masses wherever they can. They want to brand as a "counter-revolutionary" anyone who rises up and rebels against them and even dismiss or imprison him. They have incited the masses to struggle each other. They have used the slogan "Defend the proletarian dictatorship!" in a distorted way to deceive certain people into establishing under their control such organisations as "the army of defenders of red state power" to protect themselves.

This handful of persons have used the financial power in their hands to get certain befuddled people to protect them. They have used money to buy over people so as to corrupt the revolutionary masses. They have made use of economic measures of all kinds in an attempt to lead some people on to the evil road of economism, of pursuing purely immediate individual interests. They have wanted not only to restore but even to extend some erroneous measures adopted in the past in regard to wage and welfare systems. They have issued cheques and materials freely, in an effort to win the hearts of the people by liberally giving away what belongs to the state. In doing so, they have attempted to sabotage production, finances and communications and transport. They have with ill intentions "submitted the contradictions to their superiors." This is the current manifestation of the death-bed struggle of the handful of those within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. It represents a counter-attack in a new form by the bourgeois reactionary line at the present time.

These people have protected this or that old thing of capitalism and revisionism; in the final analysis, they have been protecting their own power. In the face of the pressure from the revolutionary masses, they may make this or that false "concession." But they do all this in an attempt to hit hard at our dictatorship of the proletariat and preserve their power to suppress the masses. On the question of power, they struggle for every bit of it and never make any concession. They have attempted to take all kinds of measures and schemed to disrupt our socialist national economic life so as to achieve their goal of preserving their own power.

The most fundamental thing in our struggle against this handful of

persons is to wrest power from them. Only by seizing their power and exercising dictatorship over them can they be completely refuted, overthrown and utterly discredited.

Chairman Mao teaches us that to wrest power from these persons means the revolution of one class to overthrow another class in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., a revolution of the proletariat to liquidate the bourgeoisie.

The struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is acute, complicated and tortuous. The strongholds in which the counter-revolutionary revisionists are entrenched must be seized, one by one. The positions recovered by the proletariat have yet to be consolidated, one by one.

We must heighten our vigilance against these cunning enemies. Hypocritically, they have raised the flag of "revolution" to wrest power from the proletariat. They are accustomed to fabricating rumours, sowing discord, transposing black and white, confusing right and wrong, and inciting the masses to shift the target of struggle and point the spearhead of attack at revolutionaries, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary headquarters of the proletariat. All revolutionary comrades must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, keep their eyes open, and distinguish between the enemy and ourselves, and between right and wrong on vital questions. Those bad elements who behind our backs stir up the winds of evil and point the spearhead against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian revolutionary headquarters must be firmly exposed and overthrown, one by one.

The great contribution of the Shanghai working class and other revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres is that they firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, fearlessly launched an extensive counter-attack against the new counter-offensive of the bourgeois reactionary line, and gained experience in seizing power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that they have advanced correct principles and policies, correct forms of organisation and correct methods of struggle.

These are the most essential things worth studying by Party, government, army and civilian circles, by workers, peasants revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals, and revolutionary cadres throughout



the country.

The great revolution in Shanghai is an embodiment of the leading role and the initiative of the working class, their sense of revolutionary organisation and discipline, and it has developed extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Shanghai's experience proves that only by seizing power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat can extensive proletarian democracy be ensured.

Shanghai's experience proves that extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is absolutely not ultra-democracy nor "small group" mentality [considering only the interests of a small group and ignoring the overall interest – Ed.]. Only by giving effect to democratic centralism and the great unity of proletarian revolutionaries under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought can there be extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, can excellent battles be fought with concentrated forces and can new revolutionary order be established.

Shanghai's experience proves that the principle of "grasping the revolution and promoting production" advanced by the Party Central Committee represented by Chairman Mao must be firmly grasped, that resolute and uncompromising struggles must be waged against all sorts of bourgeois revisionist economism, anarchism, liberalisation, etc., and that the general orientation of socialism must be maintained and socialist ownership must be upheld; only this can be called extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The purpose of Shanghai's revolutionary masses in practising extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is very clear. It is to arouse the masses to topple the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and the ghosts and monsters in society, and uphold and develop the politics, economy and culture of socialism. . .

Our dictatorship of the proletariat is strong and firm. We have the powerful People's Liberation Army which is infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao, loyal to the people. We have hundreds of millions of people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the greatest strength and is capable of vanquishing any enemy. . .

Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and rally with the broad masses, and, led by the great supreme commander Chairman Mao, carry on an all-round class struggle throughout the country!

Resolutely carry out the principle of "grasping the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao!

Crush the latest counter-attacks of the bourgeois reactionary line!

Crush bourgeois economism!

Resolutely seize power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road!...

(Commentator's article in *Hung-ch'i*, No. 2, 1967; translated in *Peking Review*, No. 4, January 20, 1967.)

* * *

## *Proletarian Revolutionaries, Form a Great Alliance To Seize Power from Those in Authority Who Are Taking the Capitalist Road!*

(Excerpts) In response to the great call of our great leader Chairman Mao, a mighty revolutionary storm in which the proletarian revolutionary rebels are forming a great alliance to struggle to seize power, is sweeping the whole of China and shaking the entire world with the force of an avalanche and the power of a thunderbolt...

This is a new leap forward in our country's great proletarian cultural revolution. This is a great start for the nationwide, all-round class struggle to be unfolded this year...

In socialist society and under the dictatorship of the proletariat, hundreds of millions of revolutionary people have formed a mighty revolutionary force, with the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary rebels as the core, to seize power from below, from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and from those diehards who persistently cling to the bourgeois reactionary line...

The basic question of revolution is political power. With the victory of the people's democratic revolution of our country, the proletariat seized power on a nationwide scale. But the overthrown class enemies remain and they are not reconciled to their defeat. And new bourgeois elements appear in the ranks of the proletariat and the small producers. The struggle for the seizure of power has continued vigorously all the time between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Right from the beginning, the great proletarian cultural revolution has been a struggle for the seizure of power. This great cultural revolution means precisely the arousing of hundreds of millions of people to liberate themselves and to seize power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist



road. Only by carrying out a great mass movement like this, a mass struggle to seize power in an all-round way, is it possible thoroughly to resolve the problem of the seizure of power by the proletariat, thoroughly to resolve the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Power of every sort controlled by the representatives of the bourgeoisie must be seized! This is the great truth of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, which the revolutionary masses have grasped through arduous struggles over the last few months.

Why was it that when the revolutionary Left, in response to the great call of Chairman Mao and from their boundless loyalty to the proletarian revolutionary cause, aimed at those in authority who were taking the capitalist road and fired the first salvos, they were stigmatised as "counter-revolutionaries" and "Rightists"?

Why was it that after the arrival of the "work teams," the revolutionary Left was not only not emancipated, but was, on the contrary, subjected all the more to brutal suppression under white terror?

Why was it that when the broad revolutionary masses rose up to expose and criticise the bourgeois reactionary line, there occurred incidents of the masses struggling against the masses on a larger scale and even struggling by force and bloodshed; why were so many revolutionary path-breakers attacked, persecuted, expelled and suppressed? Why did there occur recently new large-scale counter-attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line and a flood of counter-revolutionary economism?

Reversals and twists and turns over the past several months and the repeated hurricanes of stormy class struggle gave the masses of revolutionary rebels profound lessons. They are seeing ever more clearly that the reason why the revolution suffered setbacks is due precisely to the fact that they did not seize in their own hands the seals of power. The handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie are vicious and dare to bully people to such an extent precisely because they still have power! Of all the ways for the revolutionary masses to take their destiny into their own hands, in the final analysis, the only way is to take power! Those who have power have everything; those who are without power have nothing. Of all the important things, the possession of power is the most important! Such being the case, the revolutionary masses, with a deep hatred for the class enemy, clench their teeth and, with steel-like determination, make up their mind to unite, form a great alliance, seize power! Seize power!! Seize power!!! All the party power, political power and financial power usurped by the counter-revolutionary revisionists and those diehards who presistently cling to the

the bourgeois reactionary line must be recaptured! The proletarian revolutionary masses must take firmly into their own hands the destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the destiny of the socialist economy! They have rightly said: "The proletarian revolutionaries, the real revolutionary Left, have their eye on seizing power, think of seizing power and act to seize power!" This is not "personal ambition," but to seize power for the sake of the proletariat and communism and to let the great thought of Mao Tse-tung take possession of all positions!

The earth-shaking mass movement of the proletarian revolutionary rebels in forming a great alliance to struggle to seize power is a decisive and gigantic battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is inevitably accompanied by a concentrated outbreak of class contradictions, by a storm unprecedented in size...

To carry out the struggle for seizure of power the proletarian revolutionary rebels must effect a great alliance. In the absence of a great alliance, the seizure of power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road remains empty talk...

*"I ask the great earth and the boundless blue*
*Who are the masters of all nature?"*

[From Chairman Mao's poem *Changsha — to the melody "Shen Yuan Chun"*]

"We are! We are! We are!! We, the worker, peasant and soldier masses, are the indisputable masters of the new world!" Such is the clear voice of the revolutionary masses!

Revolutionary cadres and revolutionary students must integrate themselves with the workers movement and the peasant movement. They must integrate the struggle in society with that in the organisation they belong to and establish an alliance with revolutionary forces outside their organisations so as to attack from both within and without to thoroughly smash the old systems of exploitation and revisionism and all bureaucratic setups. The masses of workers and peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres together should act as masters of their own affairs and establish a brand new proletarian order.

The great alliance has to be formed in the struggle for the seizure of power. The great alliance requires a clear-cut stand. It is a great alliance of revolutionary rebels, and not a hodge-podge. Eclecticism, reformism, "small group mentality" [which considers the interests of a particular group rather than the overall interest], sectarianism, departmentalism and splittism must all be defeated.



In the high tide of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road, a tiny number of bourgeois diehards will disguise themselves to try by hook and by crook to worm their way into the ranks of the great alliance of revolutionaries. They hypocritically fly a flag of "revolutionary rebellion" in an attempt to seize power from the proletariat. It is their practice to fabricate rumours, sow discord and dissension, transpose black and white and confuse right and wrong, incite the masses to shift the target of the struggle and direct the spearhead of attack at the revolutionaries, at the dictatorship of the proletariat and at the headquarters of the proletarian revolution. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, heighten our vigilance and keep clear-sighted so that we draw a clear-cut line between the enemy and ourselves, distinguish between right and wrong on vital questions, see through all their intrigues and schemes and give them resolute counter-blows!

Such strong, unprecedented resistance from the class enemy is inevitable. The handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the tiny number of diehards who persistently cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are colluding with all monsters and ghosts in society to knock together a counter-revolutionary alliance to oppose the great alliance of revolution. But no matter how many twists and turns and reverses we may meet, with the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao, we, the hundreds of millions of revolutionaries armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, will overcome all difficulties, expose one by one those who stir up winds of evil and direct the spearhead of their attack at the dictatorship of the proletariat and at the headquarters of the proletarian revolution, and we will expose them and pull them down. The great revolutionary alliance will eventually defeat the small counter-revolutionary alliance...

Revolutionary comrades-in-arms, let us get mobilised under the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, form a great alliance and unfold a nationwide all-round struggle to seize power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and those diehards who persistently cling to the bourgeois reactionary line and triumphantly fulfil the great historic task entrusted to us by Chairman Mao.

If the enemy refuses to surrender, we will finish him off!

Proletarian revolutionaries, form a great alliance to seize power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road!...

(*Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial, January 22, 1967,
translated in *Peking Review*, No. 5, January 27, 1967.)

# General Orientation and Guidance

The general orientation of the power-seizing struggle and pertinent policies and guiding principles are expounded in the following editorials of the journal *Hung-ch'i*. – Ed.

## *On the Proletarian Revolutionaries' Struggle to Seize Power*

Proletarian revolutionaries are uniting to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. This is the strategic task for the new stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is the decisive battle between the proletariat and the masses of working people on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party on the other.

The mighty revolutionary storm started in Shanghai. The revolutionary masses in Shanghai have called it the great "January Revolution." Our great leader Chairman Mao immediately expressed resolute support for it. He called on the workers, peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres to study the experience of the revolutionary rebels of Shanghai and he called on the People's Liberation Army actively to support and assist the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power.

Chairman Mao's great call received an immediate enthusiastic response from the revolutionary masses and the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army. The proletarian revolutionaries who have formed a mighty force are capturing one citadel after another in certain places and units, where the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have been entrenched, and are then consolidating these captured positions one by one. The storm of the "January Revolution" is now sweeping the whole country.

The ranks of the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have been badly battered. However, like all reactionaries, they will never be reconciled to their own extinction. And



like all reactionaries, they "will never lay down their butcher knives. . . they will never become buddhas."

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic." This is also true of the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. We must "cast away illusions, prepare for struggle" in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching.

The experience of the city of Shanghai, Shansi Province and other places tells us that in the course of the struggle to seize power, we must pay great attention to the following questions:

(I)

When they were in power, the handful of persons within the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road always used their power to counter the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and to suppress the revolutionary masses. When they are stripped of power by the revolutionary masses, they still do their utmost to stage a counter-seizure of power in a vain attempt to counter-attack in revenge and to recapture their lost power.

In some places, these reactionary elements are reorganising their reactionary ranks. They are gathering together landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and collecting the dregs of society to stage counter-attacks against the proletarian revolutionaries and seize power from them.

In some places, these reactionary elements have resorted to the method of worming their way in [to the ranks of the revolutionaries] and pulling people out [of the revolutionary ranks] in a vain attempt to split up the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries, and usurp the leadership of the revolutionary rebel organisations. In this way they hope to shift the general orientation of the struggle.

In some places, these reactionary elements instigate their collaborators who still hold the leadership of a factory, a workshop, a unit, or a production brigade to sabotage production, disrupt communications and transport and destroy state and collective property, in a vain attempt to disturb the economic life of the state so as to achieve their political aim of staging a counter-seizure of power against the proletarian revolutionaries.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Strategically we should despise all our

enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously." The handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road will never succeed in their schemes, which are doomed to failure. We should despise them. However, we must deal with them seriously, and must never treat them casually or lightly.

Proletarian revolutionaries must fully understand that the struggle to seize power and counter-seize power between us and the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy.

The general orientation for proletarian revolutionaries is to form an alliance and seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. All revolutionary comrades should take this general orientation as their starting point and adhere to it in considering and handling all matters. If not, they will embark on the wrong road and may go over to the opposite side.

In places and organisations where the great proletarian cultural revolution has been vigorously carried out for more than half a year, the revolutionary masses have become clear as to who are the chief figures among those in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. In the struggle to seize power, the proletarian revolutionaries must focus on their target and deal the enemy heavy blows. A strict distinction must be made between contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. We must not treat contradictions among the people as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and blast away indiscriminately. Otherwise, the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road will be hindered and errors on questions of orientation will be committed and will be used by the class enemy.

( II )

Resolutely build the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and unite the broad masses. This is the most important condition for victory in the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road.

Now that the great proletarian cultural revolution has reached the stage of the struggle to seize power in an all-round way from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, it is essential for revolutionary mass organisations to forge a great alliance. Without a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, the struggle to seize power cannot be completed successfully; even if some power has



been seized, it may be lost again.

To form and consolidate the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, it is necessary to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively in the course of struggle, to straighten out the ranks ideologically and organisationally and strengthen the proletarian sense of organisation and discipline. It is necessary to use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon to correct such erroneous tendencies as departmentalism, "small group" mentality (considering the interests of a particular group rather than the overall interest), excessive decentralisation, the disregard of organisational discipline, ultra-democracy, liberalism, subjectivism and individualism in people's minds and in their organisations. All of these ideas and actions that run counter to Chairman Mao's teachings and hamper the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries are an expression of the bourgeois world outlook, a reflection of the current acute class struggle in the revolutionary ranks. These questions fall within the category of contradictions among the people, which must be solved in line with the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" and the formula of unity-criticism-unity, all of which Chairman Mao has always advocated. Do more self-criticism, and don't attack one another. The erroneous, non-proletarian ideas and actions cited above must not be allowed to develop or they will be made use of by the class enemy. If anyone clings to these erroneous ideas and persists in taking these erroneous actions and lets them develop, the non-antagonistic contradictions can turn into antagonistic ones.

Once the revolutionary mass organisations have seized power in a particular department, their own position alters. At this time, the bourgeois ideas and petty-bourgeois ideas in the minds of certain comrades easily come to the fore. We must be highly vigilant. We must rid ourselves of all selfish ideas and personal considerations and make a revolution to the depth of our souls. Everything must proceed from the fundamental interests of the proletariat. We must attach the utmost importance to the interests of the whole instead of concerning ourselves with personal prestige and position. We must firmly respond to Chairman Mao's call to "practise economy in carrying our revolution" and not show off, spend money without measure and waste state property. We must not fall victim to the "sugar-coated bulllets" of the bourgeoisie.

Revolutionary mass organisations which have seized power and the leaders of these organisations should adopt the principle of unity towards the masses and the mass organisations holding different views. They should win over the majority instead of excluding the majority. This helps to isolate

to the maximum the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and deal them blows and it helps to establish the new proletarian revolutionary order.

Everyone, in the course of the struggle to seize power and after coming to power, has to undergo new tests. We hope that the revolutionary path-breakers who come to the fore during the movement will always be loyal to the proletariat, to Chairman Mao, and to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and that they will become politically mature in the course of time rather than be like those who just flash across the stage of history. The only way one can live up to this hope is to study Mao Tse-tung's thought conscientiously, to integrate oneself with the masses of workers and peasants and to make serious efforts to remould one's own non-proletarian world outlook. There is no other way.

( III )

Adequate attention must be paid to the role of revolutionary cadres in the struggle to seize power. Leading cadres who have firmly adhered to the proletarian revolutionary line are the treasure of the Party. They can become the backbone of the struggle to seize power and can become leaders in this struggle.

Such leading comrades have, for quite a long time in the past, waged struggle within the Party against the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road. They have now stepped out before the masses and have proclaimed to the masses that they stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries and will integrate themselves with the revolutionary masses and fight together with them. The workers, peasants, revolutionary students and revolutionary intellectuals should trust them. A clear distinction must be drawn between those in authority who belong to the proletariat and those who belong to the bourgeoisie, between those who support and carry out the bourgeois reactionary line. To regard all persons in authority as untrustworthy is wrong. To oppose, exclude and overthrow all indiscriminately runs counter to the class viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

When the revolutionary leading cadres rise up to join the masses in seizing power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, the revolutionary mass organisations should support them. It must be recognised that they are more experienced in struggle, they are more mature politically and they have greater organisational skill. The seizure and retention of power will be helped immeasureably by their inclusion in the core of leadership.



Cadres who have made errors should be treated correctly and should not be overthrown indiscriminately. All those who are not anti-Party, anti-socialist elements, and do not persist in their errors or refuse to correct them after repeated education, should be allowed to correct their errors and be encouraged to make amends for their crimes by good deeds. To learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and to cure the sickness to save the patient is a long-standing policy of the Party. Only thus can those who commit errors submit willingly; and only in this way can the proletarian revolutionaries get hearty support from the great majority of the people and remain invincible. Otherwise, there is great danger.

The overwhelming majority of the ordinary cadres in the Party and government organisations, enterprises and undertakings are good and want to make revolution. The proletarian revolutionary rebels among them are the vital force for seizing power in these organisations. This is the point which must not be neglected.

Cadres at all levels have to undergo the test of the great proletarian cultural revolution and make new contributions to the revolution. They should not rest on their past achievements, think that they are so wonderful and lightly regard the young revolutionary fighters who have now come to the fore. The following concepts are completely wrong and must be corrected: to see only one's own past merits but not the general orientation of the revolution today and to see only the shortcomings and mistakes of the newly emerged young revolutionary fighters, but not to recognise the fact that their general orientation in the revolution is correct.

( IV )

The current seizure of power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is not effected by dismissal and reorganisation from above, but from below by the mass movement called for and supported by Chairman Mao himself. Only in this way can the leading organisations of our Party and state, enterprises and undertakings, cultural organisations and schools be regenerated and the old bourgeois practices be thoroughly eradicated.

Experience proves that in the course of the struggle for the seizure of power, it is necessary, through exchange of views and consultations among leading members of revolutionary mass organisations, leading members of local People's Liberation Army units and revolutionary leading cadres of Party and government organisations, to establish provisional organs of power to take up the responsibility of leading this struggle. These provisional organs of power must "grasp the revolution and promote production,"

put the system of production into normal operation, direct the existing set-ups in administrative and professional work (they should be readjusted where necessary) to carry on with their tasks, and organise the revolutionary masses to supervise these set-ups. These provisional organs of power must also shoulder the task of giving unified direction in suppressing counter-revolutionary organisations and counter-revolutionaries. Such provisional organs of power must be set up; this is essential and extremely important. Through a period of transition, the wisdom of the broad masses will be brought into full play and a completely new organisational form of political power better suited to the socialist economic base will be created.

A number of units where a handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have entrenched themselves over a long period, have become rotten. There these persons have been exercising bourgeois dictatorship, not proletarian dictatorship. The Marxist principle of smashing the existing state machine must be put into practice in the struggle for the seizure of power in these units.

In summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out that the proletariat must not take over the existing bourgeois state machine but must thoroughly smash it. Practice in the international communist movement has proved this to be a great truth. Since a number of units, in which a handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have entrenched themselves, have been turned into organs for bourgeois dictatorship, naturally we must not take them over ready-made, resort to reformism, combine two into one and effect peaceful transition. We must smash them thoroughly.

The great mass movement to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road has begun to create and will continue to create new organisational forms for the state organs of the proletarian dictatorship. Here, we must respect the initiative of the masses and boldly adopt the new forms, full of vitality, that emerge in the mass movement to replace the old practices of the exploiting classes and in fact to replace all old practices that do not correspond to the socialist economic base. It is absolutely impermissible to merely take over power while letting things remain the same and operating according to old rules.

On June 1 last year, Chairman Mao described the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the country, which came from Peking University, as the Manifesto of the Peking People's Commune of the sixties in the 20th century. Chairman Mao showed his wisdom and genius in predicting



even then that our state organs would take on completely new forms.

To arouse hundreds of millions of people from below to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, to smash the old practices and create new forms, opens up a new era in the international history of proletarian revolution and in the international history of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will greatly enrich and develop the experience of the Paris Commune, greatly enrich and develop the experience of the Soviets, and greatly enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism.

( V )

The struggle by the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is being carried out under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the course of the seizure of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened. This is an indispensable condition for the establishment of the new proletarian revolutionary order.

In the present stage of the decisive struggle being waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and its handful of agents within the Party, the landlords and rich peasants, who persist in their reactionary stand, the bourgeois Rightists, bad elements, counter-revolutionary revisionists and the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek special agents all emerge. These ghosts and monsters spread rumours to confuse the people, and deceive and mislead those who are not aware of the true facts into forming counter-revolutionary organisations to carry out frenzied counter-revolutionary activities. For example, the so-called "Worker-Peasant Red Flag Army of China," "Jung Fu Chun," "United Action Committee" and a number of other organisations set up by the revisionists, which call themselves "revolutionary" but are actually royalist organisations, are reactionary organisations of this kind. The majority of the masses in these organisations have been duped and should be won over by education. However, the handful of ringleaders of these reactionary organisations have schemed and used every kind of trick to bombard the proletarian revolutionary headquarters, to seize power from the proletarian revolutionaries and raid the revolutionary mass organisations. They have stabbed the revolutionary people in the back, bought over workers and staff, halted production, interrupted communications and transport, wrecked and looted state property. They have stirred up trouble to serve their own ends and have been indulging in vain hopes of a come-back. Some of these organisations are carrying out counter-revolutionary activities on the orders of those in authority who persist in taking the capitalist road.

These counter-revolutionary organisations are built on sand. Once the masses see through them, they immediately collapse, and the handful of ringleaders are dragged out by the masses.

It is a very good thing that all the ghosts and monsters come out into the open. This provides us with an opportunity for a good spring-cleaning to "sweep away all pests."

We must be firm in exercising dictatorship over these counter-revolutionaries.

In his noted treatise *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship,* Chairman Mao says that in dealing with the reactionaries, we must "enforce dictatorship . . . suppress them, allow them only to behave themselves and not to be unruly in word or deed. If they speak or act in an unruly way, they will be promptly stopped and punished."

"Revolutionary dictatorship and counter-revolutionary dictatorship are by nature opposite, but the former was learned from the latter. Such learning is very important. If the revolutionary people do not master this method of ruling over the counter-revolutionary classes, they will not be able to maintain their state power, domestic and foreign reaction will overthrow that power and restore its own rule over China and disaster will befall the revolutionary people."

All revolutionary comrades must firmly bear in mind these teachings of Chairman Mao. For the reactionaries, even limited democracy is not allowed, not to speak of extensive democracy, not one iota. Toward them, only dictatorship should be carried out!

A group of ghosts and monsters have now come out to set up counter-revolutionary organisations and carry out counter-revolutionary activities. These counter-revolutionary organisations must be resolutely eliminated. Counter-revolutionaries must be dealt with in accordance with the law without hesitation

Chairman Mao has called on the People's Liberation Army to actively support and assist the genuine proletarian revolutionaries and to oppose the Rightists resolutely. The great People's Liberation Army created by Chairman Mao himself has heartily responded to his call. The People's Liberation Army is making new great contributions to the cause of socialism in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is the glorious task of the People's Liberation Army.

In certain places, the counter-revolutionary organisations have been fully exposed. It is entirely correct that the P.L.A. units stationed there, the revolutionary masses and the public security bodies in the hands of the



proletarian revolutionaries take action to suppress these counter-revolutionary organisations. The handling of the reactionary "Jung Fu Chun" in Harbin by the P.L.A. units stationed there, the revolutionary masses and the committee for taking over the municipal public security bureau has provided useful experience. Immediately after encircling the "Jung Fu Chun," they launched a political offensive which awakened those who had been hoodwinked, and turned the scene of this counter-revolutionary incident into a meeting place for accusing the counter-revolutionaries. Those who had been deceived then handed over their chieftains and the "Jung Fu Chun" quickly disintegrated. All this dealt heavy blows to the counter-revolutionaries who are extremely few in number, and won over those who were duped.

In suppressing counter-revolutionary organisations and counter-revolutionaries, the instruments of dictatorship must work closely with the revolutionary masses. For counter-revolutionaries, this is an escape-proof net.

All revolutionary mass organisations and all revolutionary comrades must increase their revolutionary vigilance to prevent counter-revolutionaries from sneaking in to make trouble. They must co-ordinate with the instruments of dictatorship under a unified command to safeguard the proletarian dictatorship.

As the War of Liberation entered the stage of a general counter-offensive against the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, Chairman Mao issued a call to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country when he said: "The army advances, production increases. When our sense of discipline is strengthened, we are ever-victorious in the revolution."

Today, when the great army of the proletarian revolution is seizing power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and is launching a general counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party, we must also take firm hold of the revolution and promote production, and strengthen our sense of discipline. In this way, we shall also be ever-victorious in the present struggle.

"But now that the cock has crowed and all under heaven is bright." Let us heartily welcome the decisive victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!...

(*Hung-ch'i,* No. 3, 1967, translated in *Peking Review*, No. 6, February 3, 1967.)

* * *

## *On the Revolutionary "Three-in-One" Combination*

Chairman Mao has pointed out that in those places and organisations where power needs to be seized, the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination must be carried out in establishing a provisional organ of power that is revolutionary and representative and has proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called a revolutionary committee.

This policy is the political and organisational guarantee for the victory of the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power. The proletarian revolutionaries should understand this policy correctly and implement it correctly.

The revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power should be formed by leaders of revolutionary mass organisations that truly represent the broad masses, the representatives of the People's Liberation Army units stationed in the area and revolutionary leading cadres. None of these three bodies can be excluded. It is wrong to overlook or underestimate the role of any one of them.

As a result of the vigorous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revoltuion during the past half year and more, the masses have been fully mobilised, and large numbers of up-and-coming representatives of the revolutionary masses have emerged. The revolutionary masses are the base of the proletarian revolutionaries' seizure of power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. They are the base of the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power.

True proletarian revolutionaries and up-and-coming representatives of the revolutionary masses have performed immortal exploits in the great proletarian cultural revolution. They are the new rising forces nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought and they embody the general orientation of the revolution.

This struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is a mass movement from below under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao. In the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power, it is imperative to give full play to the role of leaders of the revolutionary mass organisations and to take full account of their opinions, and never regard them simply as secondary, because they are representatives of the broad revolutionary masses. If their role is not



recognised or if it is underrated, in effect, the revolutionary masses as well as the great proletarian cultural revolution are negated. If they are excluded or regarded as secondary, it is impossible to establish a provisional organ of power that is revolutionary, representative and has proletarian authority; it is impossible to have a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination.

In all great revolutionary mass movements, it is scarcely avoidable having shortcomings and making mistakes. It is necessary to see clearly the essence, the mainstream and the general orientation of the revolution. In this great proletarian cultural revolution, the shortcomings and errors of the leaders of revolutionary mass organisations who truly represent the masses are a question of one finger among ten, and a problem that arises in the course of progress. As proletarian revolutionaries, we should recognise that their general orientation is correct, that they have many strong points and we should learn from them modestly. As for their shortcomings and errors, we should warm-heartedly, patiently and painstakingly help them. It should also be noted that many revolutionary mass organisations have pointed out themselves the wrong tendencies existing in their own organisations and have proposed ways of correcting them as a result of their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. Such revolutionary consciousness and initiative is praise-worthy. It is precisely the revolutionary masses themselves who have proposed eliminating self-interest in their own thinking while seizing power from the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road.

In the final analysis, the question of one's attitude towards leaders of revolutionary mass organisations that truly represent the masses taking part in the "three-in-one" provisional organ of power is a question of one's attitude towards the masses, towards the mass movement itself. It is also an important indication of whether the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao can be carried out or not. We must at all times remember Chairman Mao's teachings: "The masses are the real heroes," "the masses have boundless creative power," "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." If alienated from the revolutionary masses, it is certain that no organisation or individual is able to carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The vigorous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution of more than the last half year has been a severe test for the ranks of our cadres. The handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking

the capitalist road has been exposed. At the same time, the majority of our cadres have proved to be good or comparatively good. The concept of excluding and overthrowing all cadres is absolutely wrong. It is necessary to point out that the masses are not to be blamed for this. To exclude and overthrow all cadres indiscriminately is the view advocated by those several people who put forth the bourgeois reactionary line, and this was precisely what they did. The poisonous influence has not been wiped out of the minds of certain comrades, and therefore they have, to a certain extent, committed similar mistakes without being conscious of them.

In every place, department, enterprise and unit there are great numbers of revolutionary cadres. This is also true even for some places or departments where those in authority taking the capitalist road have been entrenched, but the revolutionary cadres there were suppressed over a long period. We must be aware of this.

The role of the revolutionary cadres in participating in the "three-in-one" provisional organ of power must be given full consideration. They should and can play the role of nucleus and backbone of the organ. Of course, they can do this only by integrating themselves with the masses and by following the mass line in work.

Provided those cadres who made mistakes criticise their own mistakes and correct them, draw a clear-cut demarcation line between themselves and the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, between themselves and the bourgeois reactionary line, and really stand on the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, they should be united with in accordance with the principle of "early or late, all who make revolution merit equal treatment," proper jobs should be arranged for them and many of them can be allowed to participate in the provisional organ of power.

However, those who persist in their mistakes, and who do not draw a clear-cut demarcation line between themselves and the people in authority taking the capitalist road, between themselves and the bourgeois reactionary line must not be imposed on the masses and arbitrarily pushed into the "three-in-one" provisional organ or power. Otherwise, this would not be the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, to say nothing of the seizure of power from the handful of persons in the party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road; a new reversal would occur and those in authority taking the capitalist road who had been overthrown might even regain power.

We must be vigilant against those who distort the principle of revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and, on the pretext of forming "three-



in-one" combination, carry out eclecticism, conciliation and the combining of two into one, and furthermore, in a hundred and one ways, pull in the persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. This is trying to fish in troubled waters, usurp the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution and carry out counter-revolutionary restoration. All revolutionary masses and all revolutionary cadres must resolutely resist, oppose and smash the conspiracy of the class enemy.

The great People's Liberation Army is the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletarian. Chairman Mao's call on the People's Liberation Army to actively support the masses of revolutionary Left is a matter of great strategic significance.

Experience proves that participation by representatives of locally stationed People's Liberation Army units in the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power has played an extremely important role in successfully accomplishing the task in the struggle to seize power.

With the participation of cadres of the People's Liveration Army in the "three-in-one" provisional organ of power and with the support of the P.L.A., the forces of the local proletarian revolutionaries will become still stronger. The class enemy fears the People's Liberation Army and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination in which P.L.A. cadres take part the most. They try by every means to manufacture rumours and fabricate stories in a vain attempt to sow dissension between the revolutionary masses and the People's Liberation Army, and to incite those among the masses who do not know the truth to direct the spearhead of their struggle against the People's Liberation Army. Such class enemy intrigues must be fully exposed and firmly smashed.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is an extremely revolutionised army of the proletariat, unmatched in the world. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly." It is precisely because of this that all revolutionary mass organisations and revolutionary masses have faith in the People's Liberation Army and warmly support the participation by representatives of the local army units in the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power. At various levels, in those departments where power must be seized, representatives of the armed forces or of the militia should take part in forming the "three-in-one" combination. This should be done in factories and rural areas, in financial, trading, cultural and educational departments (universities, middle schools and primary schools), in Party and government organisations and in people's organisations.

Representatives of the armed forces should be sent to the county level or higher and representatives of the militia should be sent to the commune level or lower. This is very good. If representatives of the armed forces are not sufficient, their posts can be left vacant for the time being and filled in the future.

The attitude towards the People's Liberation Army is actually the attitude towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and it is an important criterion for distinguishing whether a person is of the genuine revolutionary Left or not.

In certain places, some comrades in the local army units may commit temporary mistakes in giving their support because of the intricate and complex conditions of the class struggle. When such problems occur, the genuine revolutionary Left should explain, with good intentions and in the proper way, the conditions and state their views to the leading members of the army units. They should absolutely not adopt an openly antagonistic attitude and still less should they direct the spearhead of their struggle against the People's Liberation Army. Otherwise, they will commit gross mistakes and do things which sadden our friends and gladden our enemies, and they will be used by the class enemy.

The People's Liberation Army has made important contributions in supporting the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power. All commanders and fighters must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, closely rely on the broad revolutionary masses, learn from them modestly, be their students before acting as their teachers, be good at discussing matters with them, and carry on deep-going and careful investigations among them. In doing so, they will be able to give the proletarian revolutionaries very powerful support in their struggle to seize power and bring still closer ties between the Army and the people and, on their part, the army units will get new tempering and improve in the course of the struggle.

The "three-in-one" provisional organ of power must be revolutionary, representative and have proletarian authority. This organ of power must resolutely carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and firmly oppose the bourgeois reactionary line. It must not be "combining two into one" or electic. Only thus, can this organ be representative and speak for the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres. Only thus, can it have proletarian authority, exercise powerful centralised leadership on the basis of the most extensive democracy, impose effective dictatorship on the class enemy, and smash every kind of scheme for counter-revolutionary restoration on the part of the handful of persons



in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the ghosts and monsters in society.

A big question now confronting the people of the whole country is whether to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, or to abandon it half-way. All revolutionary comrades must keep a cool head and not get confused. "With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe and not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame." At present we should especially keep this teaching of Chairman Mao's in mine.

(*Hung-ch'i*, No. 5, 1967, translated in *Peking Review*, No. 12, March 17, 1967.)

# Typical Cases of Power Seizure

Assembled in this section are several typical cases of power seizure in various parts of China following the "January Revolution" in Shanghai. It will be noticed that whereas power was seized in Shansi mainly by the revolutionary rebels from below (as in the case of Shanghai), that in Heilungkiang was accomplished by means of a "three-in-one combination" of the rebels, the Army and leading cadres. The latter case was subsequently hailed as a good example by the *Jen-min Jih-pao*. Power seizure in Shantung was accomplished after smashing a "sham seizure" by the class enemy. Power seizure in Tsinghai turned out to be a "counter-revolutionary coup," while that in Anhwei failed to bring about a "revolutionary alliance." In the last two cases "military control committees" had to be established to take over leadership powers. – Ed.

## *Shansi: Power Seized by Rebels from Below*

The following report describes how power was seized by the revolutionary rebels in Shansi before the formal launching of the nationwide struggle to seize power. It will be noticed that the PLA had taken "a direct part" in the power seizure even before the order was issued by the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee for the Army to give positive support to the revolutionary Left. However, the province's revolutionary committee was not established until March 18, 1967. – Ed.

During the earth-shaking revolutionary rebellion, the revolutionary rebels of Shansi province have set up a great alliance on the foundation of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, formed a strong revolutionary force, and seized power from the hands of the handful of power-holders within the Party who take the capitalist road.

The major victory the revolutionary rebels in Shansi province have won in their struggle to seize power is a brilliant page of the history of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It has furnished new experience for the proletarian revolutionary struggles to seize power which are underway all over the country. It has also made new contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution in China.

Chairman Mao has said: "To organise millions upon millions of people and to dispatch our mighty revolutionary army is the requirement of the revolutionaries to attack the counter-revolutionaries today."



For a long time in the past, the counter-revolutionary revisionist bloc within the Shansi Provincial Committee have forced all sorts of brutal persecution on the revolutionary rebels, so that the broad masses of revolutionary rebels see their ugly faces more and more clearly. Common struggle, common destiny and common feeling have made the revolutionary rebels rally and unite themselves together quickly round the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This great alliance includes not only the revolutionary workers, revolutionary peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and ordinary revolutionary cadres, but also revolutionary armymen and revolutionary leading cadres. This extensive great alliance has isolated the enemy to the greatest possible extent and put the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists of the Shansi Provincial Committee in an encirclement of revolutionary masses.

Under the standard of the revolutionary great alliance, the revolutionary rebels have stood up one group after another.

A group of revolutionary leading cadres within the Shansi Provincial Committee have stood up. Five leading cadres, with Comrade Liu Ko-p'ing at the head, firmly stood on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, after having launched a life-and-death struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line.

On January 10, they put up a big-character poster, launching a fierce attack on the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists within the Shansi Provincial Committee. Their action won warm support from the broad masses of revolutionary rebels.

In the Party Central Committee and the local Party organisations, some of these revolutionary leading cadres had for a long time in the past launched irreconcilable struggle against the handful of power-holders within the Party who took the capitalist road. During the great cultural revolution, they stood tests in the mass movement. At the critical moment of the struggle to seize power, they resolutely stood up and joined the revolutionary rebels in fighting battles and winning victories, despite their being called "careerists" and "string pullers," their being misunderstood and distrusted for the time being by the masses, and their being encircled and cursed by the royalists.

During the long struggle, the broad masses of revolutionary rebel fighters also got familiar with these cadres. Applying their viewpoint of class analysis, they saw clearly that these cadres stood on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line. Accordingly, the revolutionary cadres, regardless of being derided by other people and being accused of "following the line at the top level" and "having alienated themselves from the masses," resolutely got together with these leading cadres, thus initiating a new situation of the great cultural revolution.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army that is infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao has also given the broad masses of revolutionary masses effective support. Comrade Chang Jih-ch'ing, Second Political Commissar of the Shansi Military Command, and the broad masses of commanders and fighters consciously and honestly executed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, smashed the hard and fast rules that hindered the revolution, firmly stood on the side of the revolutionary rebels, and took a direct part in the "January 10" struggle to seize power. This greatly encouraged the spirit of the proletarian revolutionaries and took the wind out of the sails of the counter-revolutionary revisionists and bourgeois royalists.

Some reactionaries were scared to death by the great alliance of revolutionaries. They made all-out efforts to vilify the great alliance.

"You are being manipulated by the power-holders. You are being played upon by the rascals." These words resembled a dagger which they tried to use to injure the revolutionary rebels.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." Some people think that all power-holders are bad elements, and distrust them and pull them down all alike. This idea of negating and rejecting everything is a viewpoint of class analysis that is essentially against the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The handful of malicious rascals vainly attempt to spread rumours to sever the relationship between the revolutionary rebels and the revolutionary leading cadres, so as to attain their aim of sabotaging the great alliance of revolutionary rebels. We should by no means allow them to realise their schemes. To struggle against the tide of the petty-bourgeois ideology is an impending task. This is a key to whether we can carry Chairman Mao's revolutionary line through to the end. The revolutionary rebels must break away from the anarchical ideology.

"You don't believe that the masses can emancipate themselves."

What strange talk! The revolutionary leading cadres and the broad revolutionary masses have risen to seize power. Yet, they are said to disbelieve that the masses can emancipate themselves. Actually, the revolutionary leading cadres support and carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, trust the masses, and rely on them. They also are more experienced in struggle and have stronger organisational power. Therefore, they can mobilise the masses fully and exploit the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses.

"It is unlawful for the Army to support the great cultural revolution in its locality."

What nonsense! In the past, the handful of bourgeois overlords in



the Shansi Provincial Committee used such machines of dictatorship as politics, law and public security to suppress the revolutionary rebels and dispatched armed secret agents to shadow the revolutionary rebels. And yet you didn't say a word. At the critical moment of the decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the great People's Liberation Army stands on the side of the revolutionary rebels, firmly suppresses the counter-revolutionaries, and exercises dictatorship of the proletariat. Yet, you call this defiance of nature and violence of law. This really is reactionary logic!

The encirclement and attack by the reactionaries consolidated more the the great alliance of the revolutionaries. Amid the curses of the enemies, the revolutionary rebels of Shansi province saw more clearly who their enemies and who their comrades were, discarded the dregs in their ranks and united themselves more closely.

The "Shansi Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters" was born at a critical moment when the revolutionary rebels of Shansi province formed a great alliance and seized power in a big way. It took over all power of Shansi Provincial Committee and Shansi Provincial People's Council and mastered the power of the Party and the government of the whole province.

The establishment of the "Shansi Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters" was of vital significance. It was a germination of a new organisational form of the organ of proletarian dictatorship.

The Shansi Provincial Committee had rotted after long occupation by the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists. They did not exercise dictatorship of the proletariat, but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It was necessary to smash thoroughly such an organ of political power and to create a new one to take its place. Only in this way would the revolutionary rebels consolidate really the power they had seized and guarantee correct development of the revolution.

Members of the "Shansi Revolutionray Rebel General Headquarters" have been elected by the congress of revolutionary mass organisations, PLA units in Shansi and revolutionary leading cadres. All important matters and problems of principle are discussed and decided by this congress. The routine work is handled by the General Headquarters. The General Headquarters comprises workers, peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals, revolutionary trail blazers emerging in the violent class struggle during the great cultural revolution. They are relatively closely related to the masses and are trusted by the masses.

Following Chairman Mao's teaching, "You put politics in command, go into the midst of the masses, get together with them and carry the great

proletarian cultural revolution in a still better way," the revolutionary leading cadres working at the General Headquarters shed their air of loftiness, treat the ordinary people with equality and consult them on problems encountered. A member of the General Headquarters has said this: "We are the rank and file as well as the leaders. We are servants of the people." The revolutionary masses supervise and criticise the functionaries of the General Headquarters. These functionaries can be replaced at any time if they are incompetent in their work.

The broad revolutionary masses express their firm support for the leadership of the Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters. They say: "This is our political power. We trust and support it!" Under the leadership of the General Headquarters, many localities set up their "seizing-power committees." These "seizing-power committees" are formed jointly by the representatives of local revolutionary rebel organisations and are participated in by representatives of the General Headquarters. This further consolidates and reinforces the great alliance of the revolutionary leftists and guarantees quick development of the province-wide struggle to seize power. Firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's instruction of "grasping revolution and promoting production," the General Headquarters have set up "production committees" to lead industrial and agricultural production and construction all over the province.

The "Shansi Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters" pays particular attention to developing the role of the revolutionary authorities and fully using the power it has seized to implement firmly Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Comrades of the General Headquarters say: "Our power is delegated by the people and confirmed by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. If we revolutionary rebels do not shoulder the load of leading the province-wide revolution, who will? If we revolutionary rebels do not take the weapon of suppressing the counter-revolutionaries, who will? We have the courage to seize power and are still more persevering in grasping power! If we merely occupy a number of buildings or seize a few seals of power, we shall have seized empty power. We must mobilise the revolutionary masses of various public organs, factories and villages to exercise the revolutionary power they have seized and to carry out an all-round struggle to seize power all over the province."

On January 14, the representatives of the General Headquarters went to the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Reception Centre of Shansi Provincial Committee" where economism ran rampant. They first announced takeover of this reception centre and then united with the revolutionary



rebels within this reception centre to set up an administrative committee, taking general control of the political and economic power of this reception centre.

In a Taiyuan weaving mill where the royalist influence was prevalent, the representatives of the General Headquarters and the PLA fighters helped the revolutionary rebels of this mill——the "Red Guard Detachment"——seize power of the whole mill and exercise dictatorship over the handful of reactionaries who opposed the General Headquarters and resisted the revolutionary seizure of power.

In the political and legal departments, the representatives of the General Headquarters, the representatives of revolutionary workers, peasants, businessmen, students and armymen and the rebels within the political and legal departments integrated themselves together to form the "Proletarian Dictatorship committee," which exercised in a unified manner all power of the former provincial Department of Public Security, Court of Justice, and Procuratorate. They vigorously supported the revolutionary rebels and ruthlessly suppressed the counter-revolutionaries.

At present, under the leadership of the General Headquarters, the revolutionary rebels all over Shansi have launched new smashing attacks on the handful of power-holders within the Party who take the capitalist road. The counter-revolutionary revisionists are being overthrown one after another. Their royalist counter-revolutionary organisations are also disintegrating one after another. Experience of Shansi province shows: It is necessary to set up an authoritative revolutionary organ to lead the province-wide struggle to seize power. It is also necessary to bring the revolutionary authorities into full play and to suppress the struggle and counter-attack of the reactionary influence. Only in this way will it be possible to guarantee the victorious development of the struggle to seize power.

Under the radiance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, the proletarian revolutionary rebels in Shansi are advancing in the wake of victory. They will break through all difficulties, defeat all enemies and become real masters of Shansi. A bright-red new Shansi will surely appear before the people all over the country! (By *Jen-min Jih-pao* correspondent and *Jen-min Jih-pao* reporter)

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, Peking, February 13, 1967, translated in SCMP, No. 3888 p. 1, February 28, 1967.)

* * *

## *Heilungkiang Sets An Example*

Proletarian revolutionaries in Heilungkiang set a good example by forming a "three-in-one" force with leading members of the PLA and the Provincial Party Committee to seize power. The new organ of power they set up after siezure of power on January 31, 1967, was the first such organ sanctioned by the Central Authorities. – Ed.

The struggle to seize power under the dictatorship of the proletariat is an entirely new topic. The revolutionary rebels in Heilungkiang Province have gained some very valuable experience in this struggle.

1. **The revolutionary rebels, acting in accordance with concrete conditions in the struggle here and carrying out the Party's policy in a clear-cut manner, have united with the principal leading members in the Provincial Party Committee who have carried out Chairman Mao's correct line and with the principal leading members of the People's Liberation Army units in the area to weld all three into one in the seizure of power.**

Chairman Mao says: "Policy is the starting-point of all the practical actions of a revolutionary party and manifests itself in the process and the end-result of that party's action." The Heilungkiang red rebels acted in complete accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought and the Party's policy in the struggle to seize power. They did not metaphysically and mechanically copy the experience of other places, but started from the concrete conditions of their own area to solve the extremely important problem of how to treat the cadres in a well-thought-out way. The Heilungkiang red rebels made a strict distinction between the enemy, the friend and themselves. They adopted the method of resolute attack and thoroughgoing seizure of power in dealing with the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the very few diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line. They followed the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient" and the policy of unity-criticism-unity, which Chairman Mao has consistently advocated, in dealing with cadres who had made ordinary mistakes. As for revolutionary cadres standing on the side of Chairman



Mao's revolutionary line, they firmly relied on them and fought shoulder to shoulder with them.

Their relations of fighting together with Comrade P'an Fu-sheng, First Secretary of the Heilungkiang Provincial Party Committee, and leading members of the Military District were established and tested in long periods of struggle. Comrade P'an Fu-sheng criticised his own errors after the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Party's Central Committee and resolutely supported the revolutionary Left. The revolutionary Left, on their part, consistently supported Comrade P'an Fu-sheng's revolutionary action. Together, both carried out resolute struggle against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the "August 8" Regiment and the Red Militia Detachment who were deceived and controlled by those people. In this struggle, the principal leading members of the Provincial Military District resolutely sided with Comrade P'an Fu-sheng, who carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and resolutely suppressed the counter-revolutionary organisations which launched a counter-attack on the revolutionary line. It was natural that the revolutionary friendship between Comrade P'an Fu-sheng, leading members of the Provincial Military District and the revolutionary rebel comrades, formed through this common life-and-death struggle, should find expression in united action when the new situation of the seizure of power arose. Comrade P'an Fu-sheng and leading members of the Provincial Military District took the initiative and went to the Harbin Red Rebels United Headquarters to discuss how to seize power, and the latter took the initiative to propose that Comrade P'an Fu-sheng and Comrade Wang Chia-tao, the Provincial Military District Commander, join the Heilungkiang Red Rebel Revolutionary Committee, when the founding of this committee was being considered. On the afternoon of January 30, when the three sides met and completed the draft of the first public notice, the editorial in the third issue of the journal *Hung-ch'i* was broadcast over the Central People's Broadcasting Station. The editorial emphasized: "When the revolutionary leading cadres rise up to join the masses in seizing power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, the revolutionary mass organisations should support them," and "to oppose, exclude and overthrow all indiscriminately runs counter to the class viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought." This shows that the genuine revolutionary Left can best understand the essence of Mao Tse-tung's thought at the important moment of making revolutionary policy decisions, and that our hearts and the heart of Chairman Mao are united as one.

2. **Before seizing the power of the leadership of a provincial Party**

**committee, the newspapers and radio, as the voice of the proletarian revolution, and the Public Security Bureau, as an organ of dictatorship, should first be seized by the Left so as to prepare public opinion for the final seizure of the core of the reactionary stronghold (the Provincial Party Committee held by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road), resolutely suppress counter-revolutionaries and ensure a successful struggle to seize power.**

Chairman Mao says: "In studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved."

To seize power from the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists is an extremely sharp and complicated class struggle. In the complicated struggle to seize power and in the counter-seizure of power, the Heilungkiang red rebels grasped the principal contradiction. First, on January 12, we took over the *Heilungchiang Jih-pao* (Heilungkiang Daily), the *Harbin Wan-pao* (Harbin Evening News) and the provincial and municipal radio stations and public security departments, all on the same day. From that time, the newspapers and the radio carried the voice of the red rebels. Next, the ringleaders of several counter-revolutionary organisations in Harbin such as the "Red Flag Army" the "Combat Preparedness Army" and the so-called "Jung Fu Chun" were imprisoned, and this caused these counter-revolutionary organisations to collapse soon afterward. At the same time, a widely publicised mass rally was held to expose and condemn the ringleaders of the "Red Militia Detachment" who engineered the December 5 incident, and they were arrested and dealt with according to law. Under the pressure of this revolutionary situation, the "August 8 Regiment," the most stubborn royalist force, announced its disbanding. Hence, there was a basic change in the situation. The proletarian revolutionaries were in high spirits, the bourgeois reactionaries were afraid to show their faces, the people who had been hoodwinked soon came to their senses and the middle-of-the-roaders inclined to the Left, thus laying the foundation for the struggle to seize power in an all-round way.

3. **Firmly rely on the Left forces within the units where power is to be seized, unite with the middle forces and resolutely strike at the most stubborn reactionary forces so as to seize power and consolidate it.**

Chairman Mao says: "The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing." The red rebels in Heilungkiang province hold that an important factor behind the victorious seizure of power is the reliance on



the genuine revolutionary rebels in every unit and department and the concerted efforts of the internal and external forces. This has been proved by the experience in the seizure of power in the provincial Party committee as well as by the experience in many departments at lower levels where the seizure of power has been successful.

The power of the Harbin City Public Security Bureau was relatively thoroughly seized; the actual power was taken over from above and on down. Its basic experience is to rely on the Left forces both within and outside the Public Security Bureau forming a powerful united front and sweeping aside every obstacle set up by the enemy. At first, persons in the Public Security Bureau who were in authority and taking the capitalist road tried to resist the take-over of power, but their attempt was thwarted by the revolutionary rebels. Then, they colluded with outside forces such as the "Red Flag Army" the "Combat Preparedness Army" and the "Red Militia Detachment" to stage a counter-seizure of power, and this was also thoroughly smashed. At last, they attempted to exploit the complexity of public security work to force the young revolutionaries to retreat. This also was overcome by relying on the Left forces within the Public Security Bureau. Similarly, those people in the bureau who were misled for a time were helped to see the truth thanks to the efforts made by the revolutionary Left forces in the bureau to arouse the masses, energetically expose the sinister headquarters that had attempted a counter-seizure of power, and bring to light one by one all the chief and minor ringleaders who had committed various kinds of crimes. In this way, those among the masses who wanted to make revolution and the revolutionary cadres rallied around the revolutionary take-over committee. Thus, the revolutionary take-over committee stood on solid ground, consolidated its positions, and laid a firm foundation among the masses for the institution of an entirely new order in public security work. The take-over work in the commercial departments was carried out fairly well and the experience was similar.

4. **The fundamental experience in the struggle to seize power boils down to the fact that Mao Tse-tung's thought arms the ranks of the Left which use Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide their struggle to seize power.**

Chairman Mao has said: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it." At the outset of the struggle to seize power, we held thoroughgoing discussions on the necessity and importance of this struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. All sorts of non-proletarian ideas and muddled views on the question of seizing power were straightened out and united views were

reached.

We maintain that one cannot be regarded as a Red Guard of Mao Tse-tung's thought or Chairman Mao's good fighter if he merely recognises class struggle during the period of socialism but fails to recognise the sharp and complicated struggle for the seizure of power during that period. Proletarian revolutionaries must promptly recapture political power from the grip of the bourgeois elements and those persons who have degenerated into revisionists. Otherwise, a socialist state may undergo peaceful evolution and the over-all restoration of capitalism will take place.

Proceeding from this view, the Heilungkiang red rebels conducted their struggle to seize power most courageously, firmly, relentlessly and unceremoniously; they were wise, resolute and bold in action. In the course of the struggle to seize power, red rebels sometimes did not eat or sleep for twenty-four hours. All this fully displayed their determination to defy death to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, and demonstrated their total allegiance to Chairman Mao and the Party and their boundless faith in them. The red rebels took such highly conscious revolutionary action precisely because they hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

At the inaugural meeting at the Red Rebel Revolutionary Committee in Heilungkiang Province, more than 100,000 red rebels expressed their determination to make great effort in studying the "three constantly-read articles" and other writings, including *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, Combat Liberalism* and *On the Reissue of the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention — Instruction of the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army,* raise their ideological consciousness, improve their skill in struggle, and build up a highly proletarian and highly militant, mighty force of red rebels. The red rebels voiced their earth-shaking determination: "It is we red rebels who will rewrite a thousand chapters in history! It is we red rebels who will map out plans for ten thousand years!"

"We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new."...

(*NCNA-Engiish,* Peking, February 10, 1967.)

* * *

(Excerpts) The red rebels in Heilungkiang province, in their struggle to seize power, have created a body of new experience which genuinely embodies Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have thereby made a valuable contribution to the great proletarian cultural revolution. . .



This experience is fairly comprehensive and successful and is worth studying by proletarian revolutionaries in other parts of the country. Proletarian revolutionaries in other places should apply this experience creatively in the light of the concrete conditions in their own localities.

The triple combination of representatives of genuine proletarian revolutionaries of revolutionary mass organisations, representatives of the Chinese P.L.A. units stationed in the locality and revolutionary leading cadres in the Party and government organisations is of extremely great importance in the current struggle of proletarian revolutionaries to seize power. It is the core of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and the provisional organ of power of the proletariat and the mass of working people in seizing power under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road.

Only by means of this "three-in-one" combination can we form a truly great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries; only so can we truly seize Party, political, financial and cultural power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, consolidate political power and win complete victory in the struggle to seize power. It can be stated categorically that so long as this problem is not properly solved, the proletarian revolutionaries will not be able to solve the problem of seizing and wielding power in their struggle against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, nor can they consolidate that power even if they seize it...

(*Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial: "A Good Example in the Struggle by Proletarian Revolutionaries to Seize Power," February 10, 1967.)

* * *

## *Shantung: Sham Seizure Foiled*

The "counter-revolutionary revisionists" in the Shantung Provincial Party Committee and Provincial People's Council plotted to effect a "peaceful transfer to power" through a "gentlemen's agreement" with some mass organisations. However, this "sham seizure of power" was smashed by the proletarian revolutionaries. – Ed.

(Excerpts) By carrying out resolutely Chairman Mao's correct policy

of the joint seizure of power through a revolution "three-in-one combination" and after a sharp and acute class struggle, the proletarian revolutionaries in Shantung Province have emerged victorious from a fierce battle to foil a sham seizure of power by the class enemy. They have broken down one obstacle after another, recapture the Party, government, financial and cultural power that had been usurped by a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the provincial Party committee and provincial people's council and formed the Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee (on February 3, 1967 – Ed.).

Chairman Mao has warned us that those who represent the exploiting classes usually, when in predicament, resort to the tactics of attack as a means of defence, so that they can stay alive today and even flourish tomorrow. They throw in your face rumours which they have conjured up out of thin air, or they pick on a few superficialities as a means of countering the essence of a matter, or they sing the praises of one group of people to attack another, or they seize on an incident as an opportunity for "making a break-through at some point" and putting us in a difficult position. In short, they are always considering what tactics to use against us and "spying out the land" in order to employ their tactics successfully. As members of a revolutionary Party, we must be alive to these tricks of theirs and in order to defeat them must study their tactics. We must not behave like bookish scholars and oversimplify the complications of the class struggle.

The experience and lessons derived from the struggle to seize power in Shantung and other areas have fully justified this wise advice of Chairman Mao's.

The main experience of the proletarian revolutionaries in Shantung Province in their struggle to seize power is their reliance on the revolutionary "three-in-one combination" to smash the class enemy's plot to effect a sham seizure of power.

At the critical juncture of the class struggle, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the Shantung Provincial Party Committee and Provincial People's Council attempted to stage a farcical sham seizure of power, thereby digging their own graves. These reactionaries used all sorts of political and economic means to buy over a few ringleaders of some organisations and turn them into their agents and protectors. They made secret transactions, reached "gentlemen's agreements" and negotiated "peaceful transfers of power" in an attempt to pull strings behind the scenes, to protect themselves and to retain their power. At the same time, they made use of those among the masses who were misled so as to bring pressure to bear



upon the genuine proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power, to bring the work of every department to a standstill in an effort to disrupt the socialist economy. They audiciously launched surprise attacks on the public security departments and tried to break into local headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in an attempt to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat. These plots of theirs must be thoroughly exposed and smashed with head-on blows.

How can we smash the enemy's frenzied counter-attacks? The proletarian revolutionaries in Shantung Province have unswervingly carried out the correct policy, the policy put forward by Chairman Mao of joint seizure of power through a revolutionary "three-in-one combination."

The broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary mass organisations in Shantung Province provided the foundation for the struggle to seize power. It is they who have exposed the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. It is they who have seen through the class enemy's plot to effect a sham seizure of power. And the great role they played manifested itself even more clearly at the critical moment of the decisive battle.

At this moment the revolutionary leading cadres in Shantung Province came forward boldly, one group after another, to stand at the side of the the proletarian revolutionaries and fight shoulder to shoulder with them. The revolutionary cadres, especially those leading cadres who have for a long time pursued the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, played an important role in securing victory in the struggle to seize power.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army units stationed in the Shantung area firmly supported the proletarian revolutionaries when the struggle was most acute and complicated. Together with the revolutionary cadres and the masses of the revolutionary Left, the People's Liberation Army grasped tightly the principles and policies of the Party, of which Chairman Mao is the great representative. They took resolute measures, firmly suppressed the counter-revolutionaries, and at the same time, launched a powerful political offensive to win over those among the masses who had been hood-winked. The PLA played the decisive role at the most critical moment of the struggle to seizure power. It made an outstanding contribution. This proved once again that the People's Liberation Army, founded and led by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao himself, was the most powerful mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the strongest backing of the proletarian revolutionaries.

The experience in Shantung has demonstrated conclusively that only through the revolutionary "three-in-one combination" can the various schemes and intrigues of the class enemy be exposed in good time and co-ordination insured between armymen and civilians so as to smash the enemy's criminal attempts to effect a sham seizure of power and a counter-seizure of power.

In the big, decisive battle between the two classes, everyone, every mass organisation and every cadre is once again put to a severe test. Here, the key lies in holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, maintaining a firm proletarian stand, eliminating all selfish ideas and making wholehearted efforts to seize power for the proletariat. Those who assume self-important airs, regard themselves as the world's No. 1 authority and are full of selfish ideas, will inevitably run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to the correct policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one combination"; they will inevitably refuse to form such an alliance but go it alone, refuse to unite but create splits, refuse to work for the "three-in-one combination" but exclude all leading cadres and all other organisations; they will even go so far as to direct the spearhead of attack against the Chinese People's Liberation Army; they will inevitably commit the gravest mistakes and even become tools of the enemy of the proletariat. If they go on acting like this, even if they have achieved great successes in the past, they will move over to oppose the proletarian revolutionaries at the crucial moment in the struggle to seize power. This is a point which warrants special attention.

We must have faith in the overwhelming majority of the masses. There are some mass organisations which have been deceived into acting as tools of the enemy at the crucial moment in the struggle to seize power. We must be prudent in the attitude we adopt toward them and treat differently the different sections among them. We must relentlessly suppress the chief culprits, those few who stubbornly refuse to repent or correct their errors. As for those who fail to see the truth, instead of discriminating against them, we must patiently educate them in order to win them over, to help them come to their senses and enable them to continue taking part in the revolution. In so doing we can expand the ranks of the Left, unite with the broad masses and isolate to the maximum that handful of the enemy of the proletariat. The proletarian revolutionaries in Shantung Province have set a very fine example in this respect...

(*Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial: "Revolutionary 'Three-in-One Combination' Is the Guarantee for Success in the Struggle To Seize Power," March 2, 1967; released in English by *NCNA* the same day.)



## *Tsinghai: A Counter-revolutionary Coup*

A counter-revolutionary coup was staged in Tsinghai by Chao Yung-fu, Deputy Commander of Tsinghai Provincial Military District, to overthrow Liu Hsien-ch'uan, Commander of the Military District and Secretary of its Party Committee. Wang Chao, Secretary of the former Tsinghai Provincial Party Committee, was also involved in the plot. In the following directive of the Party Central Committee, Liu Hsien-ch'uan is given full power to deal with the Tsinghai question and to take steps to form a Provincial Military Control Committee.
– Ed.

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 counter-revolutionary coup. Deputy Commander Chao Yung-fu ( 趙 永 夫 ), has overthrown with conspiratorial means the leadership of Comrade Liu Hsien-ch'uan ( 劉 賢 權 ), Secretary of 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 roganisations of Sining, killing and wounding more than XX of the revolutionary masses – even opening fire on 15- or 16-year-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 organisations 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 Jih-pao* 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 ( 王 昭 ) 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 of 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 organisation. 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 counter-revolutionaries must be rehabilitated.

(4) No further action will be taken on the deceived and hoodwinked masses. The problems between the mass organisations should be solved with the method of rectification. Be on guard against 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 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, the State Council, the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee, and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee Concerning the the Question of Tsinghai," March 24, 1967, in *Collection of Documents Vol. I*, May 1967.)

* * *



## *Anhwei: Deviation from the Set Course*

Power seizure was effected in Anhwei on January 26, 1967 but it failed to bring about a "proletarian revolutionary alliance" because of the wrong policies carried out by certain rebel leaders. Consequently, the Central Committee directed that a Military Control Committee be set up to take over provincial leadership power. – Ed.

In March this year the Party centre called together responsible comrades of the Anhwei Military District Command, representatives of "Anhwei Revolutionary Rebel Command Headquarters," representatives of various Leftist mass organisations 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 Centre 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 Centre thinks that a military control committee headed by Comrade Ch'ien Chun ( 錢　　鈞 ) 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 criticise and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, and concentratedly expose and hit at the small handful of power-holders in the Party, headed by Li Pao-hua, ( 李 葆 華 ) who follow the capitalist road. It must resolutely carry out the "Important Notice" approved for circulation by the Centre on November 20, 1966 and the 8-Point Order of the Military Commission approved by the Centre for circulation, and guarantee the normal progress of "big blooming, big contending, big-character posters, and big debates." It must freely mobilise the masses and follow the mass line in its work instead

of monopolising everything. It must resolutely support all Leftist mass organisations and between Leftist organisations must not arbitrarily support one side against another. Leftist organisations must be helped to overcome their defects and mistakes and rectify their thought, style of work, and organisation. It must win over to the side of Chairman Mao's line the masses who have joined conservative organisations, and can deal with according to law only those counter-revolutionaries against whom there is conclusive evidence. Any declaration that a mass organisation is a counter-revolutionary organisation must first be approved by the Centre. Vigorous measures must be taken to prevent bad men from utilising 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 and 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 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 dictatorship, 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 16" seizure of power shall without exception be released, and those labelled "counter-revolutionaries" shall without exception be rehabilitated. Vigorous measures must be taken to prevent bad men from utilising the organs of dictatorship to suppress the revolutionary cadres.

5. [The Military Control Committee] shall immediately take over *Hsin Anhwei Pao*, propagate the proletarian revolutionary line and all policies of the Party Centre headed by Chairman Mao, and forbid one revolutionary organisation of one faction to attack another revolutionary organisation 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, *NCNA* news 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," "Hung Ko Hui," "Workers Rebel Joint Committee," Workers' 1st H.Q. and 3rd H.Q., and others, are all revolutionary mass organisations. All these organisations 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. "Hung Wei Chun" of Hofei is a revolutionary mass organisation which is opposed to the conservative "Chun Tsung ( 軍 總 )" and which fights by the side of "August 27." However, this form of organisation is not proper. It should be dealt with according to instructions from the Centre. Members of this organisation should go back to their original units and there join in the great cultural revolution. This organisation shall not be reactivated. The arrest of Comrade Yu Te-shui ( 于 得 水 ) and the order for the arrest of Comrade Ch'eng Ming-yuan ( 程 明 遠 ) and others are 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 "Hung Wei Chun" of Hofei and the death of Comrade Yu Te-shui should be investigated and made clear. An investigation group, formed of various revolutionary organisations (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 Yu Te-shui and handling of his case shall not be allowed to join this investigation group.

("Decision of the CCP Central Committee on the Question of Anhwei," March 27, 1967, in *Collection of Documents Vol. I*, May 1967.)

# Formation of Revolutionary Committees

During a period of twenty months -- January 1967 to September 1968 -- revolutionary committees were established in all twenty-one provinces, three municipalities (under direct control of the central authorities) and five autonomous regions of China to take over the powers of former Party and government organisations.

From the birth of the Heilungkiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee on January 31, 1967 to the end of the same year only eight more revolutionary committees were founded: those for the provinces of Shantung, Kweichow, Shansi and Tsinghai; the municipalities of Shanghai, Peking and Tientsin; and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. This slow progress was probably due to the factional strife and the resistance of former cadres.

Nevertheless, the pace accelerated in 1968. Soon after the announcement of three new committees in Kiangsi, Kansu and Honan in January, another three were set up in Hopeh, Hupeh, and Kwangtung in February. This was followed by Kirin, Kiangsu and Chekiang in March; and Ninghsia and Anhwei in April. Revolutionary Committees came into being in Shensi, Liaoning and Szechwan in May. Yunnan did not announce the foundation of its committee until August 13 followed by Fukien on August 19. The whole process finally ended with the establishment of the Tibet and Sinkiang committees on September 6, 1968. – Ed.

## *List of Revolutionary Committees in China*

The following list, compiled from official sources of information (*NCNA* releases provincial broadcasts, etc.), shows the order in which revolutionary committees were established in the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonous regions in China between January 1967 and September 1968. The date of establishment, location, names and background of the chairman and vice-chairmen, and population under the jurisdiction of each of the revolutionary committees are included. – Ed.



### 1. *Heilungkiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : January 31, 1967
Location : Harbin
Population : 21,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| P'an Fu-sheng | (潘復生) | 1st Secretary, Heilungkiang Provincial Party Committee<br>1st Political Commissar, Heilungkiang Military District and Shenyang Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wang Chia-tao | (汪家道) | Commander, Heilungkiang Military District |
| Chang Wan-ch'un | (張萬春) | Deputy Commander, Heilungkiang Military District |

### 2. *Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : February 3, 1967
Location : Tsinan
Population : 50,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wang Hsiao-yu | (王效禹) | Mayor of Tsingtao; Political Commissar, Shantung Military District |

First Vice Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yang Te-chih | (楊得志) | Commander, Tsinan Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wang Chu-ch'uan | (王竹泉) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Chao Hsiu-te | (趙修德) | Deputy Director, Political Department, Shantung Military District |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Han Chih-hai | (韓金海) | Leading member of mass organisation |

## 3. *Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : February 5, 1967
Location : Shanghai
Population : 10,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chang Ch'un-ch'iao | (張春橋) | Secretary, Shanghai Municipal Party Committee; First Political Commissar, Shanghai Garrison;Political Commissar, Nanking Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yao Wen-yuan | (姚文元) | Member of Cultural Revolution Group under CCP Central Committee |
| Liao Cheng-kuo | (廖政國) | Commander, Shanghai Garrison |

## 4. *Kweichow Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : February 13, 1967
Location : Kweiyang
Population : 17,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Li Tsai-han | (李再含) | First Political Commissar, Kweichow Military District;Deputy Political Commissar, Kunming Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chang Ming | (張　明) | Director of Kweichow Bureau of Material Supply; |
| Li Li | (李　立) | Secretary, Kweichow Provincial Party Committee; Governor of Kweichow |
| Ho Kuang-yu | (何光宇) | Commander, Kweichow Military District |
| Sun Ch'ang-te | (孫昌德) | Staff member, Geochemistry Research Institute, Chinese Academy of Science |
| Liu An-min | (劉安民) | Political Commissar, Logistical Services of Kweichow Military District. |



## 5. *Shansi Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : March 18, 1967
Location : Taiyuan
Population : 18,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Liu Ko-p'ing | (劉格平) | Vice Governor of Shansi; 2nd Political Commissar, Peking Military Region; 1st Political Commissar, Shansi Military District |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chang Jih-ch'ing | (張日清) | 2nd Political Commissar, Shansi Military District |
| Ch'en Chin-yu | (陳金鈺) | Commander, Shansi Military District |
| Liu Kuan-i | (劉貫一) | |
| Kuo Yung-piao | (郭永彪) | Responsible person, Shansi Military District PLA Unit |
| Yuan Chen | (袁　振) | |
| Ch'en Yung-kuei | (陳永貴) | Secretary, Tachai production brigade, model worker |
| Chang I-feng | (張移風) | |
| Hsieh Chen-hua | (謝振華) | Responsible person, Taiyuan Area PLA Unit |

## 6. *Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : April 20, 1967
Location : Peking
Population : 7,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hsieh Fu-chih | (謝富治) | Vice Premier; Political Commissar, Peking Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wu Te | (吳　德) | First Secretary, Kirin Provincial Party Committee, 1966 |
| Fu Ch'ung-pi | (傅崇碧) | Deputy Commander, Peking Military Region |
| Cheng Wei-shan | (鄭維山) | Commander, Peking Military Region |
| Nieh Yuan-tzu | (聶元梓) | Leading member of mass organisation |

## 7. *Tsinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : August 12, 1967
Location : Sining
Population : 2,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Liu Hsien-ch'uan | (劉賢權) | Commander, Tsinghai Military District; reportedly replaced Yu Li-chin as Political Commissar, PLA Air Force, 1968. |

First Vice Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chang Chiang-lin | (張江霖) | Deputy Commander, Tsinghai Military District |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ta Lo | (達　洛) | Tibetan; Chairman of Revolutionary Committee of Tsinghai University |
| Liu Ming-ch'ien | (劉明乾) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Hsueh Hung-fu | (薛宏福) | Alternate Secretary, Tsinghai Provincial Party Committee |
| Ma Chi-wen | (馬集文) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Wang Chung-shan | (王中山) | Leading member of mass organisation |

## 8. *Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : November 1, 1967
Location : Huhehot
Population : 13,000,000



Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| T'eng Hai-ch'ing | (滕海青) | Deputy Commander, Peking Military Region and Acting Commander, Inner Mongolia Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wu T'ao | (吳　涛) | Political Commissar, Inner Mongolia Military Region |
| Kao Chin-ming | (高錦明) | Secretary, Inner Mongolia Regional Party Committee |
| Huo Tao-yu | (霍道余) | |

## 9. *Tientsin Municipal Revolutionary Commiteee*

Date established : December 6, 1967
Location : Tientsin
Population : 4,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hsieh Hsueh-kung | (解學恭) | Secretary, North China Bureau and First Secretary, Tientsin Municipal Party Committee |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hsiao Szu-ming | (蕭思明) | 2nd Political Commissar, Hopei Military District |
| Cheng San-sheng | (鄭三生) | Commander, Tientsin Garrison |
| Hu Chao-heng | (胡昭衡) | Mayor of Tientsin |
| Liu Cheng | (劉　政) | Chief-of-Staff of a PLA unit in Tientsin. |
| Chiang Feng | (江　楓) | Director of Tientsin Public Security Bureau |
| Ts'ai Shu-mei | (蔡樹梅) | |
| Wang Feng-ch'un | (王風春) | |

## 10. *Kiangsi Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : January 5,1968
Location : Nanchang
Population : 22,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ch'eng Shih-ch'ing | (程世清) | Political Commissar, Kiangsi Military District; Deputy Political Commissar, Foochow Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yang Tung-liang | (楊棟樑) | Commander, Kiangsi Military District |
| Huang Hsien | (黃　先) | Alternate Secretary, Kiangsi Provincial Party Committee; Vice Governor of Kiangsi |
| Yu Hou-te | (于厚德) | Divisional Political Commissar, PLA Unit 6810 |
| Wan Li-lang | | Leading member of mass organisation |

## 11. *Kansu Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : January 25, 1968
Location : Lanchow
Population : 13,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hsien Heng-han | (冼恆漢) | Political Commissar, Lanchow Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chang Chung | (張　忠) | Deputy Commander, Kansu Military District |
| Hu Chi-tsung | (胡繼宗) | Acting First Secretary, Kansu Provincial Party Committee |
| Hsu Kuo-chen | (徐國珍) | Deputy Commander, Lanchow Military Region |
| Ch'iu Yu-min | (丘裕民) | Representative of workers |
| Hsiao Tse-min | (蕭澤民) | |

## 12. *Honan Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : January 27. 1968
Location : Chengchow
Population : 50,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Liu Chien-hsun | (劉建勳) | First Secretary, Honan Provincial Party Committee and First Political Commissar, Honan Military District |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wang Hsin | (王　新) | Second Political Commissar, Honan Military District |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chi Teng-k'uei | (紀登奎) | Alternate Secretary, Honan Provincial Party Committee |
| Ken Ch'i-ch'ang | (耿起昌) | |
| Yang Li-yung | (楊力勇) | Political Commissar, PLA unit in Kaifeng |

## 13. *Hopeh Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : February 3, 1968
Location : Shihchiachuang.
Population : 43,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Li Hsueh-feng | (李雪峯) | Political Commissar, Peking Military Region; First Secretary, North China Bureau |

First Vice Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Liu Tzu-hou | (劉子厚) | Second Secretary, Hopeh Provincial Party Committee |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ma Hui | (馬　輝) | Commander, Hopeh Military District |
| Tseng Mei | (曾　美) | Political Commissar, Hopeh Military District |
| Chang Ying-hui | (張英輝) | Commander of 63rd Army stationed in Hopeh |
| Liu Tien-ch'en | (劉殿臣) | |
| Keng Ch'ang-so | (耿長鎖) | Leading member of mass organisation (Peasants' Congress) |
| Wang Chin-shan | (王金山) | |
| Shih Ch'un-hua | (史春華) | |

## 14. *Hupeh Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : February 5, 1968
Location : Wuhan
Population : 32,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tseng Szu-yu | (曾思玉) | Commander, Wuhan Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Liu Feng | (劉　豐) | Political Commissar, Wuhan Military Region |
| Chang T'i-hsueh | (張體學) | Second Secretary, Hupeh; Provincial Party Committee and Governor of Hupeh; Political Commissar, Hupeh Military District. |
| Jen Ai-sheng | (任愛生) | Director of Rural Work Department, Hupeh Provincial Party Committee |
| Liang Jen-k'uei | (梁仁魁) | Responsible person, Wuhan Area PLA unit |
| Chu Hung-hsia | (朱洪霞) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Jao Hsing-li | (饒興禮) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Yang Tao-yuan | (楊道遠) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Chang Li-kuo | (張立國) | Leading member of mass organisation |

## 15. *Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : February 21, 1968
Location : Canton
Population : 40,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Huang Yung-sheng | (黃永勝) | Commander, Canton Military Region; Chief of the PLA General Staff |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kung Shih-ch'uan | (孔石泉) | 2nd Political Commissar, Canton Military Region |
| Huang Jung-hai | (黃榮海) | Commander, Kwangtung Military District; Chairman Canton Municipal Revolutionary Committee |
| Wang Shou-tao | (王首道) | Former secretary, CCP Central-South Bureau |
| Ch'en Yu | (陳　郁) | Governor of Kwantung |
| Ch'iu Kuo-kuang | (邱國光) | Head of Logistics Department, Canton Military Region |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yen Chung-ch'uan | (閻仲川) | Leading member, Canton Military Region; responsible person, Canton Area PLA unit |
| Liu Chi-fa | (劉繼發) | Leading member of mass organisation (Workers Congress) |
| Huang Yu-ying | (黃育英) | Leading member of mass organisation (Militia) |
| Fan Hsi-hsien | (范希賢) | Deputy Director, Political Department, Finance & Trade |

## 16. *Kirin Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : March 6, 1968
Location : Changchun
Population : 17,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wang Huai-hsiang | (王淮湘) | Deputy Political Commissar, Kirin Military District |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yuan Po-sheng | (阮泊生) | Secretary, Kirin Provincial Party Committee |
| Cheng Chi-chiao | (鄭季翹) | Alternate Secretary, Kirin Provincial Party Committee |
| Hsiao Tao-sheng | (蕭道生) | Responsible person, Changchun Area PLA Unit |
| Ho Yu-fa | (何友發) | Commander, Kirin Military District |
| Chang Shih-ying | (張士英) | |

## 17. *Kiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : March 23, 1968
Location : Nanking
Population : 47,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hsu Shih-yu | (許世友) | Commander, Nanking Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yang Kuang-li | (楊廣立) | Political Commissar of a certain PLA unit |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| P'eng Chung | (彭　仲) | Alternate Secretary, Kiangsu Provincial Party Committee |
| Wu Ta-sheng | (吳大勝) | Leading member of Nanking Military Region; responsible person, Nanking Area PLA unit |

## 18. *Chekiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : March 24, 1968
Location : Hangchow
Population : 31,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nan P'ing | (南　萍) | Political Commissar, PLA Unit 6409, Hangchow area |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ch'en Li-yun | (陳勵耘) | Political Commissar, Air Force Unit 7350 |
| Hsiung Ying-t'ang | (熊應堂) | Commander, Chekiang Military District, leading member of PLA unit 6409 |
| Lai K'o-k'o | (賴可可) | Secretary, Chekiang Provincial Party Committee |
| Chou Chien-jen | (周建人) | Governor of Chekiang |
| Wang Tzu-ta | (王子達) | Deputy Secretary, Hangchow Municipal Party Committee, Mayor of Hangchow |
| Hua Yin-feng | (華銀鳳) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Chang Yung-sheng | (張永生) | Leading member of mass organisation |

## 19. *Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : April 8, 1968
Location : Changsha
Population : 38,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Li Yuan | (黎　原) | Responsible person, PLA Unit 6900, Changsha area |



Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hua Kuo-feng | (華國鋒) | Vice Governor of Hunan; Secretary, Hunan Provincial Party Committee |
| Yang Ta-i | (楊大易) | Responsible persons, Hunan Military District |
| Chang Po-sen | (章伯森) | Alternate Secretary, Hunan Provincial Party Committee, Vice Governor of Hunan |
| Liu Shun-wen | (劉順文) | Commandant, PLA Changsha Military School |
| Hu Yung | (胡　勇) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Yeh Wei-tung | (葉衛東) | Leading member of mass organisation |

## 20. *Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : April 10, 1968
Location : Yinchuan
Population : 2,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| K'ang Chien-min | (康健民) | Deputy Political Commissar, Lanchow Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chang Huai-li | (張懷禮) | Deputy Commander, Ninghsia Military District |
| Hsu Hung-hsueh | (徐洪學) | Responsible person, PLA Unit 8047 |
| Wang Chih-ch'iang | (王志強) | Vice Chairman of People's Council of Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region |
| An Chien-kuo | (安建國) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Kao Hsing-tang | | Political Commissar, PLA Unit 8047 |

## 21. *Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : April 18, 1968
Location : Hofei
Population : 25,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Li Te-sheng | (李德生) | Commander, Anhwei Military District; Commander, PLA Unit 6408 |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Liao Ch'eng-mei | (廖成美) | Deputy Commander, Anhwei Military District |
| Sung P'ei-chang | (宋佩璋) | Deputy Political Commissar, Anhwei Military District; Responsible person, Hofei Area PLA Unit [Dec., 1967] |
| Li Jen-chih | (李任之) | Secretary, Anhwei Provincial Party Committee |
| Yang Hsiao-ch'un | (楊效椿) | Secretary, Hofei Municipal Party Committee |
| Hsu Wen-ch'eng | (徐文成) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Chang Hsiu-ying | (張秀英) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Chang Chia-yun | (張家雲) | Leading member of mass organisation |

## 22. *Shensi Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : May 1, 1968
Location : Sian
Population : 21,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Li Jui-shan | (李瑞山) | Secretary, Hunan Provincial Party Committee |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hu Wei | (胡煒) | Political Commissar, Shensi Military District; responsible person, Sian Area PLA Unit 8133 |
| Huang Ching-yao | (黃經耀) | Commander, Shensi Military District |
| Hsiao Ch'un | (蕭純) | Secretary, Shensi Provincial Party Committee; First Secretary, Sian Municipal Committee |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chang P'ei-hsin | (張培信) | Responsible person, Support-the-Left Committee of PLA units in Shensi |
| Ma Hsi-sheng | (馬希聖) | Leading member, Shensi Military District; responsible person, Shensi PLA Unit |
| Shan Ying-chieh | (單英杰) | |
| Wang Feng-ch'in | (王風琴) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Li Shih-ying | (李世英) | Leading member of mass organistaion |
| Sun Fu-lin | (孫福林) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Yang Meng-yun | (楊夢雲) | Leading member of mass organisation |

## 23. *Liaoning Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : May 10, 1968
Location : Shenyang
Population : 28,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ch'en Hsi-lien | (陳錫聯) | Commander, Shenyang Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yang Ch'un-fu | (楊春甫) | First Secretary, Shenyang Municipal Party Committee; Secretary, Liaoning Provincial Committee |
| Li Po-ch'iu | (李伯秋) | Deputy Director of Political Department, Shenyang Military Region |
| Yu Feng-ying (f) | (尉鳳英) | Leading member of mass organisation (Workers Congress) |
| Wang Liang | (王良) | Secretary, Liaoning Provincial Party Committee |
| Yang Ti | (楊迪) | Leading member, Shenyang Military Region |
| Yang Ch'i | (楊棨) | 3rd Political Commissar, Liaoning Military District; Deputy Chief-of-Staff, Shenyang Military Region |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mao Yuan-hsin | (毛遠新) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Jen Pao-ch'eng | (任寶成) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Wang Feng-en | (王風恩) | Leading member of mass organisation; representative of Shenyang Workers' Congress; deputy to National People's Congress |
| Liu Chung-li | (劉忠禮) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Yu Kuei-lan | (于桂蘭) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Chang Chih-kuo | (張治國) | PLA cadre |
| Wei Li-ling | (魏禮玲) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Hao I-t'ien | (郝義田) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Liu Sheng-t'ien | (劉盛田) | Leading member of mass organisation; representative of Liaoning Congress of Peasants; deputy to National People's Congress |

## 24. *Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : May 31, 1968
Location : Chengtu
Population : 70,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chang Kuo-hua | (張國華) | First Political Commissar, Chengtu Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Liang Hsing-ch'u | (梁興初) | Commander, Chengtu Military Region |
| Li Ta-chang | (李大章) | Governor of Szechwan |
| Liu Chieh-t'ing | (劉結挺) | Deputal Political Commissar, Chengtu Military Region; former Secretary, Ipin District Party Committee |
| Chang Hsi-t'ing | (張西挺) | Former Secretary, Ipin District Party Committee |
| Jen T'ien Pao | (任天寶) | |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hsu Ch'ih | (徐馳) | Former Assistant of Minister of Metallurgical Industry |
| Teng Hsing-kuo | (鄧興國) | Political Commissar, a PLA logistical unit |
| Chiang Hai-yun | (江海雲) | Leading member of mass organisation; Chairman, Szechwan University Revolutionary Committee |
| Wang Heng-lin | (王恆霖) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| P'eng Chia-chih | (彭家治) | Leading member of mass organisation (model worker) |
| Chang Szu-chou | (張泗洲) | Leading member of mass organisation, Deputy to Szechwan Provincial People's Congress; agricultural labour model |
| Feng Yu-te | (馮玉德) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Ts'ai Wen-pin | (蔡文彬) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Yang Chih-ch'eng | (楊志誠) | Leading member of mass organisation |
| Tan K'un-jung | (但坤蓉) | |

## 25. *Yunnan Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : August 13, 1968
Location : Kunming
Population : 20,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| T'an Fu-jen | (譚甫仁) | Political Commissar, Kunming Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chou Hsing | (周興) | Political Commissar, Yunnan Military District; Secretary, Yunnan Provincial Party Committee; Governor of Yunnan |
| Ch'en K'ang | (陳康) | Deputy Commander, Kunming Military Region |
| Lu Jui-lin | (魯瑞林) | Deputy Commander, Kunming Military Region |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Liu Ming-hui | (劉明輝) | Secretary, Yunnan Provincial Party Committee; Vice Governor of Yunnan |
| Huang Chao-ch'i | (黃兆其) | |
| Li I | (李　毅) | |
| Hsu Hsueh-hui (f) | (徐學惠) | Member, China-Vietnam Friendship Association |
| Tuan Pao-chen | (段寶珍) | Leading member of mass organisation, a labour model |

## 26. *Fukien Provincial Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : August 19, 1968
Location : Foochow
Population : 17,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Han Hsien-ch'u | (韓光楚) | Deputy Chief of PLA General Staff; Commander, Fukien Front; Commander, Foochow Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| P'i Ting-chun | (皮定鈞) | Leading member of PLA units on Fukien Front, Deputy Commander, Foochow Military Region |
| Lan Jung-yu | (藍榮玉) | Revolutionary leading cadre; Vice Governor of Fukien |
| Chu Yao-hua | (朱耀華) | Commander, Fukien Military District |
| Yeh Sung | (葉　松) | Vice Governor of Fukien |
| Wu Hung-hsiang | (伍洪祥) | Secretary, Fukien Provincial Party Committee |
| Huang Ya-kuang | (黃亞光) | Vice Chairman, CPPCC |
| Chuang Chih-p'eng | (莊志鵬) | |
| T'ien Yu-min | (田毓民) | |
| Hung Hsiu-ts'ung | (洪秀樅) | Party secretary of a commune |
| Cheng Huo-p'ai | (鄭火排) | Leading member of mass organisation; a college student |
| Wang Yun-chi | (王雲集) | Leading member of mass organisation; a college student |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Liu Yung-sheng | (劉永生) | Vice-governor of Fukien |

## 27. *Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : August 26, 1968
Location : Nanning
Population : 24,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wei Kuo-ch'ing | (韋國清) | 1st Secretary, Kwangsi Regional Party Committee; Pol. Commissar, Kwangsi Military District |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ou Chih-fu | (歐致富) | Commander, Kwangsi Military District |
| An P'ing-sheng | (安平生) | Secretary, Kwangsi Regional Party Committee |
| Wei Yu-chu | (魏佑鑄) | 3rd Political Commissar, Kwangsi Military District |
| Chiao Hung-kung | (焦紅光) | Dep. Commander, Kwangsi Military District; Political Commissar, Kwangsi Military District Air Force Unit |
| Huo Ch'eng-chung | (霍成忠) | |
| Wei Shih-ching | (韋世經) | |
| Lin Fu-min | (林福民) | |
| Mao Feng-luan | (毛鳳鸞) (f) | Militia squad leader |
| Liao Wei-hsiung | (廖煒雄) | |
| Lung Chih-ming | (龍智銘) | |
| Yen Ching-t'ang | (顏景堂) | |
| Tseng Ch'un-sheng | (曾春生) | |

## 28. *Tibet Autonomous Region Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : September 5, 1968
Location : Lhasa
Population : 1,400,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tseng Yung-ya | (曾雍雅) | Acting Commander, Tibet Military Region |

Vice Chairmen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jen Jung | (任　榮) | Deputy Political Commissar, Tibet Military Region |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Pasang | (巴　桑) | |
| Ch'en Ming-i | (陳明義) | Deputy Commander, Tibet Military Region |
| Liao Pu-yun | (廖步雲) | Deputy Commander, Tibet Military Region |
| Yang Tung-sheng | (楊東生) | Secretary, Tibet Regional Party Committee |
| Miao P'ei-i | (苗丕一) | |
| Ngapo Ngawang Jigme (阿沛·阿旺晉美) | | Deputy Commander, Tibet Military Region |
| T'ao Ch'ang-sung | (陶長松) | |
| Liu Shao-min | (劉紹民) | |
| Thubten Nima | (土登尼瑪) | |
| Chu Ching-shang | (朱景尚) | |
| Ma Jui-hua | (馬瑞華) | |
| Tsering Lam | (次仁拉姆) | |

## 29. *Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region Revolutionary Committee*

Date established : September 5, 1968
Location : Urumchi
Population : 8,000,000

Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Lung Shu-chin | (龍書金) | Former Commander, Hunan Military District & First Vice Chairman of Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee; Commander, Sinkiang Military Region |

Vice Chairman:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kuo P'eng | (郭　鵬) | Deputy Commander, Sinkiang Military Region |
| Saifudin | (賽福鼎) | Deputy commander, Sinkiang Military Region |
| Wang En-mao | (王恩茂) | Former Commander, Sinkiang Military Region; Political Commissar, Sinkiang Military Region |
| Pei Chou-yu | (裴周玉) | Deputy Political Commissar, Sinkiang Production and Construction Corps |
| Li Ch'uan-ch'un | (李全春) | Leading member of PLA Unit 7335 |



| | |
|---|---|
| Yang Li-yeh | (楊立業) |
| Hu Liang-ts'ai | (胡良才) |
| Ziya | (孜　牙) |
| Wu Chu-lin | (吳巨輪) |

### *Editorial Hails Establishment of Revolutionary Committees All Over China*

The *Jen-min Jih-pao* and the *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* published a joint editorial on September 7, 1968 hailing the establishment of revolutionary committees in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in China. This event, it says, proclaims the complete bankruptcy of the counter-revolutionary plot of China's Khrushchev and his agents everywhere to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. – Ed.

(Excerpts) At a time when hundreds of millions of armymen and civilians throughout the country are marching from victory to victory under the inspiration of Chairman Mao's latest instructions, revolutionary committees have been established stimultaneously in the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the southwestern and northwestern outposts of China's battle against imperialism and revisionism.

Revolutionary committees have now been set up in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country with the exception of Taiwan Province. This extremely magnificent spectacle —— the whole country is red —— is an important event in the seizing of all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It indicates that the whole movement has arrived at the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation on a nation-wide scale. This is a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and an event of great joy in the political life of the 700 million people of our country! . . .

In the great struggle during the 20 months from the outburst of the "January Storm" in Shanghai to the establishment of the two revolutionary committees in Tibet and Sinkiang, armymen and civilians throughout the country have fulfilled the great call issued by Chairman Mao "Proletarian revolutionaries, unite to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road," and have won decisive victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution on a nation-wide scale.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The aim of every revolutionary struggle in the world is the seizure and consolidation of political power." The

class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat is, in essence, still a question of political power. The bourgeoisie wants to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, whereas the proletariat wants to consolidate it. The handful of capitalist roaders in the Party are representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party. The proletariat's seizing back of that portion of power of the Party, government, finance and culture which the handful of capitalist roaders usurped is a serious struggle in which the bourgeoisie attempts for a restoration and the proletariat opposes its doing so. This is the continuation of the proletarian revolution and a great political revolution made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

The establishment of the revolutionary committees in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country proclaims the complete bankruptcy of the counter-revolutionary plot of China's Khrushchev and his agents everywhere to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It smashes to smithereens all the counter-revolutionary rumours spread by U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism and shatters the wishful thinking of imperialism and modern revisionism of bringing about "peaceful evolution" in China.

Establishment of the revolutionary committees in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country demonstrates the unparalleled might of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung when it grasps hundreds of millions of revolutionary people. It has greatly strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat and greatly enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism.

We heartily and warmly hail the great victory won by the revolutionary people under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader.

We will resolutely bring into full play the proletariat's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit, follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan closely and consolidate and develop this victory through consistent and untiring struggle!

Chairman Mao recently issued to the whole country the great call, "Conscientiously carry out well the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation." He pointed out: "The struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a revolutionary committee of the three-in-one combination, mass criticism and repudiation, purifying the class ranks, rectifying the Party organisation, simplifying organisational structure, changing unreasonable rules and regulations and sending people who work in offices to grass-roots levels."



Chairman Mao's latest instructions reflect the objective law of the great proletarian cultural revolution which has reached the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation. It expresses in a concentrated way the pressing demands of the working class and the revolutionary masses and in a clear-cut way indicates the central task confronting the revolutionary committees at all levels.

Doing a good job of struggle-criticism-transformation in each unit and each department is basic to the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is a question of fundamental importance to preventing restoration of capitalism and consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat for a hundred years. This is a battle to win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The revolutionary committees at all levels must vigorously take hold of struggle-criticism-transformation and, in fulfilling this great historic task, must bring into fuller play their revolutionary might and consolidate and develop the revolutionary committees. . .

("Long Live All-round Victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," joint editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao,* September 7, 1968; released in English by *NCNA,* Peking, September 6.)

CHAPTER III

# *Reverses in the Power Struggle*

*As the official Chinese Communist press announcements openly admitted, there were many "twists and turns and reverses" in the struggle to seize power from the "power-holders who took the capitalist road." The most notable of these were the so-called "February adverse current" and "March evil wind"; the "Wuhan Incident" and the "May 16 Corps." These "adverse currents" were invariably repulsed by the "proletarian headquarters", headed by Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao, and their leaders – many of them close associates of Chou En-lai, Lin Piao and Chiang Ch'ing – were eliminated.*
*–Ed.*

# The "February Adverse Current" and the "March Evil Wind"

The "February adverse current", allegedly stirred up in February 1967 by T'an Chen-lin, a member of the CCP Central Committee, a vice-premier of the State Council and director of its Agriculture and Forestry Office, was, in fact, a struggle waged by the conservative elements in the Party and State organs against the Maoist rebels and Red Guards to defend the "veteran revolutionaries" and "reverse the verdict" on Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. It was subsequently denounced as a "counter-revolutionary adverse current."

The "March evil wind" (otherwise called the "wind of rightist reversal of verdicts") sought to "reverse the verdict" passed on the "February adverse current." It was said to have been whipped up by an "anti-Party conspiratorial group" headed by Yang Ch'eng-wu, Acting Chief of the PLA General Staff and a close associate of Lin Piao. – Ed.

## *T'an Chen-lin and the "February Adverse Current"*

What is the "February adverse current?"

Explaining this, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said the "February adverse current" was started in the winter of 1966 by T'an Chen-lin ( 譚 震 林 ) a capable fighter, who had consistently opposed Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin. Pointing the spearhead directly at our Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin and the proletarian headquarters headed by them, T'an and others attempted to negate the achievements of the great proletarian revolution, throw the People's Liberation Army into disarray and rock the foundations of the newly formed revolutionary committees.

Chiang Ch'ing went on: "T'an Chen-lin and others are opposed to the great proletarian cultural revolution and attempt to write off the achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution. In other words, they seek to erase what the revolutionary masses and revolutionary young fighters have achieved."

T'an Chen-lin, a big renegade, is the advance guard who stirred up the "February adverse current."

Last year's spring was no ordinary spring.

In response to the call of our great leader Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolutionaries combined their forces in carrying out a massive struggle to seize power from the handful of capitalist-roaders in the Party. Soon the red storm of the "January Revolution" in Shanghai swept the whole country and shook the whole world. The black bourgeois headquarters of Liu and Teng was in a precarious state. while the revolutionary situation throughout the country was excellent.

Refusing to accept their defeat, the class enemies desperately put up a last-ditch fight with redoubled efforts, fanatical fervour and burning hatred. They stirred up the counter-revolutionary "February adverse current" in a vain attempt to regain their lost paradise.

Nursing deep-seated hatred for the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and for the great proletarian cultural revolution, T'an Chen-lin, a black capable fighter of the "February adverse current," lost his patience and came out into the open. He clamoured he would "speak on behalf of all veteran revolutionaries." He also made these blatant remarks: "Old cadres who have been overthrown suffer deeply in the hands of those who denounce them." "I am against hitting at so many old cadres, chopping off their heads and expelling them from Party membership." "It is wrong to get everything done by relying solely on the young fighters."

Thus T'an Chen-lin came out openly to air the grievances suffered by Liu, Teng and T'ao. Taking advantage of the powers he still held, T'an misled some of the revolutionary masses and manipulated the conservative organisations to strike back at the proletarian revolutionaries in revenge. He defiantly branded the revolutionary masses as "counter-revolutionary," "Rightist" and "black hands" in a sinister move to strangle the great proletarian cultural revolution and to bring about a counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration.

Look how wantonly T'an Chen-lin suppressed the revolutionary rebels of agricultural and forestry systems in February last year!

Finding that he was doomed to complete failure, T'an Chen-lin became so desperate that he lost no time in convening on January 16 a conference of Party committees of agricultural and forestry departments to plan a fake seizure of power on the next day at all the offices of the agricultural systems. Conservative organisations under T'an Chen-lin's manipulation quickly disguised themselves and assumed control of the "power-seizing committee." Later, at a forum held under the auspices of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, Comrade Ch'en Po-ta sternly castigated what had transpired at the agricultural systems as "a typical fake seizure of power."



However, it was not long before the revolutionary rebels of agricultural and forestry systems uncovered T'an Chen-lin's intrigues. When the "Revolutionary Rebel Liaison Centre" for agricultural and forestry systems on January 27 held a rally to repudiate the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, the meeting had to be called off because it was falsely branded as a "Rightist rally" by T'an Chen-lin.

In addition, T'an Chen-lin assigned to the agricultural and forestry systems work teams in disguised forms, such as "liaison men" and "observers." T'ung Ts'ang, ( 佟 倉 ), who was assigned to the Agricultural University, and Jao Hsing ( 饒 興 ), who was assigned to the Meteorological Bureau, were originally key members of the work team. The team assigned to the Institute of Agricultural Science was called Propaganda Team of Mao Tse-tung's Thought. Wherever these people went, they fostered the conservative forces and hit at the revolutionary rebels, even branding revolutionary organisations such as "Tung-fanghung" of Agricultural University and "Hung-ch'i" of the Institute of Agricultural Science as "counter-revolutionary organisations," "black organisations" or "ultra-rightist organisations" and labelling many members of the revolutionary Left as "ultra-rightists," "anti-Party elements" or "black hands"...

T'an Chen-lin also openly incited the students assigned to various departments of the agricultural and forestry systems to disintegrate the revolutionary organisations. For instance, at a reception for the representatives of the "Red Rebel Liaison Centre" of February 22, T'an Chen-lin said: "Through this stage of struggle, all the bad people are brought to light... It is indeed fine to unmask these bad guys, for then they can be grabbed, pulled down, toppled and completely discredited." T'an also deceived the students of Agricultural University and instigated them to "turn the gun around," storm various departments and become his hacks when attacking the revolutionary rebels from all sides.

What was even more intolerable was that T'an Chen-lin deceived Premier Chou and supplied him with false information. Consequently, Premier Chou did receive members of the "Red Rebel Liaison Centre" on February 21. T'an did so to foster the conservative forces and thus acquired more political capital. This was another serious offence committed by T'an Chen-lin.

Because T'an Chen-lin deceived the Central Authorities and used his authority to counter-attack the revolutionary organisations and revolutionary masses of the agricultural systems in revenge, the gathering clouds of a "white terror" hung over all departments of the agricultural and forestry systems during the period from mid-February to early March.

At the Ministry of Agriculture, T'an Chen-lin directed things from behind the scenes. For instance, the "Red Rebel Liaison Centre" of the agricultural systems took over the job of hurling false charges on the "Hung-ch'i Combat Group," a revolutionary organisation, branding it as an "ultra-rightist organisation." After smashing the "Hung-ch'i Combat Group," members of the "Red Rebel Liaison Centre" forced the group to disband within a certain period. In three so-called "denunciation rallies," they dragged "Hung-ch'i" members to the platform and forced them to bow their heads before the audience. Out of a total of 17 "Hung-ch'i" members (one cook, two drivers and 14 students who graduated in 1965) of the Ministry of Agriculture, five of them were branded as "Rightists," two subjected to struggle and torture and forced to bow their heads.

At the Central Meteorological Bureau, T'an Chen-lin took command in person. He sent "liaison men" ——a disguised form of the work team —— to control the great cultural revolution movement in that work unit and directed counter-attacks against the members of that unit. After branding the "Hung-ch'i Combat Group," a revolutionary organisation, as a "reactionary black organisation," they raided all "Hung-ch'i" reception centres, confiscated the diaries of the responsible members of the group, shadowed their members and employed such measures as making extensive contacts among the masses and holding individual talks to put pressure on them and force them to withdraw from the "Hung-ch'i Combat Group." "Hung-ch'i" fighters were so upset that they wept and had no appetite for food, but kept singing "The Red Army Thinks of Mao Tse-tung."

At the 8th Ministry of Machine-Building, T'an Chen-lin assumed command in person, branding the "Peking Commune," a revolutionary organisation, as a "black organisation" and "revisionist organisation," and accusing the responsible members of that commune of being the "adherents of the black line" and "counter-revolutionary." In addition, T'an forced them to disclose their "counter-revolutionary criminal activities" and imposed dictatorship on this "handful of persons." At a reception for the students of the Institute of Agricultural Machinery assigned to the 8th Ministry of Machine-Building, T'an Chen-lin said: "... The Peking Commune has



erred... We will make known to the public the crimes committed by the Peking Commune." He did so in an attempt to finish off the Peking Commune in one stroke.

At Agricultural University, members of the T'an faction branded "Tungfanghung Commune," a revolutionary organisation, as a counter-revolutionary organisation. They even handed over the dossiers on the responsible members of the headquarters of that commune to the public security bureau and put them on file. In mid-February, contact men assigned by T'an Chen-lin to Agricultural University told "Tungfanghung" fighters: "Think it over, you folks. Aren't there class enemies inside your headquarters (referring to the Red Rebel Liaison Centre) and backers behind your backstage managers? Is it true you folks rise in rebellion after the Central Committee has denounced your group by name for being a counter-revolutionary organisation?"

As a result of provocations viciously fomented by T'an and others, the class line became so blurred that revolutionary factions began to fight one another. How vicious T'an Chen-lin's motives were!

After hitting hard at the "Revolutionary Rebel Liaison Centre" of the agricultural system and many of its subordinate revolutionary organisations, T'an Chen-lin mobilised nearly all the conservative forces of the agricultural systems in an attempt to topple the revolutionary organisation of the Institute of Agricultural Science——the "Hung-ch'i Combat Group." Distributing handbills containing nothing but false information in the city streets, T'an's henchmen shouted: "Smash 'Hung-ch'i' to bits" and "Down with 'Hung-ch'i!" X X, T'an's faithful lackey and a Vice Minister of Agriculture, presided over a rally to denounce the so-called "fascist acts of violence of 'Hung-ch'i,' a downright rightist organisation."

In order to topple "Hung-ch'i," T'an Chen-lin assigned the "Propaganda Team of Mao Tse-tung's Thought" ——a disguised form of the work team—— to the "Hung-ch'i" headquarters, closely checking the files, grabbing [political] "pickpockets" and ordering "Hung-ch'i" fighters to hold small sessions in threes and fives to expose one another. Thus the power-holders taking the capitalist road reappeared in succession, clamouring for reversal of decisions on them and counter-attacking in revenge in a big way.

Chu Tse-min, a big renegade and the top person in power taking the capitalist road in the Institute of Agricultural Scinece, and his wife, Yang Chun, a "three-anti" elements, blatantly declared they were "glorious Communist Party members" and accused the "Hung-ch'i Combat Group" of carrying out "political persecution" against them. On the other hand, Chu Jung, a Vice Minister of Agriculture, and Ch'en Man-yuan, Acting Minister of Agricultural

Reclamation, defiantly declared they would reckon with those who had put up big-character posters against them in the early stage of the great cultural revolution movement. Ch'en Cheng-jen of the 8th Ministry of Machine-Building in a big-character poster in which he was supposed to declare his stand viciously attacked the "Peking Commune" for having committed errors of line and orientation. Under these circumstances, T'an Chen-lin arbitrarily recommended people such as Ch'en Man-yuan, Chu Jung, Jao Hsing and Ch'en Cheng-jen to the revolutionary masses as candidates of the "three-in-one combination." T'an did so to bring about a capitalist restoration.

Because of the massive counter-attacks by T'an Chen-lin, the great cultural revolution in the agricultural and forestry systems was in danger of being smothered. However, the revolutionary rebels armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung in no way could be suppressed and knocked out. Without stopping fighting on for a moment, they ultimately succeeded in dragging out the advance guards who had engineered the counter-revolutionary restoration.

In the past year or so the great proletarian cultural revolution has scored one great victory after another. Assuming an ultra– "leftist" stance and vainly seeking to wreck and split the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and to undermine and split the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the anti-Party clique of Kuan, Wang, Ch'i and Lin have been dragged out by the proletarian headquarters. Central leaders have pointed out in good time: While opposing the "leftist" we should guard against the rightist forces seeking to reverse the decisions on them and prevent the "diehard conservatives" from reasserting themselves.

The proletarian headquarters informed its enemies of the fundamental strategy and policies, yet the enemies were bent on attacking the proletarian headquarters. Believing that the moment for reversing decisions had come,T'an Chen-lin, a big renegade who had been given a mortal blow in the "February adverse current," reappeared. On the other hand, the "diehard conservatives" of the agricultural system clamoured that the proletarian revolutionaries who had struck back at the "February adverse current" should "apologise" to T'an Chen-lin and the like. How utterly blatant these people were!

Comrade Chinag Ch'ing said: "The February adverse current seeks to topple the great proletarian cultural revolution and the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin. If the adverse current is not stemmed, the Party, the country and all of us will perish. The main source of danger confronting the whole country at present lies in the trend calling for reversal of decisions on the rightists."

Revolutionary comrades, the proletarian headquarters has issued us a combat mobilisation order. Let us strike a telling blow at T'an Chen-lin and the like and put down attempts aimed at reversal of decisions on the rightists fomented by them in the same fighting spirit in which we stemmed adverse currents and gusts of evil winds in previous years!



Down with T'an Chen-lin, a black capable fighter of the "February adverse current."

Down with T'an Chen-lin, a big renegade!

(*Chung-ta Hung-ch'i* [中大紅旗] Canton, No. 63, April 4, 1968.)

## *Major Charges Against the "February Adverse Current"*

(Excerpts) The "February adverse current" was a campaign to reverse the verdict on Liu and Teng. It took place from the middle of February to the middle of March, 1967. A black hand and his small gang, who resolutely supported the Liu-Teng line, openly, arrogantly and recklessly launched an attack on the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao with Vice Chairman Lin as his deputy. They also launched a new counter-attack on the Central Cultural Revolution Group which was firmly loyal to and resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and on Comrades Ch'en Po-ta and Chiang Ch'ing, chief and deputy chief, respectively, of the group.

——They viciously attacked the great proletarian cultural revolution and positively opposed the great Yenan rectification movement led by Chairman Mao.

——They viciously attacked and slandered Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin.

——They negated the revolutionary principle of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought that the masses could educate themselves and carry on revolution themselves.

——They slandered Mao Tse-tung's thought——a Marxist-Leninist universal truth applicable everywhere——and called it "idealism."

——They slandered the great cultural revolution, saying that it "did not have the Party's leadership." In reality they opposed Chairman Mao's leadership over the great proletarian cultural revolution and negated Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist, correct leadership of the past several decades.

——They pretended to protect the verteran cadres and the children of cadres, but in reality they protected the demons and monsters and the capitalist-roaders.

——They negated classes and class struggle. They completely negated the class viewpoint of Chairman Mao and Marxism-Leninism. They completely negated Chairman Mao's line of trusting and relying on the masses and the PLA and believing that the overwhelming majority of our cadres were good or comparatively good...

——Their main objective was to reverse the verdict on Liu and Teng, as well as on Wang Ming, a Soviet revisionist running dog.

All this caused great indignation within the proletarian headquarters of Chairman Mao and led to resolute counter-blows from comrades of the Central Cultural Revolution Group.

Meanwhile, renegade T'an Chen-lin, a black general of the "February adverse current," went so far so to threaten the Party. At a meeting he declared that he would struggle to the end even "at the risk of being decapitated or thrown into prison"...

(Canton *Hung Hua-kung* [ 紅 華 工 ], May 5, 1968)

## *Unmask T'an Chen-lin, Black General of the Evil Wind of Verdict Reversal*

The following article traces the "counter-revolutionary activities" of T'an Chen-lin, arch-villain of the "February adverse current", back to the early forties.

The historically unparalleled great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao, is developing thunderously. Like angry waves of the sea, it has toppled the bourgeois headquarters concealed in our Party and headed by China's Khrushchev. It has purged the counter-revolutionary revisionists who are opposed to Communism, the people, and Mao Tse-tung's thought, as well as renegades, enemy agents, and counter-revolutionary double-dealers.

However, the enemy will never be reconciled to defeat. They have always been watching the situation, waiting for an opportunity to hit back and try to restore capitalism. In the spring last year, at the crucial moment when proletarian revolutionaries of the whole country, following Chairman Mao's great teaching, united themselves and seized power from the small handful of capitalist-roaders in the Party, the partners of China's Khrushchev raised a counter-revolutionary adverse current of verdict-reversal and launched a rabid attack on the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, with Vice Chairman Lin as his deputy. The black general of this adverse current was T'an Chen-lin.

In the adverse current, T'an Chen-lin declared his intention to reverse the verdict on China's Khrushchev and the small handful of top capitalist-roaders in the Party, on Ch'en P'ei-hsien[1] and Chiang Wei-ch'ing[2], agents in Shanghai and Kiangsu of China's Khrushchev, and on the Wang Ming line[3].

Why did T'an Chen-lin desperately want to reverse the verdict on China's Khrushchev? An investigation into his past shows that he had conspired with China's Khrushchev and was engaged for a long time in counter-revolutionary activities.



### I

Amid wind and thunderstorm on the earth, demons rise out of a heap of bones. T'an Chen-lin and China's Khrushchev were already in league with each other in the days of the anti-Japanese war. After the South Anhwei incident in 1941, T'an Chen-lin made the acquaintance of China's Khrushchev. After that he followed his black master closely and became a faithful executor of the opportunist line of China's Khrushchev.

At about the time of the nationwide liberation, T'an Chen-lin on the one hand rabidly opposed Chairman Mao and his thought, and on the other hand lauded China's Khrushchev, whom he called "exponent of the Party's correct line in urban areas." Thus he created counter-revolutionary opinion for usurpation of the Party and the government by the counter-revolutionary black gang.

At the time of the national conference on financial and economic work in 1953, T'an Chen-lin, unable to restrain his ambition to usurp the Party and the government, actively took part in the activities of the anti-Party group of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-chih. He came out to fight the first battles for Kao and Jao, serving as a vanguard of this anti-Party group in their usurpation of the Party and the government. At the national conference he madly cried, "We will seize all powers over personnel, finances and the government!" Inside and outside, before and after the meeting, he regularly had secret talks with Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and Ch'en P'ei-hsien and vigorously spread rumours, creating counter-revolutionary opinion for usurpation of the Party and government by Kao and Jao, the anti-Party ringleaders.

On the one hand T'an Chen-lin, complained everywhere that "there are sinister ministers around the Centre." On the other hand he lauded Kao Kang, saying he was "young and capable", while Jao Shu-shih was an outstanding Marxist of China." As a matter of fact, the "sinister ministers" were none other than T'an Chen-lin and the group of renegades and counter-revolutionaries. China's Khrushchev and the small handful of top capitalist-roaders in the Party, including T'an Chen-lin, are the Khrushchev-type men sleeping beside our great leader Chairman Mao. "When the time is ripe, they will seize political power and turn the proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship." T'an Chen-lin not only accused the responsible comrades at the Centre of being "sinister ministers," but, confusing black with white, described Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and their group of renegades and counter-revolutionaries as proletarian revolutionaries. They were indeed birds of a feather.

To attain their criminal end of usurpation of the Party and the government, T'an Chen-lin and Ch'en P'ei-hsien, together with their lackeys, jointly

wrote a letter to Chairman, openly demanding our great leader to "take a rest." This letter is irrefutable proof of the opposition to our great leader Chairman Mao by T'an Chen-lin and his gang.

After the exposure of the Kao-Jao anti-Party group, T'an Chen-lin immediately put on a disguise and retreated, "so that he may lie low and wait for an opportunity to rise again." However, he kept his hopes alive and would vigorously oppose Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought as soon as he had an opportunity. He said malignantly, "I was one of the earliest to follow Chairman Mao, have imbibed more of Mao Tse-tung's thought than anyone else, and have made the most mistakes." Thus he viciously attributed his mistakes to his having "imbibed more of Mao Tse-tung's thought than anyone else."

During the current great proletarian cultural revolution, T'an Chen-lin on the one hand madly slandered Chairman Mao in the hope of inciting the masses to rise to oppose Chairman Mao, and on the other hand lauded his black master, China's Khrushchev. He once said shamelessly, "To be a pawn to X X X (China's Khrushchev)——How glorious!" He really does not know what shame is. He regarded the notorious black *Self-Cultivation* as a treasure. He said the black book, which betrayed the proletarian dictatorship, "is a profound work," and shamelessly wanted others to "use it as a mirror with which to constantly examine one's own thoughts and actions."

By implication, it may be seen how deeply T'an Chen-lin hates Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and how fervently he adores his black master. It is obvious that the counter-revolutionary black gang, by collaborating with one another, intended to turn the proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship and restore capitalism in China.

II

While the knave energetically lauded his master, the master in turn appreciated the services of the knave. Under the aegis of China's Khrushchev, T'an Chen-lin rose quickly, sneaked into a central leadership organ, took in his hands the powers of the Party and government in the agriculture and forestry system, and became China's Khrushchev's agent planted in the agriculture and forestry system for restoration of capitalism. He served the interests of land-lords and rich peasants by all conceivable means, saying preposterously, "Preservation of the rich peasant economy is for the sake of rehabilitating and developing agricultural production at higher speed." He extensively promoted the "freedom to hire labour," "freedom to trade," and "freedom to borrow," vigorously protecting the freedom of exploi-



tation. These preposterous utterances of T'an Chen-lin were completely in tune with those of US imperialism, Soviet revisionism, and the Kuomintang reactionaries, and completely exposed him as an opponent to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and representative of the interests of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, who would let capitalist influence dominate the rural areas.

T'an Chen-lin not only followed China's Khrushchev in trying hard to drag China's countryside toward capitalism, but also energetically peddled Soviet revisionist Khrushchev's phoney communism, vainly trying to lead the whole of China into the road of capitalism.

The so-called "communism" of T'an Chen-lin and his like means people eating "chicken and duck and fish," wearing "woollen clothing," and living in "tall buildings and mansions," and every family able to afford "automobiles, an aeroplane, and TV sets"... In short, to use his own words, "communism is the sum total of good food, clothes, houses, transport, plus cultural recreation, the Academy of Sciences, and sport." What is communism? The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Communism is a complete ideological system of the proletariat and at the same time a new social system. Such an ideological and social system is different from any other ideological and social system. It is the most complete, most advanced, most revolutionary and most rational system in the history of mankind." T'an Chen-lin's "communism" of eating, drinking, and recreation is in fact a reprint of Soviet revisionist Khrushchev's "communism" of "goulash" and "leather shoes plus overcoats." It is synonymous with capitalism. Such "communism" would in fact meet the needs of Johnson, Tito and Chiang Kai-shek.

The "communism" which T'an Chen-lin advertised is greatly appreciated by the Soviet revisionist renegade group. *Pravda* on March 29, 1967 applauded T'an Chen-lin's "theory" of "communism" of eating, drinking, recreation and funmaking, rabidly attacking our great proletarian cultural revolution and trying to vindicate the big renegade. That shows how the dragging out and toppling of this black general has frightened his masters. But history has ruthlessly announced the sentence of death on this knave of Soviet revisionism.

III

The great leader Chairman Mao has recently taught us: "The great proletarian cultural revolution is in essence a great political revolution under the condition of socialism made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. It is a continuation of the prolonged struggle

between the Chinese Communist Party and the broad masses of revolutionary people under its leadership on the one hand and the Kuomintang reactionaries on the other, a continuation of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." This is the most profound and complete summing-up of the great significance and class content of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It also shows in a straightforward way what sort of goods T'an Chen-lin and his like are.

The large amount of proven facts that have been disclosed show that T'an Chen-lin——one of the leaders of the counter-revolutionary black gang of which China's Khrushchev is the head——is a big renegade who prostrated himself at the feet of the enemy and a counter-revolutionary revisionist who has sneaked into the Chinese Communist Party. He faithfully represents the interests of the Kuomintang reactionaries as well as those of imperialism, the bourgeoisie, and landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists.

For a long time T'an Chen-lin has been a faithful lackey of Chiang Kai-shek, a common enemy of the people. During the war against Japan, he issued, shortly after he came to southern Kiangsu, a "10-Point Programme" that went to "support Generalissimo Chiang," openly promoting class capitulationism. He also made changes of history to whitewash Chiang Kai-shek, making up this No. 1 traitor as an anti-Japanese "hero." After the nation-wide liberation, T'an Chen-lin still remembered public enemy Chiang Kai-shek and continued to show the utmost concern for him. He said, "The Generalissimo (Chiang) says that he wants to come back for his 80th birthday. Well, let him come back. He will be given a car." He wanted to "co-operate" with traitor Chiang Kai-shek. That shows that T'an Chen-lin is a remnant devil of the Kuomintang. T'an Chen-lin is not only Chiang Kai-shek's pet dog, but also a native slave of US imperialism. He energetically aired the view that "US imperialism is the richest and most powerful country" and said preposterously that "US imperialism has its ugly as well as its beautiful side, and we may emulate its beautiful side." He even wanted to bring Eisenhower——the world's No. 1 warmonger——to "the road of happiness." It may also be seen here that the "communism" which T'an Chen-lin advocates is nothing but capitalist black goods!

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "US imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the people of the whole world." And Chiang Kai-shek is the common enemy of the people. But T'an Chen-lin lauds so much US imperialism——the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world——and Khrushchev and dictator-cum-public-enemy Chiang Kai-shek, who has brought



such disasters to the nation. It fully proves that T'an Chen-lin is an agent of imperialism, revisionism and reactionaries hiding in our Party.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will never be reconciled to their defeat. They will make a last-ditch struggle." We must resolutely follow Chairman Mao's teaching, avoid being conceited and rash, advance in the wake of victory, more penetratingly develop revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, and struggle against, topple and completely discredit T'an Chen-lin and his black master China's Khrushchev, as well as the small handful of top capitalist-orders, renegades, enemy agents and counter-revolutionaries in the Party, so they may never be able to rise again!

(Shanghai *Wen-hui Pao* article, June 1, 1968.)

## NOTES

1. Former first secretary of the CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee.
2. Former first secretary of the CCP Kiangsu Provincial Committee.
3. See "Wang Ming Capitulationist Line" in *GLOSSARY*.

## *Dismissal of Yang Ch'eng-wu*

On March 22, 1968 the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission and the Cultural Revolution Group issued an order concerning the dismissal of Yang Ch'eng-wu, Yu Li-chin and Fu Ch'ung-pi. The order was read by Chou En-lai at a 100,000-man rally in Peking on March 27, as follows:

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

(1) Since Yang Ch'eng-wu ( 楊成武 ) 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 ( 余立金 ) has committed extremely serious mistakes 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 Ch'ung-pi ( 傅崇碧 ) has committed a serious mistake. It is decided to dismiss him from the post of Commander of Peking Garrison.

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

## *K'ang Sheng's Speech Concerning Yang Ch'eng-wu's Dismissal*

The following extracts from a speech by K'ang Sheng, member of the CCP Political Bureau and adviser to the Central Cultural Revolution Group, reveal the cause of Yang's dismissal. The speech was made at a 100,000-man rally held in Peking on March 27:

I fully support the orders of the CCP Central Committee, State Council, Central Military Commission, and Central Cultural Revolution Group which Premier Chou has just read. These orders were made on the basis of wise instructions issued by our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice Chairman Lin, namely, dismissal of Yang Ch'eng-wu, dismissal of Fu Ch'ung-pi, prosecution of Yu Li-chin according to law, appointment of Huang Yung-sheng to the post of Chief of General Staff, and appointment of Wen Yu-ch'eng to the concurrent post of Commander of Peking Garrison. These decisions are important, wise decisions to defend our great proletarian cultural revolution, our proletarian dictatorship, the Party centre, Chairman Mao, and the PLA! I fully agree with them and hope you comrades will resolutely support and thoroughly carry them out.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has already won a decisive victory and is striving to win a complete victory. Under the excellent situation and in the acute struggle between the two lines and two classes, a small handful of enemies, ambitionists and double-dealers hidden in the Party have been exposed and a great hidden danger in the Party has been removed. That is a great victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution and yet another great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

As Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has just said, it takes us some time to know the double-dealers hidden among us. We failed to see the essential character of Yang Ch'eng-wu, Yu Li-chin and Fu Ch'ung-pi in the past. In the great cultural revolution there were many materials, innumerable facts and innumerable evidence to prove that Yang Ch'eng-wu was a bourgeois schemer and double-dealer——a schemer who had two faces, whose mind belied his words, and whose mouth was full of honey but whose heart was a sword.

As our Deputy Supreme Commander Lin has said, he pretended to oppose Lo Jui-ch'ing but was in reality Lo Jui-ch'ing's man; his opposition



to P'eng, Lo, Lu and Yang was false because he was in essence P'eng Chen's trusted man and a member of P'eng Chen's black gang; his opposition to Ho Lung was false because essentially he was Ho Lung's trusted man in the days of Yenan.

Now he wants to seize the power of the PLA and the power of the Air Force. Overtly he opposed Wang, Kuan and Ch'i, but in fact he was the back-stage boss of Wang, Kuan and Ch'i. It was he who, together with Ch'i Pen-yu, compiled black materials against Comrade Chiang Ch'ing. He directed Fu Ch'ung-pi to assault the headquarters of the Central Cultural Revolution Group. He madly oppose Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Recently double-dealer Yang Ch'eng-wu conspired with renegade Yu Li-chin to oppose comrade Wu Fa-hsien and to seize the power of the PLA Air Force. He conspired with Fu Ch'ung-pi to seize the power from Hsieh Fu-chih of Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee. He attempted to seize the power of the Broadcasting Station, *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* and *Jen-min Jih-pao.*

These are only what is already known to us. In the future, when our comrades will continue to expose him, I believe more serious problems will be found. But no matter what method he adopted and what trick he played, his ultimate object was to reverse the verdict on the Liu-Teng line, on Liu, Teng, T'ao, P'eng Te-huai, Ho Lung, P'eng, Lo, Lu and Yang, and on the "February adverse current" of renegade T'an Chen-lin, and to rehabilitate them...

(Special Edition of *Chu-ying Tung-fang-hung* [ 珠影東方紅 ], No. 20, Canton, April, 1968 )

## *Thoroughly Smash the Counter-Revolutionary Adverse Current of Rightist Reversal of Verdict*

With victories won in the great proletarian cultural revolution, our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice Chairman Lin Piao recently received some cadres of the armed forces. Our great leader Chairman Mao was in high spirits and very good health. Vice Chairman Lin Piao, Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms, gave extremely important instructions. Comrades Chou En-lai, Ch'en Po-ta, K'ang Sheng, Chiang Ch'ing and Yao Wen-yuan also made important speeches. The whole country rejoiced over this happy news.

With the greatest excitement, we respectfully wish Chairman Mao, the reddest sun in our hearts, a long, long life!

"The day the masses are happy will be a time of suffering for the counter-revolutionaries." The great proletarian cultural revolution is entering the important moment of securing an all-round victory. The class enemies will not take their defeat lying down. Schemed and initiated by the handful of capitalist-roaders, renegades and secret enemy agents in the Party, a counter-revolutionary adverse current of rightist reversal of verdict has emerged. This is a counter-attack and retaliation on the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, and a struggle made by the handful of class enemies at their death-bed!

The bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the revolutionary camp are intoxicated by their gains. They have made a wrong estimate. They want to reverse the verdict on the counter-revolutionary adverse current which emerged in spring last year. The counter-revolutionary adverse current which emerged in spring last year wildly supported the bourgeois reactionary line, in a vain attempt to overthrow the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as the supreme commander and Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy supreme commander, to overthrow the Central Cultural Revolution Group which held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and to reverse the verdict on China's Khrushchev and other top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and on Wang Ming. In a word, it vainly attempted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. The counter-revolutionary adverse current emerging in spring last year was quickly defeated. However, some time ago, some people wanted to reverse the verdict on this counter-revolutionary adverse current and on the black fighters of this counter-revolutionary adverse current who had been knocked down. Was this not a sinister attack on the proletarian headquarters? Was this not an out-and-out counter-revolutionary action?

Thoroughly smash the counter-revolutionary adverse current of rightist reversal of verdict!

Those "heroes" who vigorously carried out activities of reversing verdict came off with flying colours some time ago. In some places, they made all excuses to vainly overthrow the correct decisions made by the proletarian headquarters. Some of them went everywhere to form ties secretly for bombarding the proletarian headquarters and reversing the verdict on the handful of capitalist-roaders in the Party who had been toppled. In some



units, some people jumped out openly to wildly attack the great proletarian cultural revolution, saying that the criticism of and struggle against so-and-so "was wrong," etc. Some of them were formerly black fighters of China's Khrushchev. Now, after turning a somersault, they still come back to where they were before, and have further exposed their true features as counter-revolutionary double-dealers. This greatly opens the eyes of our revolutionary people.

Did this counter-revolutionary adverse current of Rightist reversal of verdict emerge by accident? No. It is inevitable in the class struggle. Life is contradiction, and life is struggle. When there is contradiction and struggle there will be development. Contradiction and struggle exist objectively. They existed in the past, they exist today, and they will continue to exist in the future. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Class struggle exists objectively and does not change according to man's will. That is to say, it is inevitable. Neither can it be avoided according to man's will. It can only be conducted according to the situation, so as to win a victory." A pustule will eventually erupt, and paper cannot wrap fire. It is a very good thing that the pustule erupts and the evil fire is released. It is better to squeeze out the pus and to release the evil fire. When a contradiction is exposed thoroughly, it can be settled relatively thoroughly.

The current great proletarian cultural revolution is a proletarian political revolution, a continuation of the third revolutionary civil war, a continuation of the class struggle between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang and a continuation of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The handful of capitalist-roaders who have sneaked into the Party are actually representatives of the Kuomintang. The nearer the great proletarian cultural revolution comes to an all-round victory, the more acute and more violent will the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines be. At this moment, we must particularly guard against the class enemies who adopt counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics and sneak into our organisations to carry out counter-revolutionary activities of capitalist restoration, in a vain attempt to usurp the Party, the Army and the government. However, by carrying out these sinister sabotage activities, they can only lift the rock just to drop it on their feet. They cannot gain even a straw but expose their counter-revolutionary evil intentions.

The enemies always adopt the Right and the extreme "Left" tactics alternatively in matching strength with us and in sabotaging the great proletarian cultural revolution. The counter-revolutionary adverse current

that emerged in spring last year came from the Right. In the second half of last year, another adverse current which was "Left" in form but Right in essence emerged. It was a vain attempt to split the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, to disturb the great Chinese People's Liberation Army and to sabotage the newborn revolutionary committees. At present, the adverse currents of rightist reversal of verdict, rightist splittism and rightist conservatism have surged. They have become the main danger to the present movement. All revolutionary comrades must see clearly the current situation of the struggle, exert persistent efforts to oppose the Right tendency, conservatism, splittism and capitalist restoration and continue to make revolution and march forward.

To thoroughly defeat the adverse current of the rightist reversal of verdict is a major struggle to defend the proletarian headquarters and win an all-round victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution. This decisive battle concerns the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the destiny of the whole Chinese people and the world's people. At present, we have won a major victory in the struggle to smash the adverse current of rightist reversal of verdict. This is a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, a great victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, a great victory for the dictatorship of the proletariat, a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and a great victory for Marxism and Mao Tse-tung's thought in smashing the opposition to Marxism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. We vow to carry this struggle through to the end and shall never retreat until we have won a total victory.

(Shanghai *Wen-hui Pao* editorial, March 29, 1968.)



# The "Wuhan Incident"

On July 20, 1967 Ch'en Tsai-tao, commander of the Wuhan Military Region, staged a "counter-revolutionary coup" in Wuhan, with the active participation of fully armed armymen and members of certain mass organisations. They seized control of the city's vantage points and attacked and abducted emissaries from Peking, including vice-premier Hsieh Fu-chih and Wang Li, member of the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group and deputy chief editor of the Party journal *Hung-ch'i*. The two "prisoners" were released on July 22 and made their "triumphant return" to Peking.

In spite of their participation in the mutiny, the the broad masses of PLA commanders and fighters in Wuhan were declared "innocent," because they were "hoodwinked into doing wrong things by the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party and the Army."

Several months later, Wang Li and Yu Li-chin (Political Commissar of the PLA Air Force), two of the emissaries sent to Wuhan, were respectively condemned for having taken part in "anti-Party conspiratorial activities."

– Ed.

## *The Events of the "July 20" Counter-Revolutionary Military Coup*

The following are extracts from an article, "The Appalling July Mutiny," in the *Wuhan Kang-erh-ssu*, [武漢鋼二司], Huichow (Kwangtung) edition, No. 38, August 22, 1967.

On July 14 our much respected great leader Chairman Mao sent Vice Premier Hsieh Fu-chih and Comrade Wang Li to Wuhan to deal with the question of the cultural revolution in that area. This was the greatest support given by the Party centre and Chairman Mao to the proletarian

revolutionaries in Wuhan. It was a heavy blow to the anti-Party clique of Wang [Jen-chung][1] and Ch'en [Tsai-tao], indicating that their doom was approaching. However, these enemies would not be reconciled to their defeat; they continued to put up a last-ditch struggle before their doom. Thus, a counter-revolutionary military coup long planned by the anti-Party clique of Wang and Ch'en eventually erupted.

## 1. Prelude to the counter-revolutionary military coup

"A mountain storm is always preceded by gusts of wind." Upon the arrival of Vice Premier Hsieh Fu-chih and Comrade Wang Li in Wuhan, they were unequivocal in declaring their stand and firm support for the proletarian revolutionaries in Wuhan represented by "San Kang," "San Hsin" and "San Lien."[2] They clearly pointed out that the case of the Workers' General Command of Wuhan would be reopened. On learning this, Ch'en Tsai-tao was so furious that he promptly spread the word, declaring: "While the case of the Workers' General Command may be reopened, the 'One Million Heroic Troops'[3] will not permit this thing to happen. Since the 'One Million Heroic Troops' is in control of Wuhan's economic lifelines such as communications, water supplies and electricity, any attempt at reopening the case of the Workers' General Command may result in the cutting off of power and water supplies."

On the night of July 19 Comrade Wang Li on behalf of the Central Cultural Revolution Group conveyed a four-point directive of the Cultural Revolution Group to military cadres at or above the division level at the Wuhan Military Region Command. He pointed out that the case of the Workers' General Command would be reopened, the "February 8 statement" was on the whole correct in its general orientation and good in its main current, "San Kang," "San Hsin" and "San Lien" were organisations of the revolutionary rebels, the "One Million Heroic Troops" was a conservative organisation, and the Military Region committed the error of line and orientation in the task of the supporting the Left.

Ch'en Tsai-tao looked pale on hearing the instructions conveyed by Comrade Wang Li. This so enraged Niu Hai-lung ( 牛 海 龍 ), divisional commander of the "8201" unit and capable fighter of the Wang-Ch'en clique, that he promptly stood up to say something against the central directive. However, he was stopped by Comrade Wang Li. In the tense atmosphere which prevailed in the headquarters of the Military Region, the political commissar of the "8201" unit was the first to withdraw from



the conference hall, while Niu Hai-lung followed suit. Returning to the "8201" unit, Niu raved at his subordinates, banging the table and pushing the chairs in a hysterical manner. He shouted: "Let's have it!" The coup was touch-and-go; the situation was extremely critical.

Meanwhile, Ch'en Tsai-tao and the like lost no time in spreading rumours among the broad masses and PLA fighters, saying: "The general orientation of 'San Ssu' and 'Erh Ssu' is wrong!" "Hsieh Fu-chih has been expelled." "What is the rank of Wang Li, and can he represent the Party Central Committee?" The loudspeaker system controlled by the "One Million Heroic Troops" even had the nerve to order the central leaders to open negotiations "honestly," otherwise "revolutionary action" would be taken against them. Reactionary slogans saying "Both Wang Li and Hsieh Fu-chih are *personae non grata.*" "Get out of Wuhan, Wang Li and Hsieh Fu-chih" were pasted up all over the streets. The situation was charged with tension and uninhibited wrath, indicating that Ch'en Tsai-tao would take drastic measures.

## 2. Unreasonably kidnapping central leaders

In this explosive situation, Ch'en Tsai-tao and the small band of counter-revolutionaries of the "8201" unit tore off their masks and revealed their vicious selves. On the one hand, they worked in collusion with Yang Shu-sheng ( 楊 書 升 ), secretary of the Tunghu Party committee, and Yin K'ou-ch'ing ( 尹 寇 清 ), acting department chief, in rallying members of the "One Million Heroic Troops" gathered in the Tunghu area and the heavy machine tools plant, under the pretext of presenting an opera for their entertainment, telling them where the central leaders were staying—Tunghu Guest House, Pahuatsun. On the other hand, they instructed the small band of rotten eggs of the "8201" unit to co-ordinate their moves with the "One Million Heroic Troops."

At 9:00 p.m. on July 19 the area surrounding Tunghu, including Tunghu Hospital which was five *li* away, was under the control of the "One Million Heroic Troops", while the approaches to the Tunghu Guest House were also closed by the bandits of the "One Million Heroic Troops." Everyone appeared concerned for the safety of the central leaders.

In the stifling heat which engulfed Wuhan in July, a counter-revolutionary act of abducting central leaders began. In the wee hours of July 20 Lei Jung-hua, the number one leader of the Tunghu detachment of the "One Miilion Heroic Troops", led other bandits to kidnap the central leaders. When the truckload of bandits stopped at the entrance to the

Tunghu Guest House, the guards of the "8201" unit at first pretended not to let the bandits in. However, these bandits simply surged forward and got through without any difficulty. But both Vice Premier Hsieh Fu-chih and Comrade Wang Li were not caught unawares; they faced the pack of "wolves and jackals" firmly. In a firm voice, Vice Premier Hsieh said to them: "I am Hsieh Fu-chih. Kidnap or kill me as you please." At this juncture the bandits were taken aback, screaming and gesticulating wildly and viciously, before turning their wrath on Comrade Wang Li. The latter angrily scolded the bandits, telling them in an authoritative voice: "Have you people anything to do here? If not, get out!" Liu Hsien-shih, one of the bandits, shouted: "We are not leaving!" He then brazenly took a seat. A moment later, three trucks carrying the bandits of the "One Million Heroic Troops" from the "Hung Lien" of the heavy machine tools plant stopped at the guest house. Shortly afterward, the entire building was surrounded.

Comrade Wang Li's guards promptly drew their revolvers and angrily pointed at the bandits in an effort to protect the safety of the central leaders.

At this moment Ch'en Tsai-tao who was directing behind the scene went into close combat. Arriving hurriedly at the scene of commotion, he told Vice Premier Hsieh and Comrade Wang: "Now all depends on how you two work things out; I don't know what to do!" Grinning jubilantly and maliciously, he was at the height of his arrogance.

A moment later trucks carrying fully-armed soldiers of the "8210" unit stopped at the guest house. This was followed by more trucks. Directing the mutiny were army officers carrying revolvers. After entering the guest house, they pointed machineguns and pistols at the central leaders. To avert bloodshed and loss of lives in the event of an armed clash, the guards of Vice Premier Hsieh and Comrade Wang had to put away their revolvers. Seizing the opportunity, the screaming bandits surged forward and began to take away Comrade Wang Li, Comrade Mao's emissary, a member of the Central Cultural Revolution Group and assistant chief editor of *Hung-ch'i* journal.

### 3. Moving swiftly and clamping down on Wuhan by armed force

After Comrade Wang Li was seized, the "One Million Heroic Troops" and other detachments trained by the Wang-Ch'en clique for special operations ——together with the small bunch of rotten eggs of the "8201" unit—— moved swiftly, mounting machineguns on the trucks and some tall buildings,



loading their rifles or unsheathing their swords. Brandishing pistols before the unarmed masses, the killers went on a rampage throwing spears and other lethal weapons all over the river city. The whistle of sirens of fire engines was mingled with the rumble of nearly a thousand vehicles carrying members of the "One Million Heroic Troops" and the detachments of "San Ssu." The loudspeaker vans of the "One Million Heroic Troops" blared reactionary slogans, plunging the entire city of Wuhan into the horrors of war.

After the sentry posts of the Military Region Command were automatically withdrawn, they were seized by coup participants. Thus, all the streets in the vicinity of the Military Region Command were under the control of the mutineers.

As reactionary slogans and reactionary big-character posters put up by the "One Million Heroic Troops," "San Ssu" and the "8201" unit covered all the streets of Wuhan, the arrogant reactionaries were extremely blatant. Both the Yangtze River Bridge and Chiang Han Bridge were closed, navigation along the Yangtze River was stopped, communications routes, main thoroughfares, major buildings occupied, the airfield surrounded and railway stations were seized, thus gravely threatening the security of the the liberated area——universities and secondary schools where the rebels were numerically superior to the mutineers.

Running amuck in Wuhan, members of the "One Million Heroic Troops" and the small bunch of rotten eggs of the "8201" unit did things as they pleased, attacking, kidnapping and brutally beating people and even killing young revolutionary fighters and the revolutionary masses.

As Wuhan was then under the complete control of coup participants, a White Terror reigned in the entire city.

### 4. Proclaiming a counter-revolutionary military coup

In order to further aggravate the coup and boost the counter-revolutionary cause of the "One Million Heroic Troops" and "San Ssu," apart from inciting more people to take part in counter-revolutionary activities and more blatantly opposing Chairman Mao, Vice Chairman Lin and the Central Cultural Revolution Group, the Wang-Ch'en clique hurriedly issued on July 20 an "urgent appeal" in the name of all the commanders of the "8201" unit. In that appeal, they frenziedly shouted: "The black Workers' General Command is an organisation completely manipulated by counter-revolutionary elements." They spread the word that they would "raze the premises of the Workers' General Command to the ground, so as to root

out an evil for the people." They also claimed that "One Million Heroic Troops" was a "genuine, mighty, tough revolutionary organisation of the Left."

This so-called "urgent appeal" was in fact a counter-revolutionary proclamation. It all the more abetted the blatant arrogance of the counter-revolutionaries. After members of the "8201" unit and "diehard conservatives" of military academies overran the streets, members of the "One Million Heroic Troops" became even more outrageous, shouting and pasting up everywhere reactionary slogans such as "Down with Wang Li" and "Down with Hsieh Fu-chih." Shortly afterwards, the "One Million Heroic Troops" and "San Ssu" successively issued statements and "Notice of Rebellion" opposing Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin and bombarding the Central Cultural Revolution Group. How utterly reactionary they were!

### 5. Subjecting Comrade Wang Li to struggle and bombarding the proletarian headquarters

Under the scorching sun there was great confusion in the compound of the military command, with mobs pushing Comrade Wang Li to the balcony of a building in the compound. Below the balcony there was a large crowd of men of the "One Million Heroic Troops," the "8201" unit as well as members of "San Ssu." Commade Wang Li was surrounded by ranting and raving hooligans of both sexes hurling abuses at their captive. One of the bandits wearing an army cap seized Comrade Wang Li's cap and threw it to the ground. There was commotion below, some clapping their hands and others applauding. A moment later, Comrade Wang Li's uniform and collar were also torn apart, and once again there was confusion below.

In a firm and solemn tone, Comrade Wang Li said: "Comrades, we have been sent here by Chairman Mao and the Party centre!" Before Comrade Wang finished, the crowd of people below shouted abuse: "Down with Wang Li!" "Wang Li in no way can represent the Party centre!" "Get out of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, Wang Li!"

Unperturbed, Comrade Wang Li told PLA fighters who took part in the disturbances: "We believe you are Chairman Mao's fighters and you know that. We experienced such a situation in Szechwan before...."

Another outburst of abuse broke out from the crowd gathered below the balcony. There was clapping of hands to prevent Comrade Wang Li from speaking to the gathering. Furiously pointing their fingers at Comrade



Wang Li, several bandits wearing military uniforms shouted at him: "Tell us what kind of organisation the 'One Million Heroic Troops' is!"

Undaunted, Comrade Wang Li said in a firm tone: "If anyone brands your organisation counter-revolutionary, we won't concur." Comrade Wang Li's words exploded like a bomb among the bandits. Some of them ranted, others jumped about. "Hell, he didn't even address us as revolutionary comrades!" Another shout was raised: "Down with Wang Li!" "Hang Wang Li!" How utterly reactionary these bandits were in shouting such reactionary slogans!

At this juncture, one of the bandits furiously came up to Comrade Wang Li, seized his hair, pulled it hard and tore out a handful of the hair. But our Comrade Wang remained erect without moving an inch! A moment later, his left eye was hit by another bandit, and blood began to drip from it. Comrade Wang shed blood in order to protect Chairman Mao and uphold his revolutionary line. Comrade Wang was then soaked with sweat. Several hooligans grabbed Comrade Wang's hands and pulled them backward, subjecting him to a form of torture known as "sitting in an airplane." Another outburst of screams and abuses rose from below the balcony. At this moment, one of the hooligans stepped forward and said: "Let's calm down a little. I have just consulted Division Commander Niu, who has suggested giving Wang Li a little rest so he may answer our demands at eight o'clock tomorrow morning."

"Nothing doing. Let him give an answer right now." "No, Division Commander Niu is not our representative." "Down with Wang Li!" "Hang Wang Li!" How utterly blatant these reactionaries were! They spread the word that they would take comrade Wang Li to the stadium on Hsin Hua Road where he would be subjected to struggle, and from there to Hanyang where he would be paraded in the street. However, neither fists nor abuses could shake Comrade Wang Li's revolutionary will.

The surging waters of the Yangtze River stopped flowing while age-old turtles and pythons raised their angry heads! The brave people of Wuhan would not stop for a moment struggling against Ch'en Tsai-tao, they would see to it that the blood debt would be paid in blood! They would drag out Ch'en Tsai-tao, pull him down and trample him under foot. Like sturdy pines, evergreen bamboo trees and sunflowers always facing the sun, our Comrade Wang Li would pass the test like a fully tested proletarian revolutionary.

out an evil for the people." They also claimed that "One Million Heroic Troops" was a "genuine, mighty, tough revolutionary organisation of the Left."

This so-called "urgent appeal" was in fact a counter-revolutionary proclamation. It all the more abetted the blatant arrogance of the counter-revolutionaries. After members of the "8201" unit and "diehard conservatives" of military academies overran the streets, members of the "One Million Heroic Troops" became even more outrageous, shouting and pasting up everywhere reactionary slogans such as "Down with Wang Li" and "Down with Hsieh Fu-chih." Shortly afterwards, the "One Million Heroic Troops" and "San Ssu" successively issued statements and "Notice of Rebellion" opposing Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin and bombarding the Central Cultural Revolution Group. How utterly reactionary they were!

### 5. Subjecting Comrade Wang Li to struggle and bombarding the proletarian headquarters

Under the scorching sun there was great confusion in the compound of the military command, with mobs pushing Comrade Wang Li to the balcony of a building in the compound. Below the balcony there was a large crowd of men of the "One Million Heroic Troops," the "8201" unit as well as members of "San Ssu." Commade Wang Li was surrounded by ranting and raving hooligans of both sexes hurling abuses at their captive. One of the bandits wearing an army cap seized Comrade Wang Li's cap and threw it to the ground. There was commotion below, some clapping their hands and others applauding. A moment later, Comrade Wang Li's uniform and collar were also torn apart, and once again there was confusion below.

In a firm and solemn tone, Comrade Wang Li said: "Comrades, we have been sent here by Chairman Mao and the Party centre!" Before Comrade Wang finished, the crowd of people below shouted abuse: "Down with Wang Li!" "Wang Li in no way can represent the Party centre!" "Get out of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, Wang Li!"

Unperturbed, Comrade Wang Li told PLA fighters who took part in the disturbances: "We believe you are Chairman Mao's fighters and you know that. We experienced such a situation in Szechwan before...."

Another outburst of abuse broke out from the crowd gathered below the balcony. There was clapping of hands to prevent Comrade Wang Li from speaking to the gathering. Furiously pointing their fingers at Comrade



Wang Li, several bandits wearing military uniforms shouted at him: "Tell us what kind of organisation the 'One Million Heroic Troops' is!"

Undaunted, Comrade Wang Li said in a firm tone: "If anyone brands your organisation counter-revolutionary, we won't concur." Comrade Wang Li's words exploded like a bomb among the bandits. Some of them ranted, others jumped about. "Hell, he didn't even address us as revolutionary comrades!" Another shout was raised: "Down with Wang Li!" "Hang Wang Li!" How utterly reactionary these bandits were in shouting such reactionary slogans!

At this juncture, one of the bandits furiously came up to Comrade Wang Li, seized his hair, pulled it hard and tore out a handful of the hair. But our Comrade Wang remained erect without moving an inch! A moment later, his left eye was hit by another bandit, and blood began to drip from it. Comrade Wang shed blood in order to protect Chairman Mao and uphold his revolutionary line. Comrade Wang was then soaked with sweat. Several hooligans grabbed Comrade Wang's hands and pulled them backward, subjecting him to a form of torture known as "sitting in an airplane." Another outburst of screams and abuses rose from below the balcony. At this moment, one of the hooligans stepped forward and said: "Let's calm down a little. I have just consulted Division Commander Niu, who has suggested giving Wang Li a little rest so he may answer our demands at eight o'clock tomorrow morning."

"Nothing doing. Let him give an answer right now." "No, Division Commander Niu is not our representative." "Down with Wang Li!" "Hang Wang Li!" How utterly blatant these reactionaries were! They spread the word that they would take comrade Wang Li to the stadium on Hsin Hua Road where he would be subjected to struggle, and from there to Hanyang where he would be paraded in the street. However, neither fists nor abuses could shake Comrade Wang Li's revolutionary will.

The surging waters of the Yangtze River stopped flowing while age-old turtles and pythons raised their angry heads! The brave people of Wuhan would not stop for a moment struggling against Ch'en Tsai-tao, they would see to it that the blood debt would be paid in blood! They would drag out Ch'en Tsai-tao, pull him down and trample him under foot. Like sturdy pines, evergreen bamboo trees and sunflowers always facing the sun, our Comrade Wang Li would pass the test like a fully tested proletarian revolutionary.

## 6. Resorting to sanguinary suppression and encroaching on the liberated area

Whipped by gusts of ill wind, the gathering cloud hang ominously over the city of Wuhan. Hundreds of trucks carrying mutineers and coup participants dashed along here and there in the streets. Judging from their busy moments, the inhabitants had the impression that the coup instigators would swoop on them soon!

As things turned out, at noon on July 21, hundreds of trucks were massed in the vicinity of New Hupeh University, the troops on the vehicles shouting and agitating for trouble. These military vehicles surrounded all the schools in the neighbourhood of the university campus, and heavy guard was mounted on all strategic approaches to the area.

Look, the convoys of the "8201" unit and the "One Million Heroic Troops" rattled along from Tachiao!

Look, more than 30 trucks carrying peasants with weapons to kill people forced their way into New Hupeh University!

Look, mutineers carrying Tommy guns, rifles, revolvers, spears and choppers alighted from the vehicles and forced their way into New Hupeh University!

Look, the mutineers, shouting "Hang Wang Li" and "Raze the premises of the Workers' General Command to the ground and "Eliminate this evil for the prople" battled against the revolutionary masses in the area!

Look, young revolutionary fighters and the revolutionary masses, shouting "Long live Chairman Mao," fell to the ground in puddles of blood!

New Hupeh University was in grave danger! New Hupeh Univeristy was in grave danger! At this juncture, three other schools, namely New No. 1 Middle School, New No. 29 Middle School and New No. 20 Middle School, were also encircled by mutineers who began attacking. A moment later, the gathering cloud hung ominously over the city, as Wuhan was plunged into the horrors of war.

After New Hupeh University fell to the attackers, other secondary schools were also taken by the mutineers who forced their way into the liberated area to occupy buildings by force. Large numbers of young revolutionary fighters and the revolutionary masses were arrested and so were Comrade Chang Wei-jung ( 張 維 榮 ) and other responsible members of the New Hupeh University's provisional committee. Some young revolutionary fighters were paraded in the street. After forcing their way into the liberated area, the mutineers perpetrated every sort of misdeed,



smashing racks displaying big-character posters, breaking open doors and shattering windows. In addition, they grabbed classified documents of the State, looted and destroyed State property and personal effects.

As darkness descended on the otherwise bright liberated area, what was built and acquired by the revolutionary rebels with blood and their lives turned into ruins....

## 7. Looting the steel complex

On July 20 the devil's claws of the Wang-Ch'en clique reached the Wuhan Iron and Steel Complex——an important base of the Wuhan workers movement. In the wee hours of the morning the mutineers, armed to the teeth, appeared in more than a hundred trucks and over ten fire engines, pointing their butcher knives at the brave members of "September 13" and "Hsin I Yeh."[4] Closing all approaches to the steel complex, the mutineers surrounded the buildings of "Hsin I Yeh" and the Workers' Village, forcing their way into the workers' dormitories and the offices of revolutionary rebels, binding the occupants with rope, grabbing things, beating and abusing people and behaving like bandits inside the premises. Shortly afterwards, they surrounded another middle school in the steel complex. More than a hundred revolutionary path-breakers and all the responsible members of "Hsin I Yeh" were arrested.

In the course of ransacking the steel complex, the looters grabbed everything they could lay their hands on, things such as wrist watches, bicycles, radios, cash and food supplies, before they fled. The vital base of the motherland's iron and steel industry was in grave danger of a complete breakdown of operations.

## 8. A counter-revolutionary coup spread all over Hupeh Province

Since the Wang-Ch'en clique had long planned to foment widespread disturbances throughout Hupeh Province, counter-revolutionary coups erupted in many administrative districts of the province at the time the mutiny occurred in Wuhan.

For instance, reactionary slogans such as "Bombard Premier Chou, down with Hsieh Fu-chih and hang Wang Li" and "Wang Li is guilty and should be condemned to ten thousand deaths" were plastered up in Hsiang-yang by the "May 4 Red Rebel Detachment"[5] fostered by the Wang-Ch'en clique. Similarly, reactionary slogans such as "Ch'en Tsai-tao is our red

commander" and "Long live Ch'en Tsai-tao" were blatantly shouted. On July 22 more than 300 members of "Kung Chien Fa,"[6] wearing the armband of "San Tzu Ping,"[7] held a counter-revolutionary procession, shouting "Down with Wang Li" and other counter-revolutionary slogans in response to the "July 20" counter-revolutionary coup.

The People's Armed Forces Department of Shashih incited more than 50 thousand misled peasants to hold a counter-revolutionary procession. In the Chinchow area reactionary slogans such as "Get out of Wuhan, Hsieh Fu-chih" were put up in the streets.

Similar counter-revolutionary incidents occurred at Ichang.

The counter-revolutionary coup was spreading throughout Hupeh Province...

## NOTES

1. Former secretary of the Central-South Bureau of the CCP Central Committee, who accompanied Mao Tse-tung in his widely publicised swim in the Yangtze River on July 16, 1966.

2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7: All names of mass organisations in Wuhan.

* * *

## *Message from the CCP Central Committee and Other Central Organs to Revolutionary Masses and PLA Commanders and Fighters in Wuhan* (July 27, 1967)

Brave proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers in Wuhan municipality, and all PLA commanders and fighters who are loyal to our great supreme commander Chairman Mao and to the cause of our great Party!

In the past few days, you have made very tremendous achievements in defending the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is led and was initiated by Chairman Mao himself.

You have bravely defeated the extremely wild attacks launched by the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party and the Army.

Your dauntless spirit and resolute tactics have totally defeated the traitorous actions of this handful of people.

Comrades Hsieh Fu-chih, Wang li and Yu Li-chin, representatives sent by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to solve the Wuhan problem, held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and



persistently adhered to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They have triumphantly returned to Peking.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in Wuhan can definitely advance along the track pointed out by Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman.

A stage of new victory is emerging in the great proletarian cultural revolution in Wuhan.

The song of your victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution is cheering the whole country.

A new upsurge has started in the nationwide great proletarian cultural revolution.

Of course, there will still be difficulties in the road of your progress. The handful of capitalist roaders are still making their death-bed struggle, vainly attempting to suppress the revolution. Therefore, you must not be unguarded, but must sharpen your vigilance a hundred fold.

You must be good at uniting yourselves with the masses.

You must be good at enlightening and educating all hoodwinked masses.

You must welcome and fight shoulder to shoulder with those comrades or mass organisations that formerly held opposing views but have now awakened and are willing to stand on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Some responsible officers of Wuhan Military Region have made serious mistakes of orientation and line in the work of supporting the revolutionary Left. They dissolved the "Workers' Headquarters," a revolutionary organisation, and branded it "counter-revolutionary"; they arrested a big number of members of revolutionary organisations and branded them "counter-revolutionaries." This is absolutely impermissible and should be resolutely reversed. All revolutionary masses arrested must be released.

Some responsible officers of Wuhan Military Region took advantage of some hoodwinked masses of the "One Million Heroic Troops" and led them astray by spreading rumours, cheating them and turning facts upside down.

Some responsible officers of Wuhan Military Region openly opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the correct instructions given by the Military Commission under the Party Central Committee, incited some masses who did not know the facts to oppose the Party Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party Central

Committee, and brazenly adopted fascist brutal means of encircling, attacking, kidnapping and beating up representatives from the Party Central Committee.

The serious political incident caused by this handful of capitalist roaders has roused incomparable anger among the broad revolutionary masses in Wuhan municipality, and the commanders and fighters of the Wuhan armed forces is justly condemned by the people of the whole country, and meets with strong objection by the three services of the PLA throughout the country. This handful of capitalist roaders are now in a sea of anger and condemnation of the hundreds of millions of soldiers and civilians.

Action must be taken immediately to investigate and trace the handful of bad elements who schemed this serious political incident and the assaulters, and to give them serious punishment according to law.

The revolutionary masses of a series of revolutionary organisations in Wuhan municipality including the Workers' Headquarters, No. 2 Headquarters, "September 13," New Central China Engineering College, New Hupeh University, New Central China Agricultural College, and Revolutionary Alliance of the No. 3 Headquarters, have firmly defended the great Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Your action is very correct and very fine! The struggle undertaken by the proletarian revolutionaries in Wuhan municipality is absolutely not isolated. Victory definitely belongs to you, to the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals, to our great Party, to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and to our great leader Chairman Mao!

The Party Central Committee issues this call: All hoodwinked masses should wake up quickly, correct their mistakes, return to Chairman Mao's correct line, unite themselves with the revolutionary masses to fight the enemies, thoroughly expose the conspiratorial activities of the handful of bad leaders of the "One Million Heroic Troops" and the "public security, procuratorial, and judicial organs" and the few bad elements in Wuhan Military Region.

The Party Central Committee issues this call: Those people who made mistakes and have awakened are still good, providing they seriously correct their mistakes and are pardoned by the revolutionary masses.

The Party Central Committee issues this call: The peasants in Wuhan area must not be tricked by the bad elements. They must not enter the city to interfere with the great proletarian cultural revolution made by the workers and students.

The Party Central Committee issues this call: The broad masses of



commanders and fighters of Wuhan armed forces must continue to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, firmly support and defend the broad masses of the Left, fight together and win victory together with them.

The Wuhan incident is the most vivid lesson in class struggle and the most impressive lesson in the proletarian line and the bourgeois line for the revolutionary masses all over the country. It surely will extensively mobilise the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people of the whole country and make them carry this unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Salute the broad revolutionary masses in Wuhan!

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution in Wuhan!

Long live the victory of the nationwide great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the invincible, bright Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Long live Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsm.

CCP Central Committee, State Council,
and Military Commission and
Cultural Revolution Group under the
CCP Central Committee

(Canton *Chung-ta Hung-ch'i* [ 中大紅旗 ], No. 38, August 7, 1967.)

*  *  *

## *Resolutely Fight Together with the Proletarian Revolutionaries in the Wuhan Area*

The leading organ of the PLA units in Wuhan openly admitted in a public notice on July 26 that they had committed errors in orientation and line while supporting the Left and expressed their determination to correct these errors resolutely and thoroughly so as to return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line as soon as possible.

The public notice also exposes and criticises the various crimes of wanton counter-attack by the persons in authority within the Party and Army taking the capitalist road in the Wuhan area. They also pledged to

resolutely unite, fight, and strive for victory together with Wuhan's proletarian revolutionaries. The stand and policy adopted by them at the present moment are correct and in conformity with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: Whenever a mistake is made "One must openly admit his mistake to the masses and correct it immediately. Mistakes are inevitable; it is fine as long as one corrects them conscientiously." The public notice of the leading organ of the PLA units in Wuhan indicates their willingness to act on Chairman Mao's instructions; therefore, it has been warmly supported by the masses of PLA commanders and fighters and warmly acclaimed by the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary masses in the Wuhan area.

In the recent great battle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the Wuhan area, the broad masses of cadres and fighters of the PLA army, navy, and air force units stood foursquare and fought shoulder to shoulder with the proletarian revolutionaries to resolutely implement the Party Central Committee's instructions on the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Wuhan area, to defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and to smash to pieces the frenzied attacks by a handful of power-holders taking the capitalist road within the Party and the Army and evil chieftains of the "One Million Heroic Troops" pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line. They have performed most outstanding exploits for the great proletarian cultural revolution. They have lived up to the name of loyal defenders of the great proletarian cultural revolution and good fighters of Chairman Mao as well.

China's Khrushchev and his agents in Wuhan, a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and Army there, are the chief culprits of undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Wuhan area. They have done no end of evils. They fabricated all kinds of rumours, distorted facts, obscured right and wrong, turned facts upside down, deceived the masses and led the Wuhan PLA units' work of supporting the Left to a wrong path. Although some cadres and fighters, who did not know the truth at the time, had expressed certain erroneous views and committed certain wrong deeds, the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and the Army are completely responsible for such wrong views and deeds.

The hoodwinked cadres and fighters are innocent. They have by now sharpened their eyes, corrected their bearings, vigorously turned the spearhead around and returned to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. What they have done illustrates that they have boundless



love for Chairman Mao, that they are loyal to Chairman Mao, and that they are acting on Chairman Mao's teachings. We are deeply convinced that these comrades, including the leading cadres who have committed errors in orientation and line but are determined to correct them, can surely establish new merits for the people in the future task of supporting the Left.

The PLA has boundless love for the proletarian revolutionaries. As soon as the hoodwinked cadres and fighters make close contacts with the young revolutionary fighters and learn the truth, they will immediately establish profound class sentiments with the proletarian revolutionaries in the common struggle.

The proletarian revolutionaries also cherish the PLA with boundless love. They are most reasonable and most capable of acting on the Party policies. With regard to the comrades who have made mistakes, so long as they admit their errors and change their stand, stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries and render resolute support to them, they will be understood, trusted, and supported by the proletarian revolutionaries.

With regard to certain muddleheaded comrades, we must patiently work on them and help them to remould their thinking.

The current situation with respect to the great proletarian cultural revolution and the Wuhan PLA's support of the Left is extremely favourable in the Wuhan area. But the struggle is still very arduous. We must hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works in the struggle, launch a movement "to support the Army and cherish the people," strengthen the Army-people unity on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and further promote the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Wuhan area.

(*Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorial, July 29, 1967.)

# The "May 16 Corps"

The "May 16 Corps" was said to be manipulated by a handful of counter-revolutionaries who sought to shake and split Mao Tse-tung's "proletarian headquarters." This handful was later identified to be none other than Chiang Ch'ing's able assistants Wang Li, Kuan Feng and Ch'i Pen-yu and a number of "small reptiles." The spearhead of their attack was directed at Chou En-lai, and their objective was to estrange Chou from the Central Cultural Revolution Group, headed by Ch'en Po-ta and Chiang Ch'ing. – Ed.

## *"May 16 Corps" Condemned*

Extracts from Yao Wen-yuan's article "Comments on T'ao Chu's Two Books" in *Peking Review*, No. 38, September 15, 1967:

T'ao Chu is a despicable pragmatist. He has the speculator's glib talk. In order to peddle revisionism and to oppose and attack what he called dogmatism–actually Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought–he appeared as an ultra-Rightist one minute and on the extreme "Left" the next. In this way, he corrupted, confused and hoodwinked those who waver in the middle of the road, so as to protect himself from being exposed. After he took charge of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, T'ao Chu became the faithful agent of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in suppressing the revolutionary masses. He did his utmost to oppose Chairman Mao's great big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters." He tried his best to protect the monsters. But when the masses rose to criticise and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, with a twist of the body he made a sudden change and appeared in the guise of an ultra "Left" anarchist. He shouted himself hoarse that "in the great cultural revolution, it is correct to doubt everyone." "I am all for bombardment in general ... nobody knows what the



headquarters really represent, and that goes for every headquarters." "You can oppose anybody." He "creatively" developed the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting hard at the many in order to protect a handful." He appeared to be surprisingly "Left," but in fact he was "Left" in form and Right in essence. His purpose was to blur the distinction between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters, and direct the spearhead of attack at the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao so that the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road could sneak away in the confusion. "To doubt everyone" and such like are designed to deal with the proletarian headquarters. "To doubt everyone" except himself, "to overthrow everyone" except himself–isn't there something fishy here? Comrades, please note that there are now a handful of counter-revolutionaries who are adopting the same method. Using slogans that sound extremely "Left" but in essence are extremely Right, they have stirred gusts of "doubting everyone," while bombarding the proletarian headquarters, creating dissension and exploiting confusion. To achieve their sinister ulterior aim, they have vainly attempted to shake and split the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. The organisers and manipulators of the so-called "May 16" group are just such a scheming counter-revolutionary gang. It must be thoroughly exposed. Young people who have been misled and have not understood the true situation should pull themselves up sharply and turn back to hit those who have misled them. They should avoid the traps set for them. This counter-revolutionary organisation has two aims: one is to undermine and split the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao and the other is to undermine and split the main pillar of the dictatorship of the great Chinese People's Liberation Army. This counter-revolutionary organisation dares not come out into the open. It has hidden itself underground in Peking for the last few months. We have as yet fully identified most of its members and leaders, for they send their people out to paste up broadsheets and paint slogans only in the silence of the night. The broad masses are making investigations in relation to these people, and things will shortly be made clear. With regard to these persons, so long as we use the method of class analysis which Chairman Mao teaches and study their attitude to the bourgeoisie and to the proletariat, study their political tendencies by analysing whom they support and whom they oppose, and study their past history, we can detect a sinister counter-revolutionary hand even in the midst of the

constantly changing phenomenon. The more they try to cover up those things which have already been exposed by pretending to be extraordinarily "excessive" or "fair," the more fully they reveal their true features as careerists. Take the revisionist T'ao Chu for example. This obvious thief consciously adopted the guise of a sage: this obvious man of the extreme Right, who openly declared that his heart "beats in unison with" that of the bourgeoisie, suddenly and deliberately jumped to the extremely "Left" position of "doubting everyone." Yet all the time the spearhead of his attack was directed at the proletarian revolutionaries. This clearly exposes him as a careerist.

* * *

## *Chou En-lai Attacked*

Extracts from Chou En-lai's speech delivered at a reception of representatives form certain universities and colleges in Peking on September 17, 1967:

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article has publicly exposed "May 16" as a counter-revolutionary secret organisation. The group sowed dissension in Chairman Mao's headquarters. It used dirty tactics against comrades of the Central Committee. It turned the spearhead first against me, but not as an individual.

Of course, I personally have shortcomings and mistakes. I welcome well-intentioned criticism. But as one of the responsible persons of the proletarian headquarters, I won't permit any dissenion sown between me and the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee. Viciously, they also wanted me to be estranged from the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and this would please the imperialists and revisionists. (Chiang Ch'ing: They ["May 16"] play a role which the enemy cannot play.)

The work now being performed by the Central Cultural Revolution Group is comparable to that by the Secretariat of the Central Committee. We are working together every day, and what dissension can be sown between us? You must be clear-headed. Don't fall into the trap.

It is good to have "May 16" dragged out. We have several principles which I shall tell you now:

(1) We must not enlarge the problem of "May 16," a counter-revolutionary clique. It is dominated by several wicked leaders, who are far from being capable, while the majority of the people there are the



hoodwinked. Several diehards in the school must be educated. They are called the "eight regional armies," in addition to some local armies. They are the several wicked leaders in Changsha No. 1 Middle School (Chiang Ch'ing: Actually there are no more than a few men.) So there are only several persons, and their group should not be expanded. We would remind all of you who are sitting here not to listen to them. Young students, being inexperienced are prone to be taken in; they must not jump to conclusions on seeing certain things.

(2) We maintain that the hoodwinked among you should drag themselves out. If they reform, all go well again.

(3) We should not reverse the verdicts passed on the old royalists because we have criticised the ultra-"Leftist" "May 16". That won't do. The counter-offensive against the February adverse current was right. Those who criticise Ch'en and T'an will still have our support! We support such work as that done by Peking Normal University in holding an agricultural exhibition. The truth still exists, we must not waver.

(4) Exposing "May 16" is for encouraging everyone to stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line, so that they may closely follow Chairman Mao's strategic plan, tightly grasp the general orientation of struggle, carry out massive criticism and turn the spearhead against Liu, Teng and T'ao, and make a success of the struggle-criticism-transformation in one's own unit.

These four points constitute the policy for solving the problem of "May 16," designed as they are to isolate the minority and educate the the majority.

(*Chu-ying Tung-fang-hung*, [珠影東方紅], Canton, October 1, 1967.)

* * *

## *Members Arrested*

Extracts from the article, "Put the 'May 16' Elements in Kwangtung and Canton on the Dock," in *Ti-yu Chan-pao*, [體育戰報], No. 19, Canton, March 18, 1968:

Recently, proletarian revolutionaries in Peking and Shanghai have been forming mighty armies to mount a general offensive against ultra-Leftist ideas. They have won their first all-round battle with the "May 16 Corps," and arrested the chief culprits Kuan Feng (關　　鋒), Wang Li (王　　力)

Mu Hsin, Chao I-ya, Lin Chieh, Wu Ch'uan-ch'i, P'an Tzu-nien, Lin Yu-shih, Chou Ching-fang, Hsiao Ch'ien, Liu Ying, Hung T'ao, Lu Cheng-i, Ho Chih-p'ing, Lo Feng, Ch'en Ta-lun, Li Kuang-wen, Yeh Yin, and others. The hoodwinked have turned around and attacked the Corps...



CHAPTER IV

# *The Impact of the Power Struggle*

*The great power struggle initiated and led by Mao Tse-tung produced an enormous impact on the former Party and State apparatus, many branches of which were totally or partly paralysed. Numerous Party and State officials from the central down to the lowest levels were criticised and repudiated, and many of them were dismissed from office. The most prominent of these, of course, was State Chairman Liu Shao-ch'i, who has been expelled from the Party and dismissed from all the posts he held both inside and outside the Party.*

*Moreover, in the course of the struggle, factionalism and anarchism developed extensively among the "revolutionary ranks." As a result, they split into two or more factions fighting fiercely against one another in all parts of the country. This resulted in serious disruptions, and production suffered considerably, especially in the industrial and communications sectors. — Ed.*

# Chaos Caused by Factional Strife

Chaos prevailed in many parts of China in the course of the power-seizing struggle, as the two rival factions of revolutionary masses (Red Guards, workers, peasants, soldiers, etc.) -- invariably one radical and the other conservative, both claiming to be the genuine revolutionary Left loyal to Mao Tse-tung -- resorted to settling their differences by force. In many instances, the Army was also involved in such factional fighting, and modern weapons were used. Many lives were lost, property destroyed, and peace and order was seriously disrupted. Such events were rarely reported in the official press, while the accounts carried in Red Guard tabloids were often exaggerated or biased owing to their respective factional positions. However, the following editorial and directives issued by the CCP Central Committee, dealing respectively with the troubles in Peking, Kwangsi and Shensi, throw some light on the extent of the turmoil resulting from the factional strife. – Ed.

## *Immediately Stop Struggle by Force*

(Excerpts) Of late, a gust of sinister wind of struggle by force has appeared in some areas, between units and between mass organisations. It has interfered with the great orientation of the struggle, stymied the extensive democracy under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, affected and wrecked production, upset the orderly process of revolution, destroyed State property, and threatened security in the lives of the people. We must be determined to check this sinister wind.

Struggle by force between mass organisations is absolutely by no means an act of revolution or a heroic deed, but an expression of cowardice and weakness. To carry out struggle by force among the masses is never a policy of the proletariat. As pointed out by Comrade Lin Piao, struggle by force can only touch the skin and flesh, but not the soul.

The emergence of such a sinister wind at a time when hundreds of millions of people are unfolding the mass criticism and mass struggle against

the handful of power-holders in the Party taking the capitalist road is by no means accidental.

Proletarian revolutionaries must stringently place the demand on themselves to resolutely defend and implement the 16-Point Decision and carry out Chairman Mao's instruction to become models in conducting the struggle by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

The contradiction between the revolutionaries and some people who have been hoodwinked into participating in the conservative organisations is a contradiction within the ranks of the people, not a contradiction between the enemies and ourselves. Since these people who have been hoodwinked are part of the question of ideological understanding, the proletarian revolutionaries must treat them correctly and help them to settle down with personal warmth and enthusiasm, as well as with an attitude of comradeship and the application of the "unity-criticism-unity"† policy.

Chairman Mao has said, "Resolving the contradictions within the ranks of the people cannot be embarked upon with curses, or worse, by resorting to fists or knives and guns; only the methods of discussion, reason, and criticism and self-criticism can be adopted. In a word, only adoption of the democratic way and the method of persuading the masses is permissible."

To be able to do thorough and practical ideological work, we must be good at talking and discussing with the masses and have faith in their own initiative to liberate and educate themselves and welcome their return to the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Regarding some comrades who have been hoodwinked, we should not bear any prejudice toward them, insult them, retaliate against them, or call them "sinister current," reactionary, turncoat, or any other bad names.

As for some people who did not have a clear understanding of the situation and join the conservative organisations, they must put strict demands on themselves and raise their proletarian consciousness, distinguish clearly between enemies and friends, clearly observe the great orientation of the struggle, and humbly learn from the proletarian revolutionaries. They must firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries with a determination to completely divorce themselves from the bourgeois reactionary line and point the spearhead of struggle at the handful of power-holders in the Party taking the capitalist road. For those who have realised that they have erred and corrected their mistake, these are good comrades. We must not allow ourselves to be stirred into action merely through emotions and hurt fellings; in the truth and reality of the proletariat, there is no such thing as "losing face."



Chairman Mao said, "Countless numbers of revolutionary martyrs have sacrificed their lives in the interest of the people. This has made every one of us who is still living feel bad upon remembering them. Is there then any personal interest which one cannot sacrifice, or any error which one cannot give up?"

Under the present acute and complicated situation of class struggle, if we continue to lose our bearings, then it will create an opportunity for the bad elements to exploit us and for us to follow others in conducting the struggle by coercion or force. This is extremely dangerous...

"Struggle by reasoning and not by coercion or force" is a policy of proletarian revolution advocated by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and a policy demanded by hundreds of millions of people throughout the country. Proletarian revolutionaries and all the revolutionary people must resolutely defend this policy and resolutely oppose and stop struggle by force.

Recently our great leader Chairman Mao personally approved and made public an important circular by the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee. This important circular points out:

1. Revolutionary masses must firmly carry out the instruction of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee about "grasping the revolution and promoting production" and strive for a bumper harvest in both revolution and production.

2. Chairman Mao's instruction of carrying out struggle through reasoning and not by force or coercion must be carried out resolutely. Fighting, smashing things, looting, confiscation of property and arrests are strictly prohibited. The small number of people who incite others to struggle by force or coercion and those who are seriously guilty of beating up other people should be punished according to the proletarian law of the State.

The Peking Garrison of the People's Liberation Army and representatives of the PLA have the power to handle problems of struggle by force or coercion, and all concerned must obey and must not refuse to carry out their suggestions.

3. Nobody is allowed to destroy State property, to use means of transport to facilitate participation in struggle by force or coercion, and to mobilise persons to take part in struggle by force or coercion in other units.

4. Chairman Mao's warning that "disregard of discipline and trends of anarchism existent in many places must be overcome without fail"

must be observed and acted upon resolutely. Nobody is allowed to violate labour discipline or to be absent from work without reason. Effort must be made persistently to struggle against all phenomena of disturbing the revolution and the order of production.

5. Organs of the proletarian dictatorship should follow Chairman Mao's teachings, firmly support the proletarian revolutionaries, and shoulder the sacred responsibility of maintaining and consolidating the revolutionary order under the dictatorship of the proletariat, protecting State property and defending the great proletarian cultural revolution.

6. The Circular issued on April 20 by the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee, and the Cultural Revolution Group under the CCP Central Committee banning travel to other places to establish revolutionary ties must be enforced without fail. With the exception of those who have obtained special permission from the CCP Central Committee, all students and the masses of Peking who have gone to other parts of the country to establish revolutionary ties must immediately return to Peking. Students and the masses who have come from other parts of the country to establish revolutionary ties in Peking should likewise return to where they have come from.

(*Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial, May 22, 1967.)

* * *

## *CCP Central Committee's New Directive on the Kwangsi Problem*

The following extra-urgent telegram was sent to Kwangsi at 23:30 hours on June 13, 1968 by the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the CCP–CC Military Commission and the CCP–CC Cultural Revolution Group:

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 "Tsao-fan Ta-chun" (Great Rebel Army) and "Lien Chih" (Alliance Command):

The heroic people of Vietnam are now waging a valiant struggle against 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 staunch supporters of the Vietnamese people, and the vast territories of China are their reliable rear." It is our bounden international duty to give firm backing to the Vietnamese people in their war



of resistance against the United States and for national liberation. Kwangsi Province is in the forefront of China for supporting the Vietnamese in their struggle to resist the US. The revolutionary staff 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 organisations in the Liuchow district of Kwangsi, acting against the instructions of the Central Authorities, looted our country's aid-Vietnam supplies and the arms and equipment of the People's Liberation Army. They also carried out armed attacks on trains and damaged railways, thus completely disrupting railway traffic in the Liuchow district. This has badly affected the shipment of aid supplies to Vietnam and of exports to foreign countries. Besides, it has directly affected the livelihood of part of the people in 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 plan, and resolutely carry out the following:

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

2. All railway workers and employees and all personnel of various mass organisations should immediately return to their own work posts. They must not discriminate against one another, must not interfere with work, and must not treat the other side discriminately in matters of livelihood. They must, under the leadership of the railways' Military Control Committee, resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's great guideline of "grasping revolution and promoting production," lose no time in restoring communications and transport, insure that railway traffic is not disrupted, and better fulfil the tasks of delivering aid supplies to Vietnam and exports to foreign countries, so as to score a new victory in supporting the Vietnamese people's struggle against the US and for national salvation, and the world's anti-imperialist struggle.

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

4. Having implemented the above and corrected their errors in

earnest, the mass organisations and their responsible leaders shall be absolved from the responsibility 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 Railway Military Control Committee and all the representatives of all mass organisations in the Liuchow district to discuss and devise concrete measures for putting this directive into effect. The Central Authorities believe that the workers and employees of Liuchow railways and the broad revolutionary masses will take immediate action and show, by producing tangible results in insuring smooth rail traffic, their boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao, to his revvolutionary line and to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

(*Liuchow Kung-tsung,* [柳州工總] No, 7, July 12, 1968.)

## *The "July 3" Notice*

The following notice, generally referred to as the "July 3" Notice, was issued by the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the CCP–CC Military Commission and the CCP–CC Cultural Revolution Group on July 3, 1968. Designed to put a stop to the bitter factional war in Kwangsi, the notice bears Mao Tse-tung's endorsement: "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 Autonomous Region, like that in other parts of the country, is also excellent.

In the past 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 agents, active counter-revolutionaries, as well as unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, hoodwinking and deceiving a part of the masses, have continually created a series of counter-revolutionary 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 units of the PLA, seized their arms and equipment, and attacked their commanders and fighters, killing or wounding them.

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

It is the Central Committee's view that these are counter-revolutionary 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 Central Committee that the revolutionary mass organisations 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 counter-revolutionary 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 counter-revolutionary crimes by this small handful of class enemies, the Central Committee 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 experience, 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. Counter-revolutionaries whose crimes of murder and arson, disruption 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 hoodwinked are guiltless, and those who turn round and redeem themselves by attacking the bad leaders of their organisations will have performed meritorious service. Bad people in the mass organisations 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 organisation must be separated strictly from the masses of that organisation.

It is the belief of the Central Committee that the counter-revolutionary incidents created by the small handful of class enemies can only confuse the enemies themselves 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 Autonomous Region will be born amid the song of victory of the class struggle.

(*Chung-hsueh Hung-wei-ping* [中學紅衛兵] No. 8, Canton, July 1968.)

## *The "July 24" Notice*

The following notice was issued by the Central Authorities on July 24, 1968, with a view to checking the armed struggle and restoring order in Shensi. Like the "July 3" Notice, it also bears Mao's endorsement. Both notices were subsequently made applicable to the entire country.

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao is quickly developing toward an all-out victory. The situation throughout the nation is unprecedentedly excellent. Shensi Province, as the rest of the country, is thriving.

But the handful of top capitalist roaders within the Party, led by China's Khrushchev, and its agents in Northeast China and Shensi, as well as renegades, secret agents, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries,



bad elements and Rightists who have not been reformed, have recently agitated, hoodwinked and deceived the minority in some places in the province (Shensi). They have constantly provoked armed struggle, organised professional teams for armed struggle and created a series of extremely serious counter-revolutionary incidents, as follows:

1. Robbing state banks, warehouses and merchandise stores;
2. Burning and blasting state warehouses, public buildings and houses of the general public;
3. Looting cars and ships, disrupting railway traffic, communications, postal and telegraphic services, and installing private radio stations;
4. Successively attacking PLA units, seizing weapons and equipment and killing and wounding commanders and fighters;
5. Refusing to implement relevant circulars, orders, notices and announcements of the Party Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party Central Committee.

The Central Authorities consider all these as crimes committed by a handful of class enemies in an attempt to subvert the proletarian dictatorship, the great proletarian cultural revolution and the state's socialist construction.

For the purpose of quickly putting a stop to this kind of counter-revolutionary crime, the Central Authorities reiterate once again that:

(1) All mass organisations, public bodies and individuals must resolutely, thoroughly and seriously implement the 'July 3rd Notice', approved personally by the great leader Chairman Mao; no violation is permitted;

(2) Armed struggle must be immediately stopped, professional teams for armed struggle must be disbanded, those hoodwinked must be educated so that they will return to production, and defence fortifications, strongholds and check points must be dismantled;

(3) Stolen cash and materials must be quickly returned;

(4) Disrupted communications and postal and telegraphic services must be immediately restored;

(5) Seized PLA weapons and equipment must be immediately handed back;

(6) All those counter-revolutionaries who are caught in the act of committing murder or arson, sabotaging communications, installing private radio stations, attacking prisons and labour reform farms and releasing labour-reform prisoners without permission, as well as those string pullers behind the scenes, must be subjected to proletarian dictatorship and punished according to law.

Revolutionary committees at all levels, military units in all places

and all mass organisations must carry out political work penetratingly and carefully on those hoodwinked people, publicise the Party's policy and enlighten them so that they may consciously stand up to expose bad elements. The Party's policy has always been leniency toward those who confess, and severity toward those who resist. Ringleaders must be punished, those who commit crimes under threat are spared, the decived are innocent and those who seize an opportunity to launch counter-attack on the ringleaders are rewarded. In handling such affairs one must be careful about distinguishing contradictions between the enemy and ourselves from contradictions among the people, separating the bad chieftains of a masss organisation from its broad masses and separating those stubborn counter-revolutionaries who are caught red-handed from the erring masses. One must heighten one's vigilance against the subversion and troublemaking of the class enemy. During a counter-revolutionary incident, the broad masses must be fully organised to struggle with bad people and bad things; state property and revolutionary order must be resolutely protected and preserved.

Comrades of the broad masses of proletarian revolutionaries, broad revolutionary masses, broad masses of PLA commanders and fighters and broad masses of revolutionary cadres! You must raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, closely follow the strategic plan of the great leader Chairman Mao, and tightly grasp the general orientation of the revolutionary struggle, wage a resolute struggle against the handful of class enemies and establish new merits in defending the proletarian dictatorship and the great proletarian cultural revolution."

(*Facts and Features*, Vol. 1, No. 26, October 16, 1968.)



# Impact on Production

On at least two occasions Chou En-lai spoke about the impact of the cultural revolution on production. He admitted that a price had to be paid for the movement but estimated that it would be less than that paid for the War of Liberation and the War for Resisting the United States and Aiding Korea. China had a good harvest in 1967. Production in the industrial and communications sections, however, was adversely affected, and outputs were lower than those of 1966. – Ed.

## *Chou En-lai's Speech at Wuhan Mass Rally Welcoming Albanian Party and Government Delegation (October 9, 1967)*

(Excerpts)...Such a world-shaking revolutionary movement of course exacts a certain price in production in certain places and in certain departments. We took this into account in advance. Production is affected to a certain extent, especially in places where disturbances occur. But this is only a transient thing. As soon as disorder is turned into order, production can quickly pick up and rise. The revolutionisation of the thinking of the people is bound to be transformed into a tremendous material force. We believe that through this great cultural revolution, a new high tide in the development by leaps and bounds, of our country's socialist construction will inevitably be brought about. To grasp revolution firmly, to promote production vigorously and to achieve new success in fulfilling the state quotas with greater, faster, better and more economical results is the aim that proletarian revolutionaries ought to have, and it is their glorious task. We should respond to Chairman Mao's great call and resolutely implement the strategic policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production." Every revolutionary mass organisation should stand the test in production. We are confident that the vast numbers of revolutionary workers and staff members and members of people's communes will act in this way and can achieve this.

(*NCNA–English*, Wuhan, October 10, 1967.)

## *Chou En-lai's Speech at Peking Rally*

Speaking at a 10,000-man rally of representatives of various factions of the industrial and communications, finance and trade, and agricultural and forestry systems under the State Council on February 2, 1968, Chou En-lai stated:

(Excerpts)...Last year, at a key moment during our struggle between the two lines, a struggle against the capitalist roaders, the capitalist roaders were irreconciled to their defeat and refused to withdraw from the stage of history. Bad people utilised, and enemy spies and secret agents created, disturbances. Therefore, during the struggle for seizure of power, factionalism of revolutionary masses was induced, and a large part of cadres failed to be liberated, with the result that great alliances and three-in-one combinations could not be quickly realised. Such reverses and twists and turns produced an adverse effect on production at the time.

However, agricultural output was not affected; on the contrary a record bumper harvest was gathered. In the press, XXX...hundred million catties were reported, while the actual output amounted to XXX...hundred million catties. This is a record. Bumper yields were registered in 21 provinces, cities and autonomous regions; while in other localities output was high or reduced slightly.

Although less chemical fertilizer was supplied than in previous years, the spirit of the labouring people for achieving self-rejuvenation through self-reliance was relied upon in beating natural calamities. Where chemical fertilizer was inadequate, farmyard and household manure was used.

The great Chinese People's Liberation Army comes in for special praise for outstanding achievement in aiding agriculture. Therefore, we should thank the broad masses of the labouring people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army for a bumper crop last year... The fact that our broad masses of the labouring people have such a high degree of consciousness and that the People's Liberation Army has such an abundance of enthusiasm is due to their fruitful study of Mao Tse-tung's thought—in the final analysis, to the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao and to the all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung.

In the fields of industry and communications, the above-mentioned influence was also felt. A summing up of last year's result shows that the planned targets had not been realised and output figures for many products were lower than those of 1966. The reasons were as stated above. In the



whole of last year, the chaos created by the capitalist roaders, manipulation by the bad people, and sabotage by the enemy could not but affect our industrial and communications sectors. Armed fights occurred, factory and mining equipment was damaged, and stoppages of work or slowdowns were reported. This is to say that in order to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, we must pay a price. We paid a great price for winning the National War of Liberation in the past, and also a great price in the three-year War for Resisting the United States and Aiding Korea. In the present socialist revolution and socialist construction, and in order to seize a sweeping victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, without parallel in history, we of course have no choice but to pay a price.

In regard to this price, Vice Chairman Lin has said: "The gain is the greatest while the loss is the smallest." Loss there must be...

However, under no circumstances must we deplore this, and this price is necessary and should be paid. In his report "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" a long time ago Chairman Mao expressed the hope that the price to be paid for socialist revolution and construction would be less than that paid during the democratic revolution period. At that time, however, I did not understand this remark. I asked the Chairman whether he meant the fight against adventurism in 1956. He replied that he did not mean that, adding that adventurism was a small problem. It can be seen that even at that very time the Chairman already foresaw the events of today, but then it was impossible to say specifically where and when these events would take place. The fact remains that he foresaw them. Yet very often we failed to understand him even though we are at his side.

The present great proletarian cultural revolution will perhaps last three years, but it can be said with certainty that the price to be paid shall be less than that paid for the War of Liberation and the War for Resisting the United States and Aiding Korea. If it [the cultural revolution] comes to an end in 1969, then 20 years will have gone by since the founding of the People's Republic. From the birth of the Communist Party to the nationwide victory, 28 years had elapsed, and counting from the October Revolution and the publication of *Hsiangchiang P'ing-lun* [Hsiang River Review] by Chairman Mao, more than 30 years had gone by. We must strive to prove, respond to and realise the expectations of Chairman Mao. To fulfil these expectations, the key is to make a better success of our work this year than we did last year. Principally we must exert efforts in two respects:

grasping revolution and promoting production...

We must grasp revolution and promote production. But if the leadership organs fail to realise revolutionary three-in-one combinations and to exercise leadership properly, they cannot push the revolution and production. Therefore, in the current year it is necessary to make a greater success of revolution. In various provinces, cities and autonomous regions we have already seen the hope and possibilities. A better job can also be done of production. The enthusiasm of the broad masses of the people has been aroused. There is no doubt that there will be a new leap forward after the second quarter of this year. Hence, the key lies with leadership.

If, however, administrative leadership organs fail to grasp revolution and promote production with success, they shall get no support. Take agriculture for example. In last winter and this spring, the state of earth moisture has been very good. This year base fertilizer is short. In last winter and this spring, less has been done than in the winter of the year before last and last spring in respect to soil amelioration and water conservation. Last year's sown acreage was generally the same as the year before last, but this spring inadequate preparations were made for sowing, which must be properly pushed. This year, the situation with regard to water conservation and fertilizer supply is worse than that of last year, and additional stimulation is required. We believe that the labouring people of the communes, the forces of poor and lower-middle peasants, and the aid-agricultural forces will be able to do their tasks well. In great alliances, there are still two factions fighting each other. Where factionalism exists, quarrels continue to break out.

Is there any method for realising three-in-one combinations? The biggest drawback of today's business conference is the absence on the rostrum of representatives of rebel groups. I note this with the deepest regret, and this is also our shortcoming and mistake in work. Even if representatives of the great alliances were invited to sit on the rostrum, there would still be no three-in-one combination, because in some cases two factions are still fighting each other. This reflects the reality of the various functional departments of the State Council. At present, there are two-way combinations having leadership cadres and particularly PLA representatives. But more important, we must have three-in-one combinations. We must have representatives in the revolutionary three-in-one combinations of young and able-bodied people who have emerged from revolutionary struggles during the past 18 months. Now is the time to solve the problems facing various departments of the State Council. Not only the industrial and communications,



finance and trade, and agriculture and forestry departments and departments under direct control of the State Council which are represented here today, but also those departments which are not represented here and those national defence industrial departments which have already held their meetings in January must pledge to fulfil this responsibility. This is dictated by the need of the domestic situation, and we are required to strive to grasp revolution and promote our business....

(Canton *Tzu-liao Chuan-chi* [資料專輯], No. 7, February 28, 1968; translated in *SCMP*, No. 4154, April 8, 1968.)

# Impact on Personnel Alignment

In the early stages of the cultural revolution, the targets of criticism and denunciation were generally those who were in the literary and art circles. Later, the movement developed into a nationwide power struggle and the "area of attack" was widened to Party, governmental and military organisations of all levels throughout the country.

The following lists, compiled from published sources, show the impact of the cultural revolution on personnel alignment at the central, regional and provincial levels. Names shown in *italic* are those who have been severely criticised and possibly removed from office. – Ed.

## Party

The Eighth Central Committee
Political Bureau
Secretariat
Control Commission
Military Commission
Cultural Revolution Group
Regional Bureaus
Provincial and Autonomous Region Committees

## Government

People's Republic of China
State Council
Ministries and Commissions of the State Council
Provincial and Autonomous Region Governments (listed together with the Party's Provincial and Autonomous Region Committees)



## Military

National Defence Council
PLA Cultural Revolution Group
General Departments and Service Arms of the People's Liberation Army
Military Regions
Provincial Military Districts

## THE EIGHTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

The committee was elected by delegates to the Eighth National Congress held in September 1956. According to information available through July 1, 1966 there were 87 full members and 88 alternate members (ten full members and six alternate members have died since 1956 and are not included in this listing), but over the past two years and more, one-half of the full members (47 persons) and three-fourth of the alternate members (64 persons) have become victims of the cultural revolution.

### OFFICERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | Mao Tse-tung | (毛澤東) |
| *Vice Chairmen* | *Liu Shao-ch'i* | (劉少奇) |
| | Chou En-lai | (周恩來) |
| | Chu Te | (朱德) |
| | *Ch'en Yun* | (陳雲) |
| | Lin Piao | (林彪) |
| General Secretary | *Teng Hsiao-p'ing* | (鄧小平) |

### MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE – 87

(listed alphabetically)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *An Tzu-wen* | (安子文) | *Ch'eng Tzu-hua* | (程子華) |
| *Chang Chi-ch'un* | (張際春) | *Cheng Wei-san,* | (鄭位三) |
| *Chang Ting-ch'eng* | (張鼎丞) | *Chia T'o-fu* | (賈拓夫) |
| *Chang Wen-t'ien* | (張聞天) | *Ch'ien Ying (f)* | (錢瑛) |
| Chang Yun-i | (張雲逸) | Chou En-lai | (周恩來) |
| Chao Erh-lu | (趙爾陸) | Chu Te, | (朱德) |
| Ch'en I | (陳毅) | *Ho Lung* | (賀龍) |
| Ch'en Po-ta | (陳伯達) | Hsiao Ching-kuang | (蕭勁光) |
| *Ch'en Shao-min (f)* | (陳少敏) | *Hsiao Hua,* | (蕭華) |
| *Ch'en Shao-yu* | (陳紹禹) | *Hsiao K'o* | (蕭克) |
| Ch'en Yu | (陳郁) | Hsieh Fu-chih | (謝富治) |
| *Ch'en Yun* | (陳雲) | *Hsu Hai-tung* | (徐海東) |



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien | (徐向前) | Su Yu | (粟裕) |
| *Hsu Kuang-ta* | (許光達) | Sung Jen-ch'ing | (宋任窮) |
| *Hu Ch'iao-mu* | (胡喬木) | *T'an Chen-lin* | (譚震林) |
| *Hu Yao-pang* | (胡耀邦) | *T'an Cheng* | (譚政) |
| *Huang K'o-ch'eng* | (黃克誠) | *T'ao Chu* | (陶鑄) |
| K'ang Sheng | (康生) | *Teng Hsiao-p'ing* | (鄧小平) |
| *Li Ching-chuan* | (李井泉) | Teng Hua | (鄧華) |
| Li Fu-ch'un | (李富春) | T'eng Tai-yuan | (滕代遠) |
| Li Hsien-nien | (李先念) | Teng Tzu-hui | (鄧子恢) |
| Li Hsueh-feng | (李雪峯) | Teng Ying Ch'ao (f) | (鄧穎超) |
| *Li Li-san* | (李立三) | *Tseng Hsi-sheng* | (曾希聖) |
| *Li Pao-hua* | (李葆華) | Tseng Shan | (曾山) |
| Li Wei-han | (李維漢) | Tung Pi-wu | (董必武) |
| *Liao Ch'eng-chih* | (廖承志) | Wang Chen | (王震) |
| *Lin Feng* | (林楓) | Wang Chia-hsiang | (王稼祥) |
| Lin Piao | (林彪) | Wang En-mao | (王恩茂) |
| *Lin T'ieh* | (林鐵) | Wang Shou-tao | (王首道) |
| Liu Ch'ang-sheng | (劉長勝) | Wang Shu-sheng | (王樹聲) |
| Liu Hsiao | (劉曉) | *Wang Ts'ung-wu* | (王從吾) |
| Liu Ko-ping | (劉格平) | Wang Wei-chou | (王維舟) |
| *Liu Lan-t'ao* | (劉瀾濤) | *Wu Chih-p'u* | (吳之圃) |
| *Liu Ning-i* | (劉寧一) | *Wu Hsiu-ch'uan* | (伍修權) |
| Liu Po-ch'eng | (劉伯承) | *Wu Lan-fu* (ULANFU) | (烏蘭夫) |
| *Liu Shao-ch'i* | (劉少奇) | Wu Yu-chang | (吳玉章) |
| *Lo Jui-ch'ing* | (羅瑞卿) | *Yang Hsien-chen* | (楊獻珍) |
| Lu Cheng-ts'ao | (呂正操) | *Yang Hsiu-feng* | (楊秀峯) |
| *Lu Ting-i* | (陸定一) | *Yang Shang-k'un* | (楊尚昆) |
| *Ma Ming-fang* | (馬明芳) | Yeh Chi-chuang | (葉季壯) |
| Mao Tse-tung | (毛澤東) | Yeh Chien-ying | (葉劍英) |
| Nieh Jung-chen | (聶榮臻) | | |
| *P'eng Chen* | (彭真) | | |
| *P'eng Te-huai* | (彭德懷) | | |
| *Po I-po* | (薄一波) | | |
| *Shu T'ung* | (舒同) | | |

## ALTERNATE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE – 88

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Chang Ai-p'ing* | (張愛萍) | Han Hsien-ch'u | (韓先楚) |
| *Chang Ch'i-lung* | (張啓龍) | *Han Kuang* | (韓　光) |
| *Chang Chin-fu* | (張勁夫) | Hsieh Chueh-tasi | (謝覺哉) |
| *Chang Ching-wu* | (張經武) | *Hsu Ping* | (徐　冰) |
| *Chang Chung-liang* | (張仲良) | Hsu Shih-yu | (許世友) |
| *Chang Han-fu* | (章漢夫) | *Hsu Tzu-jung* | (徐子榮) |
| Chang Lin-chih | (張霖之) | *Huang Huo-ch'ing* | (黃火青) |
| *Chang P'ing-hua* | (張平化) | *Huang Ou-tung* | (黃歐東) |
| *Chang Su* | (張　蘇) | Huang Yung-sheng | (黃永勝) |
| Chang Ta-chih | (張達志) | *Kao K'o-lin* | (高克林) |
| *Chang Tsung-hsun* | (張宗遜) | Ku Ta-ts'un | (古大存) |
| *Chang Yun (f)* | (章　蘊) | *K'uei Pi* | (奎　璧) |
| *Chao Chien-min* | (趙健民) | *K'ung Yuan* | (孔　原) |
| *Chao I-min* | (趙毅敏) | *Li Ch'ang* | (李　昌) |
| *Chao Po-p'ing* | (趙伯平) | *Li Chieh-po* | (李頡伯) |
| *Ch'en Cheng-jen* | (陳正人) | *Li Chien-chen (f)* | (李堅真) |
| Ch'en Ch'i-han | (陳奇涵) | *Li Chih-min* | (李志民) |
| Ch'en Hsi-lien | (陳錫聯) | Li Ta-chang | (李大章) |
| *Ch'en Man-yuan* | (陳漫遠) | Li T'ao | (李　濤) |
| *Ch'en P'ei-hsien* | (陳丕顯) | *Liao Chih-kao* | (廖志高) |
| *Chiang Hua* | (江　華) | *Liao Han-sheng* | (廖漢生) |
| *Chiang Nan-hsiang* | (蔣南翔) | *Liao Lu-yen* | (廖魯言) |
| *Chiang Wei-ch'ing* | (江渭清) | *Liu Chen* | (劉　震) |
| *Ch'ien Chun-jui* | (錢俊瑞) | Liu Chien-hsun | (劉建勛) |
| *Chou Hsiao-chou* | (周小舟) | *Liu Jen* | (劉　仁) |
| *Chou Huan* | (周　桓) | Liu Lan-po | (劉瀾波) |
| *Chou Yang* | (周　揚) | *Liu Tzu-hou* | (劉子厚) |
| *Chu Te-hai* | (朱德海) | Lo Kuei-po | (羅貴波) |
| *Chung Ch'i-kuang* | (鍾期光) | *Ma Wen-jui* | (馬文瑞) |
| Fan Wen-lan | (范文瀾) | *Ou Meng-chueh* | (區夢覺) |
| *Fang I* | (方　毅) | P'an Fu-sheng | (潘復生) |
| *Feng Pai-chu* | (馮白駒) | *P'an Tzu-li* | (潘自力) |



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sai Fu-ting (SAIFUDIN) | (賽福鼎) | *Wang Hao-shou* | (王鶴壽) |
| | | *Wang Jen-chung* | (王任重) |
| *Shuai Meng-ch'i (f)* | (帥孟奇) | *Wang Shang-jung* | (王尚榮) |
| *Su Chen-hua* | (蘇振華) | *Wang Shih-t'ai* | (王世泰) |
| Sun Chih-yuan | (孫志遠) | Wei Kuo-ch'ing | (韋國清) |
| *Sung Shih-lun* | (宋時輪) | Wu Te | (吳　德) |
| T'an Ch'i-lung | (譚啓龍) | *Yang Ch'eng-wu* | (楊成武) |
| T'ang Liang | (唐　亮) | *Yang I-ch'en* | (楊一辰) |
| *T'ao Lu-chia* | (陶魯笳) | Yang Te-chih | (楊得志) |
| Sang-chi-yueh-hsi | (桑吉悅希) | *Yang Yung* | (楊　勇) |
| *Wan I* | (萬　毅) | *Yao I-lin* | (姚依林) |
| *Wang Feng* | (汪　鋒) | *Yeh Fei* | (葉　飛) |
| | | *Yeh Hung-yen* | (閻紅彥) |

## POLITICAL BUREAU

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | Mao Tse-tung | (毛澤東) |
| Vice Chairmen | *Liu Shao-ch'i* | (劉少奇) |
| | Chou En-lai | (周恩來) |
| | Chu Te | (朱　德) |
| | *Ch'en Yun* | (陳　雲) |
| | Lin Piao | (林　彪) |
| Members | Mao Tse-tung | (毛澤東) |
| | *Liu Shao-ch'i* | (劉少奇) |
| | Chou En-lai | (周恩來) |
| | Chu Te | (朱　德) |
| | *Ch'en Yun* | (陳　雲) |
| | *Teng Hsiao-p'ing* | (鄧小平) |
| | Lin Piao | (林　彪) |
| | Tung Pi-wu | (董必武) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *P'eng Chen* | ( 彭　　真 ) |
| | Ch'en I | ( 陳　　毅 ) |
| | Li Fu-ch'un | ( 李 富 春 ) |
| | *P'eng Te-huai* | ( 彭 德 懷 ) |
| | Liu Po-ch'eng | ( 劉 伯 承 ) |
| | *Ho Lung* | ( 賀　　龍 ) |
| | Li Hsien-nien | ( 李 先 念 ) |
| | *Li Ching-ch'uan* | ( 李 井 泉 ) |
| | *T'an Chen-lin* | ( 譚 震 林 ) |
| Alternate Members | *Wu Lan-fu* | ( 烏 蘭 夫 ) |
| | *Chang Wen-tien* | ( 張 聞 天 ) |
| | *Lu Ting-i* | ( 陸 定 一 ) |
| | Ch'en Po-ta | ( 陳 伯 達 ) |
| | K'ang Sheng | ( 康　　生 ) |
| | *Po I-po* | ( 薄 一 波 ) |
| Members, Standing Committee | Mao Tse-tung | ( 毛 澤 東 ) |
| | *Liu Shao-ch'i* | ( 劉 少 奇 ) |
| | Chou En-lai | ( 周 恩 來 ) |
| | Chu Te | ( 朱　　德 ) |
| | *Ch'en Yun* | ( 陳　　雲 ) |
| | Lin Piao | ( 林　　彪 ) |
| | *Teng Hsiao-p'ing* | ( 鄧 小 平 ) |

## SECRETARIAT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Members | *Teng Hsiao-p'ing* | ( 鄧 小 平 ) |
| | *P'eng Chen* | ( 彭　　真 ) |
| | *Wang Chia-hsiang* | ( 王 稼 祥 ) |
| | *T'an Chen-lin* | ( 譚 震 林 ) |
| | Li Hsueh-feng | ( 李 雪 峯 ) |
| | Li Fu-ch'un | ( 李 富 春 ) |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Li Hsien-nien | ( 李 先 念 ) |
| | *Lu Ting-i* | ( 陸 定 一 ) |
| | K'ang Sheng | ( 康　　生 ) |
| | *Lo Jui-ch'ing* | ( 羅 瑞 卿 ) |
| Alternate Members | *Liu Lan-t'ao* | ( 劉 瀾 濤 ) |
| | *Yang Shang-k'un* | ( 楊 尚 昆 ) |
| | *Hu ch'iao-mu* | ( 胡 喬 木 ) |

## CONTROL COMMISSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Secretary | Tung Pi-wu | ( 董 必 武 ) |
| Alternate Secretaries | Chang Yun-i | ( 張 雲 逸 ) |
| | *Hsiao Hua* | ( 蕭　　華 ) |
| | *Wang Ts'ung-wu* | ( 王 從 吾 ) |
| | *Ch'ien Ying (f)* | ( 錢　　瑛 ) |
| | *Liu Hsi-wu* | ( 劉 錫 五 ) |

Members

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Chang Ting-ch'eng* | ( 張 鼎 丞 ) | *Kung Tzu-jung* | ( 龔 子 榮 ) |
| *Chang Tzu-i* | ( 張 子 意 ) | *Kuo Shu-shen* | ( 郭 述 申 ) |
| *Ch'en Ch'i-han* | ( 陳 奇 涵 ) | *Li Ch'u-li* | ( 李 楚 離 ) |
| *Ch'en Kang* | ( 陳　　剛 ) | *Li Chien-chen (f)* | ( 李 堅 真 ) |
| *Ch'en Shao-min (f)* | ( 陳 少 敏 ) | *Li Shih-ying* | ( 李 世 英 ) |
| *Chi Ya-t'ai* | ( 吉 雅 泰 ) | *Liu Ya-hsiung* | ( 劉 亞 雄 ) |
| Chou Ch'un-ch'uan | ( 周 純 全 ) | *Ma Ming-fang* | ( 馬 明 方 ) |
| *Chou Shih-ti* | ( 周 士 第 ) | *T'an Yu-pao* | ( 譚 余 保 ) |
| *Chu Liang-ts'ai* | ( 朱 良 才 ) | *Wang Shih-ying* | ( 王 世 英 ) |
| *Fang Chung-fu* | ( 方 仲 如 ) | *Wang Wei-kang* | ( 王 維 綱 ) |
| *Kao K'o-lin* | ( 高 克 林 ) | *Wu Te-feng* | ( 吳 德 峰 ) |
| *Kao Yang* | ( 高　　揚 ) | | |

Alternate Members

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Chang Chia-fu* | (張稼夫) | *Lai I* | (賴　毅) |
| Ch'en Hsien-jui | (陳先瑞) | *Li Ching-ying* | (李景膺) |
| *Ch'en P'eng* | (陳　鵬) | *Li Ho-pang* | (李合邦) |
| *Ch'en Tseng-ku* | (陳曾固) | *Li Kan-hui* | (李幹輝) |
| *Cheng P'ing* | (鄭　平) | *Li Meng-ling* | (李夢齡) |
| Ch'iu Chin | (丘　金) | *Li P'ei-chih (f)* | (李培之) |
| *Chou Chung-ying* | (周仲英) | *Liao Su-hua (f)* | (廖蘇華) |
| *Chu Ti-hsin* | (朱滌新) | *Liu Shen-chih* | (劉慎之) |
| *Hsueh Tzu-cheng* | (薛子正) | Liu Yung-sheng | (劉永生) |
| *Kung Feng-ch'un* | (龔逢春) | *Wang Ho-feng* | (王鶴峯) |
| K'ung Shih-ch'uan | (孔石泉) | *Yu Man-yun* | (喻曼雲) |

## MILITARY COMMISSION

| (Before GPCR) | | (After 1967) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Chairman** | | | |
| Mao Tse-tung | (毛澤東) | Mao Tse-tung | (毛澤東) |
| **Vice Chairmen** | | | |
| Lin Piao | (林　彪) | Lin Piao | (林　彪) |
| *Ho Lung* | (賀　龍) | Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien | (徐向前) |
| Nieh Jung-chen | (聶榮臻) | Ch'en I | (陳　毅) |
| Yeh Chien-ying | (葉劍英) | Nieh Jung-chen | (聶榮臻) |
| | | Yeh Chien-ying | (葉劍英) |
| **Secretary General** | | | |
| *Lo Jui-ch'ing* | (羅瑞卿) | *Yang Ch'eng-wu* (until march 1968) | (楊成武) |
| | | Huang Yung-sheng | (黃永勝) |
| **Deputy Secretary General** | | | |
| *Hsiao Hua* | (蕭　華) | Wu Fa-hsien | (吳法憲) |



Members, Standing Committee

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Lin Piao | Lin Piao | Hsieh Fu-chih |
| *Ho Lung* | Liu Po-ch'eng | Su Yu |
| Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien | Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien | Huang Yang-sheng |
| Liu Po-ch'eng | Nieh Jung-chen | |
| Yeh Ch'ien-ying | Ch'en I | |
| *Hsiao Hua* | *Yang Ch'ang-wu* (until March 1968) | |

## CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP

| When its founding was announced on August 18, 1966 | | Surviving members as of late 1968 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Head of the Group** | | | |
| Ch'en Po-ta | (陳伯達) | Ch'en Po-ta | (陳伯達) |
| **First Deputy Head** | | | |
| Chiang Ch'ing | (江　青) | Chiang Ch'ing | (江　青) |
| **Advisers** | | | |
| *T'ao Chu* | (陶　鑄) | K'ang Sheng | (康　生) |
| K'ang Sheng | (康　生) | Chang Chun-ch'iao | (張春橋) |
| | | Yao Wen-yuan | (姚文元) |
| **Deputy Heads** | | | |
| *Wang Jen-chung* | (王任重) | | |
| *Liu Chih-chien* | (劉志堅) | | |
| Chang Chun-ch'iao | (張春橋) | | |
| **Members** | | | |
| Chang P'ing-hua | (張平化) | | |
| *Wang Li* | (王　力) | | |
| *Kuang Feng* | (關　鋒) | | |
| *Ch'i Pen-yu* | (戚本禹) | | |
| *Mu Hsin* | (穆　欣) | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| Yao Wen-yuan | ( 姚 文 元 ) |
| Hsieh Ch'ang-hou | ( 谢 長 厚 ) |
| Liu Wei-chen | ( 劉 維 真 ) |
| Cheng Chi-yao | ( 鄭 季 翹 ) |
| Yang Chi-lin | ( 楊 植 霖 ) |

## REGIONAL BUREAUS

### CENTRAL–SOUTH CHINA REGIONAL BUREAU

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| First Secretary | *T'ao Chu* | ( 陶 鑄 ) |
| Second Secretary | *Wang Jen-chung* | ( 王 任 重 ) |
| Third Secretary | Ch'en Yu | ( 陳 郁 ) |
| Secretaries | Wu Chih-p'u | ( 吳 芝 圃 ) |
| | Huang Yung-sheng | ( 黃 永 勝 ) |
| | Wang Shou-tao | ( 王 首 道 ) |
| | Li I-ch'ing | ( 李 一 清 ) |
| | Chin Ming | ( 金 明 ) |
| | *Chao Tzu-yang* | ( 趙 紫 陽 ) |
| | Liu Chien-hsun | ( 劉 建 勛 ) |

### EAST CHINA REGIONAL BUREAU

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| First Secretary | No appointment made after the death of K'o Ching-shih | ( 柯 慶 施 ) |
| Second Secretary | | |
| Third Secretary | *Li Pao-hua* | ( 李 葆 華 ) |
| Secretaries | *Ch'en P'ei-hsien* | ( 陳 丕 顯 ) |
| | *Yeh Fei* | ( 葉 飛 ) |
| | *Yang Shang-k'uei* | ( 楊 尚 奎 ) |
| | *Chiang Hua* | ( 江 樺 ) |
| | T'an Ch'i-lung | ( 譚 啓 龍 ) |



### NORTH CHINA REGIONAL BUREAU

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| First Secretary | Li Hsueh-feng | ( 李 雪 峯 ) |
| Second Secretary | *Wu Lan-fu* | ( 烏 蘭 夫 ) |
| Third Secretary | *Lin T'ieh* | ( 林 鐵 ) |
| Secretaries | *Li Li-san* | ( 李 立 三 ) |
| | Hsieh Hsueh-kung | ( 解 學 恭 ) |
| | Su Ch'ien-i | ( 蘇 謙 益 ) |
| | Ch'ih Pi-ch'ing | ( 池 必 卿 ) |
| | Liu Tzu-hou | ( 劉 子 厚 ) |
| | *Liao Han-sheng* | ( 廖 漢 生 ) |

### NORTHEAST CHINA REGIONAL BUREAU

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| First Secretary | *Sung Jen-ch'iung* | ( 宋 任 窮 ) |
| Second Secretary | *Ouyang Ch'in* | ( 歐 陽 欽 ) |
| Third Secretary | *Ma Ming-fang* | ( 馬 明 方 ) |
| Secretaries | *Huang Huo-ch'ing* | ( 黃 火 青 ) |
| | Huang Ou-tung | ( 黃 歐 東 ) |
| | Ku Cho-hsin | ( 顧 卓 新 ) |
| | Wu Te | ( 吳 德 ) |
| | Ch'en Hsi-lien | ( 陳 錫 聯 ) |

### NORTHEAST CHINA REGIONAL BUREAU

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| First Secretary | *Liu Lan-t'ao* | ( 劉 瀾 濤 ) |
| Second Secretary | | |
| Third Secretary | | |
| Secretaries | *Kao K'o-lin* | ( 高 克 林 ) |
| | Hu Hsi-k'uei | ( 胡 錫 奎 ) |
| | Chang Ta-chih | ( 張 達 志 ) |
| | Wang En-mao | ( 王 恩 茂 ) |
| | *Wang Feng* | ( 汪 鋒 ) |
| | Yang Chih-lin | ( 楊 植 霖 ) |
| | *Yang Ching-jen* | ( 楊 靜 仁 ) |

## ERRATA

Page 229—last subtitle should read "NORTHWEST CHINA REGIONAL BUREAU".

Page 260—words in parenthesis under the title "NATIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL" should read: "...was established in September 1958, ..."

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Wang Fu | ( 王　甫 ) |
| | Huo Shih-lien | ( 霍士廉 ) |

SOUTHWEST CHINA REGIONAL BUREAU

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| First Secretary | *Li Ching-ch'uan* | ( 李井泉 ) |
| Second Secretary | | |
| Third Secretary | | |
| Secretaries | Hsu Meng-hsia | ( 許夢俠 ) |
| | Li Ta-chang | ( 李大章 ) |
| | *Liao Chih-kao* | ( 廖志高 ) |
| | Yen Hsiu-feng | ( 閻秀峯 ) |
| | Ch'en Kang | ( 陳　剛 ) |
| | *Ch'eng Tzu-hua* | ( 程子華 ) |
| | *Chang Ching-wu* | ( 張經武 ) |

# PROVINCIAL PARTY COMMITTEES AND PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENTS

## ANHWEI PROVINCE

| *Party Committee* | | *People's Government* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| First Secretary | | Governor | |
| *Li Pao-hua* | ( 李葆華 ) | Huang Yen | ( 黃　巖 ) |
| Second Secretary | | Vice-Governors | |
| | | Chang K'ai-fan | ( 張愷帆 ) |
| Secretaries | | Ma Ch'ang-yen | ( 馬長炎 ) |
| Chang K'ai-fan | ( 張愷帆 ) | Wang Kuang-yu | ( 王光宇 ) |
| Li Jen-chih | ( 李任之 ) | Kuei P'eng | ( 桂　蓬 ) |
| Kuei Lin-hsi | ( 桂林栖 ) | Wang Chung | ( 王　中 ) |
| Li Shih-nung | ( 李世農 ) | Yao K'o | ( 姚　克 ) |
| Tseng Ch'ing-mei | ( 曾慶梅 ) | Chang Tso-yin | ( 張作蔭 ) |
| Wang Kuang-yu | ( 王光宇 ) | P'eng Tsung-chu | ( 彭宗珠 ) |
| Sung Meng-lin | ( 宋孟鄰 ) | Tai Chi | ( 戴　戟 ) |
| Huang Yao-nan | ( 黃耀南 ) | Lu Hsueh-pin | ( 陸學斌 ) |



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Li Feng-p'ing | ( 李豐平 ) | Li Fan-fu | ( 李凡夫 ) |
| Jen Chih-pin | ( 任質斌 ) | Li Jen-chih | ( 李任之 ) |

## CHEKIANG PROVINCE

| *Party Committee* | | *People's Government* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| First Secretary | | Governor | |
| *Chiang Hua* | ( 江　華 ) | Chou Chien-jen | ( 周建人 ) |
| Secretaries | | Vice-Governors | |
| Lin Hu-chia | ( 林乎加 ) | Wu Hsien | ( 吳　憲 ) |
| Wu Hsien | ( 吳　憲 ) | Jen I-li | ( 任一力 ) |
| Ch'en Wei-ta | ( 陳偉達 ) | Li Wei-hsin | ( 李維新 ) |
| Ts'ao Hsiang-jen | ( 曹祥仁 ) | Wang Ch'i | ( 王　起 ) |
| Secretary General | | Feng Pai-chu | ( 馮白駒 ) |
| Lai K'o-k'o | ( 賴可可 ) | Wang Fang | ( 王　芳 ) |
| | | Liu Chien | ( 劉　劍 ) |

## FUKIEN PROVINCE

| *Party Committee* | | *People's Government* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| First Secretary | | Governor | |
| *Yeh Fei* | ( 葉　飛 ) | Wei Chin-shui | ( 魏金水 ) |
| Second Secretary | | Vice-Governors | |
| Fan Shih-jen | ( 范式人 ) | Ting Ch'ao-wu | ( 丁超五 ) |
| Secretaries | | Kao P'an-chiu | ( 高盤九 ) |
| Chiang I-chen | ( 江一真 ) | Liang Ling-kuang | ( 梁靈光 ) |
| Lin I-hsin | ( 林一心 ) | Lan Jung-yu | ( 藍榮王 ) |
| Wu Hung-hsiang | ( 伍洪祥 ) | Hsu Ya | ( 許　亞 ) |
| Wei Chin-shui | ( 魏金水 ) | Yeh Sung | ( 葉　松 ) |
| Chia Chiu-min | ( 賈久民 ) | Ho Min-hsueh | ( 賀敏學 ) |
| Chung Min | ( 鍾　民 ) | Liu Yung-sheng | ( 劉永生 ) |
| Yeh Sung | ( 葉　松 ) | Hsu Yu-ch'ing | ( 許戛青 ) |
| Hou Chen-ya | ( 侯震亞 ) | | |

## HEILUNGKIANG PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*Ouyang Ch'in* ( 歐陽欽 )

Second Secretary

*Li Fan-wu* ( 李范五 )

Secretaries

Ch'iang Hsiao-ch'u ( 強曉初 )
Feng Chi-hsin ( 馮紀新 )
Wang Hao-feng ( 王鶴峯 )
Wang I-lun ( 王一倫 )
Li Chien-pai ( 李劍白 )
Jen Chung-i ( 任仲夷 )
Hsu Chieh ( 許　傑 )

Alternate Secretaries

Yu Chieh ( 于　杰 )
Ch'en Lei ( 陳　雷 )

Secretary General

T'an Yun-hao ( 譚雲鶴 )

### *People's Government*

Governor

Li Fan-wu ( 李范五 )

Vice-Governors

Yang I-ch'en ( 楊易辰 )
Wang Ch'ing-cheng ( 王清正 )
Ch'en Chien-fei ( 陳劍飛 )
Ch'en Lei ( 陳　雷 )
Wang I-lun ( 王一倫 )
Kuan Chou ( 關　舟 )
Liu Ch'ien ( 劉　潛 )
Sun Hsi-ch'i ( 孫西岐 )

## HONAN PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

Liu Chien-hsun ( 劉建勳 )

Second Secretary

*Wen Min-sheng* ( 文敏生 )

Secretaries

*Chao Wen-fu* ( 趙文甫 )
Shih Hsiang-sheng ( 史向生 )
Yang Wei-p'ing ( 楊蔚平 )
Wu Hao ( 吳　皓 )

### *People's Government*

Governor

*Wen Min-sheng* ( 文敏生 )

Vice-Governors

*Chao Wen-fu* ( 趙文甫 )
Ch'i Wen-chien ( 齊文儉 )
Li Ch'ing-wei ( 李慶偉 )
P'eng Hsiao-ch'ien ( 彭笑千 )
Shao Wen-chieh ( 邵文杰 )
Chang Pai-yuan ( 張柏園 )
Wang Wei-ch'un ( 王維群 )
Tu Meng-mo ( 杜孟模 )



## HOPEH PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*Lin T'ieh* ( 林　鐵 )

Second Secretary

*Liu Tzu-hou* ( 劉子厚 )

Secretaries

Ma Kuo-jui ( 馬國瑞 )
Chang Ch'eng-hsien ( 張承先 )
Yen Ta-k'ai ( 閻達開 )
Wu Yen-nung ( 吳硯農 )
Wan Hsiao-t'ang ( 萬曉塘 )
Chao Wu-ch'eng ( 趙武成 )

### *People's Government*

Governor

*Liu Tzu-hou* ( 劉子厚 )

Vice-Governors

Kao Shu-hsun ( 高樹勳 )
Yang I-chou ( 楊亦周 )
Wang Chin-shan ( 王金山 )
Wang Li ( 王　力 )
Yang I-ch'en ( 楊一辰 )
Kuo Fang ( 郭　芳 )
Hsieh Hui ( 謝　輝 )
Hao T'ien-i ( 郝田役 )
Wang Tung-ning ( 王東寧 )
Yang Lei-chih ( 楊磊之 )

## HUNAN PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

Chang P'ing-hua ( 張平化 )

Second Secretary

*Wang Yen-ch'un* ( 王延春 )

Secretaries

Li Jui-shan ( 李瑞山 )
T'an Yu-pao ( 譚余保 )
Chou Li ( 周　禮 )
Hsu Ch'i-wen ( 徐啓文 )
Hua Kuo-feng ( 華國鋒 )
Yu Ming-t'ao ( 于明濤 )
Wan Ta ( 萬　達 )

### *People's Government*

Governor

Ch'eng Ch'ien ( 程　潛 )

Vice-Governors

T'ang Sheng-chih ( 唐智生 )
Chang Po-sen ( 章伯森 )
Chou Shih-chao ( 周世釗 )
Hsu Ming ( 徐　明 )
Hua Kuo-feng ( 華國鋒 )
Shang Tzu-chin ( 尚子錦 )
Wang Han-fu ( 王含黻 )

## HUPEH PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*Wang Jen-chung* (王任重)

Second Secretary

Chang T'i-hsueh (張體學)

Secretaries

Chao Hsin-ch'u (趙辛初)
Hsu Tao-ch'i (許道琦)
Meng Fu-t'ang (孟夫唐)
Wang Shu-ch'eng (王樹成)
Sung K'an-fu (宋侃夫)
Yang Jui (楊　銳)
Wang Yu-chen (王玉珍)

### *People's Government*

Governor

Chang T'i-hsueh (張體學)

Vice-Governors

Nieh Kuo-ch'ing (聶國青)
Ch'en I-hsin (陳一新)
Wang Hai-shan (王海山)
Li Ming-hao (李明灝)
Ch'en Ching-yu (陳經畬)
Meng Fu-t'ang (孟夫唐)
Chang Wang-wu (張旺午)
Hsia Shih-hou (夏世厚)
T'ao Shu-tseng (陶述曾)
Han Ning-fu (韓寧夫)
Chao Hsiu (趙　修)
Liu Chin (劉　晉)
Yen Chun (閻　鈞)

## INNER MONGOLIA AUTONOMOUS REGION

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*Wu Lan-fu* (烏蘭夫)

Second Secretary

Secretaries

Su Ch'ien-i (蘇謙益)
K'uei Pi (奎　璧)
Wang To (王　鐸)
Wang Tsai-t'ien (王再天)
Wang I-lun (王逸倫)
Ch'uan Hsing-yuan (權星垣)

### *People's Government*

Governor

*Wu Lan-fu* (烏蘭夫)

Vice-Governors

K'uei Pi (奎　璧)
Sun Lan-feng (孫蘭峯)
Wang I-lun (王逸倫)
Wang Tsai-t'ien (王再天)
Ta-li-cha-ya (達理扎雅)
Chi Ya-t'ai (吉雅泰)
Liu Ching-p'ing (劉景平)
P'eng Szu-k'o (朋斯克)



Kao Chin-ming (高錦明)
Pi-li-ko-pa-t'u-erh (畢力格巴圖爾)
Li Chih (李　質)
Shen Hsin-fa (沈新發)

## KANSU PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*Wang Feng* (汪　鋒)

Second Secretary

Kao Chien-chun (高健君)

Secretaries

Ch'iang Tzu-hsiu (强自修)
Huo Wei-te (霍維德)
Chiao Shan-min (焦善民)
Chang P'eng-t'u (張鵬圖)
Wang Ping-hsiang (王秉祥)
Ch'en Tseng-ku (陳曾固)
Wang Shih-t'ai (王世泰)
P'ei Meng-fei (裴孟飛)
Hu Chi-tsung (胡繼宗)

### *People's Government*

Governors

Teng pao-shan (鄧寶珊)

Vice-Governors

Ko Shih-ying (葛士英)
Li P'ei-fu (李培福)
Han Lien-ch'eng (韓練成)
Ho Ch'eng-hsiang (何成湘)
Wang Hsiao-tz'u (王孝慈)
Hu Chi-tsung (胡繼忠)
Chao Wen-hsien (趙文獻)
Wang Kuo-jui (王國瑞)

## KIANGSI PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*Yang Shang k'uei* (楊尚奎)

Second Secretary

Secretaries

*Fang Chih-ch'un* (方志純)
Pai Tung-ts'ai (白棟材)
Liu Chun-hsiu (劉俊秀)
Liu Jui-sen (劉瑞森)

### *People's Government*

Governor

*Fang Chih-ch'un* (方志純)

Vice-Governors

Huang Hsien (黃　先)
Li Chieh-yung (李杰庸)
Ouyang Wu (歐陽武)
Wang Cho-ch'ao (王卓超)
Teng Hung (鄧　洪)
P'eng Meng-yu (彭夢庾)
Li Shih-chang (李世璋)

P'an Chen-ya （潘震亞）
Huang Lin （黃霖）
Chu Chi-hsien （朱繼先）
Tung Yen （董琰）

## KIANGSU PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*Chiang Wei-ch'ing* （江渭清）

Second Secretary

Secretaries

Ch'en Kuang （陳光）
Liu Shun-yuan （劉順元）
Hsu Chia-t'un （許家屯）
Hui Yu-yu （惠浴宇）
Li Shih-ying （李世英）

### *People's Government*

Governor

Hui Yu-yu （惠浴宇）

Vice-Governors

Kuan Wen-wei （管文蔚）
Liu Kuo-chun （劉國鈞）
Wu I-fang (F) （吳胎芳）
Hsu Chia-t'un （許家屯）
Pao Hou-ch'ang （包厚昌）
Li Shih-ying （李世英）
Ch'en Shu-t'ung （陳書同）
Ch'en Yang （陳揚）
Ouyang Hui-lin （歐陽惠林）

## KIRIN PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

Wu Te （吳德）

Second Secretary

*Chao Lin* （趙林）

Secretaries

Li Yu-wen （栗又文）
Fu Chen-sheng （富振聲）
Yuan Po-sheng （阮泊生）
Li Meng-ling （李夢齡）
Yu I-fu （于毅夫）

### *People's Government*

Governor

Li Yu-wen （李又文）

Vice-Governors

Chu Te-hai （朱德海）
Yu K'o （于克）
Hsu Shou-hsuan （徐壽軒）
Wang Huan-ju （王奐如）
Chou Kuang （周光）
Chang Wen-hai （張文海）
Chang Shih-ying （張士英）



Li Ti-p'ing （李砥平）
Yang Chan-t'ao （楊戰韜）
Yen Tzu-t'ao （嚴子濤）

## KWANGSI CHUANG AUTONOMOUS REGION

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

Wei Kuo-ch'ing （韋國清）

Second Secretary

Ch'iao Hsiao-kuang （喬曉光）

Secretaries

Wu Chin-nan （伍晉年）
T'an Ying-chi （覃應機）
Ho Hsi-ming （賀希明）
An P'ing-sheng （安平生）
Li Jen-jen （李任仁）
Mo Nai-ch'un （莫乃群）

### *People's Government*

Governor

Wei-Kuo-ch'ing （韋國清）

Vice-Governors

Ho Hsi-ming （賀希明）
Li Jen-jen （李任仁）
Lu Shao-wu （盧紹武）
Mo Nai-ch'un （莫乃群）
T'an Ying-chi （覃應機）
Fu Yu-t'ien （傅雨田）
Li Yin-tan （李殷丹）
Chung Feng （鍾楓）

## KWANGTUNG PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*Chao Tzu-yang* （趙紫陽）

Second Secretary

Secretaries

Ou Meng-chueh （區夢覺）
Lin Li-ming （林李明）
Li Chien-chen (f) （李堅真）
Liu T'ien-fu （劉田夫）
Wang Te （王德）
Yin Lin-p'ing （尹林平）
Yung Wen-t'ao （雍文濤）

### *People's Government*

Governor

Ch'en Yu （陳郁）

Vice-Governors

Kuo Ti-huo （郭棣活）
Li Chia-jen （李嘉仁）
Tseng Sheng （曾生）
Hsu Ch'ung-ch'ing （許崇清）
Huang Chieh （黃潔）
Ku Ta-ts'un （顧大存）
Lin Li-ming （林李明）
Lo Fan-ch'un （羅範群）
Lo T'ien （羅天）
Teng Wen-chao （鄧文釗）
Yang K'ang-hua （楊康華）

Chao Cho-yun （趙卓雲）
Chuang T'ien （莊　田）
K'ou Ch'ing-yen （寇慶延）
Wang Lan-hsi （王闌西）

## KWEICHOW PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*Chia Ch'i-yun* （賈啓允）

Second Secretary

Secretaries

Miao Ch'un-ting （苗春亭）
Wu Su （吳　肅）
Chou Hsiao-shan （周曉山）
Li Li （李　立）
Ch'eng Hung-i （程宏毅）
Chang Yun-ch'iao （張雲樵）

### *People's Government*

Governor

Li Li （李　立）

Vice-Governors

Hsu Chien-sheng （徐健生）
Wu Shih （吳　實）
Ch'en P'u-ju （陳璞如）
Tai Hsiao-tung （戴曉東）
Ch'en T'ieh （陳　鐵）
T'ien Chun-liang （田君亮）
Ch'eng Hung-i （程宏毅）

## LIAONING PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*Huang Huo-ch'ing* （黃火青）

Second Secretary

Huang Ou-tung （黃歐東）

Secretaries

Li Huang （李　荒）
Yu P'ing （俞　平）
Yang Ch'un-fu （楊春甫）
Chou Huan （周　桓）
Wang Liang （王　良）
Li Tung-yeh （李東冶）
Pai Ch'ien （白　潛）

### *People's Government*

Governor

Huang Ou-tung （黃歐東）

Vice-Governors

Ch'e Hsiang-ch'en （車向忱）
Ch'iu Yu-wen （仇友文）
Ning Wu （寧　武）
Huang Ta （黃　達）
Liu Pao-t'ien （劉寶田）
Kung T'ien-min （龔天民）
Wang Tzu-mu （王梓木）
Ch'en Hsien-chou （陳先舟）
Chang Cheng-te （張正德）



Chang Ch'ing-t'ai （張慶泰）
Wang K'un-ch'eng （王堃聘）
Ch'u Ching （曲　偁）
Jen Chih-yuan （任志遠）

## NINGHSIA HUI AUTONOMOUS REGION

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*Yang Ching-jen* （楊靜仁）

Second Secretary

Li Ching-lin （李景林）

Secretaries

Kan Ch'un-lei （甘春雷）
Lo Ch'eng-te （羅成德）
Ma Yu-huai （馬玉槐）
Wu Sheng-hsiu （吳生秀）

### *People's Government*

Governor

*Yang Ching-jen* （楊靜仁）

Vice-Governors

Huang Chih-chung （黃執中）
Ma T'eng-ai （馬騰靄）
Ma Yu-huai （馬玉槐）
Wang Chin-chang （王金璋）
Wu Sheng-hsiu （吳生秀）
Ma Hsin （馬　信）

## SHANSI PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*Wei Heng* （衛　恆）

Second Secretary

Wang Ch'ien （黃　謙）

Secretaries

Ch'ih Pi-ch'ing （池必卿）
Chu Wei-hua （朱衛華）
Cheng Lin （鄭　林）
Wang Shih-ying （王世英）
Wang Ta-jen （王大任）
Wu Kuang-t'ang （武光湯）
Ma Chi （馬　季）

### *People's Government*

Governor

*Wen Heng* （衛　恆）

Vice-Governors

Cheng Lin （鄭　林）
Chiao Kuo-nai （焦國梁）
Wu Kuang-t'ang （武光湯）
Liu K'ai-chi （劉開基）
Wang Chung-ch'ing （王中青）
Chia Yun-piao （賈雲標）
Liu Kuan-i （劉貫一）
Wei Feng-ch'i （衛逢祺）
Chia Ch'ung-chih （賈冲之）
Huang K'o-ch'eng （黃克誠）
Liu K'o-p'ing （劉格平）

## SHANTUNG PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*T'an Ch'i-lung* (譚啓龍)

Second Secretary

Secretaries

Hsia Cheng-nung (夏征農)
Li Kuang-wen (李廣文)
Shih Che (師哲)
Pai Ju-ping (白如冰)
P'ei Meng-fei (裴孟飛)
T'eng Ching-lu (滕景祿)
Teng Ch'en-hsi (鄧辰西)
Su I-jan (蘇毅然)
Liu Ping-lin (劉秉琳)
Li Tsai-wen (栗再温)

### *People's Government*

Governor

Pai Ju-ping (白如冰)

Vice-Governors

Liu Min-sheng (劉民生)
Ch'ao Che-fu (晁哲甫)
Li Ch'eng-chih (李澄之)
Miao Hai-nan (苗海南)
Yu Hsiu (余修)
Li Yu-ang (李予昂)
Li Tsai-wen (栗再温)
Ch'en Lei (陳雷)
Kao Ch'i-yun (高啓雲)
Mu Lin (穆林)
Su I-jan (蘇毅然)
Wang Chung-yin (王衆音)
Yang Chieh-jen (楊介人)

## SHENSI PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

Huo Shih-lien (霍士廉)

Second Secretary

Chao Shou-i (趙守一)

Secretaries

Fang Chung-ju (方仲如)
Pai Chih-min (白治民)
Chang Ts'e (章澤)
Wang Lin (王林)
Li Ch'i-ming (李啓明)
Yen K'o-lun (嚴克倫)

### *People's Government*

Governor

Li ch'i-ming (李啓明)

Vice-Governors

Hsieh Huai-te (謝懷德)
Sun Wei-ju (孫蔚如)
Fu Tzu-ho (傅子和)
Hui Shih-kung (惠世恭)
Liu Pang-hsien (劉邦顯)
Su Tzu-ch'en (蘇資琛)
Lin Yin-ju (林茵如)



Shu T'ung (舒同)
Feng Chi-p'ing (馮基平)

## SINKIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

Wang En-mao (王恩茂)

Second Secretary

Secretaries

Sai Fu-ting (賽福鼎)
Lu Chien-jen (呂劍人)
Wu K'ai-chang (武開章)
Li Ch'uan (李銓)
Wu Kuang (武光)
Lin Po-min (林泊民)
Ch'i Kuo (祈果)

### *People's Government*

Governor

Sai Fu-ting (賽福鼎)

Vice-Governors

I-min-no-fu-mai-mai-t'i
(伊敏諾夫買買提)
P'a-t'i-han-Su-ku-erh-pa-yeh-fu
(帕提漢·蘇古爾巴也夫)
Ai-szu-hai-t'i (艾斯海提)
Wu Kuang (武光)
T'ieh-mu-erh-Ta-wa-mai-t'i
(鐵木爾·達瓦買提)
T'ien Chung (田仲)

## SZECHWAN PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

*Liao Chih-Kao* (廖志高)

Second Secretary

Secretaries

Ch'en Kang (陳剛)
Hsu Meng-hsia (許夢俠)
Li Ta-chang (李大章)
Tu Hsin-yuan (杜心源)
Yen Hsiu-feng (閻秀峯)
Chao Ts'ang-pi (趙蒼璧)
Yang Wan-hsuan (楊萬選)

### *People's Governmet*

Governor

Li Ta-chang (李大章)

Vice-Governors

T'ien Pao ( )
Chao Ts'ang-pi (趙蒼璧)
T'ung Shao-sheng (童少生)
Chang Hsiu-shu (張秀熟)
Teng Hua (鄧華)
Yang Ch'ao (楊超)
Yang Wan-hsuan (楊萬選)
Chang Hu-ch'en (張呼晨)
Chang Li-hsing (張力行)

| | |
|---|---|
| Chang Wei-chiung | ( 張 為 炯 ) |
| Ch'in Ch'uan-hou | ( 秦 傳 厚 ) |
| Li Lin-chih | ( 李 林 枝 ) |
| Meng Tung-p'o | ( 孟 東 坡 ) |

## TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

| | |
|---|---|
| Chang Kuo-hua | ( 張 國 華 ) |

Second Secretary

Secretaries

| | |
|---|---|
| Chou Jen-shan | ( 周 仁 山 ) |
| Hao P'ing-nan | ( 郝 平 南 ) |
| Jen Ming-tao | ( 任 明 道 ) |
| Kuo Hsi-lan | ( 郭 錫 蘭 ) |
| Ma Kuei-shu | ( 麻 貴 書 ) |
| Miao P'ei-i | ( 苗 丕 一 ) |
| T'an Kuan-san | ( 譚 冠 三 ) |
| Wang Ch'i-mei | ( 黃 其 梅 ) |
| Yang Tung-sheng | ( 楊 東 生 ) |

### *People's Government*

Governor

A-p'ei-a-wang-chin-mei

( 阿 沛 · 阿 旺 晉 美 )

Vice-Governors

P'a-pa-la-cho-lieh-lang-chieh

( 帕 巴 拉 · 格 烈 朗 杰 )

| | |
|---|---|
| Chou Jen-shan | ( 周 仁 山 ) |
| Hsieh-jao-teng-chu | ( 協 繞 頓 珠 ) |

Lang-tun Kun-ko-wang-ch'iu

( 朗 頓 · 貢 噶 旺 秋 )

Ts'ui-k'o Tun-chu-ts'ai-jen

( 崔 珠 · 頓 珠 才 仁 )

| | |
|---|---|
| Kuo Hsi-lan | ( 郭 錫 蘭 ) |

Sheng-ch'in Lo-sang-chien-tsan

( 生 欽 · 洛 桑 堅 贊 )

## TSINGHAI PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

| | |
|---|---|
| Yang Chih-lin | ( 楊 植 霖 ) |

Second Secretary

| | |
|---|---|
| *Wang Chao* | ( 王 昭 ) |

Secretaries

| | |
|---|---|
| Ch'en Szu-kung | ( 陳 思 恭 ) |
| Chang Kuo-sheng | ( 張 國 聲 ) |

### *People's Government*

Governor

| | |
|---|---|
| *Wang Chao* | ( 王 昭 ) |

Vice-Governors

| | |
|---|---|
| Ma Fu-ch'eng | ( 馬 輔 臣 ) |
| Kao K'o-t'ing | ( 高 克 亭 ) |
| Li Fang-yuan | ( 李 芳 遠 ) |
| Chang Hsiao-tung | ( 張 曉 東 ) |



| | |
|---|---|
| Chu Hsia-fu | ( 朱 俠 夫 ) |
| T'an Sheng-pin | ( 譚 生 彬 ) |
| Yuan Jen-yuan | ( 袁 任 遠 ) |
| Kao K'o-t'ing | ( 高 克 亭 ) |
| Han Ming | ( 韓 明 ) |
| Chi Ch'un-kuang | ( 冀 春 光 ) |
| Han Ming | ( 韓 明 ) |
| Ts'ai Hsueh | ( 才 學 ) |

## YUNNAN PROVINCE

### *Party Committee*

First Secretary

| | |
|---|---|
| *Yen Hung-yen* | ( 閻 紅 彥 ) |

Second Secretary

Secretaries

| | |
|---|---|
| Yu I-ch'uan | ( 于 一 川 ) |
| Ma Chi-k'ung | ( 馬 繼 孔 ) |
| Liu Ming-hui | ( 劉 明 輝 ) |
| Chou Ch'ih-p'ing | ( 周 赤 萍 ) |
| Kuo Chao | ( 郭 昭 ) |
| Liu Cho-fu | ( 劉 卓 甫 ) |
| Liu P'i-yun | ( 劉 披 雲 ) |
| Hao Chi-chen | ( 郝 季 甄 ) |
| Chao Chien-min | ( 趙 健 民 ) |
| Liu Lin-yuan | ( 劉 林 元 ) |
| Chou Hsing | ( 周 興 ) |
| Kao Chih-kuo | ( 高 治 國 ) |
| Sun Yu-ting | ( 孫 雨 亭 ) |

### *People's Government*

Governor

| | |
|---|---|
| Chou Hsing | ( 周 興 ) |

Vice-Governors

| | |
|---|---|
| Chang Ch'ung | ( 張 冲 ) |
| Liu Ming-hui | ( 劉 明 輝 ) |
| Wu Tso-min | ( 吳 作 民 ) |
| Kuo Ch'ao | ( 郭 昭 ) |
| Liu P'i-yun | ( 劉 披 雲 ) |
| Liu Lin-yuan | ( 劉 林 元 ) |
| Chang T'ien-fang | ( 張 天 放 ) |
| Shih Huai-pi | ( 史 懷 璧 ) |
| Wang Shao-yen | ( 王 少 岩 ) |
| Kao Chih-kuo | ( 高 治 國 ) |
| Chang Tzu-chai | ( 張 子 齋 ) |

## GOVERNMENT

In the wake of the power struggle in the State Council, only 13 out of 51 ministries and commissions functioned normally, towards the end of 1967. By May Day 1968, the majority of these ministries and commissions had been under military control.

### PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | *Liu Shao-ch'i* | (劉少奇) |
| Vice Chairmen | Tung Pi-wu | (董必武) |
| | Sung Ch'ing-ling (f) | (宋慶齡) |

### STATE COUNCIL

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Premier | Chou En-lai | (周恩來) |
| Vice Premiers | Lin Piao | (林彪) |
| | *Ch'en Yun* | (陳雲) |
| | *Teng Hsiao-p'ing* | (鄧小平) |
| | Ch'en I | (陳毅) |
| | *Ho Lung* | (賀龍) |
| | *Wu Lan-fu* | (烏蘭夫) |
| | Li Fu-ch'un | (李富春) |
| | Li Hsien-nien | (李先念) |
| | *T'an Chen-lin* | (譚震林) |
| | Nieh Jung-chen | (聶榮臻) |
| | *Po I-po* | (薄一波) |
| | *Lu Ting-i* | (陸定一) |
| | *Lo Jui-ch'ing* | (羅瑞卿) |
| | *T'ao Chu* | (陶鑄) |
| | Hsieh Fu-chih | (謝富治) |



## MINISTRIES AND COMMISSIONS

### MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Liao Lu-yen* | (廖魯言) |
| Vice Ministers | Yang Hsien-tung | (楊顯東) |
| | *Ts'ai Tzu-wei* | (蔡子偉) |
| | *Ku Ta-ch'uan* | (顧大川) |
| | Ho Chi-feng | (何基澧) |
| | *Ch'eng Chao-hsien* | (程照軒) |
| | *Wu Chen* | (吳振) |
| | *Chu Jung* | (朱榮) |
| | Chiang I-chen | (江一真) |

### MINISTRY OF ALLOCATION OF MATERIALS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Yuan Pao-hua* | (袁寶華) |
| Vice Ministers | *Hsieh Pei-i* | (謝北一) |
| | Li Ch'ao-po | (李超伯) |
| | *Li Che-jen* | (李哲仁) |
| | Teng Ts'un-lun | (鄧存倫) |
| | Sung Chih-ho | (宋致和) |

### MINISTRY OF AQUATIC PRODUCTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Hsu Te-heng | (許德珩) |
| Vice Ministers | Kao Wen-hua | (高文華) |
| | Yang Fu-ch'ing | (楊扶清) |
| | *Yuan Yeh-lieh* | (袁也烈) |
| | Shih Min | (史敏) |

### MINISTRY OF BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Liu Yu-min* | (劉裕民) |
| Vice Ministers | Hsu Shih-p'ing | (許世平) |
| | Sung Yu-ho | (宋裕和) |
| | *Wang Shao-ch'uan* | (汪少川) |
| | Yang Ch'un-mou | (楊春茂) |

## MINISTRY OF BUILDING MATERIALS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Lai Chi-fa* | ( 賴 際 發 ) |
| Vice Ministers | Ch'en Yun-t'ao | ( 陳 雲 濤 ) |
| | Yang Ti-sheng | ( 楊 滌 生 ) |
| | Pai Hsiang-yin | ( 白 向 銀 ) |

## MINISTRY OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Kao Yang* | ( 高 　 揚 ) |
| Vice Ministers | Chang Chen | ( 張 　 珍 ) |
| | Hsiao Kuei-ch'ang | ( 蕭 桂 昌 ) |
| | *Liang Ying-yung* | ( 梁 膺 庸 ) |
| | Hou Te-pang | ( 侯 德 榜 ) |
| | Li Su | ( 李 　 蘇 ) |
| | Chang Liang | ( 張 　 亮 ) |
| | Li I-lin | ( 李 藝 林 ) |

## MINISTRY OF COAL INDUSTRY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Chang Lin-chih* | ( 張 霖 之 ) |
| Vice Ministers | *Chung Tzu-yun* | ( 鍾 子 雲 ) |
| | Li Chien-p'ing | ( 李 建 平 ) |
| | Chia Lin-fang | ( 賈 林 放 ) |
| | *Wang Chin-lin* | ( 王 金 林 ) |
| | Fan Wen-ts'ai | ( 范 文 彩 ) |
| | Yang Yeh-p'eng | ( 楊 葉 澎 ) |

## MINISTRY OF COMMERCE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Yao I-lin* | ( 姚 依 林 ) |
| Vice Ministers | Wu Hsueh-chih | ( 吳 雪 之 ) |
| | Chang Yung-li | ( 張 永 勵 ) |
| | Wang Lei | ( 王 　 磊 ) |
| | Hu Tzu-ying (f) | ( 胡 子 嬰 ) |
| | Niu Yin-kuan | ( 牛 蔭 冠 ) |
| | Jen Ch'uan-sheng | ( 任 泉 生 ) |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Kao Hsiu | ( 高 　 修 ) |
| | Wang Hua-min | ( 王 化 民 ) |

## MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Sun Ta-kuang | ( 孫 大 光 ) |
| Vice Ministers | *Ma Hui-chih* | ( 馬 輝 之 ) |
| | T'an Chen | ( 譚 　 真 ) |
| | Yu Mei | ( 于 　 眉 ) |
| | Chu T'ien-shun | ( 朱 田 順 ) |
| | Hsiao Min | ( 蕭 　 民 ) |
| | Ko Ch'en | ( 葛 　 琛 ) |
| | T'ao Ch'i | ( 陶 　 琦 ) |
| | P'eng Te-ch'ing | ( 彭 德 清 ) |
| | Ma Yao-chi | ( 馬 耀 驥 ) |

## MINISTRY OF CULTURE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Lu Ting-i* | ( 陸 定 一 ) |
| Vice Ministers | *Hu Yu-chih* | ( 胡 愈 之 ) |
| | *Lin Mo-han* | ( 林 默 涵 ) |
| | *Hsu Kuang-hsiao* | ( 徐 光 宵 ) |
| | *Hsu P'ing-yu* | ( 徐 平 羽 ) |
| | *Li Ch'i* | ( 李 　 琦 ) |
| | *Shih Hsi-min* | ( 石 西 民 ) |
| | *Chao Hsin-ch'u* | ( 趙 辛 初 ) |
| | *Hsiao Wang-tung* | ( 蕭 望 東 ) |
| | *Liu Pai-yu* | ( 劉 白 羽 ) |
| | Yen Chin-sheng | ( 顏 金 生 ) |

## MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Ho Wei* | ( 何 　 偉 ) |
| Vice Ministers | *Liu Ai-feng* | ( 劉 皚 風 ) |
| | Lin Li-ju | ( 林 礪 儒 ) |
| | Yeh Sheng-t'ao | ( 葉 聖 陶 ) |
| | *Liu Chi-p'ing* | ( 劉 季 平 ) |

## MINISTRY OF FINANCE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Li Hsien-nien | (李先念) |
| Vice Ministers | Wang Hsueh-ming | (王學明) |
| | Tseng Chih (f) | (曾　直) |
| | Wu Po | (吳　波) |
| | *Tu Hsiang-kuang* | (杜向光) |
| | Ch'en Ju-lung | (陳如龍) |

## MINISTRY OF FOOD

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Sha Ch'ien-li | (沙千里) |
| Vice Ministers | Ch'en Kuo-tung | (陳國棟) |
| | Chao Fa-sheng | (趙發生) |
| | Yang Shao-ch'iao | (楊少橋) |
| | An Fa-ch'ien | (安法乾) |
| | Teng Fei | (鄧　飛) |

## MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Ch'en I | (陳　毅) |
| Vice Ministers | *Chang Han-fu* | (章漢夫) |
| | Chi P'eng-fei | (姬鵬飛) |
| | Lo Kuei-po | (羅貴波) |
| | Liu Hsiao | (劉　曉) |
| | Ch'iao Kuan-hua | (喬冠華) |
| | Han Nien-lung | (韓念龍) |
| | *Liu Hsin-ch'uan* | (劉新權) |
| | Wang Ping-nan | (王炳南) |
| | Tseng Yung-ch'uan | (曾涌泉) |
| | Hsu I-hsin | (徐以新) |

## MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Yeh Chi-chuang | (葉季壯) |
| Vice Ministers | *Lei Jen-min* | (雷任民) |
| | Li Ch'iang | (李　強) |
| | Chiang Ming | (江　明) |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Lin Hai-yun | (林海雲) |
| | Lu Hsu-chang | (盧緒章) |
| | Yang Hao-lu | (楊浩廬) |
| | Chia Shih | (賈　石) |
| | Chou Hua-min | (周化民) |
| | Fu Sheng-lin | (傅生麟) |

## MINISTRY OF FORESTRY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Liu Wen-hui* | (劉文輝) |
| Vice Ministers | *Lo Yu-ch'uan* | (羅玉川) |
| | Hui Chung-ch'uan | (惠中權) |
| | Chang K'o-hsia | (張克俠) |
| | Ch'en Li | (陳　離) |
| | T'ang Tzu-ch'i | (唐子奇) |
| | Chang Chao | (張　昭) |
| | Liang Ch'ang-wu | (梁昌武) |
| | Yang T'ien-fang | (楊天放) |
| | Hsun Ch'ang-wu | (荀昌五) |
| | Chang Shih-chun | (張世軍) |

## MINISTRY OF GEOLOGY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Li Szu-kuang | (李四光) |
| Vice Ministers | *Ho Ch'ang-kung* | (何長工) |
| | Sung Ying | (宋　應) |
| | Hsu Chieh | (許　杰) |
| | Liu Han-sheng | (劉漢生) |
| | K'uang Fu-chao | (旷伏兆) |
| | Liu Hsuan | (李　軒) |
| | Tu Kuang-i | (屠光義) |

## MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Chiang Nan-hsiang* | (蔣南翔) |
| Vice Ministers | *Liu Tzu-tsai* | (劉子載) |
| | *Liu Yang-ch'iao* | (劉仰嶠) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Huang Hsin-pai | （黄辛白） |
| | Kao I | （高　沂） |
| | *Tuan Lo-fu* | （段洛夫） |

## MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Tseng Shan | （曾　山） |
| Vice Ministers | Ch'en Ch'i-yuan | （陳其瑗） |
| | Wang I-fu | （王一夫） |
| | Ch'eng T'an | （程　坦） |
| | Huang Ch'ing-hsi | （黄慶熙） |
| | Li Ching-ying | （李景膺） |

## MINISTRY OF LABOUR

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Ma Wen-jui* | （馬文瑞） |
| Vice Ministers | Yu Kuang-han | （禹光韓） |
| | Hsi Chan-yuan | （郗占元） |
| | Li Cheng-t'ing | （李正亭） |

## FIRST MINISTRY OF LIGHT INDUSTRY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Li Chu-ch'en | （李燭塵） |
| Vice Ministers | Wang Hsin-yuan | （王新元） |
| | Chang Tao-wu | （張道吾） |
| | K'ung Hsiang-chen | （孔祥楨） |
| | Hsia Chih-hsu (f) | （夏之栩） |
| | *Ts'ao Lu* | （曹　魯） |
| | Wang I-chih | （王毅之） |

## SECOND MINISTRY OF LIGHT INDUSTRY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Hsu Yun-pei* | （徐運北） |
| Vice Ministers | Ch'en I-fan | （陳一凡） |
| | Hsieh Hsin-ho | （謝鑫鶴） |
| | Lo Jih-yun | （羅日運） |
| | *Teng Chieh* | （鄧　潔） |
| | T'ien P'ing | （田　坪） |



## FIRST MINISTRY OF MACHINE BUILDING

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Tuan Chun-i | （段君毅） |
| Vice Ministers | Wang Tao-han | （汪道涵） |
| | Pai Chien | （白　堅） |
| | Chou Tzu-chien | （周子健） |
| | Yang Shou-shan | （楊壽山） |
| | Chou Chien-nan | （周建南） |
| | Shen Hung | （沈　鴻） |
| | Yang Tien-k'uei | （楊殿魁） |
| | Kuo Li | （郭　力） |
| | Sun Yu-yu | （孫友余） |

## SECOND MINISTRY OF MACHINE BUILDING

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Liu Chieh | （劉　杰） |

## THIRD MINISTRY OF MACHINE BUILDING

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Sun Chih-yuan | （孫志遠） |
| Vice Ministers | Liu Ping-yen | （劉秉彦） |
| | *Liu Ting* | （劉　鼎） |
| | *Wu Jung-feng* | （吳融峯） |
| | Tuan Tzu-chun | （段子俊） |

## FOURTH MINISTRY OF MACHINE BUILDING

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Wang Cheng | （王　諍） |
| Vice Ministers | Liu Yin | （劉　寅） |
| | Wang Shih-kuang | （王士光） |
| | Wang Shu | （王　曙） |
| | T'an Yu-ming | （譚佑銘） |
| | Ch'i I-ting | （齊一丁） |
| | Kao Chun | （高　峻） |

## FIFTH MINISTRY OF MACHINE BUILDING

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Ch'iu Ch'uang-ch'eng | （邱創成） |
| Vice Ministers | Chang Lien-k'uei | （張連奎） |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Chu Kuang | (朱　光) |
| | Yang Shao-tseng | (楊紹曾) |
| | Li Yu-t'ang | (李玉堂) |
| | Wang Li | (王　立) |

## SIXTH MINISTRY OF MACHINE BUILDING

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Fang Ch'iang | (方　强) |
| Vice Ministers | Liu Hsing | (劉　星) |
| | Pien Chiang | (邊　疆) |
| | Huang Chung-hsueh | (黄忠學) |
| | P'an Ch'i | (潘　琪) |

## SEVENTH MINISTRY OF MACHINE BUILDING

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Wang Ping-chang | (王秉璋) |

## EIGHTH MINISTRY OF MACHINE BUILDING

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Ch'en Cheng-jen | (陳正人) |
| Vice Ministers | Li Chi-huan | (李濟寰) |
| | Hsu Pin-chou | (徐斌洲) |
| | Hsu Ta-pen | (徐達本) |
| | Li Yu | (黎　玉) |
| | Yang Li-kung | (楊立功) |

## MINISTRY OF METALLURGICAL INDUSTRY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Lu Tung* | (呂　東) |
| Vice Ministers | Hsia Yun | (夏　耘) |
| | Kao Yang-wen | (高揚文) |
| | Liu Pin | (劉　彬) |
| | Hsu Ch'ih | (徐　馳) |
| | Lin Tse-sheng | (林澤生) |
| | Wang Yu-ch'ing | (王玉清) |
| | Chou Ch'ih-p'ing | (周赤萍) |
| | Li Ch'ao | (李　超) |
| | Yeh Chih-ch'iang | (葉志强) |



## MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Lin Piao | (林　彪) |
| Vice Ministers | Hsiao Ching-kuang | (蕭勁光) |
| | *Liao Han-sheng* | (廖漢生) |
| | Wang Shu-sheng | (王樹聲) |
| | Su Yu | (粟　裕) |
| | *Hsu Kuang-ta* | (許光達) |
| | Hsu Shih-yu | (許世友) |
| | *Lo Jui-ch'ing* | (羅瑞卿) |

## MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM INDUSTRY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Yu Ch'iu-li | (余秋里) |
| Vice Ministers | Chou Wen-lung | (周文龍) |
| | Li Fan-i | (李范一) |
| | *K'ang Shih-en* | (康世恩) |
| | Sun Ching-wen | (孫敬文) |
| | Hsu Chin-ch'iang | (徐今强) |
| | Chang Ting-i | (張定一) |
| | Chang Wen-pin | (張文彬) |
| | Sun Hsiao-feng | (孫曉凡) |
| | *T'ang K'o* | (唐　克) |

## MINISTRY OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Chu Hsueh-fan | (朱學範) |
| Vice Ministers | Wang Tzu-kang | (王子綱) |
| | Shen Kuang | (申　光) |
| | Chao Chih-kang | (趙志剛) |
| | Ku Ch'un-fan | (谷春帆) |
| | Chung Fu-hsiang | (鍾夫翔) |
| | Li Yu-kuei | (李玉奎) |
| | Ch'eng An-yu | (成安玉) |

## MINISTRY OF PUBLIC HEALTH

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Ch'ien Hsin-chung* | (錢信忠) |
| Vice Ministers | Chang K'ai | (張　凱) |
| | Ho Piao | (賀　彪) |
| | Ts'ui I-t'ien | (崔義田) |
| | Kuo Tzu-hua | (郭子化) |
| | *Huang Shu-tse* | (黃樹則) |
| | *Shih Shu-han* | (史樹翰) |

## MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SECURITY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Hsieh Fu-chih | (謝富治) |
| Vice Ministers | *Hsu Tzu-jung* | (余子榮) |
| | Wang Chin-hsiang | (汪金祥) |
| | Yang Ch'i-ch'ing | (楊奇清) |
| | Wang Tung-hsing | (汪東興) |
| | Ling Yun | (凌　云) |
| | Liu Fu-chih | (劉復之) |
| | Yu Sang | (于　桑) |

## MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Lu Cheng-ts'ao* | (呂正操) |
| Vice Ministers | Shih Chih-jen | (石志仁) |
| | *Wu Ching-t'ien* | (武竟天) |
| | Liu Chien-chang | (劉建章) |
| | Yu Kuang-sheng | (余光生) |
| | Kuo Lu | (郭　魯) |
| | Wang Chu-chien | (王菊潛) |
| | Ch'ien Ying-lin | (錢應麟) |
| | Su Chieh | (蘇　杰) |

## MINISTRY OF STATE FARMS AND LAND RECLAMATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | *Wang Chen* | (王　震) |
| Vice Ministers | Chiang Ch'i-hsien | (姜齊賢) |
| | *Chang Chung-han* | (張仲翰) |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Chang Lin-ch'ih | (張林池) |
| | Liu Hsing | (劉　型) |
| | *Hsiao K'o* | (蕭　克) |
| | *Ch'en Man-yuan* | (陳漫遠) |
| | Chang Sheng-san | (張省三) |

## MINISTRY OF TEXTILE INDUSTRY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Chiang Kuang-nai | (蔣光鼐) |
| Vice Ministers | Chang Ch'in-ch'iu (f) | (張琴秋) |
| | Ch'en Wei-chi | (陳維稷) |
| | Ch'ien Chih-Kuang | (錢之光) |
| | Wang Ta-ch'eng | (王達成) |
| | Jung I-jen | (榮毅仁) |
| | Chang Yung-ch'ing | (張永清) |
| | Li Chu-p'ing | (李竹平) |
| | Wang Yu-lo | (王雨洛) |

## MINISTRY OF WATER CONSERVANCY AND ELECTRIC POWER

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minister | Fu Tso-i | (傅作義) |
| Vice Ministers | Chang Han-ying | (張含英) |
| | Ch'ien Cheng-ying (f) | (錢正英) |
| | Feng Chung-yun | (馮仲云) |
| | *Liu Lan-pao* | (劉瀾波) |
| | Ch'eng Ming-sheng | (程明陞) |
| | Hao Chih-chai | (郝執齋) |
| | Li Tai-keng | (李代耕) |
| | Tu Hsing-yuan | (杜星垣) |
| | Lo Wen-fang | (羅文坊) |
| | Chang Pin | (張　彬) |
| | Wang Ying-hsien | (王英先) |

## COMMISSION FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | Chang Hsi-jo | (張奚若) |
| Vice Chairmen | Chang Chih-hsiang | (張致祥) |
| | Ch'u T'u-nan | (楚圖南) |
| | Ting Hsi-lin | (丁西林) |
| | Tsou Ta-p'eng | (鄒大鵬) |
| | Ts'ao Ying | (曹　瑛) |
| | Ch'en Chung-ching | (陳忠經) |
| | *Li Ch'ang* | (李　昌) |
| | Li Ch'i-t'ao | (李琦濤) |
| | *Sung I-p'ing* | (宋一平) |

## COMMISSION FOR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | Fang I | (方　毅) |
| Vice Chairmen | Yang Lin | (楊　琳) |
| | Wang Tao-han | (汪道涵) |
| | Li Ying-chi | (李應吉) |
| | Hsieh Huai-te | (謝懷德) |
| | Li Ch'iang | (李　強) |
| | Hsiao Fang-chou | (蕭方洲) |

## NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS COMMISSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | *Wu Lan-fu* | (烏蘭夫) |
| Vice Chairmen | *Liu Ch'un* | (劉　春) |
| | Sa K'ung-liao | (薩空了) |
| | *Wang Feng* | (汪　鋒) |
| | Hsieh Ho-ch'ou | (謝鶴籌) |
| | Hsieh Fu-min | (謝扶民) |
| | *Tan T'ung* | (丹　彤) |



## NATIONAL COMMODITY PRICE COMMISSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | Hsueh Mu-ch'iao | (薛暮橋) |
| Vice Chairmen | Liu Cho-fu | (劉卓甫) |
| | Liu Tai-feng | (劉岱峯) |

## OVERSEAS CHINESE AFFAIRS COMMISSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | *Liao Ch'eng-chih* | (廖承志) |
| Vice Chairmen | Chuang Hsi-ch'uan | (莊希泉) |
| | Li Jen-jen | (李任仁) |
| | *Fang Fang* | (方　方) |
| | Chuang Ming-li | (莊明理) |
| | Huang Ch'ang-shui | (黃長水) |
| | *Lin I-hsin* | (林一心) |

## PHYSICAL CULTURE AND SPORTS COMMISSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | *Ho Lung* | (賀　龍) |
| Vice Chairmen | *Jung Kao-t'ang* | (榮高棠) |
| | *Lu Han* | (盧　漢) |
| | Huang Chung | (黃　中) |
| | *Li Ta* | (李　達) |
| | *Li Meng-hua* | (李夢華) |
| | Chao Cheng-hung | (趙正洪) |

## STATE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COMMISSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | Nieh Jung-chen | (聶榮臻) |
| Vice Chairmen | *Chang Yu-hsuan* | (張有萱) |
| | Fan Ch'ang-chiang | (范長江) |
| | *Han Kuang* | (韓　光) |
| | *Wu Heng* | (武　衡) |
| | *Chang Chin-fu* | (張勁夫) |
| | P'eng Min | (彭　敏) |
| | Yueh Chih-chien | (岳志堅) |
| | *Yu Kuang-yuan* | (于光遠) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Chao Chi-ch'ang | ( 趙 繼 昌 ) |

## STATE CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION COMMISSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | *Ku Mu* | ( 谷　　牧 ) |
| Vice Chairmen | Chao Pei-k'o | ( 趙 北 克 ) |
| | *Hsieh Pei-i* | ( 謝 北 一 ) |
| | *Liu Yu-min* | ( 劉 裕 民 ) |
| | Lu K'o-pai | ( 呂 克 白 ) |
| | Sun Ching-wen | ( 孫 敬 文 ) |
| | Sung Yang-ch'u | ( 宋 養 初 ) |
| | Liu Hsu | ( 劉　　旭 ) |

## STATE CODIFICATION COMMISSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Director | Chou Jung-hsin | ( 周 荣 鑫 ) |
| Deputy Directors | Chin Shu-wang | ( 金 樹 望 ) |
| | Tseng I-fan | ( 曹 一 凡 ) |

## STATE ECONOMIC COMMISSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | *Po I-po* | ( 薄 一 波 ) |
| Vice Chairmen | Yeh Lin | ( 葉　　林 ) |
| | Kuo Hung-t'ao | ( 郭 洪 涛 ) |
| | Chou Chung-ying | ( 周 仲 英 ) |
| | Chao Erh-lu | ( 趙 爾 陸 ) |
| | *Yuan Pao-hua* | ( 袁 寶 華 ) |
| | Ch'ai Shu-fan | ( 柴 樹 藩 ) |
| | Kao Yang-wen | ( 高 揚 文 ) |
| | Wu Yen-nung | ( 吳 硯 農 ) |
| | *T'ao Lu-chia* | ( 陶 魯 笳 ) |
| | *Li Che-jen* | ( 李 哲 仁 ) |
| | Li K'ai-hsin | ( 李 開 信 ) |
| | Yang Chueh | ( 楊　　玦 ) |



## STATE PLANNING COMMISSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | Li Fu-ch'un | ( 李 富 春 ) |
| Vice Chairmen | Wang Kuang-wei | ( 王 光 偉 ) |
| | Liu Ming-fu | ( 劉 明 夫 ) |
| | An Chih-wen | ( 安 志 文 ) |
| | Fan Mu-han | ( 范 慕 韓 ) |
| | Hsueh Mu-ch'iao | ( 薛 暮 橋 ) |
| | Kao Yun-p'ing | ( 高 雲 屏 ) |
| | Ch'ai Shu-fan | ( 柴 樹 藩 ) |
| | *Ch'eng Tzu-hua* | ( 程 子 華 ) |
| | Fang I | ( 方　　毅 ) |
| | Yang Tso-ts'ai | ( 楊 作 才 ) |
| | Ch'en Po-ta | ( 陳 伯 達 ) |
| | Li Hsien-nien | ( 李 先 念 ) |
| | *Po I-po* | ( 薄 一 波 ) |
| | *Sung Shao-wen* | ( 宋 劭 文 ) |
| | *T'an Chen-lin* | ( 譚 震 林 ) |
| | Teng Tzu-hui | ( 鄧 子 恢 ) |
| | Yu Ch'iu-li | ( 余 秋 里 ) |

## SUPREME PEOPLE'S COURT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| President | *Yang Hsiu-feng* | ( 楊 秀 峯 ) |
| Vice Presidents | Chang Chih-jang | ( 張 志 讓 ) |
| | Ch'en Ch'i-han | ( 陳 奇 涵 ) |
| | Wang Wei-kang | ( 王 維 鋼 ) |
| | Wu Te-feng | ( 吳 德 峯 ) |

## SUPREME PEOPLE'S PROCURATORATE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Procurator General | *Chang Ting-ch'eng* | ( 張 鼎 承 ) |
| Deputy Procurators General | *Huang Huo-hsing* | ( 黃 火 青 ) |
| | Chang Su | ( 張　　蘇 ) |

## MILITARY

The purge of military leaders has been enormous during the cultural revolution. While many veterans have disappeared from the public, some major reshuffles can be detected from the appointment of new officers.

### NATIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL

(The National Defence Council was established in September 1968, superseding the People's Revolutionary Military Council.)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chairman | *Liu Shao-ch'i* | (劉少奇) |
| Vice Chairmen | Chang Chih-chung | (張治中) |
| | Ch'en I | (陳毅) |
| | Ch'eng Ch'ien | (程潛) |
| | Fu Tso-i | (傅作義) |
| | *Ho Lung* | (賀龍) |
| | Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien | (徐向前) |
| | Lin Piao | (林彪) |
| | Liu Po-ch'eng | (劉伯承) |
| | Nieh Jung-chen | (聶榮臻) |
| | *Teng Hsiao-p'ing* | (鄧小平) |
| | Yeh Chien-ying | (葉劍英) |
| | *Lo Jui-ch'ing* | (羅瑞卿) |

Members

| | |
|---|---|
| A-p'ei-a-wang-chin-mei (阿沛·阿旺晉美) | |
| Chan Ts'ai-fang | (詹才芳) |
| *Chan Ai-p'ing* | (張愛萍) |
| Chang Kuo-hua | (張國華) |
| Chang Ta-chih | (張達志) |
| *Chang Tsung-hsun* | (張宗遜) |
| Chang Yun-i | (張云逸) |
| Chao Erh-lu | (趙爾陸) |
| Ch'en Ch'i-han | (陳奇涵) |
| Ch'en Hsi-lien | (陳錫聯) |
| *Chen' Ming-jen* | (陳明仁) |
| Chen Po-chun | (陳伯鈞) |
| Chen Shao-k'uan | (陳紹寬) |
| Ch'en Shih-ch'u | (陳士榘) |
| Ch'en T'ieh | (陳鐵) |
| *Ch'en Tsai-tao* | (陳再道) |
| *Cheng Tung-kuo* | (鄭洞國) |
| *Ch'eng Tzu-hua* | (程子華) |
| *Ch'in Chi-wei* | (秦基偉) |



| | |
|---|---|
| Ch'iu Ch'uang-ch'eng | (邱創成) |
| Ch'iu Hui-tso | (邱會作) |
| *Chou Ch'un-ch'uan* | (周純全) |
| Chou Shih-ti | (周士第) |
| Fang Ch'iang | (方強) |
| Fu Ch'iu-t'ao | (傅秋濤) |
| *Fu Chung* | (傅鍾) |
| Han Hsien-ch'u | (韓先楚) |
| Hou Ching-ju | (侯鏡如) |
| Hsiao Ching-kuang | (蕭勁光) |
| *Hsiao Hua* | (蕭華) |
| *Hsiao K'o* | (蕭克) |
| *Hsiao Wang-tung* | (蕭望東) |
| Hsieh Fu-chih | (謝富治) |
| Hsu Hai-tung | (徐海東) |
| *Hsu Kuang-ta* | (許光達) |
| Hsu Shih-yu | (許世友) |
| *Huang Hsin-t'ing* | (黃新廷) |
| Huang Yung-sheng | (黃永勝) |
| Kao Shu-hsun | (高樹勛) |
| *K'ung Ts'ung-chou* | (孔從周) |
| *Kuo T'ien-min* | (郭天民) |
| Li Ch'eng-fang | (李成芳) |
| *Li Chu-k'uei* | (李聚奎) |
| Li Hsien-nien | (李先念) |
| Li Ming-hao | (李明灝) |
| *Li Ming-yang* | (李明揚) |
| *Li Shou-hsuan* | (李壽軒) |
| Li Ta | (李達) |
| Li T'ao | (李濤) |
| Li T'ien-yu | (李天佑) |
| Li Tso-p'eng | (李作鵬) |
| *Liao Han-sheng* | (廖漢生) |
| Lin Tsun | (林遵) |
| Lin Wei-hsien | (林維光) |
| *Liu Chih-chien* | (劉志堅) |
| Liu Fei | (劉斐) |
| Liu Hsing-yuan | (劉興元) |
| Liu P'ei-shan | (劉培善) |
| *Liu Shan-pen* | (劉善本) |
| Liu Wen-hui | (劉文輝) |
| Lu Cheng-ts'ao | (呂正操) |
| Lu Chung-lin | (鹿鍾麟) |
| *Lu Han* | (盧漢) |
| P'ei Ch'ang-hui | (斐昌會) |
| P'eng Shao-hui | (彭紹輝) |
| Sai Fu-ting | (賽福鼎) |
| Sang-p'o-ts'ai-wang-jen-tseng (賽福桑頗·才旺) | |
| *Su Chen-hua* | (蘇振華) |
| Su Yu | (粟裕) |
| Sun Chih-yuan | (孫志遠) |
| Sun Ta-Kuang | (孫大光) |
| Sun Wei-ju | (孫蔚如) |
| *Sung Jen-ch'iung* | (宋任窮) |
| Sung Shih-lun | (宋時輪) |
| T'an I-chih | (覃異之) |
| T'ang Liang | (唐亮) |
| *T'ang Sheng-chih* | (唐生智) |
| T'ao Chih-yueh | (陶峙岳) |
| Teng Chao-hsiang | (鄧兆祥) |
| *Teng Pao-shan* | (鄧寶珊) |
| T'eng Tai-yuan | (滕代遠) |
| Tseng Tse-sheng | (曾澤生) |
| Ts'ui T'ien-min | (崔田民) |
| *Tung Ch'i-wu* | (董其武) |
| *Wang Chen* | (王震) |
| Wang Cheng | (王諍) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wang Chien-an | (王建安) | Wu Fa-hsien | (吳法憲) |
| Wang En-mao | (王恩茂) | *Wu K'o-hua* | (吳克華) |
| Wang Hsin-t'ing | (王新亭) | *Wu Lan-fu* | (烏蘭夫) |
| Wang Hung-k'un | (王宏坤) | *Yang Ch'eng-wu* | (楊成武) |
| Wang P'ing | (王　平) | Yang Chih-ch'eng | (楊至成) |
| Wang Ping-chang | (王秉璋) | Yang Te-chih | (楊得至) |
| Wang Shih-t'ai | (王世泰) | *Yang Yung* | (楊　勇) |
| Wang Shu-sheng | (王樹聲) | *Yeh Fei* | (葉　飛) |
| Wei Kuo-ch'ing | (韋國清) | *Yen Hung-yen* | (閻紅彦) |



## ALL–ARMY CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP

When it was first known to be existent in November 1966:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chief | *Liu Chih-chien* | (劉志堅) |

After the first re-organisation on 11 January 1967:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chief | Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien | (徐向前) | | |
| Adviser | Chiang Ch'ing | (江　青) | | |
| Deputy Chiefs | *Hsiao Hua* | (蕭　華) | *Kuan Feng* | (關　鋒) |
| | *Yang Ch'eng-wu* | (楊成武) | *Hsieh T'ang-chung* | (謝鏗忠) |
| | Wang Hsin-t'ing | (王新亭) | Li Man-ts'un | (李曼村) |
| | *Hsu Li-ch'ing* | (徐立清) | | |
| Member | Wang Hung-k'un | (王宏坤) | Yeh Ch'un | (葉　群) |
| | *Yu Li-chin* | (余立金) | *Wang Feng* | (汪　鋒) |
| | Liu Hua-ch'ing | (劉華清) | Hu Ku-yen | (和谷岩) |
| | T'ang P'ing-chu | (唐平鑄) | Chang T'ao | (張　濤) |
| | Hu Ch'ih | (胡　癡) | | |

After the second re-organisation on 9 April 1967:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Acting Chief | Hsiao Hua | (蕭　華) | | |
| Adviser | Chiang Ch'ing | (江　青) | | |
| Deputy Chiefs | Hsieh Fu-chih | (謝富治) | Yeh Ch'un | (葉　群) |

After the third re-organisation in August 1967:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chief | Wu Fa-hsien | (吳法憲) | | |
| Deputy Chiefs | Hsieh Fu-chih | (謝富治) | Yeh Ch'un | (葉　群) |
| Member | Chang Hsiu-ch'uan | (張秀川) | | |

# GENERAL DEPARTMENTS OF THE PLA

(The following general departments taken together are often referred to as General Headquarters of the PLA)

## GENERAL STAFF DEPARTMENT

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR, up to November 1968) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Chief of General Staff** | | | |
| *Lo Jui-ch'ing* | (羅瑞卿) | *Yang Ch'eng-wu* (Acting) (dismissed in March 1968) | (楊成武) |
| | | Huang Yang-sheng (Since June 1968) | (黃永勝) |
| **Deputy chiefs of General Staff** | | | |
| *Chang Tsung-hsun* | (張宗遜) | Wu Fa-hsien | (吳法憲) |
| *Chang Ai-p'ing* | (張愛萍) | P'eng Shao-hui | (彭紹輝) |
| P'eng Shao-hui | (彭紹輝) | Wang Hsin-t'ing | (王新亭) |
| *Yang Ch'eng-wu* | (楊成武) | Wen Yu-ch'eng | (溫玉成) |
| *Yang Yung* | (楊　勇) | Han Hsien-ch'u | (韓先楚) |
| Li T'ien-yu | (李天佑) | Ch'iu Hui-tso | (邱會作) |
| Wang Hsin-t'ing | (王新亭) | Liu Hsien-chuan | (劉賢權) |
| Han Hsien-ch'u | (韓先楚) | | |

## GENERAL POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) |
|---|---|---|
| **Director** | | |
| *Hsiao Hua* | (蕭　華) | (The whole department suspended function since early 1967) |
| **Deputy Directors** | | |
| *Fu Chung* | (傅　鍾) | |
| *Liu Chih-chien* | (劉志堅) | |
| *Hsu Li-ch'ing* | (徐立清) | |
| *Liang Pi-yeh* | (梁必業) | |
| *Yuan Tzu-ch'in* | (袁子欽) | |



## GENERAL REAR SERVICE DEPARTMENT

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Director** | | | |
| Ch'iu Hui-tso | (邱會作) | Ch'iu Hui-tso | (邱會作) |
| **Deputy Directors** | | | |
| Chang Ling-pin | (張令彬) | Chang Ling-pin | (張令彬) |
| Chang Hsien-yo | (張賢約) | Chang Hsien-yo | (張賢約) |
| T'ang T'ien-chi | (唐天際) | Chang Ch'ih-ming | (張池明) |
| Chang Ch'ih-ming | (張池明) | Chang T'ien-yun | (張天雲) |
| Chang T'ien-yun | (張天云) | | |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| *Li Chu-k'uei* | (李聚奎) | | |

# SERVICE ARMS, PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

## NAVY

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| Hsiao Ching-kuang | (蕭勁光) | Hsiao Ching-kuang | (蕭勁光) |
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Lo Shun-ch'u | (羅舜初) | Lo Shun-ch'u | (羅舜初) |
| Liu Tao-sheng | (劉道生) | Wu Jui-lin | (吳瑞林) |
| Wang Hung-k'un | (王宏坤) | Chao Ch'i-min | (趙啓民) |
| Chao Ch'i-min | (趙啓民) | Chou Hsi-han | (周希汉) |
| Li Tso-p'eng | (李作鵬) | | |
| Tu I-te | (杜義德) | | |
| Chou Hsi-han | (周希汉) | | |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| *Su Chen-hua* | (蘇振華) | Li Tso-p'eng | (李作鵬) |
| **Second Political Commissars** | | | |
| | | Wang Hung-k'un | (王宏坤) |
| | | Chang Hsiu-chuan | (張秀川) |

## AIR FORCE

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| Wu Fa-hsien | (吳法憲) | Wu Fa-hsien | (吳法憲) |
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Ch'ang Ch'ien-kun | (常乾坤) | Ch'ang Ch'ien-kun | (常乾坤) |
| Ts'ao Li-huai | (曹里懷) | Ts'ao Li-huai | (曹里懷) |
| Hsu Shen-chi | (徐深吉) | T'an Chia-shu | (譚家述) |
| *Liu Chen* | (劉震) | Kuang Jen-nung | (鄺任儂) |
| T'an Chia-shu | (譚家述) | Hsu Shen-chi | (徐深吉) |
| *Ch'eng Chun* | (成鈞) | | |
| Chang T'ing-fa | (張廷發) | | |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| *Yu Li-chin* | (余立金) | Liu Hsien-ch'uan | (劉賢權) |
| **Deputy Political Commissar** | | | |
| Wang Hui-ch'iu | (王輝球) | Wang Hui-ch'iu | (王輝球) |

## ARTILLERY FORCE

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| Wu K'o-hua | (吳克華) | | |
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Su Chin | (蘇進) | K'uang Yu-min | (匡裕民) |
| K'uang Yu-min | (匡裕民) | Liao Ch'eng-mei | (廖成美) |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| Ch'iu Ch'uang-ch'eng | (邱創成) | Ch'en Jen-ch'i | (陳仁麒) |
| **Deputy Political Commissar** | | | |
| | | Wu Hsin-ch'uan | (吳信泉) |

## SECOND ARTILLERY FORCE

(first made known on July 1, 1967)

**Commander**

**Political Commissar**

Li T'ien-huan (李天煥)



**Second Political Commissar**

Wu Lieh (吳烈)

## ARMOURED FORCE

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| *Hsu Kuang-ta* | (許光達) | | |
| **Deputy Commander** | | | |
| Ho Chin-nien | (賀晉年) | Ho Chin-nien | (賀晉年) |
| Chang Wen-chou | (張文舟) | | |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| Hsiang Chung-hua | (向仲華) | Huang Chih-yung | (黃志勇) |

## ENGINEER CORPS

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| Ch'en Shih-ch'u | (陳士榘) | Ch'en Shih-chu | (陳士榘) |
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Hu Ch'i-ts'ai | (胡奇才) | Hu Ch'i-ts'ai | (胡奇才) |
| Hsu Te-ts'ao | (徐德操) | | |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| T'an Fu-jen | (譚甫仁) | T'an Fu-jen | (譚甫仁) |
| | | (transferred to Kunming Military Region June 1968) | |

## RAILWAY CORPS

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| Li Shou-hsien | (李壽軒) | Chung I-hsiang | (張翼翔) |
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Liu K'o | (劉克) | Lo Hua-sheng | (羅華生) |
| Kuo Wei-ch'eng | (郭維城) | (Responsible person of the Corps) | |
| Liu Chin-hsien | (劉金軒) | | |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| Ts'ui T'ien-min | (崔田民) | | |

# MILITARY REGIONS (TOTAL 13)

## CANTON MILITARY REGION

(In charge of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hunan provincial military districts)

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| Huang Yung-sheng | (黃永勝) | Huang Yung-sheng | (黃永勝) |
| | | (up to his transfer to Peking as Chief of the PLA General Staff, March 1968) | |
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Wen Nien-sheng | (文年生) | Wen Nien-sheng | (文年生) |
| Wen Yu-ch'eng | (溫玉成) | Wen Yu-ch'eng | (溫玉成) |
| | | (transferred to Peking Dec. 1967) | |
| Chan Ts'ai-fang | (詹才芳) | Chan Ts'ai-fang | (詹才芳) |
| | | Yang Mei-sheng | (楊梅生) |
| | | Ting Sheng | (丁盛) |
| | | (transferred form Sinkiang, April 1968) | |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| *T'ao Chu* | (陶鑄) | Liu Hsing-yuan | (劉興元) |
| **Deputy Political Commissars** | | | |
| Liu Hsing-yuan | (劉興元) | K'ung Shih-ch'uan | (孔石泉) |
| Yen Fu-sheng | (晏福生) | Yen Fu-sheng | (晏福生) |
| Liang Hsing-chu | (梁興初) | Wei Kuo-ch'ing | (韋國清) |

## CHENGTU MILITARY REGION

(In charge of Szechwan provincial military district)

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| *Huang Hsin-t'ing* | (黃新廷) | Liang Hsing-chu | (梁興初) |
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Wei Chieh | (韋傑) | Teng Shao-tung | (鄧少東) |
| *Li Wen-ch'ing* | (李文清) | Hu Chi-ch'eng | (胡繼成) |
| Ho Cheng-wen | (何正文) | Hsieh Chia-hsiang | (謝家祥) |
| Teng Shao-tung | (鄧少東) | | |



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| *Li Ching-ch'uan* | (李井泉) | Chang Kuo-hua | (張國華) |
| | | (transferred from Tibet) | |
| **Deputy Political Commissars** | | | |
| *Kuo Lin-hsiang* | (郭林祥) | Liu Chieh-t'ing | (劉結挺) |
| *Liao Chih-kao* | (廖志高) | Yu Hung-yuan | (余洪遠) |
| Yu Hung-yuan | (余洪遠) | Cheng chih-shih | (鄭志士) |
| Yu Shu-sheng | (余述生) | | |

## FOOCHOW MILITARY REGION

(In charge of Fukien and Kiangsi provincial military districts)

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| *Yeh Fei* (till 1965) | (葉飛) | Han Hsien-chu | (韓先楚) |
| Han Hsien Chu | (韓先楚) | | |
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| P'i Ting-chun | (皮定鈞) | P'i Ting-chun | (皮定鈞) |
| Chang T'ien-yun | (張天云) | Teng K'o-ming | (鄧克明) |
| Teng K'o-ming | (鄧克明) | Chu Shao-ch'ing | (朱紹清) |
| Chu Shao-ch'ing | (朱紹清) | | |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| *Yeh Fei* | (葉飛) | Han Hsien-chu | (韓先楚) |
| **Deputy Political Commissars** | | | |
| *Liu P'ei-shan* | (劉培善) | Ch'eng Shih-ch'ing | (程世清) |
| Lu Sheng | (盧勝) | Lu Sheng | (盧勝) |
| Chan Hua-yu | (詹化雨) | Chan Hua-yu | (詹化雨) |

## INNER MONGOLIA MILITARY REGION*

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| *Wu Lan-fu (Ulanfu)* | (烏蘭夫) | T'eng Hai-ch'ing (Acting) | (滕海清) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Liu Hua-hsiang | (劉華香) | Liu Hua-hsiang | (劉華香) |
| Hsiao Ying-t'ang | (蕭應棠) | Liu Pin | (劉　彬) |
| Liu Pin | (劉　彬) | Ho Feng-shan | (何鳳山) |
| K'ung Fei | (孔　飛) | | |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| *Wu Lan-fu* | (烏蘭夫) | Wu T'ao | (吳　濤) |
| **Deputy Political Commissars** | | | |
| Wu T'ao | (吳　清) | T'ing Mou | (廷　懋) |
| *Liu Ch'ang* | (劉　昌) | Liu Ch'ang | (劉　昌) |
| T'ing Mou | (廷　懋) | | |

*May have been changed to military district status and placed under the Peking Military Region.

## KUNMING MILITARY REGION

(In charge of Yunnan and Kweichow provincial military districts)

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| *Ch'in Chi-wei* | (秦基偉) | | |
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| *Li Ch'eng-fang* | (李成芳) | Lu Jui-lin | (魯瑞林) |
| Lu Jui-lin | (魯瑞林) | Ch'en K'ang | (陳　康) |
| Ch'en K'ang | (陳　康) | | |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| *Yen Hung-yen* | (閻紅彥) | T'an Fu-jen | (譚甫仁) |
| **Deputy Political Commissar** | | | |
| Chin Ju-pai | (金如柏) | Li Tsai-han | (李再含) |
| Hu Jung-k'uei | (胡榮貴) | Chang Li-hsiung | (張力雄) |

## LANCHOW MILITARY REGION

(In charge of Shensi, Kansu, Tsinghai and Ninghsia provincial military districts)

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| Chang Ta-chih | (張達志) | Chang Ta-chih | (張達志) |



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Kao Wei-sung | (高維嵩) | Kao Wei-sung | (高維嵩) |
| Yang Chia-jui | (楊嘉瑞) | Yang Chia-jui | (楊嘉瑞) |
| Hsu Kuo-chen | (徐國珍) | Hsu Kuo-chen | (徐國珍) |
| | | Li Shu-mao | (李書茂) |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| *Liu Lan-t'ao* | (劉瀾濤) | Hsien Heng-han | (冼恒漢) |
| Hsien Heng-han | (冼恒漢) | | |
| **Deputy Political Commissar** | | | |
| Yuan Hsueh-hang | (袁學恒) | K'ang Chien-min | (康健民) |
| | | Liu Jui-fang | (劉瑞芳) |

## NANKING MILITARY REGION

(In charge of Kiangsu, Chekiang and Anhwei provincial military districts)

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| Hsu Shih-yu | (許世友) | Hsu Shih-Yu | (許世友) |
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Wang Pi-ch'eng | (王必成) | Wang Pi-ch'eng | (王必成) |
| Chang Ts'ai-ch'ien | (張才千) | Liao Jung-piao | (廖容標) |
| *Kuo Hua-jo* | (郭化若) | Ch'ien Chun | (錢　鈞) |
| Lin Wei-hsien | (林維先) | Chang Ts'ai-ch'ien | (張才千) |
| Liu Hsien-sheng | (劉先勝) | | |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| Tang Liang | (唐　亮) | 1. Chang Ch'un-ch'iao | (張春橋) |
| *Chiang Wei-ch'ing* | (江渭清) | 2. Tu P'ing | (杜　平) |
| **Deputy Political Commissars** | | | |
| Wang Liang-en | (王良恩) | Jao Tzu-chien | (饒子健) |
| | | Chou Kuan-wu | (周貫武) |

## PEKING MILITARY REGION

(In charge of Hopeh and Shansi provincial military districts)

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| *Yang Yung* | (楊　勇) | Cheng Wei-shan | (鄭維山) |

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Cheng Wei-shan | (鄭維山) | T'eng Hai-ch'ing | (滕海清) |
| *Fu Ch'ung-pi* | (傅崇碧) | | |
| Han Wei | (韓偉) | | |
| T'eng Hai-ch'ing | (滕海清) | | |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| 1. Li Hsueh-feng | (李雪峰) | Li Hsueh-feng | (李雪峰) |
| 2. *Liao Han-sheng* | (廖漢生) | Hsieh Fu-chih | (謝富治) |
| **Deputy Political Commissars** | | | |
| Chang Nan-sheng | (張南生) | Liu K'o-p'ing | (劉格平) |
| Ch'en Hsien-jui | (陳先瑞) | Ch'en Hsien-jui | (陳先瑞) |
| Hsiao Wen-chiu | (蕭文玖) | Chang Jih-ch'ing | (張日清) |
| Wang Tzu-feng | (王紫峰) | | |

## SHENYANG MILITARY REGION

(In charge of Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang provincial military districts)

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| Ch'en Hsi-lien | (陳錫聯) | Ch'en Hsi-lien | (陳錫聯) |
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Tseng Shao-shan | (曾紹山) | Tseng Shao-shan | (曾紹山) |
| *Wang Chien-an* | (王建安) | Liu Chuan-lien | (劉轉連) |
| | | Chang K'ai-ching | (張開荊) |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| *Sung Jen-ch'ing* | (宋任窮) | P'an Fu-sheng | (潘復生) |

## SINKIANG MILITARY REGION

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| Wang En-mao | (王恩茂) | Lung Shu-chin | (龍書金) |
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Saifudin | (賽福鼎) | Saifudin | (賽福鼎) |
| T'ao Chih-yueh | (陶峙岳) | Kuo P'eng | (郭鵬) |



| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kuo P'eng | (郭鵬) | Hsu Kuo-hsien | (徐國賢) |
| *Chang Hsi-ch'in* | (張希欽) | Hsin Yuan-lin | (辛元林) |
| Ting Sheng | (丁盛) | K'ung Jui-yun | (孔瑞雲) |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| Wang En-mao | (王恩茂) | Wang En-mao | (王恩茂) |
| **Deputy Political Commissars** | | | |
| Tso Ch'i | (左齊) | Tso Ch'i | (左齊) |
| Ha-wa-mu-erh | (哈瓦木爾) | T'an K'ai-yun | (譚開雲) |
| Li Ch'uan | (李銓) | Tso-ta-no-fu | (曹達諾夫) |
| | | Hsiung Huang | (熊晃) |
| | | P'ei Chou-yu | (裴周玉) |

## TIBET MILITARY REGION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| Chang Kuo-hua | (張國華) | Tseng Yung-ya | (曾雍雅) |
| **Deputy Commanders** | | | |
| Ch'en Ming-i | (陳明義) | Ngapo Ngewang Jigme | (阿沛·阿旺晉美) |
| Ngapo Ngawang Jigme | (阿沛·阿旺晉美) | Chao Wen-chin | (趙文進) |
| Tseng Yung-ya | (曾雍雅) | | |
| Sampo Tsewong-rentzen | (桑頗才旺仁增) | | |
| Liao Pu-yun | (廖步雲) | | |
| **Political Commissar** | | | |
| T'an Kuan-san | (譚冠三) | Jen Jung | (任榮) |
| **Deputy Political Commissars** | | | |
| Wang Ch'i-mei | (王其梅) | Liao Pu-yun | (廖步云) |
| Lu I-shan | (呂義山) | | |
| Jen Jung | (任榮) | | |

## TSINAN MILITARY REGION

(In charge of Shantung provincial military district)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Commander** | | | |
| Yang Te-chih | (楊得志) | Yang Te-chih | (楊得志) |

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Deputy Commanders | | | |
| Wang Chien-an | (王建安) | Fan Ch'ao-li | (范朝利) |
| Huang Li-chun | (黃立軍) | Chang Jen-chu | (張仁初) |
| | | Yang Kuo-fu | (楊國夫) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| T'an Ch'i-lung | (譚啓龍) | Wang Hsiao-yu | (王效禹) |
| Deputy Political Commissars | | | |
| Yuan Sheng-p'ing | (袁昇平) | Yuan Sheng-p'ing | (袁昇平) |
| Ch'en Mei-tsao | (陳美藻) | Ch'en Mei-tsao | (陳美藻) |

## WUHAN MILITARY REGION

(In charge of Hupeh and Honan provincial military districts)

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| *Ch'en Tsai-tao* | (陳再道) | Tseng Ssu-yu | (曾思玉) |
| Deputy Commanders | | | |
| Pi Chan-yun | (畢占雲) | K'ung Ch'ing-te | (孔慶德) |
| K'ung Ch'ing-te | (孔慶德) | Hsu Kuo-fu | (徐國夫) |
| | | Liu Chien-hsun | (劉建勛) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| Wang Jen-chung | (王任重) | Liu Feng | (劉豐) |
| Deputy Political Commissars | | | |
| Chung Han-hua | (鍾漢華) | Chang Yu-hua | (張玉華) |
| Chang Ying-ts'ai | (張英才) | Yeh Ming | (葉明) |

## PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICTS (total 23)

### ANHWEI PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Liao Jung-piao | (廖容標) | Li Te-sheng | (李德生) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| *Li Pao-hua* | (李葆華) | Chang Wen-pi | (張文碧) |



### CHEKIANG PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Ch'ien Chun | (錢鈞) | Hsiung Ying-t'ang (Acting) | (熊應堂) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| *Chiang Hua* | (江華) | Nan P'ing | (南萍) |

### FUKIEN PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Chu yao-hua | (朱耀華) | Chu Yao-hua | (朱耀華) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| *Fan Shih-jen* | (范式人) | Liu Chien-ting | (劉建挺) |

### HEILUNGKIANG PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Wang Chia-tao | (汪家道) | Wang Chia-tao | (汪家道) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| P'an Fu-sheng | (潘復生) | P'an Fu-sheng | (潘復生) |

### HONAN PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Chang Shu-chih | (張樹枝) | Chang Shu-chih | (張樹枝) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| *Ho Yun-hung* | (何運洪) | Liu Chien-hsun | (劉建勛) |

### HOPEH PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Ma Hui | (馬輝) | Ma Hui | (馬輝) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| *Liu Tze-hou* | (劉子厚) | Tseng Mei | (曾美) |

### HUNAN PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Yang Mei-sheng | (楊梅生) | Yang Ta-i | (楊大易) |

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Political Commissar | | | |
| *Chang P'ing-hua* | (張平化) | Li Yuan | (黎　源) |

## HUPEH PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Wu Shih-an | (吳世安) | Chao Fu-hsing | (趙福興) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| Chang T'i-hsueh | (張體學) | Chang T'i-hsueh | (張體學) |

## KANSU PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Huang Shou | (黃　壽) | Chang Chung | (張　忠) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| *Wang Feng* | (汪　鋒) | | |

## KIANGSI PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Wu Jui-shan | (吳瑞山) | Yang Tung-liang | (楊棟樑) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| Yang Shang-k'uei | (楊尚奎) | Ch'eng Shih-ch'ing | (程世清) |

## KIANGSU PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| *T'uan Huan-ch'ing* | (段煥慶) | Ch'ien Chun | (錢　均) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| *Chiang Wei-ch'ing* | (江渭清) | Yang Kuang-li | (楊廣立) |

## KIRIN PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| *Lo K'un-shan* | (羅坤山) | Ho Yu-fa | (何友發) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| *Chao-lin* | (趙　霖) | Wang Huai-hsiang (dep. P.C.) | (王淮湘) |



## KWANGTUNG PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Lung Shu-chin | (龍書金) | Huang Jung-hai | (黃榮海) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| *Chao Tzu-yang* | (趙紫陽) | Ch'en Te | (陳　德) |

## KWANGSI PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Ou Chih-fu | (歐致富) | Ou Chih-fu | (歐致富) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| Wei Kuo-ch'ing | (韋國清) | Wei Kuo-ch'ing | (韋國清) |

## KWEICHOW PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Ho Kuang-yu | (何光宇) | Ho Kuang-yu | (何宇李) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| *Chia Chi-yun* | (賈啓允) | Li Tsai-han | (李再含) |

## NINGSHIA MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Chu Sheng-ta | (朱聲達) | K'ang Chien-min (Dep. Cdr.) | (康健民) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| Yang Ching-jen | (楊靜仁) | | |

## LIAONING PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| *Ho Ch'ing-chi* | (賀慶錡) | Li Ya-t'ien | (李亞田) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| *Huang Huo-ch'ing* | (黃火青) | Yang Chi | (楊　奇) |

SHANSI PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| (Before GPCR) | | (After GPCR) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Ch'en Chin-yu | (陳 金 鈺) | Ch'en Chin-yu | (陳 金 鈺) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| *Wei Heng* | (衛 恒) | Liu K'o-p'ing | (劉 格 平) |

SHANTUNG PROVINCIAL MILISTARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| *Feng Jen-en* | (馮 仁 恩) | T'ung Kuo-k'uei | (童 國 貴) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| Ho Chih-yuan | (何 志 遠) | Ho Chih-yuan | (何 志 遠) |

SHENSI PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Hu Ping-yun | (胡 炳 云) | Huang Ching-yao | (黃 經 耀) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| Huo Shih-lien | (霍 士 廉) | Hu Wei | (胡 煒) |

SZECHWAN PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Li Wen-ch'ing | (李 文 清) | | |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| Liao Chih-kao | (廖 志 高) | Liu Chieh-ting | (劉 結 挺) |

TSINGHAI PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| *Kao Liang-ting* | (高 朗 亭) | Liu Hsien-ch'uan | (劉 賢 權) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| Wang Chao | (王 昭) | Sung Ch'ang-keng | (宋 長 庚) |

YUNNAN PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Commander | | | |
| Li Hsi-fu | (黎 錫 福) | Chu Chia-pi | (朱 家 璧) |
| Political Commissar | | | |
| Chou Hsing | (周 興) | Chou Hsing | (周 興) |



# The Fall of Liu Shao-Ch'i

As "China's Khrushchev" and the "top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road," State Chairman Liu Chao-ch'i has been under constant attack in the Chinese Communist press since the early part of 1967. He was denounced as the "head boss" of all revisionists in the Party, the government, and the army, and the supreme commander of the "bourgeois headquarters" as opposed to the "proletarian headquarters" headed by Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao. Finally, he was expelled from the Party and dismissed from all his posts as a "renegade, traitor and scab."

Ironically, Ch'i Pen-yu, the author of the article "Patriotism or National Betrayal – Criticising the Reactionary Film 'Inside Story of the Ch'ing Court'" (*Hung-chi* No. 5, 1967) which "sounded the march bugle of a general offensive" against Liu, was himself criticised and repudiated as a member of the "Wang-Kuan-Ch'i (Wang Li–Kuan Feng–Ch'i Pen-yu) anti-Party clique" less than a year after the publication of his article. – Ed.

## *Expulsion and Dismissal of Liu Shao-ch'i*

The 12th enlarged plenary session of the 8th CCP Central Committee, held in Peking between October 13 and 31, 1968 and presided over personally by Mao Tse-tung, adopted a resolution to expel Liu Shao-ch'i from the Party once and for all and to dismiss him from all posts both inside and outside the Party, thus ending his 47 years of service with the Chinese Communist Party. The following is an extract from the communique of the 12th plenary session:

The Plenary Session ratified the "Report on the Examination of the Crimes of the Renegade, Traitor and Scab Liu Shao-ch'i" submitted by the special group under the Central Committee of the Party for the examination of his case. The report confirms with full supporting evidence that Liu Shao-ch'i, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, is a renegade, traitor and scab hiding in the Party and is a lackey of imperialism, modern revisionism and the Kuomintang reactionaries who has

committed innumerable crimes. The Plenary Session holds that the exposure of the counter-revolutionary features of Liu Shao-ch'i by the Party and the revolutionary masses in the great proletarian cultural revolution is a tremendous victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and for the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Plenary Session expressed its deepest revolutionary indignation at Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary crimes and unanimously adopted a resolution to expel Liu Shao-ch'i from the Party once and for all, to dismiss him from all posts both inside and outside the Party and to continue to settle accounts with him and his accomplices for their crimes in betraying the Party and the country. The Plenary Session calls on all comrades in the Party and the people of the whole country to carry on deep-going revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and eradicate the the counter-revolutionary revisionist ideas of Liu Shao-ch'i and the handful of other top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

(*NCNA–English,* November 1, 1968.)

## *Report on the Examination of Liu Shao-ch'i's Crimes*

The following "Report on the Examination of the Crimes of the Renegade, Traitor and Scab Liu Shao-ch'i" was submitted by a "special group of investigators" on October 18, 1968:

Through the extensive exposure by the broad revolutionary masses and young Red Guard fighters in the great proletarian cultural revolution movement and through intensive investigation by a special group of investigators, ample evidence (both material and circumstantial) and many witnesses fully prove that Liu Shao-ch'i, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, is a renegade, traitor and scab hiding in the Party and is a lackey of imperialism, modern revisionism and the Kuomintang reactionaries who has committed innumerable crimes.

It has been found that Liu Shao-ch'i was born of a landlord family. When he wormed his way into the Communist Party in 1921, he was not a youth of revolutionary ideals but a dissident who was obsessed with utterly rotten and reactionary ideas of the landlord, compradore and bourgeois classes. At every stage of the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution in the country in the past 40 years and more, Liu Shao-ch'i has consistently employed counter-revolutionary and double-dealing tactics to recruit renegades and defectors, to make contact with foreign countries, and to frenziedly oppose the proletarian revolutionary line represented by



Chairman Mao. Having perpetrated countless counter-revolutionary misdeeds Liu Shao-chi has made himself chieftain of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique within the Party and the chief representative of the forces for the restoration of capitalism.

The ferreting out of Liu Shao-ch'i, the most sinister and vicious counter-revolutionary chieftain, and his handful of counter-revolutionary confederates in the great proletarian cultural revolution in which millions of people participate is of great significance in purifying and strengthening our great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party, in consolidating and strengthening the proletarian dictatorship of the great People's Republic of China and the cause of socialism and communism as a whole. This is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, for his proletarian revolutionary line, and for the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Following is a report on the investigation of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary crimes: his defection after he was arrested and his surrender to the enemy in 1925, 1927 and 1929, and his turning traitor and scab.

**1. Liu Shao-ch'i's Arrest and Defection in Changsha in 1925.**

After the "May 30" movement in 1925, the class struggle became even more acute. When the workers in Shanghai intensified their struggles against British and Japanese imperialists, Northern warlords, as well as compradore and bourgeois classes, Liu Shao-ch'i, who was then Vice Chairman of the All-China General Federation of Trade Unions and a responsible person of the Shanghai General Federation of Trade Unions, left the Federation under the pretext of "poor health." Hsing Shih-lien, a warlord, closed the Shanghai General Federation of Trade Unions on September 18, 1925 and on the next day sent for Li Li-san and Liu Shao-ch'i. Fearing that he might be subjected to struggle, Liu fled to Changsha in secret in November 1925. At the time, Chao Heng-t'i, another warlord and Governor of Hunan Province, was ruthlessly imposing a white terror and massacring Communist Party members. He issued a counter-revolutionary proclamation in June, listing "four crimes punishable by decapitation" and put to death Comrade Huang Ching-yuan, leader of the workers' movement, in October.

On December 15, Liu Shao-ch'i was arrested by the Changsha Garrison Command at the Changsha Cultural Book Company. After interrogation, Chao Heng-t'i ordered the execution of Liu Shao-ch'i "by decapitation." At that time, Liu's supporters made every effort to save him. Hung Keng-yang, Liu's sworn brother and Director of Changsha Anti-Narcotics Bureau, and Yang Chien-hsiung, accountant of the Hunan Provincial Government and Governor Huang's close relative, got together with Yeh K'ai-hsin and Ho

Yao-tsu, warlords, and Liu's elder brother, Liu Yun-t'ing to make a counter-revolutionary political deal.

Chao Heng-t'i, the big executioner of Communists, laid down conditions for saving the life of Liu Chao-ch'i, the "person on the decapitation list." Liu accepted all the conditions, surrendered to the enemy and betrayed the revolution. On January 16, 1926, Liu left Hunan for Canton under Chao's instructions and with the "Four Books" given by Chao. Liu then returned to the Communist Party with secret motives.

**2. Liu Shao-ch'i Acted As a Lackey of Wang Ching-wei and Ch'en Kung-po of Imperialist and Kuomintang Reactionaries and Engaged in Traitorous Activities Betraying the Working Class and Impairing the Revolution at Wuhan in 1927.**

March 1927 was a crucial time for the First Revolutionary War and the massive struggle between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces. Chairman Mao published his "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," made a great appeal for establishing a peasant armed force, and led the broad worker-peasant masses in an attack on the forces of reaction. Meanwhile, the revolutionary movement launched by the workers in Hupeh and the struggle against imperialism were sweeping the province with the force of a tempest. At that time, Liu Shao-ch'i, who was entrenched in the important post of Secretary General of the Hupeh Provincial General Federation of Trade Unions, was so scared that he hurriedly took steps to sabotage the workers' movement. When the feeling of the whole country ran high over the "April 3" tragedy at Wuhan in which Japanese imperialists massacred the revolutionary masses, Liu Shao-ch'i supported the Japanese bandits by urging the workers "to strictly observe discipline" and "not to create disturbances in any circumstances."

After Chiang Kai-shek staged the counter-revolutionary "April 12" coup, Hsu K'o-hsiang, a subordinate of Ho Chien, engineered the "May 21" incident in Changsha, and Hsia Tou-yin's troops carried out a counter-revolutionary military coup in Hupeh, Liu Shao-ch'i further secretly conspired with Wang Ching-wei and Ch'en Kung-po in order to meet the Kuomintang's counter-revolutionary needs. He was thus appointed "Chief of the Workers' Movement Group" of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang and acted as an agent to provide the Kuomintang with "information on the workers' movement."

Liu Shao-ch'i offered the following advice to Ch'en Kung-po:

(1) Transfer the key members of the Wuhan Trade Union from the Union so as to alienate the cadres from the masses; and



(2) Disband the Workers' Picket Corps ( 工人糾察隊 ) so as to prevent rioting.

By taking advantage of his position he had usurped, Liu Shao-ch'i in a most vicious move disbanded the Workers' Picket Corps, which had contributed significantly to revolutionary struggles. On the morning of June 29 he had all arms, ammunition and even clubs carried by boy scouts loaded on trucks and taken to a Kuomintang office in charge of garrison matters in Wuhan.

In order to cover up his traitors features and hoodwink the people, Liu Shao-ch'i secretly planned with Wang Ching-wei and Ch'en Kung-po to place himself under false arrest. On the night of June 28, Wang and Ch'en ordered to have Liu and others arrested. Next morning, Liu alone was secretly taken to the Central Headquarters of the Kuomintang for secret talks and then he was "set free." In compliance with instructions from Wang and Ch'en, Liu personally made a report on the "Significance and Process of the Spontaneous Disbanding of the Workers' Picket Corps" to the Second Workers' Movement Conference of the Workers' Department of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang. His report met with strong resistance from vast numbers of workers.

After disarming the workers by an act of betrayal and thus turning the workers of Wuhan into unarmed persons in the face of counter-revolutionary massacres, Liu Shao-ch'i shamelessly said: "Now that the workers have been disarmed and arms handed in, I am relieved."

In order to let Liu Shao-ch'i "remain in the Communist Party" without being exposed, Wang Ching-wei instructed Liu to hide in Lushan before the open and massive anti-communist massacres which began on July 15. He was first accommodated at Pailutung College and later at warlord Chu P'ei-te's residence in Kuling. When the CCP Central Committee informed him of a decision to stage an armed uprising and instructed him to attend a meeting in Kiukiang, he completely ignored the notice and continued to engage in traitorous activities. In his letters to Ch'en Kung-po, he made "recommendations for reorganising trade unions," clandestinely informed the Kuomintang of Communist activities in the security corps of the "Nationalist Government," the Central Military Academy and Hanyang Arsenal, and urged Wang and Ch'en to eliminate those activities "as speedily as possible." This as a result disrupted part of the preparations for the Nanchang Uprising.

Liu Shao-ch'i acted as a traitor, scab and lackey of imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei. He devoted himself to anti-Communist and anti-people activities. His hands are stained with the blood of revolutionary

comrades. For this reason, his crimes are unforgivable!

**3. Liu Shao-ch'i's Big Betrayal in 1929 When He was Party Secretary in Manchuria.**

On August 21 (or 22), 1929, Liu Shao-ch'i (then known by the alias of Chao Chih-ch'i) and Meng Yung-ch'ien (then known as Meng Chien) were arrested by order of Chang Hsueh-liang, a big warlord, in a textile plant in Shenyang (then Fengt'ien). Liu immediately confessed that he was the CCP Secretary in Manchuria and Meng was the Chief of the CCP's Organisation Department under him. He also disclosed that T'ang Hung-ching, Wang Li-kung, Chang Yu-hsiu, Ting Chun-yang and Jao Shu-shih were members of the CCP Committee in Manchu Province and that the Secretary General was Liao Ju-yuan. He thus betrayed more than ten administrative district (*hsien*) Party committees in eastern and northern Manchuria, such as Luta and Fushun, as well as six or seven Party branches under the CCP Shenyang (then Fengt'ien) Municipal Committee.

When the enemy wanted Liu Shao-ch'i to show the way for more arrests, he immediately proposed that since all key members of the CCP Provincial Committee had gone into hiding, no arrests could be made without putting them on alert. He suggested that he be released so that he could collect information about the Communist Party for the enemy for the purpose of uprooting all CCP local organisations in the three provinces in Northeast China.

Chang Hsueh-liang, the big warlord, accepted Liu Shao-ch'i's suggestion. As a result, the "Communist case" was changed into the "labour crisis case" and Liu was freed on the grounds that there was no evidence on the charge of "instigating labour crisis." Liu later shamelessly wrote to Chang: "You are indeed my parent who has given me another life. I shall be grateful to you for the rest of my life."

After that, Liu Shao-ch'i provided Chang Hsueh-liang with information which resulted in the serious disruption of CCP underground organisations in Manchu Province and the arrest and execution of many Communist Party members.

Liu Shao-ch'i's big betrayal occurred on the eve of the Japanese attempt to occupy the three provinces in Northeast China. At that time, the Workers and Peasants Red Army led by Chairman Mao was bravely fighting in the south in the hope of arousing and whipping up a revolutionary tidal wave throughout the country. Liu's big betrayal not only supported the anti-Communist, anti-people and counter-revolutionary cause of the Kuomintang reactionaries headed by Chiang Kai-shek and Chang Hsueh-liang,



the big warlord, but also directly weakened and disrupted the leadership of the anti-Japanese and national salvation force in the three northeast provinces and directly met the need of the Japanese imperialists to turn China into a colony. Under the instructions of the imperialists, the Kuomintang and Chang Hsueh-liang, he carried out anti-Soviet and anti-Communist activities by taking advantage of the Sino-Russian Railway incident. His crime was indeed beyond description.

Liu Shao-ch'i's betrayal of the revolution, his defection to the enemy and other crimes such as acting as a traitor and scab in 1925, 1927 and 1929 were all proved by irrefutable evidence. For a long time Liu employed all kinds of shameless means and counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics to cover up his crimes. He also changed his personal history. In 1925, for instance, he was arrested in Hunan and was freed on the condition that he must surrender and leave Hunan, but he changed it into "driven out of the province after efforts were made to save him." In 1929, for another instance, he defected to the enemy in Shenyang (Fengt'ien) because he "was betrayed by a renegade," but he changed it into "arrested during the strike."

Taking advantage of the position he had usurped, Liu Shao-ch'i harboured and bought over those who knew the truth of his betrayal and defection, recommending them to fill positions of importance. He murdered Yang Chien-hsiung and others who intended to unmask him and expose his crimes. He also instructed An Tzu-wen, a renegade, to destroy all enemy files after liberation. But all his efforts were fruitless. Today, Liu's ugly features of a renegade, traitor and scab are fully bared under the sun.

Furthermore, the broad revolutionary masses have exposed many of Liu Shao-ch'i serious counter-revolutionary crimes. In 1936, for example, Liu instructed 61 renegades headed by Po I-po, Liu Lan-t'ao and An Tzu-wen to issue an "anti-Communist statement", to surrender to the Kuomintang and to betray the Communist Party. This case has been verified by the CCP Central Committee and announced in a circular to all Communist Party members.

Again, in 1936, Liu Shao-ch'i conspired with Chiang Kai-shek, a big traitor, and his secret service chiefs, Ch'en Li-fu and Tseng Yang-fu, to wipe out the Red Army and suppress the red regime. In 1941, Liu conspired with Ch'en Kung-po and Chou Fo-hai, traitor, through his representative, Feng Shao-pai, a defector, to arrange for a surrender to the Japanese bandits. In 1945, he countered Chairman Mao's policy of "boldly arousing the masses and expanding the people's forces to defeat the aggressors and build the new China under the leadership of the Communist Party" by putting

forth his line of national and class capitulationism and advocating "parliamentary struggle" to disrupt the People's Liberation Army and pave the way for a "new stage of peace and democracy."

In 1946, Liu contacted Leighton Stuart, an American imperialist, through Meng Yung-ch'ien, a US secret agent. In February 1947, he married Wang Kuang-mei, a US agent sent to Yenan by the US Strategic Information Service of Peiping. In May 1950, he sent his brother-in-law, Wang Kuang-ch'i, to Hong Kong to supply the US Central Intelligence Agency with much information "of high value which was highly regarded by the Americans."

There is extensive, concrete, and profound evidence on Liu Shao-ch'i's adherence after the liberation to the capitalist course and the bourgeois reactionary line, his frenzied opposition to great leader Chairman Mao, to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, his suppression of the revolutionary mass movement, disruption of proletarian dictatorship, restoration of capitalism, as well as his crimes of collaborating with imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries in foreign affairs and in the international communist movement, and his attempt to undermine the revolutionary movement in other countries in his capacity as a renegade, traitor and scab. We have also carried out investigation and checking on this evidence, and will make a separate report.

Liu Shao-ch'i's crimes are so monstrous and extreme that death is too good for him. On the basis of the strong desire of the broad revolutionary masses within and outside the Communist Party, the special panel has recommended to the CCP Central Committee to dismiss Liu from all his posts in the Party, permanently expel him from the Party and continue to reckon the crimes committed by him and his confederates.

Evidence of the crimes committed by Liu Shao-ch'i in 1925, 1927, and 1929, such as his betrayal of the revolution, his defection to the enemy and other acts of betrayal is appended herewith for your scrutiny.

(*Kung-Jen Chan-pao* [ 工人戰報 ] No. 33, Foochow, November 23, 1968.)



# The Rise of New Leadership

Enormous changes took place in the top-level leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and State apparatus as a result of the power-seizing struggle carried out under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung. These changes were, however, scarcely announced in the official Chinese Communist press. Nevertheless, the presence or absence of top-level leaders at important cultural revolution, Party and State functions in Peking over a period of time served as a fairly reliable indicator. For example, Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, T'ao Chu, Ho Lung, etc. did not appear at such functions after late 1966, and they are known to have fallen into disgrace. On the other hand, the constant presence of Huang Yung-sheng, Wu Fa-hsien, Yeh Ch'un (Mrs. Lin Piao), Wang Tung Hsing and Wen Yu-ch'eng after early 1968 indicated their rise to power. – Ed.

## *The New Leadership*

Altogether forty mass rallies and receptions in connection with the great cultural revolution took place in Peking between August 1966 and October 1968. Mao Tse-tung's presence was reported at 29 of these occasions, and each time he was accompanied by Lin Piao his "close comrade-in-arms" and a group of ranking officials numbering between 12 and 20. From May to October 1968 (not including May Day) the same group of 12 persons attended all or most of such rallies and receptions with Mao and Lin. Their names were always listed in the official press in a separate group on top of all other leaders, and they presumably constituted the new ruling body for Party and State affairs in China. Their names and current positions are listed below (in the order as they appeared in the official listings):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mao Tse-tung | ( 毛 澤 東 ) | Chairman of the CCP Central Committee |
| Lin Piao | ( 林 彪 ) | Vice-Chairman of the CCP Central Committee; Vice-Chairman of its |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Military Commission; Minister of Defence |
| Chou En-lai | ( 周 恩 來 ) | Member of the CCP Central Committee's Political Bureau; Premier of the State Council |
| Ch'en Po-ta | ( 陳 伯 達 ) | Member of the Political Bureau; Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group under the CCP Central Committee |
| K'ang Sheng | ( 康　　生 ) | Member of the Political Bureau; Adviser to the Cultural Revolution Group |
| Chiang Ch'ing | ( 江　　青 ) | First Deputy Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group; wife of Mao Tse-tung |
| Chang Ch'un-ch'iao | ( 張 春 橋 ) | Member of the Cultural Revolution Group; Chairman of Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee |
| Yao Wen-yuan | ( 姚 文 元 ) | Member of the Cultural Revolution Group |
| Hsieh Fu-chih | ( 謝 富 治 ) | Alternate member of the Political Bureau; Vice Premier; Minister of Public Security; Chairman of Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee |
| Huang Yung-sheng | ( 黃 永 勝 ) | Chief of the PLA General Staff; |
| Wu Fa-hsien | ( 吳 法 憲 ) | Member of the Cultural Revolution Group; Deputy Chief of the PLA General Staff; Commander of the Air Force |
| Yeh Ch'un | ( 葉　　群 ) | Member of the Cultural Revolution Group, wife of Lin Piao |
| Wang Tung-hsing | ( 汪 東 興 ) | Vice-Minister of Public Security |
| Wen Yu-ch'eng | ( 溫 玉 成 ) | Deputy Chief of the PLA General Staff; Commander of Peking Garrison |



## *Table Showing the Rise and Fall of Top-Level Personnel*

The following table shows the presence or absence of top-level Chinese Communist leaders at various occasions (a chronology of these occasions is shown after the table) between August 1966 and October 1968. The names are listed according to the order given in the official Chinese Communist press.

### Key

**DATE** shown across the top of the table are those on which the rallies or receptions took place.
**PRESENCE** of Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao is indicated by the capital letter P.
**PRESENCE** of those accompanying Mao and Lin is indicated by an Arabic numeral which also denotes the position shown in the official listing.
**PRESENCE** of those not included in the group accompanying Mao and Lin is indicated by the symbol (p).
**SPEAKER** of the occasion is indicated by the symbol (S).
**ABSENCE** is indicated by a blank space under the date column against the name of the individual concerned.
**LAST APPEARANCE** of an individual in such rallies or receptions is indicated by the mark [ ]. Thus [ 2 ] shown under the column for November 25, 1966 against T'ao Chu indicates that he last appeared on that date holding second place in the group accompanying Mao and Lin.

| | 1966 Aug 18 | Aug 31 | Sept 15 | Oct 1 | Oct 18 | Oct 31 | Nov 3 | Nov 11 | Nov 25 | Nov 28 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mao Tse-tung | P | P | P | P | P | | P | P | P | |
| Lin Piao | P(S) | P(S) | P(S) | P(S) | P | | P(S) | P | P | |
| Chou En-lai | 1(S) | 1(S) | 1(S) | 4(S) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1(S) |
| T'ao Chu | 2 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | [ 2 ] | |
| Ch'en Po-ta | 3 | | 3 | 6 | 3 | 3(S) | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2(S) |
| Teng Hsiao-p'ing | 4 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 4 | | 4 | 4 | [ 4 ] | |
| K'ang Sheng | 5 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 5 | | | | 5 | |
| Liu Shao-ch'i | 6 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 6 | | 5 | 5 | [ 6 ] | |
| Chu Teh | 7 | 6 | 7 | 9 | 7 | | 6 | 6 | 7 | |
| Li Fu-ch'un | 8 | 7 | 8 | 10 | 8 | | 7 | 7 | 8 | |
| Ch'en Yun | 9 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 9 | | 8 | | | |
| Soong Ch'ing-ling | | | | 2 | | | 9 | 8 | 9 | |
| Tung Pi-wu | 10 | 9 | 10 | 3 | 10 | | 10 | | | |
| Ch'en Yi | 11 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 4 | 11 | 9 | 10 | |
| Liu Po-ch'eng | | | 12 | 13 | | | | | | |
| Ho Lung | 12 | 11 | 13 | 14 | 12 | | 12 | 10 | [11] | |
| Li Hsien-nien | 13 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 13 | | 13 | | 12 | |
| T'an Chen-lin | 14 | 13 | 15 | 16 | 14 | | 14 | 11 | 13 | |
| Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien | 15 | | 16 | 17 | 15 | | | 12 | 14 | |
| Nieh Jung-chen | | 14 | 17 | 18 | 16 | | | | | |
| Yeh Chien-ying | 16 | 15 | 18 | 19 | 17 | | | 13 | 15 | |
| Po I-po | 17 | [17] | | | | | | | | |
| Li Hsueh-feng | 18 | 18 | 19 | 21 | 18 | | 15 | 14 | | |
| Hsieh Fu-chih | 19 | 19 | 20 | 22 | 19 | 5 | 16 | 15 | 16 | |
| Liu Ning-i | 20 | | 21 | 23 | 20 | 6 | 17 | 16 | 17 | |
| Hsiao Hua | 21 | | 22 | 24 | 21 | 7 | 18 | 17 | 18 | |
| Yang Ch'eng-wu | 22 | 22 | 23 | 25 | 22 | 8 | 19 | 18 | 19 | |
| Chiang Ch'ing | 23 | 23 | 24 | 26 | 23 | 9 | 20 | | | 3(S) |
| Wang Jen-chung | 24 | 20 | 25 | | [24] | | | | | |
| Ulanfu | | 16 | | [20] | | | | | | |
| Liu Chih-chien | | 21 | | | 25 | 10 | 21 | [19] | | |
| Chang Ch'un-ch'iao | (P) | 24 | | | 26 | 11 | 22 | 20 | | |
| Hsieh T'ang-chung | (P) | (P) | | | | 17 | | | | [4] (S) |
| Wang Li | (P) | (P) | | | | 18 | | | | |
| Kuan Feng | (P) | (P) | | | | 19 | | | | |
| Ch'i Pan-yu | (P) | (P) | | | | 20 | | | | |
| Mu Hsin | (P) | (P) | | | | 21 | | | | |
| Yao Wen-yuan | (P) | (P) | | | | 22(S) | | | | |
| Wang Tung-hsing | (P) | (P) | | | | 23 | | | | |
| Nieh Yuan-tze | | | | | | (P) | | | | |
| Wu Fa-hsien | (P) | (P) | | | | | | | | |
| Yeh Ch'un | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yu Li-chin | | | | | | | | | | |
| Huang Yung-sheng | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wen Yu-ch'eng | | | | | | | | | | |



| | 1967 Mar 2 | April 24 | May 1 | May 23 | July 7 | July 31 | Aug 7 | Sep 1 | Sep 2 | Oct 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mao Tse-tung | | P | P | | P | | | | | P(S) |
| Lin Piao | | P | P | P | P | | | | | P(S) |
| Chou En-lai | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1(S) | 1 | 1(S) |
| T'ao Chu | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ch'en Po-ta | 2(S) | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2(S) | 2 | 2 |
| Teng Hsiao-p'ing | | | | | | | | | | |
| K'ang Sheng | 3(S) | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3(S) | 3 | 3 |
| Liu Shao-ch'i | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chu Teh | | | | | | 4 | | | | 4 |
| Liu Fu-ch'un | | 4 | 4 | 4 | | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| Ch'en Yun | | | | | | | | | | 6 |
| Soong Ch'ing-ling | | | | | | | | | | 7 |
| Tung Pi-wu | | | | | | | | | | 8 |
| Ch'en Yi | | | | | | (P) | | | | 9 |
| Liu Po-ch'eng | | | | | | (P) | | | | |
| Ho Lung | | | | | | | | | | |
| Li Hsien-nieh | | | | | | (P) | 5 | | 5 | 10 |
| T'ang Chen-lin | | | | | | [(P)] | | | | |
| Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien | | | | | 4 | (P) | | | | 11 |
| Nieh Jung-chen | | | | | 5 | (P) | | | 6 | 12 |
| Yeh Chien-ying | | | | | 6 | (P) | | | | 13 |
| Po I-po | | | | | | | | | | |
| Li Hsueh-feng | | | | | | (P) | | | | |
| Hsieh Fu-chih | 4 | | 5 | | | (P) | 6 | 7 | 7 | 14 |
| Liu Ning-i | | | | 5 | | (P) | 7 | | | |
| Hsiao Hua | | | 6 | 7 | 8 | [(P)] | | | | |
| Yang Ch'eng-wu | | 5 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 6(S) | | 8(S) | 9 | 16 |
| Chiang Ch'ing | 5(S) | | 9 | 6 | 7 | | 8 | 5(S) | 8 | 15 |
| Wang Jen-chung | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ulanfu | | | | | | | | | | |
| Liu Chih-chien | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chang Ch'un-ch'iao | | | | | 11 | 7 | | 6(S) | 10 | |
| Hsieh T'ang-chun | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wang Li | | 6 | 10 | 13 | | [ 8 ] | | | | |
| Kuang Feng | | 7 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 9 | [10] | | | |
| Ch'i Pan-yu | | 8 | 12 | 15 | 13 | 10 | 11 | | 11 | 18 |
| Mu Hsin | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yao Wen-yuan | | | | | | 11 | 12 | | 12 | |
| Wang Tung-hsing | | | | 17 | 17 | | | | | |
| Nieh Yuan-tze | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wu Fa-hsien | | | | | 15 | (P) | | | | |
| Yeh Ch'un | | | 13 | 16 | 16 | (P) | 13 | | | 19 |
| Yu Li-chin | | | | | | (P) | | | | |
| Huang Yung-sheng | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wen Yu-ch'eng | | | | | | | | | | |

| | Nov 5 | Nov 13 | Nov 14 | Dec 3 | Dec 31 | 1968 Jan 26 | Feb 19 | Mar 7 | Mar | May 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mao Tse-tung | | P | P | P | P | P | P | P | | P |
| Lin Piao | P(S) | P | P | P | P | P | P | P | P(S) | P |
| Chou En-lai | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1(S) | 1 |
| Tao Chu | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ch'en Po-ta | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2(S) | 2 |
| Teng Hsiao-p'ing | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kang Sheng | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3(S) | 3 |
| Liu Shao-ch'i | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chu Teh | | | | | | | | | | 4 |
| Li Fu-ch'un | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | | 5 |
| Ch'en Yun | | | | | | | | | | 6 |
| Soong Ching-ling | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tung Pi-wu | 6 | | | | | | | | | 10 |
| Ch'en Yi | 7 | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | | 11 |
| Liu Po-ch'eng | | | | | | (P) | | (P) | | 12 |
| Ho Lung | | | | | | | | | | |
| Li Hsien-nien | 8 | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | | 13 |
| T'an Chen-lin | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien | 9 | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | | 14 |
| Nieh Jung-chen | 10 | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | | 15 |
| Yeh Chien-ying | 11 | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | | 16 |
| Po I-po | | | | | | | | | | |
| Li Hsueh-feng | | (P) | | | | | | | | 17 |
| Hsieh Fu-chih | 12 | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | 6 | 8 |
| Lu Ning-i | 18 | (P) | (P) | | [(P)] | | | | | |
| Hsiao Hua | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yang Ch'eng-wu | 13 | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | [(P)] | | |
| Chiang Ch'ing | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4(S) | 7 |
| Wang Jen-chung | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ulanfu | | | | | | | | | | |
| Liu Chih-chien | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chang Chun-ch'iao | 14 | 6 | 6 | 7 | | | | | | |
| Hsieh T'ang-chung | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wang Li | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kuan Feng | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chi Pan-yu | 15 | 7 | 7 | 6 | [ 4 ] | | | | | |
| Mu Hsin | [16] | | | | | | | | | |
| Yao Wen-yuan | | 8 | 8 | | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5(S) | 9 |
| Wang Tung-hsing | | | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | 10 | 25 |
| Nieh Yuan-tze | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wu Fa-hsien | | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | 8 | 20 |
| Yeh Ch'un | 19 | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | 9 | 21 |
| Yu Li-chin | | (P) | (P) | | (P) | (P) | (P) | [(P)] | | |
| Huang Yung-sheng | | | (P) | | | | | | 7 | 19 |
| Wen Yu-ch'eng | | | | | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | | |



| | May 8 | May 20 | June 3 | June 21 | June 30 | July 1 | Aug 11 | Aug 15 | Sep 7 | Oct 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mao Tse-tung | P | P | P | P | P | P | P | P | | P |
| Lin Piao | P | P | P | P | P | P | P | P | | P |
| Chou En-lai | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1(S) | 1 |
| Tao Chu | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ch'en Po-ta | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Teng Hsiao-p'ing | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kang Sheng | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Liu Shao-ch'i | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chu Teh | | | | | | (P) | | | | |
| Liu Fu-ch'un | 4 | 4 | (P) | | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | | |
| Ch'en Yun | | | | | | | | | | |
| Soong Ching-ling | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tung Pi-wu | (P) | (P) | (P) | | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | | |
| Ch'en Yi | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | | |
| Liu Po-ch'eng | (P) | | | | (P) | | | | | |
| Ho Lung | | | | | | | | | | |
| Li Hsien-nien | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | | |
| T'an Chen-lin | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien | (P) | (P) | (P) | | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | | |
| Nieh Jung-chen | (P) | (P) | (P) | | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | | |
| Yeh Chien-ying | (P) | (P) | (P) | | (P) | (P) | (P) | (P) | | |
| Po I-po | | | | | | | | | | |
| Li Hsueh-feng | | (P) | | | | | | | | |
| Hsieh Fu-chih | 8 | 7 | 7 | | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 7 |
| Liu Ning-i | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hsiao Hua | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yang Ch'eng-wu | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chiang Ch'ing | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4(S) | 4 |
| Wang Jen-chung | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ulanfu | | | | | | | | | | |
| Liu Chih-chien | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chang Chun-ch'iao | 6 | | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | | 5 |
| Hsieh T'ang-chung | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wang Li | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kuan Feng | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chi Pan-yu | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mu Hsin | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yao Wen-yuan | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 6 |
| Wang Tung-hsing | 13 | 12 | 12 | | 13 | 13 | 13 | 12 | 10 | 11 |
| Nieh Yuan-tze | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wu Fa-hsien | 10 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 9 |
| Yeh Ch'un | 11 | 10 | 10 | | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 9 | 10 |
| Yu Li-chin | | | | | | | | | | |
| Huang Yung-sheng | 9 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 8 |
| Wen Yu-ch'eng | (P) | (P) | | (P) | | (P) | | 13 | 11 | 12 |

## Chronology of Rallies and Receptions Held in Peking Between August 1966 and October 1968 in Connection with the Great Cultural Revolution

**(Based on *NCNA* reports)**

**1966**

August 18: Mao Tse-tung received one million revolutionaries from Peking and other parts of China to celebrate the cultural revolution. (The first meeting with Red Guards)

August 31: Mao Tse-tung received half a million Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students from various parts of the country.

September 15: Mao Tse-tung received for the third time one million Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students.

October 1: Mao Tse-tung together with other Party and State leaders reviewed the National Day parade.

October 18: Mao Tse-tung received for the fifth time one and a half million young revolutionary fighters who had come to Peking from various parts of China to establish revolutionary ties.

October 31: A mass rally held in Peking to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the death of Lu Hsun.

November 3: Mao Tse-tung reviewed the revolutionaries for the sixth time.

November 10 and 11: Mao Tse-tung reviewed the revolutionary contingents for the seventh time.

November 25 and 26: Mao Tse-tung met 2,500,000 young revolutionary fighters at the eighth rally.

November 28: Literary and art workers held a rally for the great cultural revolution.

**1967**

March 2: A grand rally held in Peking to celebrate the formation of the Red Guard Congress.

April 24: Mao Tse-tung received leading members of six provincial and municipal revolutionary committees.

May 1: Mao Tse-tung celebrated May Day with three million people in Peking.

May 23: Peking mass rally in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of Mao Tse-tung's Talk at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art.

July 7: Mao Tse-tung received PLA delegates to the conference on military



training in Peking.

July 31: A grand reception to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PLA.

August 7: Responsible members of the CCP Central Committee, and the Cultural Revolution Group and Military Commission under the Central Committee received delegates to the conference of activists in the study of Mao Tse-tung's works of the PLA Peking Garrison.

September 1: Chinese Communist Party leaders attended an enlarged meeting of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

September 2: Chinese leaders received representatives of the PLA Air Force unit which shot down two US A-6 attack planes over China's Kwangsi region on August 21.

October 1: Mao Tse-tung celebrated the National Day with half a million armymen and people.

November 5: Mass rally in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

November 13: Mao Tse-tung received PLA activists in the study of his works.

November 14: Mao Tse-tung received PLA cadres, representatives of the revolutionary masses attending conferences in Peking and Chinese diplomats and experts back from Burma.

December 3: Mao Tse-tung received delegates to the first congress of activists in the study of his works in the PLA Navy, delegates to the conference of activists in the study of his works in the units of the PLA Signal Corps stationed in Peking and others who had taken part in the work of receiving the revolutionary masses and other work during the great cultural revolution.

December 31: Mao Tse-tung received a large number of revolutionary fighters and cadres attending various study classes and conferences in Peking.

**1968**

January 26: Mao Tse-tung received activists in the study of his works from the Headquarters of the General Staff, General Logistics Department, Air Force and Second Artillery Corps of the PLA.

February 19: Mao Tse-tung received representatives of the PLA units under the Peking Garrison Command, and other PLA units which carried out the tasks of supporting the Left, industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving military and political training to school students in Peking and commanders and fighters of PLA unit 8341.

March 7: Mao Tse-tung received delegates to several congresses of activists in the study of his works from various units and military and political academies of the PLA.

Latter part of March: Mao Tse-tung received 1,000 cadres of various general departments, services and branches and other organs of the PLA attending study classes and meetings in Peking.

May 1: Mao Tse-tung joined the revolutionary masses of Peking in celebrating the May Day.

May 8: Mao Tse-tung received PLA men and other Party and government revolutionary fighters attending study classes and conferences in Peking.

May 20: Mao Tse-tung received more than 20,000 revolutionary fighters from all parts of China.

June 3: Mao Tse-tung received more than 20,000 PLA men attending Mao Tse-tung's thought study courses for cadres of the PLA units under the Nanking and Shenyang Military Regional Commands, the study classes sponsored by various general departments, services and branches of the PLA and a number of conferences then held in Peking.

June 21: Mao Tse-tung received President Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania.

June 30: Mao Tse-tung received more than 20,000 revolutionary fighters including those attending the study courses for cadres from units of the three PLA services stationed in Tsinan, Canton and Lanchow, representatives of the revolutionary staff and workers and leading cadres of miltiary control committees attending the national conference for grasping revolution and promoting production in the coal industry.

July 1: Mao Tse-tung attended a musical performance sponsored by the Cultural Revolution Group under the CCP Central Committee in celebration of the 47th anniversary of the founding of the Party.

August 11: Mao Tse-tung received revolutionary fighters including those attending study classes for cadres of the three PLA services stationed in Foochow, Wuhan, Chengtu, Kunming, Sinkiang and Tibet, delegates to the second congress of "four-good" companies of the Navy and to the second congress of activists in the living study and application of his thought from PLA artillery units stationed in Peking and others from various parts of China.

August 15: Mao Tse-tung received representatives of Peking's working class and PLA men and revolutionary fighters from various parts of China attending study classes.

September 7: Grand rally in celebration of the establishment of revolutionary committees in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of China.

October 1: Mao Tse-tung celebrated the 19th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China with half a million armymen and people.



# PART THREE

# The Army's New Role and Its Problems

CHAPTER I

# The Army's New Role in the Cultural Revolution

*As the cultural revolution entered the power-seizure stage, the Army was charged with additional duties, which are generally referred to in brief as the "three-support" and "two-military" tasks —— support the Left, industry and agriculture; exercise military control and conduct military and political training. In effect, this expanded the powers of the Army to such an extent that it plays a pre-eminent role in practically all fields —— political, military, economic, cultural and educational. The Army's role is best described by Mao Tse-tung in his oft-quoted theses: "Political Power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and "Without a people's army, the people have nothing."— Ed.*

# The Basic Tasks of the Army

In preparation for its new role in the cultural revolution, the general tasks of the Army were spelt out in a *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorial of January 1, 1967. The editorial also laid down the criterion for the training, selection and promotion of Army cadres. – Ed.

## *Hold the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Still Higher, Bring the Mass Movement of Creatively Studying and Applying Chairman Mao's Works to a New Stage and Turn the PLA Into a Truly Great School of Mao Tse-tung's Thought*

(Excerpts) Chairman Mao has issued a call to us: "The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. Apart from combat duties, it should take up other work as well. It should learn politics, military affairs and culture. It should hold itself ready to join in the struggle of the cultural revolution to criticise and repudiate the bourgeoisie. It should concurrently take up studies, engage in agriculture, run factories and do mass work. In this way, our several million strong army can play a very great role indeed." These instructions of Chairman Mao's further put forth a magnificent programme for building a proletarian people's army. They are of great historic and strategic significance and will be a permanent guiding principle for our army-building. They concern not only the question of the proletariat's army-building but also the general orientation of our socialist construction as a whole. The entire thinking underlying these instructions marks a new epoch-making development of Marxism-Leninism.

We must really turn our army into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, meet the new situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the new situation in which the whole Party and the whole nation are studying Chairman Mao's works in a big way. Therefore, in the months ahead we must hold higher than ever before the great red banner of Mao

Tse-tung's thought and bring the mass movement of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works to a new and higher stage, in accordance with Comrade Lin Piao's directive. We must see to it that our minds become more revolutionised year by year, that our work is done better year by year. We should not rest on our oars or become complacent; we should be more modest and prudent, work harder, press ahead, sum up our new experience and exert ourselves to new creative efforts. We must always preserve the glorious red flag of the proletariat intact, excel in our work and prove equal to the expectations of Chairman Mao and the whole nation.

The general principle for the work of the whole Army in 1967 is as follows: firmly apply the spirit of the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's 8th Central Committee, hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher, unswervingly give prominence to politics, take an active part in and stand guard over the great proletarian cultural revolution, bring the mass movement of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works to a new and higher stage, further strengthen the revolutionisation of people's minds, strive for more and better "four-good" companies† and turn our Army into a truly great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

**1. Press on with the great proletarian cultural revolution and achieve still better results and bring the mass movement of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works to a new and higher stage. This is the foundation for the whole year's work.** Chairman Mao teaches us to concern ourselves with the affairs of the state and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The objective of this revolution is to eradicate the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and establish the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat; in a word, to establish the supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is a monumental ideological revolutionary movement in which the thought of Mao Tse-tung is used to educate and remould people. We must concern ourselves with the affairs of the state and never forget the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, thoroughly criticise and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line and liquidate its foul influence. We must be active in our participation and staunch in our defence of this cultural revolution and carry it through to the end, in accordance with the decision of the Party's Central Committee on the great proletarian cultural revolution and the related directives issued by the Party's Central Committee and its Military Commission.

We must sail with the East Wind of the great proletarian cultural revolution



and bring the mass movement of studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a creative way to a new and higher stage...

**2. Continue to make determined efforts in building up the basic levels and produce more and better "four-good" companies.** Chairman Mao has always attached importance to doing a good job of building up the companies; he stresses that "soldiers are the foundation of an army." The campaign to create "four-good" companies is conducted to put into effect the "Resolution Concerning the Strengthening of Political and Ideological Work in the Armed Forces" adopted by the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee at its Enlarged Session. It is a fundamental measure for strengthening the build-up of the companies, a revolutionary, socialist emulation campaign of immense vitality among collectives. We must make the companies fine schools of Mao Tse-tung's thought through the sustained development and improvement of this "four-good" campaign.

We must attain these four things: good political and ideological work; a good "three-eight" working style; good military training; and a good arrangement of everyday life. The most important and fundamental thing of all, however, is to strive for good political and ideological work, and especially doing a good job of studying and applying Chairman Mao's works creatively. Only when this is accomplished, resulting in the revolutionisation of people's minds, can other fields of work be really done well.

Following changes in the situation at home and abroad, especially the deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the sharp, complex class struggle in society is reflected more and more within the Army. We must firmly adhere to the "four firsts," get a firm grasp of the living ideas of our men and be good at applying Mao Tse-tung's thought to tackle and solve all sorts of practical ideological problems...

**3. While performing our task as a fighting force, let us do well as a work force and a production force, and develop the glorious people's army tradition.** Chairman Mao has said that our Army is always a fighting force and at the same time a work force and a production force. We must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction: while acquitting ourselves well as a fighting force, we must succeed as a work force and a production force. We must concurrently study, engage in agriculture, run factories and do mass work and know how to turn our Army into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought which will train a new generation of the communist type capable of handling both military and civilian affairs and both industry and agriculture.

We must work vigorously among the masses, disseminate Mao Tse-tung's thought at all times and in all places and serve the masses well. We must

do our part actively in the building of socialism and set an example in carrying out the Party's policies and observing the Three Main Rules of Discipline† and the Eight Points for Attention.† Every army unit must become a propaganda team and every comrade a propagandist in disseminating Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We must take a long-term view of our construction work, make a success of our Army's agricultural and sideline production and gradually set up some small and medium-sized factories.

We must continue with and carry forward our fine style of hard struggle, be diligent and frugal in our army-building and enforce strict economy.

While carrying out our task as a work force and a production force, we must study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way, modestly learn from the local government and people, from the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, from the Red Guards, and identify ourselves with the masses. We must press on with the ideological revolutionisation of the troops and maintain the fine qualities worthy of the people's army.

**4. Strengthen the revolutionisation of all organisations and boldly promote the really outstanding commanders and fighters to key posts of responsibility.** Chairman Mao has said: "In the final analysis, leadership involves two main responsibilities: to work out ideas, and to use cadres well," and "cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined." On the question of organisation, the most important thing is the kind of cadre line to follow and the kind of cadres to select and promote. This affects the question of whether or not our Army will be in the hands of comrades truly loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought and whether or not the Party's policy and line will be thoroughly carried out in the Army. In accordance with the instruction given by Chairman Mao over a long period and the five requirements laid down for successors† to the proletarian revolutionary cause put forward by Chairman Mao, Comrade Lin Piao, taking into consideration the actual conditions of our Army, has put forth a three-point criterion for the training, selection and promotion of cadres. They are:

1) to hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought on high and to be loyal to Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought;

2) to give prominence to proletarian politics and to keep in close contact with the masses; and

3) to have revolutionary vigour and drive.

In judging, selecting and promoting cadres we should pay attention to essentials and implement the Party's class line. Of course, the lesser points must be taken note of, but the main thing is to judge by the essentials and



see whether such cadres measure up to the three-point criterion.

Irrespective of army units, departments, academies or schools, revolutionisation of organisations must go hand in hand and with revolution of people's minds. The three-point criterion must be strictly observed in the training, selection and promotion of cadres. Outstanding commanders and fighters who truly measure up to this must be boldly promoted to key posts of responsibility. This must be kept under the most careful review from the time of admitting new members to the Party and selecting and promoting cadres at the grass-roots level. The academies and schools must introduce thorough teaching reforms and train students according to the three-point criterion.

Every one of our cadres must set strict requirements for himself in accordance with this criterion. Infinite loyalty to Chairman Mao and to Mao Tse-tung's thought is required of each one. They must put unswerving faith in and reliance on the masses. Each one must have a correct attitude towards himself, and regard himself not only as part of the revolutionary forces but at the same time as a target of the revolution, and make ceaseless efforts to remould himself. For the older comrades it is all the more essential to retain their proletarian revolutionary integrity in the autumn of their lives, so as to make still greater contributions to the revolutionary cause.

**5. Heighten vigilance, stand firm at battle stations and strengthen war preparedness.** Chairman Mao teaches us that "the commanders and fighters of the entire Chinese People's Liberation Army absolutely must not relax in the least their will to fight." Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, we must heighten our revolutionary vigilance, stand firm at our battle stations, resolutely defend the security of our motherland and ensure the smooth progress of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We must do a really good job in our preparation to smash the war of aggression by U.S. imperialism and its accomplices. We must further study and grasp Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war. We must strengthen our education on the current situation and grapple with the living ideas of the men that arise in war preparedness. We should bring into full play the "three-eight" working style, and especially the style of working intensively and getting things done quickly. We must use Chairman Mao's works as the basic textbooks in our military training, strengthen our political and ideological work during training, train hard to master the technical skills that can stand any test and the tactics of close-range and night fighting, and we must also do well in our field training. We must step up our political and ideological work among the frontier guards, island garrisons and among the units engaged in construction work.

We must do a good job in our militia and put it on a solid basis, organisational, political and military. The task of helping to train the students and Red Guards of the middle schools and colleges should be accomplished as an important political task. Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war should be vigorously disseminated and established among the masses...

(*Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorial, January 1, 1967; translated in *Peking Review*, No. 3, January 13, 1967)



# Military and Political Training

On December 31, 1966, the Army was entrusted with the task of giving 15–20 day military and political training to all the "revolutionary teachers and students," so as to "revolutionise their thinking and strengthen their sense of organisation and discipline." The contents and and method of training were revealed in a Circular of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, which is reproduced below. – Ed.

## *Circular of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council on 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 organisation 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 popularised 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 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 Detachments 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 criticise 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 organisations 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 realising 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 defence, intensify steeling of the 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 fulfil 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



Sitatution," as well as "Decision of the CCP Central Committee on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," Comrade Lin Paio 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 bourgeios 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, regimental commanders and political commissars taking charge of military and political training. The people's armed forces and the original militia organisations of universities and colleges should take an active part in this work. The revolutionary teachers and students of various schools should be organised 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...

(*Collection of Documents, Vol. I,* May, 1967)

* * *

## *Military and Political Training Is Good*

Military and political training is being conducted in colleges and secondary schools under the attentive direction of our great leader Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao has instructed us: "It is an excellent idea to send army cadres to train revolutionary teachers and students. There is a tremendous difference between those who have had such training and those who have not. For through this training, they learn about political and military affairs from the Liberation Army, they learn its 'four firsts,' its three-eight working style and the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention and they thereby strengthen their sense of organisation and discipline."

Chairman Mao has also issued this instruction: "The Army should give military training in universities, secondary schools and the higher forms of primary schools, stage by stage and group by group. It should take part in the work involved in re-opening the schools, strengthening organisation, setting up "three-in-one combination" leading organs and conducting struggle-criticism-transformation†. Some places should first be selected for the purpose of experimentation and gaining experience, and then this experience should be popularised step by step."

These wise instructions from Chairman Mao add important new content to the great proletarian cultural revolution in all the colleges and secondary schools of China. They represent another great pioneering achievement in this revolution and are of tremendous strategic significance.

The revolutionary teachers and students in colleges and secondary schools have expressed the most enthusiastic support for Chairman Mao's instructions. The PLA cadres and fighters have put these instructions into practice most resolutely.

During the military-political training, the PLA cadres and fighters have held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, have firmly followed the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao



and closely co-operated with the revolutionary teachers and students, working heart and soul for the success of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the colleges and secondary schools. They have been warmly welcomed and firmly supported by the revolutionary teachers and students.

In conducting military and political training, it is essential both to support and to rely on the revolutionary Left. The revolutionary Left are the vanguard in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the staunchest defenders of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They represent the correct general orientation of the revolution. Every cadre or fighter taking part in military-political training must himself have the same stand, thinking and feeling as the revolutionary Left. He must carry out investigations, he must study and make a class analysis. He must be good at recognising and discovering the revolutionary Left. Only by doing so will he be able to take a firm and clear-cut stand in the struggle between the two lines, to support and rely on the revolutionary Left and to unite with the majority. This alone will insure that the military-political training proceeds along the course charted by Chairman Mao.

The fundamental aim of the military and political training is to promote the revolutionisation of people's thinking through the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works, taking the struggle between the two lines as the key link. In this training political training should lead military training; that is, politics should be in command. To put politics in command is to put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command. Only by grasping the all-powerful weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought can revolutionary teachers and students successfully carry out the mass campaign of struggle, criticism and repudiation directed against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the work of "struggle-criticism-transformation" in their own units. This requires the teachers and students to be well organised, to make a conscientious study of Chairman Mao's works relevant to the problems arising from the struggle between the two lines. When they become immersed in this study and are putting what they have learned into practice, this will show that the military and political training has been really effective.

The most vital factor in uniting the great majority is to take firm hold of ideas current in people's minds and persist in education through patient persuasion. The People's Liberation Army should apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in accordance with the actual circumstances of the great cultural revolution in the schools in order to solve the various ideological problems arising in the ranks of the revolutionary Left, the problems arising among the

cadres who have committed mistakes and those among the ordinary people who have been misled. The revolutionary Left must be constantly encouraged to understand Chairman Mao's teaching that only by emancipating mankind can the proletariat ultimately emancipate itself, and to act accordingly. The organisations of the Left which have committed mistakes must be correctly treated, and so must those ordinary people who have joined conservative organisations. Political and ideological work with them should be strengthened, and they must not be excluded and discriminated against. The revolutionary Left should be assisted in learning to do mass work, to become skilled in turning Mao Tse-tung's thought and the policies of the Party into the thinking and policies of the broad masses of the people themselves. The people should be encouraged to educate and emancipate themselves.

Comrades of the armed forces who are taking part in the military and political training must take trust in the masses and reliance on them as the fundamental requirements in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In bringing about the revolutionary great alliance in the schools it is imperative to uphold the principles of keeping a clear-cut stand, persisting in struggle, acquiring the pre-requisites for success and paying attention to methods of work. They should on the one hand take the positive attitude of 'seize the day, seize the hour' and on the other they should not be impetuous and over-anxious for success.

The revolutionary teachers and students should warmly respond to Chairman Mao's great call to support the Army and cherish the people, should modestly learn from the People's Liberation Army, closely co-operate and unite as one to make a success of the military and political training in the universities and middle schools and carry through to the end the great protetarian cultural revolution in the universities and middle schools!...

(Summary of *Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial, May 26, 1967.)



# Supporting the Left

On January 23, 1967, the Army was directed to give firm support and assistance to the broad masses of the Left in their struggle to seize power from "the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and diehards clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line." It was to "send out troops to support the genuine proletarian revolutionaries whenever they ask for help," and to suppress counter-revolutionaries, by force as necessary.

Five days later, the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee issued an eight-point order giving general guidance as to how the Army should handle various problems arising from its active participation in the cultural revolution movement.

On March 25, 1967, the Army organ *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* stressed in its editorial that in supporting the revolutionary Left, the most fundamental thing was to give them political and ideological support.

In April the same year, the Military Commission again issued an order restricting the use of force or other repressive measures by the Army against the masses and mass organisations. It hinted that the Army had encountered serious problems in performing its task of supporting the Left.

As factionalism became widespread, the Army was told, in January 1968, to "support the Left, but not any particular faction." – Ed.

## *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 on Resolute Support for the Revolutionary Masses of the Left* (January 23, 1967)

To all regional bureaus of the Party 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 sub-districts:

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 organisations 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...

(*Collection of Documents, Vol, I,* May, 1967)

* * *

## *The People's Liberation Army Firmly Backs the Proletarian Revolutionaries*

The following editorial expounds the foregoing directive and calls on the Army to follow Lin Piao's instruction: "Enthusiastically support Chairman Mao, zealously support the proletarian revolutionary Left..."

(Excerpts) Our People's Liberation Army is a revolutionary army of the proletariat created by Chairman Mao himself. It is a pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this great struggle of the proletariat to seize power from the bourgioisie, we must firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, firmly standon the side of the proletarian revolutionaries. The P.L.A. must firmly support and assist them, for this is a great call from our great leader Chairman Mao. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and enthusiastically, unequivocally and wholeheartedly support the proletarian revolutionary rebels in rising to seize power. Even though they may be just a minority temporarily, we must support them without the slightest hesitation.

In the new situation in the present great proletarian cultural revolution, it is not possible for the People's Liberation Army to refrain from intervening. Some people use "non-intervention" as a pretext to actually suppress the masses. This is absolutely impermissible. Their so-called "non-intervention" is false. The question is not whether or not to intervene, but which side to stand on. It is a question of whether to support the proletarian revolutionaries or to support the conservative-minded people or even the Rightists. In the present great proletarian cultural revolution, in the present fierce class struggle, not to stand on the side of the proletariat means to stand on the side of the bourgeoisie. Not to stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao means to stand on the side of the bourgeois reactionary line. There can be no compromise and no neutrality on this question. Our P.L.A. must clearly and actively support the proletarian revolutionary Left.

The demand of all genuine proletarian revolutionaries for the Army's sup-

port and assistance must be met. The People's Liberation Army should carry forward the fine tradition of doing mass work. In giving support to the great proletarian cultural revolution among the civilians they should become one with the proletarian revolutionaries and with the revolutionary masses, learn from the masses, propagandise the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao among the masses and help the proletarian revolutionaries develop and grow.

"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." The political power of the proletariat seized by the people's army with the gun has to be defended by the people's army with the gun, too. Active counter-revolutionaries and counter-revolutionary organisations sabotaging the great proletarian cultural revolution must be resolutely suppressed and the dictatorship of the proletariat exercised over them.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution." The proletarian revolutionary rebels have risen to seize power from those in authority taking the capitalist road and to ensure that our country will not change colour for all generations to come. This is the highest politics of the proletariat. Our People's Liberation Army is infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao and to the proletarian revolutionary line he represents. We have made contributions in faithfully defending the great proletarian cultural revolution. We will make new and still greater contributions to supporting the proletarian revolutionaries in rising and seizing power.

Comrades, we heroically went through fire and water to win the country for the people and made immortal contributions in the past. In the present rigorous and great class struggle, we should become a bulwark defending the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must follow Comrade Lin Piao's instruction: enthusiastically support Chairman Mao, zealously support the proletarian revolutionary Left, hit hard at the handful of persons who are in authortity and taking the capitalist road, and always keep the banner of our great People's Liberation Army completely red.

*(Chieh-fang-chun Pao editorial,* January 25,1967)

## *Order of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee* (January 28, 1967)

*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 organisations 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 authorisation. 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 utilised. 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, 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 transformation 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 Lefists. 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 the great cultural revolution group by group and 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 defence, 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 labour training, remould 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.

(*Collection of Document, Vol. I,* May, 1967)

* * *

## *Supporting the Left Politically and Ideologically Is of First Importance*

(Excerpts) The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great ideological revolution to arouse the masses boldly and let the masses educate and liberate themselves. No one should nor can do things in their stead. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is a mighty ideological weapon for the masses in educating and liberating themselves. In supporting the revolutionary Left, the most



fundamental thing is to give them political and ideological support, help the revolutionary Left conscientiously study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought, and correctly master and implement the Party's principles and policies so that, nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought, they can grow stronger and, relying on their own efforts, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution in their areas and units to success.

Chairman Mao teaches us that politics is the commander and the very soul. In accordance with the constant teachings of Chairman Mao, Comrade Lin Piao tells us that in all fields of work, the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought should be raised high, Chairman Mao's works should be creatively studied and applied, prominence given to politics, the "four-firsts"† persisted in and great and vigorous efforts should be made to grasp the living ideas in people's minds. In supporting the struggles of the Left, we must always remember, and never forget, to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought; we must always remember, and never forget, to give prominence to politics; we must persist in putting political and ideological work to the fore, and make political and ideological work the basis for all work in supporting the struggles of the Left.

"Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole Party for great political struggles." The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the common ideological basis for the people of the whole country to unite and make revolution, and the guide for the great proletarian cultural revolution. Revolutionary mass organisations must be armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought if they are to win victories in the great cultural revolution.

In supporting the Left in the struggle, we should help them creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works in the course of the struggle, help them study and understand the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and act in everything according to Chairman Mao's instructions. We should help them, with Mao Tse-tung's thought as their guiding principle, to grasp living ideas in people's minds effectively, eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, remould their world outlook, intensify their revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organisation and discipline, and basically improve the fighting strength of the revolutionary mass organisations.

"Policy and tactics are the life of the Party." The principles and policies by which Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee are guiding the great proletarian cultural revolution, sum up the new experience created by the masses in the course of the current great proletarian cultural revolution. Only when these principles and policies are carried out thoroughly, can the revolutionary movement advance victoriously along the correct path.

In supporting the Left in the struggle, we should help them correctly understand and effectively carry out the principles and policies set forth by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, grasp the general orientation of the struggle and perfect their skill in the art of struggle. We should help the revolutionary Left do things consciously in accordance with the policies and tactics of the Party, help them to be both daring and adept in the struggle and to unite with the revolutionary masses and revolutionuary cadres, so as to win victories in both revolution and production.

The experience of many army units in supporting the Left in the struggle shows that once a good job is done in political and ideological work, once Mao Tse-tung's thought and the principles and policies of the Party are brought home to the masses, the mastering of this one question leads to the solution of all other questions. This political and ideological support is most powerful and most welcomed by the revolutionary masses. As the masses say: "Of the thousand and ten thousand kinds of help the Liberation Army brings us, Mao Tse-tung's thought is the greatest help."

The great call made by the great leader Chairman Mao to the People's Liberation Army to actively support the masses of the Left is of tremendous strategic significance for the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is also of far-reaching significance in stepping up the proletarian revolutionisation of our Army and enhancing its fighting capacity.

In this immense mass political and ideological work, we must modestly learn from the good thinking, style of work, experience and methods of the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, and greatly raise the level of our proletarian consciousness and the level of our political and ideological work.

(*Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorial, March 25, 1967)

* * *

## *Order of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee* (April 6, 1967)

*Comrade Lin Paio:*

*This document is very good.*

*Mao Tse-tung, April 6.*

Chairman Mao directs the Chinese PLA to intervene in local great cultural revolution movements 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. Many new problems have at present appeared which warrant prompt and serious attention. With this end in view, the following order is promulgated:

(1) In dealing with mass organisations, 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 organisation a reactionary organisation and repress it. It is moreover forbidden to call a revolutionary organisation a counter-revolutionary organisation. A mass organisation which has made certain mistakes must be actively given education to help it. As for mass organisations 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 organisations and repress them, approval must first be obtained from the Centre.

(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 organisations 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 organisations, 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-flaming" movement should be launched. Nor should the masses be forced to write self-examinations and criticisms. Self-examinations and criticisms 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 known their reactionary facts, carry out thorough 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 organisations) 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 skilfully adopt means of persuasion and education instead of adopting simple and crude means of issuing orders.

(10) Acts already done which runs 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...

(*Collection of Documents, Vol. I,* May, 1967)

* * *



## *Earnestly Implement the Principle of "Supporting the Left, but Not Any Particular Faction"*

(Excerpts) The great call that "the People's Liberation Army should help the broad masses of the Left" is an important component part of Chairman Mao's theory of carrying on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and an important strategic step in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It marks a new development of Chairman Mao's thinking on army building.

In order to further carry out this great call of Chairman Mao's, it is now necessary to earnestly follow the principle of "helping the Left, but not any particular faction." This is the decisive factor for the Army in carrying out Chairman Mao's latest series of instructions to the letter and in an all-round way, and in doing better the work of helping the Left, helping industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving military and political training.

To help the Left but not any particular faction, it is necessary to act exactly in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and support the broad masses of the Left. We must support all revolutionary mass organisations. Favouring one while becoming estranged from another cannot be allowed. Nor is it permissible to support one against another. It is also wrong to "support whatever you do if you are the Left." Instead, we should support all words and deeds that conform with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Under no circumstances should we support bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism among some of the members. We must use Mao Tse-tung's thought to help them overcome and correct it. The utmost effort should be made to promote the formation of the revolutionary great alliance between the two revolutionary mass groupings on the basis of revolutionary principles.

To carry out resolutely the principle of "helping the Left, but not any particular faction" is an important indication of loyalty to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to his proletarian revolutionary line in the present new situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Today, when the great proletarian cultural revolution has won decisive victory, the handful of renegades and special agents who sneaked into our revolutionary ranks, the handful of diehard capitalist roaders within the Party and other class enemies in society do not take their failure lying down. They are trying in a thousand and one ways to stir up and use reactionary bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism to incite discord and sow dissension among the revolutionaries in order to split their ranks, interfere with

Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, and undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution and the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. This is the reflection of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in the new situation. The great People's Liberation Army is the most important mainstay of the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must be clear about the characteristics of the class struggle in the present circumstances, sharpen our revolutionary vigilance, take a clear-cut, firm stand on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, resolutely adhere to the principle of "helping the Left, but not any particular faction," and wage an uncompromising struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism. This is the pressing need in uniting the revolutionary masses, in defeating the class enemy and in winning all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution...

Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism is a reactionary social trend of thought. The commanders and fighters of our Army, who are fighting in the frontline of helping the Left, helping industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving military and political training, must take Chairman Mao's latest instructions as the key link, fight self, repudiate revisionism, strengthen ideological revolutionisation and resolutely resist the influence of this trend. This is a basic question in "helping the Left, but not any particular faction." If bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism should be allowed to grow in our minds without being resisted, the work of helping the Left, helping industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving military and political training will be led astray. This will in turn encourage factionalism in some revolutionary mass organisations, deepen the differences between the two groupings of revolutionary mass organisations, damage the unity between the Army and the people and hamper the realisation of Chairman Mao's great strategic plan.

The People's Liberation Army is a highly proletarianised and militant people's army, founded and nurtured by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao himself. In the new year we must use Mao Tse-tung's thought to unify the thinking and actions of army units supporting the Left in each area so as to enable them to go all-out, aim high, advance courageously and resolutely correct any shortcomings and errors as soon as they emerge. Every commander and fighter of the People's Liberation Army should study more earnestly Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, strengthen his proletarian Party spirit, oppose bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism, be a model in "helping the Left, but not any particular faction" and do his best to guide those people in the revolutionary ranks with petty-bourgeois



ideas onto the path of the proletarian revolution. It is necessary to redouble our revolutionary vigilance, smash the schemes of the class enemies at home and abroad to disrupt the unity between the Army and the people and to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is necessary to greatly strengthen the unity between the Army and the people and win new merit in seizing all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

(*Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorial, January 28, 1968)

# Supporting Industry and Agriculture

Apart from supporting the Left, the Army was called upon to give energetic assistance and support to industry and agriculture, this being its "great, bounden duty and glorious task." In carrying out this directive, the main task of the Army was to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought and see to it that his policies and instructions were implemented. Additionally, the Army was to acquaint itself with local conditions and problems and guard against sabotage and disruptive activities by the class enemies. Last, but not the least, it was also called upon to give manpower and technical support to the rural people's communes during the busy farming seasons. – Ed.

## *Military Commission Calls Upon the Army To Support Spring Ploughing and Production*

On February 23, the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee issued "Instructions on Army's Energetic Support to Local Communes in Carrying Out Spring Ploughing and Production Well," calling upon all cadres and fighters of the whole PLA to get mobilised immediately, to obey the instruction of "grasping revolution and promoting production" given by our great leader Chairman Mao, to develop our Army's glorious tradition of being a fighting force as well as a working force and a production force, and to help actively the local rural people's communes and leading cadres at all levels of these communes in carrying out spring ploughing and production well.

The Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee said in its instructions: The "Letter to Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants and Cadres at All Levels of Rural People's Communes Throughout the Country" which the Party Central Committee published on February 20 is a document of important significance. All cadres and fighters of our Army must take immediate action to help actively the local rural people's communes and their leading cadres at all levels in carrying out spring ploughing and production well. This is an urgent task which must be done within a very short period



of time. Leaders at all levels must pay very close attention to it and grasp it tightly.

In its instructions, the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee called upon PLA units all over the country to act in accordance with the spirit of the "Letter to Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants and Cadres at All Levels of Rural People's Communes Throughout the Country," to propagate energetically the strategical significance of "grasping revolution and promoting production," and to launch an upsurge quickly in spring ploughing and production without missing the right season for farming.

It also called upon provincial military commands, military subdistrict commands, and the municipal and *hsien* arms departments to take the firm grasping of spring ploughing and production as a main point of the current tasks, and to help the local (provincial, administrative district, municipal and *hsien*) leading organs and rural people's communes in summoning meetings on spring ploughing and production and making concrete arrangements for spring ploughing and other farm work.

In some areas, the military subdistrict, municipal and *hsien* arms departments and the leading organs at and above the regimental level should also consult the local poor and lower-middle peasants on organising a group for leading production and help the masses arrangement spring ploughing and production. People's arms [i.e. militia] departments at all levels must call upon all militiamen to act as the backbone force in spring ploughing and production and to bring the role of militia organisations as a shock team in production into full play.

In its instructions, the Military Commission called upon PLA units all over the country to help the rural people's communes opportunely with manpower and technical forces in spring ploughing and production. It also called upon all PLA units, while helping in ploughing and production, to study and apply Chairman Mao's works earnestly and creatively and to propagate vigorously the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the highly favourable current situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The Military Commission also pointed out in its instructions: While helping in spring ploughing, PLA units must sharpen their vigilance and help the local organs of dictatorship and organisations of poor and lower-middle peasants in resolutely hitting the activities launched by the class enemies to sabotage the great cultural revolution in the countryside and to disrupt production.

(*NCNA*, Peking, February 25, 1967)

## *Give Energetic Support to Revolutionary Peasants in Launching An Upsurge in Spring Farm Work*

(Excerpts) Chairman Mao has called upon the People's Liberation Army to give the broad masses of the Left active support. Our Army is always a fighting force, a work force and a production force. Undertaking mass work and supporting the masses in production is the glorious tradition of our Army. In the current struggle to win victory of spring ploughing and production at the present critical moment when every minute should be grasped, the Army is under obligation to come forward and should make all-out efforts to support the rural people's communes and make a good job of spring ploughing and production. This also means giving most practical and energetic support to the broad masses of the Left.

The most important way for us to help in spring ploughing and production is to serve effectively as a team for propagating the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We should in all kinds of ways disseminate the thought of Mao Tse-tung among the masses, publicise the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and explain the great strategic significance of the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production." We must teach cadres at all levels of people's communes to treat correctly the criticism the masses have made of them. We must teach the poor and lower-middle peasants to treat correctly those cadres who have made mistakes. We must urge all poor and lower-middle peasants and all labouring peasants of other sections, all revolutionary cadres, and all cadres who have made mistakes but are determined to correct their mistakes, to unite themselves under the guidance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung to make revolution and promote production in one accord, to respond to the call of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and to fulfil triumphantly the glorious task of spring ploughing and production.

We must not let this moment slip by and must give vigorous support with manpower and technical forces to rural people's communes in their spring ploughing and production and fully develop the role of the army units as a shock team in production. In productive labour, we must not fear hardship or fatigue, and must choose the burdensome tasks, integrate ourselves with the masses, prove ourselves models in grasping revolution and promoting production, and take solid action to launch an upsurge in spring ploughing and production. At the same time, we must seriously organise the militiamen to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively and bring the role of the militiamen as the backbone and the leader into full play.

While help in spring ploughing and production, we must constantly



sharpen our revolutionary vigilance and take serious precautions against the sabotage activities of the class enemies. We must firmly stand on the side of poor and lower-middle peasants, promptly disclose and shatter the schemes and tricks of the class enemies, resolutely hit those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who sabotage the great cultural revolution in the countryside and the handful of power-holders within the Party who take the capitalist road. We must defend spring ploughing and production as well as the great proletarian cultural revolution...

(*Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorial, February 25, 1967; reproduced in Peking *Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, February 26, 1967)

* * *

## *PLA Active in Production and Political Life in the Countryside*

Commanders and fighters of the three services of the Chinese People's Liberation Army are giving a hand in the busy autumn farming season throughout the country. They are helping with the harvesting, ploughing and sowing in people's communes in response to Chairman Mao's great call to "grasp revolution and promote production."

At the same time, the armymen are active in propagating the latest instructions issued by Chairman Mao during his recent inspection tour in North, Central-South and East China. Taking his great call to "combat self-interest and repudiate revisionism" as their guiding principle, the soldiers have turned the countryside into a front for propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought and a battlefield for combating self-interest and repudiating revisionism so as to revolutionise the peasants' thinking and win twin victories, in revolution and production.

The army units involved regard their support to agriculture as their contribution in following Chairman Mao's strategic plan. They have sent out large numbers of armymen, carts and farm tools.

On the eve of National Day, October 1, an army unit stationed in Peking sent out more than 13,000 soldiers and horses and carts to lend a hand in 170 production brigades in the *hsien* around Peking.

Army units in Shenyang, provincial capital of Liaoning in Northeast China, which had already organised thousands of Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams to aid production in rural areas, recently dispatched tens of thousands more cadres and fighters to people's communes.

In Chefoo, Shantung province, PLA units have contributed over 70,000 workdays to rural communes.

Many Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams from army units stationed in Kunming, Tibet, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia and other frontier regions have gone to mountain villages to work alongside peasants of the different minority nationalities.

In addition, PLA units have sent out mobile medical teams and groups for repairing farm machinery.

The PLA commanders and fighters take their copies of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* everywhere they go and study and apply the thought of Mao Tse-tung in a living way with the commune members. They propagate Chairman Mao's theory, line and policy on making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, explain the good situation which exists after more than a year of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and outline future tasks.

The armymen join the peasants in criticising and repudiating China's Khrushchev and his agents, in the fields, on the threshing grounds and in their homes. Using Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon, a company stationed in Hopei Province has been helping the commune members repudiate the fallacies spread by China's Khrushchev, namely his advocacy of "the freedom to practice usury, to hire labour, to buy and sell land and to engage in private enterprise," "the extension of private plots and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profit and loss and the fixing of output quotas based on the household" and of creating "the type of peasant 'who owns three horses, a plough and a cart'." In this campaign, they aim to eliminate the poisonous influence of these capitalistic ideas.

(*NCNA-English*, Peking, October 27, 1967).

* * *

## *Give All-out Help to Factories, Mines and Other Industrial Enterprises in Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production*

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Party Central Committee have decided that the People's Liberation Army shall give all-out help to the local governments and support the work of industrial production. This shows the greatest trust in our Army and provides great encouragement to it.

The units stationed in Shenyang, Wuhsi, Chungking, Harbin and other places have sent large numbers of cadres and fighters into local factories,



mines and other industrial enterprises to help them grasp revolution and promote production. They have accumulated excellent experience and set a very good example for the rest of our Army in carrying out the decision of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Without industry there can be no solid national defence, no well-being for the people, no prosperity or strength for the nation."

To make the great proletarian cultural revolution a success in the factories, mines and other industrial enterprises and to promote industrial production are major problems affecting the outcome of our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. To give energetic assistance in the spring farm work and at the same time to give active help to the factories, mines and other industrial enterprises in grasping revolution and promoting production is our army's great and bounden duty and its glorious task in supporting the proletarian revolutionaries.

How shall we assist the factories, mines and other industrial enterprises in grasping revolution and promoting production? The essential thing is for us to assist them politically and ideologically and arm the minds of the worker masses and revolutionary cadres with Mao Tse-tung's thought. According to the experience of some units, we must do a good job both in propaganda and in investigation.

To do propaganda work means spreading the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, propagating his great call to "grasp revolution, promote production" and all principles and policies of the Party. It means studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a living way together with the workers and revolutionary cadres and using Mao Tse-tung's thought to answer questions and solve all problems.

It is the great thought of Mao Tse-tung which is the motive force guiding the victorious advance of both revolution and production. It is the revolutionary masses who most welcome and the class enemies who most fear the spreading of Chairman Mao's voice, the propagation of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the propagation of the principles and policies of the Party. Having grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought and thoroughly understood the great significance of "grasping revolution, promoting production," the broad masses of the workers will have the greatest courage, immense wisdom and great vigour; and, with united and concerted efforts, they will shoulder the heavy loads of revolution and production.

Investigation and study are necessary both for grasping revolution

and promoting production so as to have a full knowledge of the on-the-spot situation and be able to solve the problem of whom to rely on, whom to unite or whom to attack.

We must differentiate ourselves from the enemy by means of deep-going and detailed investigations and surveys. Only in this way can we have a clear picture of the situation and acquire great determination. Only in this way can we correctly discover the Left and see through the enemy so as firmly and powerfully to support and closely to rely on the true revolutionary Left, develop, strengthen and consolidate the ranks of the revolutionary Left, unite the broad masses, make a good job of the revolutionary "three-in-one combination," hit hard at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and resolutely suppress the counter-revolutionaries who sabotage revolution and production.

Only by making a good job of our investigation and grasping living ideas (ideas currently in people's minds) will it be possible for us to do propaganda work with a definite object in view according to different people and different problems, so as closely to integrate the spirit of the Party Central Committee's policies with the actual situation at the basic level and bring into full play the tremendous power of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In our work to help factories, mines and other industrial enterprises grasp revolution and promote production, we must consistently carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and the 16-point decision concerning the cultural revolution. We must trust the masses, rely on them, arm them with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and we must not use the method of doing everything for them. Only in this way, is it possible to arouse the revolutionary enthusiasm and creativeness of the broad masses of the workers, and to place revolution in command of industrial production, to give it momentum and bring about a new upsurge in it.

Our Army is a fighting force and at the same time a working team. "Besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organising the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organisations."

We have always integrated ourselves completely with the masses of the people, with the labouring peasants in the countryside and with the workers and other revolutionary people in the cities, and we do mass work all the time. We must further develop this fine tradition of ours in this struggle to support the revolutionary Left and in accomplishing the strategic task of assisting the industrial and agricultural fronts to grasp revolution



and promote production.

Chairman Mao has said: "It is only the working class that is most far-sighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary."

Helping the factories, mines and other industrial enterprises to grasp revolution and promote production provides us with the best opportunity to learn from the working class, and it is the best classroom in which to study and apply creatively the works of Chairman Mao. Those cadres and fighters who are to go to the factories, mines and other industrial enterprises should live, eat, take part in production and study together with the broad masses of the workers. They should try hard to temper themselves, to raise their level of political consciousness and further their ideological revolutionisation through their common struggle with the working masses in grasping revolution and promoting production.

The development in depth of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the factories, mines and other industrial enterprises will be a strong motive force promoting the development of industrial production. Together with the broad masses of the workers and functionaries in the factories, mines and other industrial enterprises, let us devote all our efforts to winning a twin victory, in revolution and in production!

(*Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorial, March 22, 1967)

* * *

## *PLA Helps in China's Industrial Production*

(Excerpts) Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed in various parts of the country have sent large numbers of cadres and men into factories, mines and other industrial enterprises to help production forward.

This is in response to the great call from the supreme commander Chairman Mao for the PLA to support the struggle waged by the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

The armymen's activities range from the propagation of Chairman Mao's teachings, including his call to "grasp revolution and promote production," to making an on-the-spot study of conditions, from political work to helping the proletarian revolutionaries develop those in their own ranks...

During the past few months, the People's Liberation Army units

and promoting production so as to have a full knowledge of the on-the-spot situation and be able to solve the problem of whom to rely on, whom to unite or whom to attack.

We must differentiate ourselves from the enemy by means of deep-going and detailed investigations and surveys. Only in this way can we have a clear picture of the situation and acquire great determination. Only in this way can we correctly discover the Left and see through the enemy so as firmly and powerfully to support and closely to rely on the true revolutionary Left, develop, strengthen and consolidate the ranks of the revolutionary Left, unite the broad masses, make a good job of the revolutionary "three-in-one combination," hit hard at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and resolutely suppress the counter-revolutionaries who sabotage revolution and production.

Only by making a good job of our investigation and grasping living ideas (ideas currently in people's minds) will it be possible for us to do propaganda work with a definite object in view according to different people and different problems, so as closely to integrate the spirit of the Party Central Committee's policies with the actual situation at the basic level and bring into full play the tremendous power of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In our work to help factories, mines and other industrial enterprises grasp revolution and promote production, we must consistently carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and the 16-point decision concerning the cultural revolution. We must trust the masses, rely on them, arm them with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and we must not use the method of doing everything for them. Only in this way, is it possible to arouse the revolutionary enthusiasm and creativeness of the broad masses of the workers, and to place revolution in command of industrial production, to give it momentum and bring about a new upsurge in it.

Our Army is a fighting force and at the same time a working team. "Besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organising the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organisations."

We have always integrated ourselves completely with the masses of the people, with the labouring peasants in the countryside and with the workers and other revolutionary people in the cities, and we do mass work all the time. We must further develop this fine tradition of ours in this struggle to support the revolutionary Left and in accomplishing the strategic task of assisting the industrial and agricultural fronts to grasp revolution



and promote production.

Chairman Mao has said: "It is only the working class that is most far-sighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary."

Helping the factories, mines and other industrial enterprises to grasp revolution and promote production provides us with the best opportunity to learn from the working class, and it is the best classroom in which to study and apply creatively the works of Chairman Mao. Those cadres and fighters who are to go to the factories, mines and other industrial enterprises should live, eat, take part in production and study together with the broad masses of the workers. They should try hard to temper themselves, to raise their level of political consciousness and further their ideological revolutionisation through their common struggle with the working masses in grasping revolution and promoting production.

The development in depth of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the factories, mines and other industrial enterprises will be a strong motive force promoting the development of industrial production. Together with the broad masses of the workers and functionaries in the factories, mines and other industrial enterprises, let us devote all our efforts to winning a twin victory, in revolution and in production!

(*Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorial, March 22, 1967)

* * *

## *PLA Helps in China's Industrial Production*

(Excerpts) Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed in various parts of the country have sent large numbers of cadres and men into factories, mines and other industrial enterprises to help production forward.

This is in response to the great call from the supreme commander Chairman Mao for the PLA to support the struggle waged by the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

The armymen's activities range from the propagation of Chairman Mao's teachings, including his call to "grasp revolution and promote production," to making an on-the-spot study of conditions, from political work to helping the proletarian revolutionaries develop those in their own ranks...

During the past few months, the People's Liberation Army units

have thrown themselves into the task of helping the proletarian revolutionaries in a number of industrial enterprises to suppress the main culprits belonging to those reactionary organisations which had sabotaged the cultural revolution and industrial production. At the same time, they helped the people who had been taken in to wake up and return to the correct line put forward by Chairman Mao.

Reports from various cities show that what the PLA units have done has given a tremendous stimulus to the workers' revolutionary enthusiasm for production work. The workers have begun to go all-out, many factories overfulfilling their February targets, and production has again been rising this month. Quality of many products has also markedly improved...

(*NCNA–English*, Peking, March 22, 1967)

* * *

## *Helping Workers Study Chairman Mao's Works Is the PLA's Main Task in Aiding Industry*

The main task of People's Liberation Army men in aiding industry is to put proletarian politics in the forefront and arm the workers with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

This is stressed in a Shanghai staff correspondent's report frontpaged in today's *Jen-min Jih-pao*. The sending of PLA men to aid industry is a pioneering undertaking in the present stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In response to Chairman Mao Tse-tung's call for the Army to support the revolutionary left and aid industry and agriculture in late January, a unit under the Shanghai garrison began to send Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams to neighbouring factories.

At a recent discussion to sum up their experience, members of these teams stressed that aiding industry did not mean immersing themselves in specific, detailed production problems but helping the workers to understand that according to Chairman Mao's teachings politics is the supreme commander and guide.

Giving prominence to politics was the basic principle in army building as well as in industrial development, they said. "Our primary task in aiding industry is to introduce into the factories the Army's fine tradition of putting politics in first place, to arm the workers with Mao Tse-tung's thought,



set the factories in the correct direction and turn them into great schools of Mao Tse-tung's thought," they said.

If attention was concentrated solely on production to the neglect of politics, they said, not only could the revolution not be carried out effectively and production improved, but danger exists that the factories might turn back onto the road to capitalist restoration.

On the handling of the workers' concrete problems, some of the members said: "Chairman Mao teaches us: 'We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party.' To have faith in the Party means to have faith in the might of Mao Tse-tung's thought; to have faith in the masses is to be convinced that they are able to solve any problem once they master Mao Tse-tung's thought."

On the question of judging who the revolutionaries among the workers are, the members of the propaganda teams said that it was up to the workers themselves to make this decision. "Our duty is to arm them with Mao Tse-tung's thought so they can make the correct decision.

"Of course we should give active, explicit support to the genuine revolutionary Left. But we can make correct decisions and win mass approval of them only when we have undertaken thorough investigations among the workers armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought," they stated.

In order really to bring politics to the fore, the armymen said, three things must be done.

First, efforts must be made to raise the workers' consciousness through the study of Chairman Mao's works. In addition to helping the workers form study groups and organise a regular system of study, the armymen should publicise Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's instructions on the importance of making a living study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. They should help the workers do this in connection with their current problems.

Second, efforts must be made to publicise Chairman Mao's great call to "grasp revolution and promote production." Grasping the revolution at present means helping the workers to wipe out tendencies which hamper the building of a great alliance and a "three-in-one revolutionary leadership. This can be done through rectification to do away with egoism and develop devotion to the collective.

Third, efforts must be made to integrate the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought with assistance to the workers in solving concrete problems. Only in this way can the living study and application of Chairman Mao's

works achieve quick results and the fundamental goal of arming the workers with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

(*NCNA–English*, Peking, April, 11, 1967)



# Military Control

Starting in January 1967, following the call for the Army to support the revolutionary Left in a nation-wide struggle to seize power, military control was enforced in certain places and departments where the "proletarian revolutionaries" were unable to control the situation. The provinces of Tsinghai, Anhwei and Kwangtung are cases in point, as are certain functional areas, for example, the State granaries and warehouses, prisons, broadcasting stations, the civil avaition system, the public security system, military academies and schools, railways and various Party and government organs. It was stipulated that military control was a provisional and transitional measure; however, as of September 1968, the Army was still exercising military control. --Ed.

## *Directive on Enforcing Military Control in Granaries, Warehouses and Prisons* (January 19, 1967)

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 appropriate 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

(*Collection of Documents, Vol. I*, May 1967)

## *Supplementary Notice of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Question of Broadcasting Stations* (Central Committee Document *Chung Fa* No. 29 [67], January 23, 1967)

To various bureaus of the Central Committee, various 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 froces 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 programmes of the Central People's Broadcasting Station, may compile some programmes themselves. These programmes 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.

*(Ibid.)*

* * *



## *Order of the State Council and the Military Commission of the Central Committee 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 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 organised 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 organisations of the various units of the civil aviation system should as a rule not exchange revolutionary experience with the revolutionary organisations outside the civil aviation system.

*(Ibid.)*

* * *

## *Notice of the Public Security Ministry and the Peking Garrison Command of the PLA on Taking Over Control of the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau by the Peking Garrison Command of the PLA* (February 11, 1967)

By order of the State Council and the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Peking Garrison Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army takes over control of the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau and sets up a Military Control Committee. Comrade Mao Li-shan (牟 立 善) is appointed as Director of the Military Control Committee and two other comrades, Liu Ch'uan-hsin

(劉 傅 新) and Wang Keng-yin (王 更 印), the deputy directors. Military representatives are assigned to all subordinate organisations of the Municipal Public Security Bureau to exercise military control over them.

1. The duties of the Military Control Committee of the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau are: strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat; resolutely suppressing all counter-revolutionary elements; maintaining revolutionary order; firmly supporting and protecting the revolutionary rebels; and safeguarding the great proletarian cultural revolution. All the people's police and public security personnel of the Peking Municipality should, under the leadership of the Military Control Committee, stand fast at their positions, work hard, obey orders and accept commands.

2. The Military Control Committee of the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau resolutely supports the proletarian revolutionary rebels within the bureau to carry revolution through to the end; give confidence to the masses and rely on and ally with them; politically, ideologically and organisationally make a clean sweep of the counter-revolutionary revisionist poison of P'eng Chen and Lo Jui-ch'ing; thoroughly eradicate the influence of the bourgeois reactionary line; thoroughly reform the old public security bureau; establish a most revolutionised public security bureau of the proletariat, in which Mao Tse-tung's thought commands everything.

3. The various organisations of the revolutionary masses have the duty to support and assist the Military Control Committee of the Peking Municipal Public Security in maintaining the revolutionary order. If the revolutionary masses have any objection to the people's police and the public security personnel, they may make suggestions to the Military Control Committee or the military representatives. If it is a serious case, with the consent of the Military Control Committee, the proletarian revolutionary rebels of the Public Security Bureau may invite representatives of the revolutionary masses concerned to take part in criticism. Those who have committed crimes of which there is conclusive evidence will be dealt with by the Military Control Committee according to law. No organisations of the masses or individuals are allowed to handle any case concerning the people's police and the public security personnel.

*(Ibid.)*

* * *



## *Decision of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Enforcement of Military Control in Higher Military Academies and Schools* (April 19, 1967)

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 (陳 奇 涵) as Chairman and Ts'ao Kuang-yuan (曹 廣 元) 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 publicise 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 struggle, criticism and 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 Commission 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 organisations 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 realise 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.

*(Ibid.)*

* * *

### *Military Control of Railways*

In his talk to five representatives of proletarian revolutionary rebels from Canton at a reception in Peking on October 19, 1967, Premier Chou En-lai stated:

. . . The railways throughout the country are now placed under military control. Even if revolutionary committees are set up, they will still have to be under military control if two factions always quarrel with each other . . . The railways have been paralysed for a long time. They must not remain paralysed any longer. The part must subserve the whole. I think determination is necessary here. Military control must be imposed. Only under military control will the two sides be able to resume work. . .

(Canton *Kuang-yin Hung-ch'i* [ 廣印紅旗 ]
October 29, 1967)



# Firm Pillar of Proletarian Dictatorship

– The following editorial praises the role played by the Army in winning a decisive victory for the cultural revolution. It exhorts the Army to take up the important political task of consolidating and developing the newborn political power –– the revolutionary committees –– and calls upon it to "powerfully and firmly back up the revolutionary committees at all levels." It must also "trust, respect, support, help and defend" them. – Ed.

### *Firm Pillar of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*

(Excerpts) During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao issued the great call that "the People's Liberation Army should help the broad masses of the Left" and pointed out that representatives of the armed forces should be included in the revolutionary committees at all levels. The People's Liberation Army helps the proletarian revolutionaries seize power from the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party, and representatives of the armed forces directly join the "three-in-one" revolutionary committees at all levels — these are great strategic measures for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and an important development in Chairman Mao's proletarian thinking on army building. These are an important component part of Chairman Mao's great theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and a tremendous contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory on the state.

Guided by this brilliant thinking of Chairman Mao's, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has made new, magnificient contributions in defending and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat during the great proletarian cultural revolution. It has demonstrated its powerful strength as the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao, this Army has enthusiastically propagated Mao Tse-tung's thought; it has widely publicised Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's call to study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way

and give first place to proletarian politics; it has thus vigorously promoted the great mass movement of studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought in a creative way among the people all over the country.

Maintaining high vigilance and fighting courageously, the Army is guarding the country's frontiers, sea coast and air, guaranteeing that the Chinese people carry on the great proletarian cultural revolution successfully despite the wild anti-China howling by imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

The Army resolutely helps the broad masses of the Left, closely follows Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and conscientiously puts the series of Chairman Mao's latest instructions into practice. It trusts the masses, relies on them and respects their initiative. It has always directed the spearhead of the struggle against the handful of top Party capitalist roaders represented by China's Khrushchev. It never hesitates to protect the proletarian revolutionaries and the other revolutionary masses, even at the cost of life and blood. It has steadfastly carried out and defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Now, as a result of the concerted efforts by the armymen and civilians throughout China, revolutionary committees have been established in most parts of the country. This is a great achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and an important hallmark indicating that the cultural revolution has won the decisive victory.

The revolutionary committee, which embodies the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, is a fighting command leading the revolutionary masses to new victories. The consolidation and development of the revolutionary committee is in the fundamental interests of the people of the whole country and is called for by the general situation in the revolution. It is an issue of key importance in winning all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is the common duty of the people of the entire country and a major political task facing the People's Liberation Army.

The People's Liberation Army must take the road of supporting the government and powerfully and firmly back up revolutionary committees at all levels. It must trust, respect, support, help and defend the revolutionary committees by exemplary deeds. It must also guide the revolutionary masses to cherish and strengthen their own proletarian organs of power.

The establishment, consolidation and development of the newborn revolutionary committees mean a serious class struggle. Enemies of the proletariat invariably are trying by every means, from the Right or from the extreme "Left," to sabotage the newborn revolutionary committees, to undermine unity between the revolutionary committees and the People's Liberation



Army, unity between the revolutionary committees and the revolutionary masses, and the unity of the revolutionary committees themselves, futilely trying to save themselves from complete failure. Comrades in the People's Liberation Army must join the masses and the revolutionary cadres in keeping their eyes wide open, closely watching for new moves by the class enemies, completely exposing and frustrating their conspiracies and schemes and in consolidating and developing the revolutionary committees in the course of class struggle and defending Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The most basic thing in consolidating and developing the revolutionary committees is to follow Chairman Mao's teaching to "organise a revolutionised leading group which links itself with the masses." The Chinese People's Liberation Army, which is armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and which has flesh-and-blood ties with the masses, has a heavy responsibility for the building of such a leading group.

The glorious tradition of the People's Liberation Army is the glorious tradition of our Party and an invaluable asset for all our people. Much of the communist ideology personally fostered by Chairman Mao and of the advanced practices and fine working style of the proletariat personally created by him was first developed in the People's Liberation Army. People's Liberation Army personnel who are helping the Left, helping industry and agriculture, exercising militray control and giving military and political training, and army representatives in the revolutionary committees at all levels should bring into these committees Chairman Mao's proletarian thinking on army building and apply it in building political power. They should also bring into these revolutionary committees and apply in building political power the policies and principles advanced by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao which concern the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, giving prominence to proletarian politics, adhering to the "four firsts,"† vigorously fostering the "three-eight" working style,† bringing into play "democracy in the three main fields"† and extending the "four-good" company† movement. They should thoroughly criticise and repudiate the counter-revolutionary revisionist line advocated by China's Khrushchev on the question of political power, overcome the influence of the old force of habits left over in people's minds and help the revolutionary committees achieve ideological and organisational revolutionisation.

The masses are the source of the strength of revolutionary political power. The People's Liberation Army should at all times maintain flesh-and-blood ties with the masses, trust and rely on them, serve the people wholeheartedly and be soldiers who are sons of the people. They should do

an excellent job in propaganda and educational work among the masses, put the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works above all other work, run study classes in Mao Tse-tung's thought well on a wide scale, distinguish strictly between the two kinds of contradictions which are different in nature, be ruthless towards the enemy and kind to their own comrades, develop sustained, deep-going revolutionary mass criticism, and from beginning to end direct their spearhead against the handful of renegades, special agents, diehard capitalist roaders, and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have not reformed themselves — all of whom are represented by China's Khrushchev. They should apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in carrying out patient and careful ideological and political work among the mass organisations which have committed errors, even serious ones, and really live up to Chairman Mao's words: "We must unite with the masses; the more the masses we unite with, the better." Once the millions upon millions of the revolutionary masses rally around the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader, our proletarian political power will truly be an impregnable bastion of iron.

The commanders and fighters who are fighting at the forefront in helping the Left, helping industry and agriculture, exercising military control, and giving military and political training and army representatives in the revolutionary committees should do still better in their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and become good examples of revolutionisation and of keeping close contact with the masses. They must be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, adopt a Marxist dialectical analytical method towards their own work so as to be clear-headed and not lessen their fighting determination or lose their political bearings in the midst of victories and high praise. They must behave correctly towards the masses, protect them and pay particular attention to uniting with those whose views are different from their own. They must continue to learn conscientiously from the working class and from the revolutionary masses and always remain pupils of the masses. They must stick to the mass line of "from the masses, to the masses," respect collective leadership, observe the system of democratic centralism and be models in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The successive victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the constant strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country have dealt the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries heavy blows. They are not reconciled to this. All commanders and fighters



of the People's Liberation Army must strengthen their preparedness against war, exercise full vigilance against sabotage, subversion and aggression carried out by class enemies abroad against our proletarian state power, and "go all out and be sure to destroy the enemy intruders."

To accomplish the great historical mission Chairman Mao has assigned it, the People's Liberation Army should further strengthen its revolutionsation. "Without a people's army the people have nothing." "The army is the chief component of state power." The revolutionisation of the Army not only determines the nature of the Army itself but directly concerns the destiny of our state power.

According to the new demands of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the People's Liberation Army must better put into effect Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in all aspects of army building; resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's series of latest instruction; conscientiously carry out Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's policies and principles concerning building the Army politically; firmly march along the road of giving first place to proletarian politics; develop the Army's glorious traditions; enhance the revolutionary sense of organisation and discipline and strengthen solidarity and unity within the Army; continue to build the Army into one which is boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line; and build it into a great red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao has pointed out: "The Army has many tasks; all problems can be solved readily if only vigorous efforts are made to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively and education in the struggle between the two lines is firmly grasped." Giving first place to proletarian politics means giving first place to the struggle of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line against the bourgeois reactionary line, studying and applying Chairman Mao's works creatively and with specific problems of the struggle between the two lines in mind, fighting self, repudiating revisionism, remoulding the world outlook and raising the consciousness of the commanders and fighters in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Having raised their consciousness in the struggle between the two lines, they intensely hate the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and are boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line. Once the orientation is correct, they are courageous, enthusiastic and creative, and have a sense of organisation and discipline and the revolutionary spirit of bearing hardships. Our Army thus has the greatest fighting power, and can achieve new deeds of merit in the struggle to

consolidate national defence, defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

By their great practice in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the people of the whole country have enormously deepened their proletarian feelings for the People's Liberation Army. The masses feel from the bottom of their hearts that the most reliable guarantee for our country's security lies in the fact that we have the People's Liberation Army led personally by our great leader Chairman Mao and commanded directly by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and that our guns are in the hands of such a great people's army.

The handful of class enemies are quite clear about the position and function of the People's Liberation Army in the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whenever they make ready to sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat and the newborn revolutionary committees, they always direct their spearhead against the great People's Liberation Army. The attitude towards the People's Liberation Army is the attitude towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses of the whole country must at all times have faith in and rely on the People's Liberation Army and back up and support it. They must do still better in responding to Chairman Mao's great call: "They can learn from the Liberation Army, they can learn politics, military affairs, the 'four firsts,' the 'three-eight' working style and the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention, and strengthen their sense of organisation and discipline." They must never forget that the People's Liberation Army is their own army and they must cherish this Great Wall as they cherish the apple of their eye.

Tempered in the flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the People's Liberation Army has become still stronger. Relations between the Army and the people and between the Army and the government are closer than never. Our country's national defence has never been as consolidated as it is today.

Let us hold aloft the great banner of "support the army and cherish the people" and march forward courageously along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line towards all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

We are determined to liberate Taiwan! We will surely defeat all reactionaries at home and abroad! We will always be victorious!

**(Joint editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao,* August 1, 1968, in commemoration of the 41st anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.)**



# The Role of the Militia

**As the cultural revolution entered the stage of struggle to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the "tasks [of the militia] have become heavier and not lighter; and its role has become greater and not smaller," stated the *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorial of March 16, 1967. But the handful of power-holders in the Party and the Army, according to another article, turned some militiamen "into tools for protecting themselves and enforcing the bourgeois reactionary line," and even instigated "the militiamen to sabotage production and communications and upset social order." – Ed.**

## *Let the Militia Play Its Full Role in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*

(Excerpts) The building of a powerful militia is a standing strategic concept of Chairman Mao, our great supreme commander. On many occasions since the founding of the People's Republic of China, he has directed us to build militia divisions in a big way and to turn all the people into soldiers. He has given instructions that the work of the militia must be put on a solid basis organisationally, politically and militarily. At all times and in all circumstances, we must unswervingly carry out these instructions.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has now entered a key stage in which the proletarian revolutionaries are waging a struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. In the course of this sharp and complicated class struggle, the work of the militia has become more and not less important; its tasks have become heavier and not lighter; and its role has become greater and not smaller. Militiamen and women throughout the country should firmly follow the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and play their role fully in the great proletarian cultural revolution in accordance with Chairman Mao's repeated instructions and the demands which the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the

Chinese Communist Party has put forward in line with Chairman Mao's instructions, that is, to grasp the revolution and promote preparedness against war, promote work and production.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out recently that in those places and organisations where power needs to be seized, the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination must be carried out in establishing a provisional organ of power that is revolutionary and representative and has proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called a revolutionary committee. This editorial, entitled "On the Revolutionary 'Three-in-One' Combination" in issue No. 5, 1967 of the journal *Hung-ch'i,* points out: "At various levels, in those departments where power must be seized, representatives of the armed forces or of the militia should take part in forming the 'three-in-one' combination. This should be done in factories and rural areas, in financial, trading, cultural and education departments (universities, middle schools and primary schools), in Party and government organisations and in people's organisations. Representatives of the armed forces should be sent to the country level or higher, and representatives of the militia should be sent to the commune level or lower. This is very good." The participation of the militia in the revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations in the struggle to seize power shows Chairman Mao's greatest concern for and greatest trust in our militia. It is also the greatest encouragement to us. We must never be unworthy of Chairman Mao's concern and trust; we must most resolutely carry out this new, important and glorious political task. We must firmly unite with the proletarian revolutionaries and carry on the fight shoulder to shoulder with them. We should take an active part in the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power as well as in the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, completely overthrow the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and win complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Our state system of the people's democratic dictatorship is a powerful weapon for safeguarding the fruits of the victory of the people's revolution and for opposing the plots of the foreign and domestic enemies to stage a comeback, and we must firmly grasp this weapon." The great proletarian cultural revolution is an unprecedentedly great revolutionary mass movement, a very sharp and complicated class struggle. Our class enemies both at home and abroad are scheming their hardest to make trouble and sabotage it. To guarantee its victorious advance, it is imperative to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. The militia is an important instrument of that dictatorship; it is a revolutionary



armed force of a mass character, a powerful assistant and strong reserve force for the People's Liberation Army. The broad masses of the militia must not only take an active part in the great proletarian cultural revolution, but must vigilantly and heroically safeguard it. The militia should, together with the People's Liberation Army, enthusiastically respond to Chairman Mao's great call to the People's Liberation Army to give active support to the broad masses of the Left and be ready at all times to smash the counter-revolutionary adverse current stirred up by the handful of Party people in authority who are taking the capitalist road. The militia should work energetically together with the public security organisations in resolutely suppressing the counter-revolutionary activities of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. The militia should maintain keen vigilance against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries, conscientiously strengthen preparedness against war and be ready at any time to operate in co-ordination with the People's Liberation Army in wiping out any enemy daring to invade us.

Our great supreme commander Chairman Mao calls on us to "grasp revolution and promote production." The 16-point decision [Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution] drawn up under the personal direction of Chairman Mao, points out: "The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionise people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work." We, of the militia, must respond to Chairman Mao's call most enthusiastically, carry out the 16-point decision most energetically and wage a resolute struggle against those scoundrels who try to sabotage our efforts to "grasp revolution and promote production." We must be path-breakers in revolution and at the same time be models in production. We must play a still greater role as shock forces in production to promote industry and agriculture.

In order to fulfil these important and glorious tasks, the most fundamental thing is for the militia to make still greater efforts to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively. They must arm their minds with Mao Tse-tung's thought, raise their level of consciousness in carrying out the proleterian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and follow Chairman Mao's teachings in dealing with the various complicated problems that arise in the course of the struggle. The militia must use Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon in successfully carrying the revolution to the depths of their souls, in destroying the concept of self-interest and fostering devotion

to the public interest and in strengthening their revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organisation and discipline in order to become real proletarian revolutionaries.

(*Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorial, March 16, 1967)

## *Militiamen Must Stand Most Firmly on Chairman Mao's Proletarian Revolutionary Line*

(Excerpts)...While commemorating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the People's Liberation Army, cadres responsible for militia work and militiamen must see clearly their glorious, historic tasks. We must stand most firmly on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, get together with the broad masses of proletarian revolutionaries, thoroughly criticise and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, defeat the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, wipe away their pernicious influence politically, ideologically and theoretically, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

There has always existed in militia development an acute struggle between the two lines. One is Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and the other the bourgeois reactionary line. This reactionary line must be thoroughly criticised and repudiated...

In the current proletarian cultural revolution, the struggle between two lines in militia work has again emerged in a new shape and is very acute and violent...

The handful of power-holders in the Party and the Army who take the capitalist road are adopting sinister means of hoodwinking, deceiving, threatening and inciting the people in order to save their doom. They vainly attempt to drag out some cadres responsible for militia work and some militiamen to the bourgeois reactionary line and turn them into tools for protecting themselves and enforcing the bourgeois reactionary line. They use the militia to arrest, assault and detain the people and incite the militiamen to take part in the struggle conducted by force and coercion. They incite the rural militiamen to go to cities to suppress the proletarian revolutionaries. They even go to the extent of instigating the militiamen to sabotage production and communications and upset social order. The conspiracy of these rascals is doomed to bankruptcy.

All revolutionary cadres responsible for militia work and all revolutionary militiamen should brighten their eyes, sharpen their vigilance and should not fall into the trap of the enemy. They must be infinitely loyal



to Chairman Mao, stand most firmly on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, thoroughly smash the criminal conspiracy of the handful of rascals to take advantage of the militia to enforce the bourgeois reactionary line and sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The armed force [militia] departments in various provincial military districts and subdistricts and *hsien* (municipalities), and cadres responsible for militia work at various levels must lead the broad masses of militiamen to get ready and to firmly side with Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. To achieve this end, they must first get ready and stand firmly on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They must firmly take the proletarian stand and draw a line of demarcation clearly between themselves and the handful of power-holders in the Party and the Army who take the capitalist road. No matter how familiar they formerly were with these power-holders, they must be impartial and selfless, and join the revolutionary masses in dragging them out and defeating them unsparingly and resolutely.

We must be good at discerning the Left, warmly love the Left and actively support the Left. We must judge the mass organisations by considering the general orientation of their struggle and by seeing their main stream. We must resolutely support, unite with, fight together with, and win victory together with those people who resolutely struggle against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and against the bourgeois reactionary line and stand on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We must carry out ideological work elaborately among the hoodwinked masses, and patiently win them over to stand on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. If we cannot carry out the work of supporting the Left well for the time being, and if we have carried out this work wrongly, we must openly admit our mistakes and resolutely correct them. Things will be all right if we correct our mistakes. The more quickly we correct our mistakes, the better will be the results we score. However, it will be very dangerous if we cling to our mistakes and refuse to correct them, and insistently follow the wrong line.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole Party for great political struggles. Unless this is done, the Party cannot accomplish any of its political tasks." Education in Chairman Mao's theories, lines, directives and policies on making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and education in the struggle between the two lines must be conducted among the cadres responsible for militia work and among the militiamen, and the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation movement must be carried out, so that everyone can deeply

understand the great significance of the current great proletarian cultural revolution and closely follow Chairman Mao and the situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: When the higher-level leading organ has given some instructions, "if we do not discuss and examine them according to the actual situation, but carry them out blindly, this is a formalist attitude built simply on the 'higher-level' concept and is very wrong." "Wrong leadership jeopardising the revolution should not be accepted unconditionally, but should be boycotted resolutely." Our cadres responsible for militia work and the militiamen should firmly remember this teaching by Chairman Mao. We must firmly support and immediately respond to any leadership that carries out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We must firmly oppose, boycott and rebel against any leadership that carries out the bourgeois reactionary line.

The most important point in militia work at present is to teach the cadres responsible for militia work at all levels and the militiamen to stand most firmly on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to take an active part in and defend the great proletarian cultural revolution. We shall under no circumstances allow the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road to deceive the cadres responsible for militia work and the militiamen and lead them to the side-track of the bourgeois reactionary line. This is the most important thing and the greatest politics in militia work at present...

(August 1, 1967 editorial of the Militia Special Edition of *Chieh-fang-chun Pao*, reprinted in *Jen-min Jih-pao*, Peking, of August 6, 1967 )



CHAPTER II

# *The Cultural Revolution in the Army*

*While playing an ever-more-important role in all phases of the cultural revolution, the Army also carried out the cultural revolution within its own organisations. On April 18, 1966, the Chieh-fang-chun Pao, official organ of the CCP Central Comcittee's Military Commission, called upon the Army to "completely eliminate the black anti-Party, anti-socialist line and liquidate its influence on the armed forces." On June 6, 1966, the same paper raised the alarm that "guns are mindless; if the minds of the men behind the guns change, the guns will serve a different object... We must never allow the anti-Party, anti-socialist elements and their supporters to capture any position in our Army."*

*The August 1966 "16-point decision" of the CCP*

*Central Committee stipulates that the cultural revolution in the armed forces "should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army."*

*Assembled in this chapter are documents and directives pertinent to the cultural revolution movement within the Army itself. Those documents which are included in our first volume, The Great Cultural Revolution in China (1963–66), are excluded.*
*– Ed.*



# The Struggle Between the Two Lines in the Army

The articles reproduced below stress the need to carry out thoroughly the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Army, to overthrow and discredit those in authority in the Army taking the capitalist road and to ensure that the guns are held in hands loyal to Mao Tse-tung. They admit that there has always been a sharp and complicated struggle between the proletarian military line represented by Mao Tse-tung and the bourgeois military line pursued by Marshal P'eng Teh-huai, former Minister of National Defense, and Gen. Lo Jui-ch'ing, former Chief of the PLA General Staff. – Ed.

## *The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Our Army Must Be Thoroughly Carried Out*

Our great leader Chairman Mao himself decided on the broadcasting of the "message to all Shanghai people" and the "urgent notice" issued jointly by the Shanghai revolutionary rebel organisations. He has called on the Party, the government, the Army and the people throughout the country to learn from the experience of the Shanghai revolutionary rebel groups, to join together in action and defeat the new counter-attacks of the bourgeois reactionary line so that the great proletarian cultural revolution will advance along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao's great call has pushed the great proletarian cultural revolution into a new stage.

Under the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the correct leadership of Comrade Lin Piao and the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Army has also won great victories.

With the approval of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the Military Commission has reorganised the All-Army Cultural Revolution Group and a new one has come into being. This is a result of the struggle in our Army between the two lines in the great proletarian cultural revolution and is a tremendous victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented

by Chairman Mao. The present situation is excellent.

But, to carry out thoroughly the great proletarian cultural revolution in our Army, it is necessary to continue to boldly arouse the masses, undergo fierce struggle and break through much resistance.

Such resistance comes primarily from the handful of people who have wormed their way into the Army, who are in authority and who are taking the capitalist road, from the extremely few diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line. They have resorted to every imaginable kind of trick to stir up trouble. And they are still cooking up new plots and staging new counter-attacks.

Such resistance also comes from cadres within our Party whose world outlook has not been really remoulded. Even now, persons in charge of some units have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle. Their leadership is far from conscientious and effective, and they find themselves in weak positions, incapable of handling problems. Their heads are full of muddled ideas of one sort or another. They are still receptive to the bourgeois reactionary line.

The question is this: Is the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Army important or not?

Our Army is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an important guarantee for the carrying out of extensive democracy and a weapon for defending our socialist motherland and the great proletarian cultural revolution. The guns of the people must be in the hands of those loyal to Chairman Mao, loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought and loyal to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. The presence of revisionists in the Army would be especially dangerous. For precisely this reason, the great proletarian cultural revolution is exceedingly important to our Army.

This People's Army of ours was founded by Chairman Mao and led personally by him. It has stood the test of protracted revolutionary struggles. Since Comrade Lin Piao took charge of the work of the Military Commission, the revolutionisation of our Army has been extremely successful. But the Army does not live in a vacuum. It is inevitable that class struggle in the society will reflect itself in the Army in various ways. In a thousand and one ways the bourgeoisie attempt to find agents in the Army.

The influence of bourgeois ideology is all-pervasive. Some people are of the opinion that there is no great problem within the Army and it does not matter whether or not the great cultural revolution is conducted there. This attitude goes completely against Chairman Mao's instructions and overlooks class struggle. It is very, very dangerous.



Our Army has the important responsibility of defending the motherland. It must be ready at any time to smash the possible invasion of US imperialism and its lackeys. Therefore, the arrangements for conducting the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Army should be different from those of other units. Within the Army itself, the arrangement in the vast number of army units should also be different from that of higher-level leading organs, military academies and schools and cultural and art organisations. But in common with all other organisations, the great cultural revolution in the Army must be conducted well and thoroughly. Not a trace of vacillation can be permitted under the pretext of the special conditions of the Army. Moreover, owing to the Army's important responsibility, the great cultural revolution there should be conducted with particular firmness. It must be conducted especially well and thoroughly.

Is there, after all, a struggle in the Army between the two lines in the great cultural revolution?

Facts have proved that the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line not only exists within the Army but is sharp and complicated.

It is a fact that in our Army there are a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road and an extremely few diehards clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line. They resist the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao by acting one way to people's faces and another behind their backs; they deceive both the leadership and those they lead, using the despicable methods of bourgeois politicians. They attempt to strangle the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Army by attacking the revolutionary Left, suppressing the mass movement, and shifting the targets for attack in order to protect themselves. But their ugly features are being exposed. The victory achieved in the great cultural revolution in the earlier stage is precisely the result of fierce struggles against the bourgeois reactionary line. We have more struggles to go through and a great deal of intensive and careful work to do in order to thoroughly strike back at the bourgeois reactionary line and get rid of its bad influence.

The struggle between the two lines in the great proletarian cultural revolution will decide the fate of the revolution. The great proletarian cultural revolution in our Army cannot proceed victoriously, and may even be in danger of collapsing halfway, if we do not firmly and conscientiously stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and are uncompromising in carrying through the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line.

What is our attitude in this great proletarian cultural revolution toward the proletarian revolutionary Left?

For each comrade, this is an important question of principle.

There are people who support the revolutionary Left in words but not in actions. They show no enthusiasm for their rebel spirit, but instead exaggerate and emphasize certain defects of the revolutionary Left. They even turn things upside down and talk of revolutionary actions as "emotional," "excessive," "straying from principles," etc. They are not really on the side of the revolutionary Left, but balancing between two completely different principles, two completely different stands. They are trying to find a middle way, a compromise, an eclectic position. In reality, they are taking the stand of the bourgeoisie to suppress and attack the revolutionary left, dampening the proletariat's will to fight and heightening the arrogance of the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian revolutionary Left are the backbone and the vanguard of the great cultural revolution. If they are not relied upon there will be no revolution. To oppose the Left is to oppose the great proletarian cultural revolution. The revolutionary Left dare to think, to speak, to act, to rebel and to make revolution. Their general orientation has been correct from the beginning. There is nothing strange about the fact that certain defects and errors appear in the struggles. In these struggles the revolutionary Left can educate themselves. We should stand by them unswervingly, support them whole-heartedly, learn from them modestly, help them sincerely, fight alongside them and develop together. If one sees a few defects, makes a fuss over them, scolds and criticises them arbitrarily, takes the side issue as the main trend and places oneself on the opposite side from the revolutionary masses, then one is bound to commit the greatest errors.

Chairman Mao said: "We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles."

Our leading comrades must place firm trust in Chairman Mao, closely follow Chairman Mao's thought, and his line. They must have faith in the masses, catch up with the advancing masses and follow the development of the revolutionary situation. We should abide by Chairman Mao's teaching: "Put politics in command, go to the masses and be one with them and carry on the great proletarian cultural revolution even better."

The higher-level leading organs, military academies and schools, and cultural and art organisations of our Army, where the great proletarian cultural revolution is now unfolding, must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao and learn from the experience of the revolutionary rebel groups in



Shanghai. In the course of the struggle, they must further arm their thinking with Mao Tse-tung's thought, keep a firm hold on the general orientation of the struggle, choose well the targets of struggle, and improve the art of struggle. They must enlarge and strengthen the forces of the proletarian revolutionary Left, unite with the revolutionary masses, and make sure that the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution remains in the hands of the revolutionary masses. They must move with the rapidly changing developments to pick out, one by one, those within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the die-hards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, and hit them hard, pull them down and discredit them completely.

The various units of our Army must follow the policy of positive education, and with the struggle between the two lines as the key link, seriously and successfully conduct education on the great proletarian cultural revolution. In the course of this great movement and in the struggle between the two lines, the cadres and fighters must redouble their study and application of Chairman Mao's works, and effectively grasp the essence of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the Party's policies. They must understand fully the extremely good situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the whole country and the whole Army and enthusiastically support the rebel spirit of the revolutionary masses. They must increase their revolutionary vigilance, stick to their combat posts, defend the security of the country, defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, defend the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and defend the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, our People's Liberation Army enjoys high prestige. The great proletarian cultural revolution in our Army must be carried through to victory. Let us raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, raise still higher the great red banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and bravely march forward!

(*Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorial, January 14, 1967; released in English by *NCNA* the same day)

* * *

## *The Proletariat Must Take A Firm Hold of the Gun*

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a great army personally founded by our great leader Chairman Mao and under the direct command

of Comrade Lin Piao. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and truly in the hands of the people, it is a most powerful revolutionary army, without match in the world.

For the past 40 years, under the leadership of our great supreme commander Chairman Mao, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has grown from small to big and from weak to strong. Through hard fighting and heroic sacrifice, it smashed the five large-scale "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, triumphantly carried out the 25,000-*li* Long March known to all the world, defeated the overbearing Japanese aggressors, and knocked out of action the 8 million reactionary troops of the Kuomintang equipped by U.S. imperialism; in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, together with the Korean people, it defeated the aggressor troops of 16 countries knocked together by U.S. imperialism, which is most ferocious; thus it has fought with great distinction in the service of the Chinese people and the people of the world. The great Chinese People's Liberation Army is a revolutionary flower watered with the blood of countless revolutionary martyrs; it is the pride and glory of the people of China and the whole world. It is not only the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, but also a powerful force backing the people of the world in their revolutionary struggle.

In August 1927, under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the August 1 Nanchang Uprising fired the first shot against the Kuomintang reactionaries. This took place after the Kuomintang had completely betrayed the revolution and in the circumstances in which the correct line represented by Chairman Mao had defeated the Right opportunist line of Ch'en Tu-hsiu. In September, on the basis of the peasant movement in Hunan, our great leader Chairman Mao personally led the peasants in revolt, launching the Autumn Harvest Uprising of great historic significance, and then creating the Chingkang Mountain base. The Chinese people started their armed struggle under the guidance of the correct line and began to have a people's army of a completely new type.

The Autumn Harvest Uprising and the great march to the Chingkang Mountains are of epoch-making significance in the history of the Chinese revolution and in the history of the building of our Army. It opened up the revolutionary road for the vanguard of the proletariat to go into the countryside, lead the peasants in carrying out armed struggle, establish rural base areas and use the countryside to encircle the cities and seize state power throughout the country.

Chairman Mao's brilliant theory of using the countryside to encircle



the cities and seizing state power with arms is a development of genius of Marxism-Leninism. It has not only opened up the only correct road for the Chinese people to win nationwide victory, but also pointed out the broad road for the proletarian and the oppressed people throughout the world to win genuine liberation.

Chairman Mao says: "The army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army." The exploiting classes invariably rely on violence to maintain their rule and carry out ruthless exploitation and plunder of the people. The slightest resistance on the part of the exploited class is met with bloody suppression by the reactionary troops. The reactionaries have swords in their hands. The revolutionary people too must take up swords. War is the highest form of class struggle. The people cannot liberate themselves if they do not take hold of the gun and do not use revolutionary arms to oppose counter-revolutionary arms. Without a people's army, the people have no hope of victory in any of their resistance struggles. Even if they achieve something temporarily, the moment the enemy carries out armed suppresson they will lose everything.

The worst crime of the revisionists is precisely that they are opposed to the people waging armed struggle and to the proletariat taking hold of the gun. So it was with the old-line revisionists Bernstein and Kautsky and so it is with the modern revisionists Khrushchev, Thorez, Togliatti, Dange and E.M.S. Namboodiripad and their like.

China's top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, like all counter-revolutionary revisionists, has all along opposed armed struggle, called for the parliamentary road and carried out capitulationism with all his might. In the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he shamelessly lauded Chiang Kai-shek as "the revolutionary banner" and stood for turning over the people's army to the "national government" of Chiang Kai-shek to "lead." After victory in the war of resistance, he was openly for handing over the people's army to the Kuomintang reactionaries.

Chairman Mao thoroughly repudiated the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of giving up the people's army and the armed struggle. Under his brilliant leadership, the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army kept to the road of armed struggle, won victory in the democratic revolution and established a great state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In protracted revolutionary war, Chairman Mao created the most comprehensive, most scientific and greatest military theory. In the resolution of the Kutien Congress and in a series of other military writings, Chairman

Mao worked out a genuine proletarian military line. This is the peak of Maxist-Leninist military theory. This is the most powerful weapon for the revolutionary people of the world to defeat imperialism and all other class enemies.

Chairman Mao says: "Only with guns can the whole world be transformed." This is the summing up of the experience gained by the proletariat of China and of the world at the cost of their blood. This is a universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. This truth is being daily grasped by the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations throughout the world. The revolutionary people in many areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America are rising and driving out their opportunist leaders. They are courageously taking up guns, establishing people's armies, waging armed struggles, rebelling in a big way against U.S.-led imperialism and all reactionaries and against modern revisionism with the leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as its centre, and carrying on a great heroic and stubborn battle against the old world.

During the whole period of socialism, class struggle finds concentrated expression in the struggle between the bourgeoisie for restoration and the proletariat against restoration. In striving for restoration the bourgeoisie certainly seeks to control the Army and grasp the gun. In order to consolidate their proletarian dictatorship and smash the bourgeoisie's conspiracy for a come-back, it is imperative for the proletariat too to take a firm hold of the gun and keep firm hold of the Army. For a fairly long historcial period after seizing state power, the proletariat is faced with the danger of losing state power; similarly, after establishing the Army, it still faces the danger of losing it. Should the Army be lost and its power usurped by bad elements, then everything achieved by the proletariat and the working people will come to nought. The usurping of power in the army and the counter-revolutionary *coup d'etat* by the Khrushchev revisionist clique in the Soviet Union has provided a serious lesson.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is the chief representative of the forces seeking capitalist restoration. P'eng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ch'ing were his agents in the Army. P'eng Teh-huai is a big conspirator, big careerist, and big warlord. For decades he persistently took the stand of the reactionary bourgeoisie and opposed Chairman Mao. In the past struggles between the two lines, he invariably stood on the opportunist side and opposed the correct line of Chairman Mao. In 1953 he, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih formed a P'eng-Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance. In 1959 he was the ringleader of the anti-Party clique exposed at the Party's Lushan



conference. Lo Jui-ch'ing, too, is a bourgeois conspirator and careerist. As far back as the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he colluded with P'eng Teh-huai and P'eng Chen in opposing Chairman Mao, stubbornly implemented the Wang Ming capitulationist line and shamelessly lauded the people's common enemy Chiang Kai-shek as the "supreme commander" in the War of Resistance Against Japan. Following the nationwide victory, they stepped up their collusion in a desperate attempt to seize hold of the gun and pressed for a bourgeois military line in a vain attempt to turn the people's army into a tool for a counter-revolutionary restoration.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the very soul of our Army, its invincible compass and its fundamental guarantee against degeneration. With a view to transforming the proletarian nature of our Army and usurping military power, P'eng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ch'ing and their like in the first place directed their spearheads against Mao Tse-tung's thought. P'eng Teh-huai viciously attacked it by saying that "Chairman Mao's works can serve only as reference but not as a guide in war operations and in training of army units." Lo Jui-ch'ing raved that to regard Chairman Mao's teachings as our supreme directive does not "conform to the system of our state." He went so far as to energetically peddle the book on "self-cultivation" by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and laud it as "the integration of Maxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution" and urge cadres and fighters of the whole Army to "study it well."

One's attitude towards Mao Tse-tung's thought is a touchstone determing whether one is for Marxism-Leninism or for counter-revolutionary revisionism. All the victories won by our Party and Army are great victories for Mao Tse-tung's thought. The 40 year's experience of our Army has taught us that whenever people deviate from the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they are bound to make mistakes and suffer setbacks and failure. The army is a tool of class struggle, and it is guided either by the ideas of the proletariat or the ideas of the bourgeoisie. The reason why P'eng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ch'ing and their like desperately opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought was that they wanted to use bourgeois ideas and the revisionist book on "self-cultivation" to guide our Army and to turn it into a bourgeois army.

In order to change the proletarian nature of our Army and to usurp military power, P'eng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ch'ing and other counter-revolutionary revisionists made desperate efforts to oppose giving prominence to proletarian politics and to peddle revisionist trash imported from abroad; they worked solely to put the Army on a regular basis along bourgeois lines and opposed proletarian revolutionisation. They gave pride of place to

military technique and denied that political and ideological work was the factor of first importance in determining fighting capability.

The idea that military technique is the basic criterion determining the fighting capability of an army is an out-and-out bourgeois military concept. What gives our Army its greatest fighting capability? Is it aircraft, artillery, or atomic bombs? No, absolutely not. What gives our Army its greatest fighting capability is the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung; it is our revolutionary fighters armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and having a high level of political consciousness. To oppose giving prominence to proletarian politics while giving pride of place to military technique means giving prominence to bourgeois politics. In fact P'eng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ch'ing and their like have all along opposed proletarian politics and given prominence to reactionary bourgeois politics. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, P'eng Teh-huai did his utmost to advertise "liberty, equality and fraternity," a reactionary bourgeois political concept. In his book *Political Work in the Anti-Japanese Armies,* Lo Jui-ch'ing made no mention of class struggle or the seizure of political power by the proletariat, and taking a filial attitude towards that enemy of the people, he even used "the greatness of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his life" and the "wisdom, love, bravery," and "loyalty and benevolence" proclaimed by Chiang Kai-shek as the basic content for political work in the Army. What they were publicising was nothing but the reactionary politics of the Kuomintang.

P'eng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ch'ing, backed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, cultivated their own private influence within the Army, built up their personal prestige, recruited deserters and traitors, formed factions in pursuit of their own selfish interests, maintained illicit relations with foreign countries and conspired to usurp the leadership of the Party and Army. P'eng Teh-huai mustered a handful of ghosts and monsters, who had wormed their way into the Party—alien class elements, speculators, counter-revolutionaries, and old-type army officers who had not yet remoulded themselves—and formed an anti-Party clique and a counter-revolutionary "military club." Lo Jui-ch'ing formed a conspiratorial anti-Party clique in collusion with other counter-revolutionary revisionists including P'eng Chen, Lu Ting-yi and Yang Shang-k'un. They did all they could to set up a reactionary bourgeois independent kingdom within the Army. This handful of people were intent on opposing our great leader and supreme commander Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao, who has consistently held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In a word, using counter-revolutionary revisionist, bourgeois junk,



P'eng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ch'ing and their like, agents of China's Khrushchev within the army, tried their utmost to subvert our army and usurp its leadership. Had they achieved the aim of their intrigues and got the guns into their hands, our state would have changed its political colour, our Party and state would have been destroyed and we would have been slaughtered.

In the struggle to build our Army into a highly proletarianised and militant revolutionary army and in the struggle against the conspiracy of the representatives of the bourgeoisie, including P'eng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ch'ing, to usurp the leadership of the army, a most outstanding contribtuion has been made by Comrade Lin Piao.

Comrade Lin Piao is Chairman Mao's closest comrade-in-arms and his best pupil. He has studied and applied Chairman Mao's works most successfully and his comprehension of Mao Tse-tung's thought is most profound. Over the past decades, he has most faithfully, firmly and thoroughly carried out and defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and ideas on military affairs. In every struggle between the two lines, he has stood unequivacally and steadfastly on the side of Chairman Mao's correct line. In his writings, such as *Hold High the Red Banner of the Party's General Line and Mao Tse-tung's Thought on Military Affairs and Advance With Big Strides* and *Long Live the Victory of People's War,* and in a series of speeches, Comrade Lin Piao has systematically expounded and creatively elaborated Chairman Mao's ideas on military affairs.

Since he took charge of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee, Comrade Lin Piao has creatively put forward the idea of the "four firsts" and called for vigorous development of the "three-eight" working style, democracy in the three main fields and the unfolding of campaigns for "four good" companies. The "Decision on Strengthening Political and Ideological Work in the Armed Forces", drawn up in accordance with Comrade Lin Piao's ideas at the 1960 Enlarged Conference of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee, has inherited and carried forward the traditions of the Kutien Congress. Comrade Lin Piao's great call to all commanders and fighters to "study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters," and the principle and method set forth by Comarde Lin Piao of studying the works of Chairman Mao with specific problems in mind, studying and applying his works in a creative way, combining study and application, first studying what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results, and striving hard to apply what one is studying, have given tremendous impetus to the grasping of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the whole Army and the

people throughout the country and to the revolutionisation of their thinking. The series of important measures proposed by Comrade Lin Piao to maintain the proletarian character of our Army have brought us to a new stage in army building.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: The "four firsts" is good; it is an invention. Since Comrade Lin Piao put forward the "four firsts" and the "three-eight" working style, the ideological-political work of the People's Liberation Army, as well as its military work, has developed remarkably, has become more concrete and at the same time has been raised to a higher theoretical plane than in the past.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and keeping proletarian politics to the fore, Comrade Lin Piao has thoroughly exposed, criticised and repudiated the bourgeois military ideas of P'eng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ch'ing and has carried out a resolute struggle against their plot to usurp Party and Army leadership. In order to prevent the restoration of capitalism, Comrade Lin Piao has laid particular emphasis on the grave importance of ideological struggle and the proletariat's control of the armed forces. He has pointed out: "The pen and the gun: these are the two props on which one relies in the seizure of political power." And, "in carrying out subversive activities, the bourgeoisie also gives first place to ideology, first of all, to confuse people ideologically. Another measure is to get armed forces, to get hold of the gun. By co-ordinating the cultural and military fronts they hope to control both public opinion and the gun, thus making it possible for them to stage a counter-revolutionary coup." This is a very important thesis.. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must expose the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road in the Party and overthrow and discredit them politically and ideologically. The same must be done with regard to the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road in the Army.

A movement of mass criticism and repudiation is now unfolding throughout the country against the handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the Party and the Army. This represents the general orientation of the struggle. This will further consolidate the leadership of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the Army, strengthen the political and ideological building of our Army and push forward the ideological revolutionisation of the whole Army.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution the masses of commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, who are boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, have enthusiastically and wholeheartedly supported the masses of the Left as well as industry and agriculture, and have



engaged in the work of military control and military-political training. They have made new great contributions to the people.

The People's Liberation Army and the revolutionary masses must enthusiastically respond to their great leader Chairman Mao's battle call to support the army and cherish the people. The further strengthening of army-civilian unity under the brilliant guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought is an important guarantee for the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Long live the great Chinese People's Liberation Army!
Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!
Long live the great Chinese Communist Party!
Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!
Long live our great leader and great supreme commander Chairman Mao!

(*Hung-ch'i* editorial in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PLA, No. 12, 1967. Slightly abridged translation in *Peking Review*. No. 32, August 4, 1967 )

* * *

## *Basic Differences Between the Proletarian and Bourgeois Military Lines*

(Written by proletarian revolutionaries in the offices of the Headquarters of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army )

To seize and consolidate political power and carry its revolutionary struggle to complete victory the proletariat "needs a correct Marxist military line as well as a correct Marxist political line." Without the guidance of a correct political line, it is impossible to have a correct military line; without a correct military line, it is also impossible to implement and carry out a correct political line.

However, "correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle. These lines must combat Left opportunism on the one hand and Right opportunism on the other. Without combating and thoroughly overcoming those harmful tendencies which damage the revolution and the revolutionary war, it would be impossible to establish a correct line and win victory in this war."

Within our Party and Army, in recent decades and in all historical stages of the development of the Chinese revolution, there has always been

a sharp and acute struggle between two diametrically opposed military lines. One is the proletarian military line represented by Chairman Mao, the other is the bourgeois military line advocated by opportunists of the "Left" and Right. Chairman Mao's proletarian military line has been gradually developed and perfected in the course of this struggle against the bourgeois military line.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has created with genius the greatest, most comprehensive and scientific proletarian theory on military affairs. In the Kutien Congress Resolution, which was drawn up by him in 1929, and in a series of other military writings, Chairman Mao has formulated the most correct proletarian military line. This is the highest peak of the Marxist-Leninist concept of military affairs. It is the sharpest and most powerful weapon of the proletariat and revolutionary people the world over for defeating imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The great victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war was a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian military line, for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Comrade Lin Piao, Chairman Mao's closest comrade-in-arms and our deputy supreme commander, has always most faithfully, resolutely and thoroughly implemented Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and military thinking. At every major historical juncture in the last forty years, Comrade Lin Piao has invariably, unequivocally and resolutely upheld Chairman Mao's correct line, safeguarded Mao Tse-tung's thought, waged an irreconcilable struggle against the wrong lines in the Party and the Army, and made outstanding contributions.

China's Khrushchev and his agents, P'eng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ch'ing, have persistently opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian military line and frantically pushed their bourgeois military line. After P'eng Teh-huai had been exposed at the Lushan Meeting of the Party in 1959, Lo Jui-ch'ing became the foremost champion of the reactionary bourgeois military line. He formed a conspiratorial anti-Party clique with P'eng Chen, Lu Ting-yi and Yang Shang-k'un and, protected and supported by China's Khrushchev, worked desperately to usurp military power on behalf of the bourgeois headquarters. In co-ordinating the cultural and military fronts, they were preparing to unleash a counter-revolutionary coup and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat at an opportune moment.

Throughout the period of socialism, the struggle between the two military lines is in essence a struggle for military power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is an important component of the struggle, waged



under the dictatorship of the proletariat, between the bourgeoisie attempting a come-back and the proletariat opposing such an attempt.

## Whether to Give Prominence to Proletarian Politics or Not Is the Focus of the Struggle Between Chairman Mao's Military Line And the Bourgeois Military Line in Building Up Our Army

In the last forty years, the struggle between Chairman Mao's line and the bourgeois line in army building has always focussed on the fundamental question of whether to put politics or military affairs first, whether prominence should be given to politics or to military affairs.

The very essence of Chairman Mao's thinking and line on army building is the putting of proletarian politics to the fore in building a people's army. It is, first and foremost, to build an army politically.

In the Kutien Congress Resolution, a document of great historic significance which was drawn up by Chairman Mao himself and adopted at the early period after the founding of our Army, Chairman Mao pointed out that "Military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks" and that "the Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution." He correctly explained the relationship between military affairs and politics; that is, military affairs must be subordinated to politics, and politics must command military affairs.

The representatives of the bourgeoisie like P'eng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ch'ing, who wormed their way into the Party, always opposed Chairman Mao's thinking and line on army building. They always opposed giving prominence to proletarian politics and, instead, advocated giving first place to military affairs, to technique.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, two fundamentally antagonistic lines took shape on the question of how to deal with correctly the co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and with the united front.

The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao advocated that our policy is "one of independence and initiative within the united front, a policy both of unity and of independence." It upheld "the principle of absolute leadership of the English Route Army and the Communist Party."

The capitulationist line represented by Wang Ming and China's Khrushchev,

advocated handing over the leadership of the anti-Japanese united front to the Kuomintang. With servile flattery, China's Khrushchev lauded Chiang Kai-shek as a "revolutionary banner" and wanted to hand over the Army led by the Communist Party and place it under the leadership of the "national government."

To meet the needs of the capitulationist line, Lo Jui-ch'ing issued a book entitled *Political Work in the Anti-Japanese Army.* In this book, instead of dealing with class struggle and the proletarian seizure of political power, he did his utmost to blow the trumpet for the Kuomintang's reactionary politics. He even asked the political commissars to "guarantee absolute obedience of the troops" to the command of Chiang Kai-shek, and he wanted to hand over the guns of the proletariat to Chiang Kai-shek.

During the War of Liberation, in a report on "How to Strengthen Political Work in the Army," Lo Jui-ch'ing listed political, military, rear-service and other work as being on an equal footing and opposed putting political work in first place. He said: "It is wrong to favour over-emphasis" of political work. Actually, what he meant by not over-emphasizing political work was to do away with proletarian politics and replace it with bourgeois politics.

Comrade Lin Piao, our deputy supreme commander, has always held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. After he took charge of the work of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party, he personally supervised the formulation of "The Decision on Strengthening the Political-Ideological Work in the Army" on the basis of Chairman Mao's ideas on army building and the historical experience of our Army.

He creatively advanced the ideas of the "four firsts"† and a series of policies, principles and important measures for putting proletarian politics to the fore, creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, upholding the "four firsts," promoting the "three-eight" working style,† practising democracy in the three main fields† and launching the "four-good" company movement.† These policies, principles and measures carried forward the building of our Army to an entirely new stage.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The 'four firsts' is good; it is an invention. Since Comrade Lin Piao put forward the 'four firsts' and the 'three-eight' working style, the ideological-political work of the People's Liberation Army, as well as its military work, has developed remarkably, has become more concrete and at the same time has been raised to a higher theoretical plane than in the past."

To put politics to the fore is to put Mao Tse-tung's thought to the fore,



to arm commanders and fighters with Mao Tse-tung's thought and establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the soul of our Army, the corner-stone in building our Army and the basic guarantee that our Army will never change colour.

Dominated by personal ambition and his reactionary class instinct, Lo Jui-ch'ing mortally feared and hated Mao Tse-tung's thought. He consistently opposed Comrade Lin Piao, who always holds high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. He opposed him for actively promoting the mass movement to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works throughout the Army, the Party and the country.

At the same time, he revered and respected the book on "self-cultivation" written by China's Khrushchev and personally issued the order making this book compulsory reading for the whole Army.

His purpose was to use this revisionist "self-cultivation" to corrupt the soul of our Army, make us lose our orientation and depart form Chairman Mao's proletarian line on army building, and make us forget classes, class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. His was a vain attempt to change the proletarian nature of our Army fundamentally.

Lo Jui-ch'ing used contests in military skill to obstruct politics and disrupt the study of Chairman Mao's works.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao promptly corrected this mistake and again issued instructions to put politics to the fore. But Lo Jui-ch'ing still resisted desperately and talked such nonsense as: "Military training itself is politics, the biggest politics." This argument, which puts politics and military affairs on a par and replaces politics with military affairs is an out and out bourgeois military viewpoint.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Politics is the commander, politics is the soul of everything. Political work is the life-blood of all work."

By spreading his revisionist fallacies, Lo Jui-ch'ing wanted to subordinate politics to military affairs, to make military affairs command politics, deprive our Army of its soul and turn our proletarian Army into a bourgeois army.

In a society where there are classes and class struggle, no sphere of society exists in a vacuum. It is under the guidance either of proletarian ideology or of bourgeois ideology. The Army is a tool of class struggle. Either it serves proletarian politics or it serves bourgeois politics. There has never been and never will be an army that is separate from politics.

All Khrushchevites who want to seize political power from the proletariat and restore capitalism seek to corrode the army ideologically,

usurp military power, seize the gun. This is a very important step they want to take. Therefore, whether to put proletarian politics to the fore or not, whether to work for the revolutionisation of people's minds or not has a vital bearing on whether the proletarian army will degenerate or not, on whether the gun is in the hands of the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. In the final analysis, it has a vital bearing on whether or not the proletariat can consolidate its political power after seizing it.

## Whether to Fight a People's War or Not Is the Dividing Line Between Chairman Mao's Military Thinking and Bourgeois Military Thinking

Chairman Moa's great theory on people's war has developed Marxism-Leninism creatively and with genius. It not only points out the correct way for the Chinese people to win country-wide victory but also indicates the road to thorough emancipation for the oppressed nations and oppressed classes throughout the world.

In seeking their own emancipation, the most important thing for all oppressed nations and oppressed classes is to arm themselves with Chairman Mao's theory on people's war, to smash the old state apparatus with arms, to overthrow imperialism and its running dogs by force of arms and with arms to transform the entire world.

Whether one intends to fight a people's war or not, whether one dares to fight a people's war or not is the dividing line between Chairman Mao's military thinking and bourgeois military thinking, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between genuine and sham revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them." "Rallying millions upon millions of people round the revolutionary government and expanding our revolutionary war, we shall wipe out all counter-revolution..."

Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war is built on the ideological basis of fully trusting and relying on the masses.

As with all opportunists, the military thinking of Lo Jui-ch'ing is founded on the theory that weapons decide everything. He does not trust the masses at all and does not rely on them. He opposes arming the masses, opposes the people's militia system and opposes Chairman Mao's great strategic idea of a people's war.



China's Khrushchev maintains that technique has pride of place and that technique decides everything. Lo Jui-ch'ing maintains that with new technical equipment, "any invading enemy can be annihilated on the sea, in the air or at the base from which it launches its attack." They use the theory of winning victory by superior weapons to oppose arming the masses, and dealing with imperialist aggression by people's war. They vainly hope that the enemy can be defeated by relying purely on technical equipment. That is typical bourgeois military thinking.

Is it true that under modern conditions, there is no need to rely on the masses in war, no need to wage a people's war? No, it is not. "The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. Military and economic power is necessarily wielded by people." Regardless of how developed modern weapons and technical equipment may be, how complicated the operations of modern warfare, victory in war is still decided by the support and assistance of the masses, by the struggle of the masses. In the final analysis, it depends on people's war. This is the most important and reliable guarantee for the defeat of the enemy.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has fully and most profoundly explained the importance of arming the masses. After country-wide victory, Chairman Mao told us time and again: "The imperialists are bullying us in such a way that we will have to deal with them seriously. Not only must we have a powerful regular army, we must also organise contingents of the people's militia on a big scale. This will make it difficult for the imperialists to move a single inch in our country in the event of invasion." "Should the imperialists dare to unleash an aggressive war against our country, then we will turn the whole nation into soldiers; the militia will co-operate with the People's Liberation Army and at any time replenish it to crush the aggressors utterly."

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao points out: People's militia work is fundamental to the building up of China's national defence, an important part of the strategic programme and a concrete application of the Party's mass line in warfare. Combining the building of a modern revolutionary armed force with organising contingents of the people's militia is the concrete application of the principle of "walking on two legs" in the building up of China's national defence. It is an important development of Chairman Mao's concept of people's war under modern conditions.

The people's militia has always been an important component of our armed forces, a solid basis for the waging of a people's war and an instrument

of our proletarian dictatorship. In fact, whether to have a militia or not is a major issue which affects the weakening or strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

China's Khrushchev and his agent Lo Jui-ch'ing consider that the militia organised in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought is a main obstacle to their usurpation of Party and Army leadership and to their realisation of a capitalist restoration. They used a hundred and one ways to undermine the building of the militia and to oppose arming the masses. In building the militia, they also tried to spread purelv military viewpoints and opposed putting proletarian politics to the fore. They vainly attempted to remould our militia with a bourgeois world outlook and so turn it into a tool for realising their personal ambitions.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "This army is powerful because of its division into two parts, the main forces and the regional forces, with the former available for operations in any region whenever necessary and the latter concentrating on defending their own localities and attacking the enemy there in co-operation with the local militia and the self-defence corps."

After the winning of nationwide victory, Chairman Mao repeatedly gave instructions that great efforts should be made to strengthen the building of regional forces. In addition to building themselves up ever more effectively, the regional forces should, in ordinary times and in co-operation with the local authorities, strengthen their mass work and do a good job in building the people's militia; in time of war they should draw on the people's militia to reinforce and expand their ranks and fight the enemy.

China's Khrushchev and his accomplice Lo Jui-ch'ing, while opposing the mitilia system, did their utmost to oppose the building of the regional forces. China's Khrushchev said: "Should we or shouldn't we have some (regional forces)? They leave farm production part of the time and return home in the busy farming season." This absurd statement altogether negates the regional forces.

In accordance with his master's intentions, Lo Jui-ch'ing for five years tried to keep secret Chairman Mao's instructions on strengthening the building up of the regional forces and refused to carry them out. Later on, although outwardly compliant, he did not actually give in and repeatedly discounted them. In a hundred and one ways he attempted to undermine the building of the regional forces.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao points out: "Our Army consisted of local forces as well as of regular forces; moreover, it energetically built and developed



the militia, thus practising the system of combining the three militiary formations, i.e., the regular forces, the local forces and the militia."

The system of combining these three military formations brings into play the enthusiasm of hundreds of millions of people. A militant whole can thus be organised, and the power of people's war can be brought into full play. If imperialism invades us, the militia are not only an inexhaustible reservoir for our Army but can also lead the broad masses in waging widespread guerrilla warfare. The regional forces are the backbone in regional struggle against the enemy. They lead the vast militia in co-operating energetically with the main forces and continuously expand and are themselves transformed into main forces. This ensures the latter's growth and expansion.

With the regional forces and the vast militia fighting in co-operation with them, the main forces have their hands freed. They can form powerful "fists," seek and create favourable opportunities for battle, maintain their mobility and concentrate their strength to fight battles of annihilation.

China's Khrushchev and Lo Jui-ch'ing wanted to cut out the militia as well as the regional forces. They opposed arming the masses and the use of people's war in dealing with an imperialist war of aggression; they staked the future of the country on technical equipment, fundamentally negating the concept of people's war. If we followed out Lo Jui-ch'ing's theories, the fruits of victory we have won in hard struggle would be lost and the whole proletarian revolutionary cause would be lost.

## Active Defence and Passive Defence Are Two Diametrically Opposed Principles of Strategic Guidance Between Chairman Mao's Military Line and the Bourgeois Military Line

Active defence is Chairman Mao's consistent strategic concept, and the fundamental guiding principle by which we have successfully fought revolutionary wars and dealt with imperialist aggression. It is also the correct guiding principle for the winning of victories in revolutionary wars by the peoples in other countries.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Active defence is also known as offensive defence, or defence through decisive engagements. Passive defence is also known as purely defensive defence or pure defence. Passive defence is actually a spurious kind of defence, and the only real defence is active defence, defence for the purpose of counter-attacking and taking the offensive."

Whether one adopts the strategic principle of active defence or of

passive defence is a fundamental question of strategic guidance which has a vital bearing on the outcome of a revolutionary war.

Active defence is founded on the ideological basis of the proletariat's thoroughgoing revolution and complete annihilation of the enemy forces. Its essence is to fight wars of annihilation. Only by fighting a war of annihilation, is it possible to constantly deplete and weaken the enemy forces, develop and strengthen our own forces and finally defeat the enemy. Waging a war of annihilation is the basic guiding thought in our conduct of war. This guiding thought must be implemented whether guerilla or mobile warfare is the primary form of warfare being waged, whether strategic guidance or battle operations are involved.

The history of the Chinese people's revolutionary war proves that only by firmly implementing our great supreme commander Chairman Mao's strategic principle of active defence, will we be sure to win battles and enable the revolutionary cause to develop successfully. Otherwise, we will lose battles, and the revolutionary cause will suffer setbacks.

Comrade Lin Piao, our deputy supreme commander, has always most faithfully, resolutely and thoroughly defended and followed Chairman Mao's correct principle of active defence and opposed the wrong principle of passive defence. He has repeatedly called on us to study Chairman Mao's great strategic concept earnestly and resolutely ensure thorough implementation of Chairman Mao's strategic principle of active defence.

Lo Jui-ch'ing has always opposed Chairman Mao's strategic concept and stood for passive defence. As early as the War of Resistance Against Japan, he followed P'eng Teh-huai in opposing Chairman Mao's correct policy of boldly arousing the masses and starting up guerilla war independently in the enemy's rear, of building anti-Japanese base areas and of developing the people's anti-Japanese armed forces. They had the presumption to concentrate the main forces of the Eighth Route Army for a war of attrition with the Japanese invaders. This caused serious setbacks to the development of the North China anti-Japanese base areas and our army there. In fact, these people supported and helped the Kuomintang. After usurping an important position in our Army, Lo Jui-ch'ing did his utmost in advocating the wrong policy of passive defence to meet the needs of the class capitulationist and nationalist capitulationist line of China.s Khrushchev. China's Khrushchev said: "Hold the enemy back" and "it will be bad if the enemy comes in." Lo Jui-ch'ing also said: "Now conditions are different." and that the only method to be used was that of "blocking the water." Such absurd statements are nothing new, they are simply the same trash of passive defence,



of "engaging the enemy outside the gates," which was criticised by Chairman Mao as early as the thirties.

Acting according to this wrong policy would inevitably lead to the building of defensive works everywhere and wide dispersal of forces to man them. In that way, we would always be in a passive position and this would lead finally to the wreck of the proletarian regime. This is the psychology characteristic of the successors to the Khrushchev revisionism of submission to imperialism and the fear of war.

The Chinese people are a great people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. In order to annihilate the enemy forces in large numbers, they dare to lure the enemy in deep, concentrate superior forces and annihilate the enemy forces when circumstances favour our victory. In the final analysis, it is only by annihilating the enemy's effective strength that it is possible to maintain positions.

They clamoured that "the conditions are different." What conditions are different? The imperialists do indeed have atomic bombs and nuclear weapons. But this is not so terrific! Marxists have at all times held that no matter what changes take place in technical equipment the basic laws of revolutionary war will never change.

"Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive." Final victory or defeat in war is determined by the ground forces in fighting successive battles, by the political consciousness and courage of the people and their spirit of sacrifice, by fighting with rifles, hand-grenades and bayonets, by hand-to-hand engagements, night fighting and fighting over a range of tens of metres. In combating an imperialist war of aggression, no matter what weapons the enemy may use, if they dare to go deep into our country, we will enjoy the maximum initiative, give full play to our strong points and advantages, use various methods to deal them blows, vigorously demonstrate the magic power of people's war and make sure that the aggressors will never go back alive.

China's Khrushchev and Lo Jui-ch'ing frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao's strategic principle of active defence and made every effort to push the strategic principle of passive defence for no other purpose than that of meeting the political needs of imperialism and modern revisionism. Utterly betraying the cause of the proletarian revolution, they acted completely against the basic interests of the Chinese people and the peoples of the world.

On the eve of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself, the counter-revolutionary revisionist Lo Jui-ch'ing's plot to oppose Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's military line and to usurp the Army leadership and oppose the Party went

completely bankrupt. The reactionary bourgeois military line pursued by him, and he also, were cast off by the commanders and fighters of the whole Army.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary masses of the entire country are now bringing about an upsurge in revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation to overthrow and completely discredit the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, headed by China's Khrushchev. We must vigorously destroy the bourgeois military line and thoroughly wipe out their poisonous influence. We must establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of his military line in a big way, keep proletarian politics always to the fore, take further steps to promote the revolutionisation of the ideology and organisation of the whole Army, ensure that the guns are held firmly in the hands of the proletariat at all times and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat so that our impregnable state of the proletariat will never change its political colour!

(*Peking Review*, No. 48, November 24, 1967 )



# The All-Army Cultural Revolution Group

The All-Army Cultural Revolution Group was assigned responsibility for cultural revolution activities in the Army under the direct leadership of the Military Commission, and the Cultural Revolution Group under the CCP Central Committee. The Group was first established in 1966, but the exact date of its establishment has never been announced. Unofficial information indicates that the Group was re-organised at least three times; however, only its first re-organisation in January 1967 was officially announced. (Other changes are shown in the table on page 263.) – Ed.

## *Re-organisation of All-Army Cultural Revolution Group*

On January 11, 1967, the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee issued the following notice on re-organising the All-Army Cultural Revolution Group:

To strengthen the leadership over the great proletarian cultural revolution in the whole Army, the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee, with the approval of Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee, has decided to re-organise the All-Army Cultural Revolution Group and to establish a new All-Army Cultural Revolution Group which will carry out its work under the direct leadership of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group under the CCP Central Committee.

The namelist of members of the new All-Army Cultural Revolution Group follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Head of the Group: | Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien | ( 徐向前 ) |
| Adviser: | Chiang Ch'ing | ( 江 青 ) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Deputy Heads: | Hsiao Hua | ( 蕭　華 ) |
| | Yang Ch'eng-wu | ( 楊成武 ) |
| | Wang Hsin-t'ing | ( 王新亭 ) |
| | Hsu Li-ch'ing | ( 徐立清 ) |
| | Kuan Feng | ( 關　鋒 ) |
| | Hsieh T'ang-chung | ( 謝鏜忠 ) |
| | Li Man-ts'un | ( 李曼村 ) |
| Members: | Wang Hung-k'un | ( 王宏坤 ) |
| | Yu Li-chin | ( 余立金 ) |
| | Liu Hua-ch'ing | ( 劉華清 ) |
| | T'ang P'ing-chu | ( 唐平鑄 ) |
| | Hu Ch'ih | ( 胡　痴 ) |
| | Yeh Ch'un | ( 葉　群 ) |
| | Wang Feng | ( 王　鋒 ) |
| | Ho Ku-yen | ( 和谷岩 ) |
| | Chang T'ao | ( 張　鑄 ) |

(*NCNA*, Peking, January 12, 1967)



# Directives Concerning the Cultural Revolution in the Army

Assembled in this section are the directives issued by the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee concerning the cultural revolution in military academies and schools, military regions, the Production and Construction Corps of the Sinkiang Military Region and leading organs above the army level and regulations governing the seizure of power within the Army. – Ed.

## *Urgent Directive of the Military Commission and the PLA General Political Department on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Military Academies and Schools* (October 5, 1966)

All Military Regions, Services, Arms...

Right from the beginning the Army has taken the academies and schools as one of the important points in the great proletarian cultural revolution and, on the whole, the situation is good. However, some leading organs and some leading bodies of academies and schools have overstressed the special conditions of army academies and schools. Even to this day they still repress democracy and forbid classes, departments and schools to establish revolutionary ties and exchange experiences, thus turning the movement into a dreary affair. They even incite students to struggle against students and hit the Leftists, thereby seriously violating the Party Centre's "Decision on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," namely, the 16-point decision.

For this reason, at the suggestion of Comrade Lin Piao the army academies and schools must, in their great cultural revolution, do away with all the shackles that fetter the mass movement and, like local institutes and schools, must act fully according to the 16-point decision, give full display to democracy, initiate big contending and big blooming, put up big-character posters, conduct big debate and set a good example in these respects. In the movement, it is not permitted to incite students to struggle against students; care must be taken to protect the minority.

As to those comrades branded by the Party committees for academies and schools and the work teams as "counter-revolutionaries," "anti-Party elements," "Rightist elements" and "pseudo-Leftists but real Rightists" at the initial stage of the movement, all such charges should be declared null and void, and these comrades should be vindicated and rehabilitated in public. All the self-examination materials written under compulsion should be returned to the persons concerned for disposal. As to the materials written by the Party committees or work teams and the materials written by others against them, the masses should be consulted as to how to dispose of them, and, subject to agreement of the masses and the purged, they may be destroyed in public.

You must put faith in the masses instead of fearing the masses and must bring "daring" to the fore. You must believe that the vast majority of the students and faculty members in the academies and schools are revolutionary and good, that they obey the words of Chairman Mao and the words of the Party and that their main direction of revolution is correct from the beginning to the end. It must also be realised that among the leading bodies and faculty members in the army academies and schools there is indeed a handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist bad elements for whom you must borrow the "East Wind" of the great cultural revolution to drag out and thoroughly struggle against and criticise. At the same time, you must evaluate the leading cadres on the basis of the three-point criterion put forward by Vice Chairman Lin, that is, whether or not they hold aloft the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and support Chairman Mao, whether or not they bring politics to the fore, and whether or not they have revolutionary drive. Care must be taken to insure that the struggle is conducted by reasoning and not by force.

Some special provisions concerning the great cultural revolution made by the Military Commission and the General Political Department in the past (omitted——editor) 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 16-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 investigation should be permitted. However, there must be no inference 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

**Appendix**: Comment of the CCP Central Committee (October 5, 1966)

To various bureaus of the Central Committee, Party Committees of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions...:

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 *hsien* 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

(*Collection of Documents, Vol. I,* May, 1967.)

* * *

## *Directive on the Carrying Out of the GPCR 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 on the first line of defence 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 stabilise themselves so that they may render aid and support to the great cultural revolution in their places

and safeguard national defence. As to when the great cultural revolution movement should be initiated, they should await the order of the Military Commission.

The Military Commission

(*Ibid.*)

* * *

## *Order Restricting Airing of Views in Navy and Air Force Leading Organs* (February 8, 1967)

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

According to the spirit of the 8-point directive 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 full and frank airing of views, wall posters and debates for the time being.

2. That the leading organs of the Navy Fleets and the leading organs of the Air Force shall not unfold full and frank airing of views, wall posters and debates 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.

The Military Commission

(*Ibid.*)

* * *

## *Regulations Governing the Carrying Out of the GPCR in the Production and Construction Corps of the Sinkiang Military Region* (February 11, 1967)

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 our 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-seizing 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 the two classes and two lines and the needs of war preparedness, it is decided to exericse 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 organisation 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 be responsible 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 organisations which should carry out the great cultural revolution under the leadership of their respective Party committees.

5. Cultural revolution committees and cultural revolution mass organisations at various levels within the Production and Construction Corps shall have the right to criticise 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 time, 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 organisations or leading cadres of some units have serious problems, they may be reorganised or relieved of their duty by the higher Party committees in the light of the mass opinion. 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 latter 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" activities [big airing of views, 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 centralised 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 Sinkiang Military Regions must strictly abide by them or face disciplinary action.

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

(*Ibid.*)

* * *

## *Provisions Concerning the Great Cultural Revolution in Leading Organs Above the Army Level* (February 11, 1967)

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, fulfil the glorious task of national

defence, 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 publicised, 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 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 criticise 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 Commisison.

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 (Port Arthur-Dairen), 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 organisation 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 organisation 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 Kutien 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 reorganised. 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 organisations for the cultural revolution. When such militant organisations have already been set up, they must be reorganised as administrative units. These militant organisations of the cultural revolution have the right to criticise 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 contradictions. 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 fulfil 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 democratisation, the small group mentality, individualism, subjectivism and other undesirable tendencies. It is even more necessary to publicise energetically and implement in real earnest Vice Chairman Lin Piao's instructions and reinforce the revolutionary, scientific, organised 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 and 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 Military Commission of the
Central Committee

(*Ibid.*)

* * *

## *Provisions Governing the Return of Armed Force Work Groups Participating in the Local Great Cultural Revolution to Schools and Organs To Make Self-Examination* (February 12, 1967)

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 defence, 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 of 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 Military Commission of the
Central Committee

(*Ibid.*)

* * *

## *Regulations Governing Seizure of Power Within the Army* (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 Army is hereby stipulated as follows:

(1) The sphere in which seizure of power may be carried out within the Army is limited to academies and schools (schools for training confidential personnel, schools specialised 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 culture 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 donduct, and a strict line of distinction must be drawn between the two kinds of contradictions. 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 organisations outside the unit for the purpose of seizing power. When carrying out seizure of power, the genuine proletarian revolutionaries of a unit must realise 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 democratisation, departmentalism, the small group mentality, dispersionism, the non-organisational viewpoint, liberalism, subjectivism, or individualism. When disputes arise between the genuine proletarian revolutionary organisations 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 organisations 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 reorganised, 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 organisations, 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 army, 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.

The Military Commission of the
Central Committee

(*Ibid.*)

* * *

## *Notification Concerning the Carrying Out of the Great Cultural Revolution in the Capitalist Construction Engineering Corps* (February 16, 1967)

(1) The reorganisation of the work contingents directly under the Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Communications and other ministries of the State Council into 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 reorganisation.

(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 provisions (draft) concerning "grasp 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 defence 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 workers, and undermine the reorganisation of the Capital Construction Engineering Corps.

This notification 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 Military Commission of the
Central Committee

*(Ibid.)*

CHAPTER III

# *Problems Involving the Army*

*As a result of its active participation in the intense power-seizing struggle and in the management of affairs normally administered by Party or state organs, the Army inevitably encountered many problems it had never before experienced. Guidance in tackling these problems was given from time to time by directives from the central authorities or through the editorials of the Army organ Chieh-fang-chun Pao. However, the Army still made mistakes, especially in the work of supporting the Left. These problems at times developed into violent conflicts between the Army and the masses, which often required the assistance of central leaders to settle. —— Ed.*

# Target of Mass Attack

Some people with ulterior motives, according to the following documents and editorial, instigated the masses to direct the "spearhead of struggle" at the Army. In many instances, the masses attacked the military organs seized arms, ammunition and other military equipment and supplies and assaulted the PLA men in violation of a January 14, 1967 CCP Central Committee order forbidding attack on Army organs. The Army apparently was under orders at the beginning not to strike back, but an order was issued on September 5, 1967 authorising it "to hit back in self-defence." – Ed.

## *Order Forbidding Attack on Army Organs* (January 14, 1967)

(Issued down to the *hsien* and regimental level)

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 defence, as well as the great task of defending the great proletarian cultural revolution. Hereafter, no person or organisation 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.

("CCP Central Committee Notification Forbidding Directing the Spearhead of Struggle at the Army," *Collection of Documents, Vol. I,* May 1967 )

## *Proclamation of the Armed Forces Units on the Fukien Front* (January 31, 1967)

The following proclamation threatens to take necessary action to deal with those who attack the military organs. It was endorsed by the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee for transmission to all military regions and districts, services, bases and command posts on February 6, 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 to form great alliances and struggle to seize power, and when the armed forces units at the front are making intensified preparations



for war, a few persons with an ulterior object in view have spread rumours and slanders in regard to the congress of activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works of the armed forces 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 the 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 corporal 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 created and led personally 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 organisations and counter-revolutionaries where 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 rumours 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, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao!

*(Ibid.)*

* * *

## *Encroachment Upon the PLA Is Forbidden*

**The following editorial stresses that without the PLA it would be impossible for the proletariat to win victory in the power struggle. Therefore, "all words and deeds attacking and slandering the PLA are ... absolutely not permitted."**

The great People's Liberation Army has displayed its tremendous power in the revolutionary storm of forming three-in-one alliances to seize power. It most resolutely responds to the call of the great leader Chairman Mao, supports and aids the true proletarian revolutionaries and opposes the Rightists. In this decisive battle between the two classes and the two lines, the revolutionary rebels and the PLA have formed a great wall strong like iron, casting in their lot with each other and sharing weal and woe. This is the fundamental guarantee for seizure and wielding of power by our proletarian revolutionaries.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Without a people's army the people have nothing." The gun is the life-line of our revolutionary people. We cannot make revolution without people's armed forces and guns. Over the past 17 years since the liberation, particularly since Vice Chairman Lin took charge of the CCP Military Commission, the People's Liberation Army, carrying on and developing its glorious tradition of revolution, has become the most loyal and powerful defender of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction and performed services that startle the world. Its shining history has proved and will continue to prove that the PLA is the most important instrument of the proletarian dictatorship in China, the life-line of the seven hundred million Chinese people and a shining example of creative



study and application of Chairman Mao's works. The PLA has established absolute prestige in the hearts of the Chinese people.

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao is, in the final analysis, a struggle for power under conditions of proletarian dictatorship and is a movement for uniting the proletarian revolutionaries to wrest power from a handful of power-holders within the Party who take the capitalist road. It is a nationwide, all-out class struggle and a great revolution in which one class overthrows the other. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "From the viewpoint of Marxist-Leninist doctrine of state, the army is the main component of the state power. Whoever wants to seize the state power and preserve it should have a powerful army." In the present life-and-death battle, without the support of the powerful People's Liberation Army the proletariat cannot possibly win victory in the struggle for power and, if it wins a temporary victory, cannot consolidate it. In fact, the powerful PLA has from the beginning to the end been giving support to our revolutionary rebels and defending the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is precisely because the People's Liberation Army, with such matchless power is behind us that the enemy cannot overturn the sky no matter what they do to summon evil spirits.

The attitude towards the People's Liberation Army——defender of the great cultural revolution——is a political attitude and a touchstone for distinguishing true revolutionaries, pseudo-revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries. All true revolutionary rebels always firmly support and back the People's Liberation Army, while the class enemy always does everything possible to attack and slander the PLA. This is a question of right and wrong on issues of major importance and is above all ambiguity. All words and deeds attacking and slandering the PLA are counter-revolutionary words and deeds bombarding the proletarian headquarters and are absolutely not permitted. We revolutionary rebels most resolutely take the side of the great PLA and resolutely support and back all the revolutionary actions of the PLA. We will do our best to uphold the dignity of the PLA and assist it in defending the great proletarian cultural revolution.

What deserves our attention is that a handful of persons having ulterior motives should dare to do the great wrong in the world by inciting and instigating the masses who are in the dark to interfere with the PLA, and they have gone so far as to blatantly hinder the PLA from carrying out their assignments and to direct the spearhead of struggle against the great people's Army. This is a counter-revolutionary current. The broad masses of revolutionary rebels must, in co-ordination with the PLA, ruthlessly strike back at this adverse current. Those people who have been deceived must be

educated and helped to know their error. The leading criminals who instigate and incite the masses to assault the Army should be placed under immediate arrest and punished according to law.

"This is a manifestation of extensive democracy." A handful of reactionaries use this slogan to incite the masses to assault the Army. It is an attempt to confound right and wrong and black and white. Our extensive democracy is practised under conditions of proletarian dictatorship. Only a powerful instrument of proletarian dictatorship can make it possible to practise extensive democracy. Inciting the masses to assault the Army is a vain attempt to topple the dictatorship of the proletariat. Can there be extensive democracy when the dictatorship of the proletariat is toppled? On the contrary, our extensive democracy and the great cultural revolution will be undermined. It is a downright counter-revolutionary activity.

"The masses are helping the Army to develop the great cultural revolution." This is an absurd theory. The great cultural revolution is developing in healthy ways and is in full swing in the Army in accordance with the directives of Chairman Mao, Vice Chairman Lin and the CCP Military Commission. If people have this or that complaint against certain persons in the Army, they may write big-character posters and send them, through their representative, to the Army, but on no account may they resort to wicked means of assaulting the Army. Even if you have one thousand or ten thousand just reasons, you have no ground to incite the masses to assault the people's Army. And if you incite the masses to assault the people's Army, the dictatorship of the proletariat will be exercised over you.

We warn the handful of reactionaries who hide their malicious intent under a fair countenance: The PLA holds its gun precisely with the object of suppressing you bad eggs. The PLA aims its gun at you. If you dare to make further trouble and carry out further sabotage, you will certainly come to an ignominious end. If one of you comes forward we will arrest one; if two of you come forward we will arrest two.

All those who have been deceived should wake up as soon as possible and come forward to denounce the instigators behind the scenes. If you continue to listen to the nonsense of the handful of reactionaries, you will foolishly commit errors and unpardonable crimes.

Comrades-in-arms revolutionary rebels and revolutionary fighters, in the current acute and complex class struggle you must wholeheartedly unite with the PLA, carry out Army-people joint defence and go a step further to uphold the absolute prestige of the PLA. Upon discovery of



persons attacking the PLA, revolutionary rebels may take the necessary revolutionary action and organise forces to carry out counter-encirclement and, together with the PLA, smash the dark scheme of the class enemy. This is the bounden political duty of the revolutionary rebels.

Revolutionary rebels must seriously learn from the PLA and, like the PLA, study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively and identify further the present situation of class struggle. Only thus can they unite closely with the PLA under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and beat off the counter-revolutionary current of dashing against the Army, thereby insuring a complete victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution!

(Shanghai *Wen-hui Pao* editorial, February 22, 1967 )

* * *

## *Order Forbidding Seizure of Arms, Equipment, and Other Military Supplies from the PLA* (September 5, 1967)

The following Order of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the CCP–CC Military Commission and the CCP–CC Cultural Revolution Group serial number *Chung-fa* 288 (67), is generally referred to as the "September 5 Order." It carries an endorsement by Mao Tse-tung dated September 4, which says, "Seen. Take action accordingly."

To all provincial (municipal) Revolutionary Committees (or Preparatory Groups), Military Control Committees at all levels, all Military District Commands, and all revolutionary mass organisations:

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 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.

educated and helped to know their error. The leading criminals who instigate and incite the masses to assault the Army should be placed under immediate arrest and punished according to law.

"This is a manifestation of extensive democracy." A handful of reactionaries use this slogan to incite the masses to assault the Army. It is an attempt to confound right and wrong and black and white. Our extensive democracy is practised under conditions of proletarian dictatorship. Only a powerful instrument of proletarian dictatorship can make it possible to practise extensive democracy. Inciting the masses to assault the Army is a vain attempt to topple the dictatorship of the proletariat. Can there be extensive democracy when the dictatorship of the proletariat is toppled? On the contrary, our extensive democracy and the great cultural revolution will be undermined. It is a downright counter-revolutionary activity.

"The masses are helping the Army to develop the great cultural revolution." This is an absurd theory. The great cultural revolution is developing in healthy ways and is in full swing in the Army in accordance with the directives of Chairman Mao, Vice Chairman Lin and the CCP Military Commission. If people have this or that complaint against certain persons in the Army, they may write big-character posters and send them, through their representative, to the Army, but on no account may they resort to wicked means of assaulting the Army. Even if you have one thousand or ten thousand just reasons, you have no ground to incite the masses to assault the people's Army. And if you incite the masses to assault the people's Army, the dictatorship of the proletariat will be exercised over you.

We warn the handful of reactionaries who hide their malicious intent under a fair countenance: The PLA holds its gun precisely with the object of suppressing you bad eggs. The PLA aims its gun at you. If you dare to make further trouble and carry out further sabotage, you will certainly come to an ignominious end. If one of you comes forward we will arrest one; if two of you come forward we will arrest two.

All those who have been deceived should wake up as soon as possible and come forward to denounce the instigators behind the scenes. If you continue to listen to the nonsense of the handful of reactionaries, you will foolishly commit errors and unpardonable crimes.

Comrades-in-arms revolutionary rebels and revolutionary fighters, in the current acute and complex class struggle you must wholeheartedly unite with the PLA, carry out Army-people joint defence and go a step further to uphold the absolute prestige of the PLA. Upon discovery of



persons attacking the PLA, revolutionary rebels may take the necessary revolutionary action and organise forces to carry out counter-encirclement and, together with the PLA, smash the dark scheme of the class enemy. This is the bounden political duty of the revolutionary rebels.

Revolutionary rebels must seriously learn from the PLA and, like the PLA, study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively and identify further the present situation of class struggle. Only thus can they unite closely with the PLA under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and beat off the counter-revolutionary current of dashing against the Army, thereby insuring a complete victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution!

(Shanghai *Wen-hui Pao* editorial, February 22, 1967 )

* * *

## *Order Forbidding Seizure of Arms, Equipment, and Other Military Supplies from the PLA* (September 5, 1967)

The following Order of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the CCP–CC Military Commission and the CCP–CC Cultural Revolution Group serial number *Chung-fa* 288 (67), is generally referred to as the "September 5 Order." It carries an endorsement by Mao Tse-tung dated September 4, which says, "Seen. Take action accordingly."

To all provincial (municipal) Revolutionary Committees (or Preparatory Groups), Military Control Committees at all levels, all Military District Commands, and all revolutionary mass organisations:

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 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, State Council, Central Military Commission, and 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 organisations must correctly understand extensive democracy under the condition of proletarian dictatorship as well as the "four don'ts"† 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, State Council, Central Military Commission, and Central Cultural Revolution Group, it is here reiterated:

(1) All mass organisations and individuals, irrespective of their affiliations, are forbidden to seize under any pretext whatever 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 defence 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 institutes and schools, cultural and sports units, and all units in which "four-big"† is being developed, no organisation or individual is allowed to seize arms, ammunition, equipment, vehicles, materials and supplies.



(3) Unless authorised 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 organisation 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 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 offence. 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-defence.

Fighters on duty in coastal and frontier areas, off-shore islands, and defence and security or important areas may hit back in self-defence 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, all military district commands, and all revolutionary mass organisations.

(This document may be posted and displayed at all places).

(*SCMP* No. 4026, September 22, 1967)

# The Army's Attitude Toward the Masses

**Lin Piao, according to the following editorial, enjoined the Army to adopt a "correct attitude" toward the masses, pointing out that unless this was done, "it would be impossible [for the Army] to carry out successfully the tasks of supporting the revolutionary Left..." He maintained that many of the problems encountered by the Army during the cultural revolution movement "are those of how to treat the masses correctly." The editorial lays down the principles, according to the spirit of Lin's instruction, governing how the Army should tackle these problems. – Ed.**

## *"Treat the Masses Correctly"*

Comrade Lin Piao has given us this instruction: Many of the problems which arise in the Army's work of assisting civilians in the great cultural revolution are those of how to treat the masses correctly. Unless a correct attitude is taken toward the masses, it will be impossible to carry out successfully the tasks of supporting the revolutionary Left, industry and agriculture, exercising military control and conducting military and political training among the students. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, put politics in command, uphold the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and crush the bourgeois reactionary line. We must do well in studying Chairman Mao's articles on the masses, enhance our understanding of their role and enable the entire Army to adopt a correct attitude toward them.

This instruction given by Comrade Lin Piao brilliantly reflects Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is tremendously important for our Army to seriously study and implement this instruction at the present time when the Army is summing up its experiences in supporting the Left in order to raise this work to a new level.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." Chairman Mao is the one



above all who trusts the masses, shows concern for them, supports their revolutionary movement, recognises their great role and discovers and calls forth the inexhaustible revolutionary enthusiasm and creativeness residing in the masses.

A striking characteristic of our Party and State, led by Chairman Mao, is that prominence is given to the masses, the mass line is followed in everything and the mass movement is carried out energetically.

Chairman Mao has led us to fight battles in the past few decades in the way of a people's war and a mass war. In leading us to carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction, he also boldly mobilises the masses and fully exploits all active elements.

Extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat has been practised in the great proletarian cultural revolution, intitated and led by Chairman Mao. This is something unprecedented in the history of mankind. It has advanced to a new peak our Party's mass line and the Marxist-Leninist theory that history is created by the people.

Only by grasping Chairman Mao's basic concept of trusting and relying on the masses can we really understand and carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and constantly adhere to the orientation in the great proletarian cultural revolution, as well as in the struggle to support the Left, which Chairman Mao has indicated.

### I

Chairman Mao says: "We must stand on the side of the people; we must on no account stand on the side of the enemy of the people. This is a fundamental stand-point for a Marxist-Leninist." We must bear this teaching firmly in mind in the course of our work to support the Left.

The interests of the people are represented by the proletarian revolutionaries, who act resolutely in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought, firmly adhere to the general orientation of the struggle and direct its spearhead at the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

By standing firmly on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries, we prove our loyalty to the people, to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We must "one-sidely lean on" and resolutely side with the Left as between the revolutionary Left and the conservative.

In identifying the Left, we must take their major aspect, or political orientation, into account. This means that we must find out whether they act resolutely according to Chairman Mao's instructions, stand firmly on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and rebel against the Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, or whether they

defend those persons.

If this orientation is correct, the situation will be highly favourable. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is a great cause never undertaken by anyone before, and in this acute and complicated class struggle of an unprecedented scale, it is inevitable that the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary young fighters have some shortcomings and make mistakes because they are inexperienced and cherish some non-proletarian ideas. If only they follow a correct orientation, and even if they have some shortcomings and have made some mistakes, we must start from the viewpoint of love for them and enthusiastically help them correct their shortcomings and mistakes. On no account should we take a side stream for the main stream, make a fuss about the shortcomings and mistakes of the Left, and refuse to give them active support.

With regard to the revolutionary Left organisations which disagree with one another, we must not give one one-sided support and hit hard at another. We must take Mao Tse-tung's thought as a weapon to distinguish right from wrong. We must enlighten them ideologically in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching of correctly handling contradictions among the people and in the principle of "unity, criticism, unity" and help them seek major common ground while reserving minor differences, so that under the premises of the unified general orientation, they may bring about a revolutionary great alliance and fight the enemies together.

In order to support the revolutionary Left, we must take the stand of the Left and acquire their thinking, feelings and revolutionary spirit. We must arm ourselves thoroughly with Mao Tse-tung's thought and keep to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. If we do not wipe out cleanly the influence of the bourgeois reactionary line in our minds, if we do not have high revolutionary spirit, and if we look through old standards at the new things arising in the great proletarian cultural revolution, we shall not be able to understand the revolutionary rebel spirit and revolutionary actions of the Left forces, we shall not be able to identify and support them, and we shall recognise a wrong man, follow a wrong line and consciously or unconsciously side with the conservative.

Chairman Mao has said that to have faith in the overwhelming majority of the cadres and masses is a most fundamental principle. The overwhelming majority are good people; only a tiny number are bad. Chairman Mao constantly reiterates this point. We must not doubt this point at any moment and in any circumstances. We should believe that the majority of the masses and cadres want to make revolution and to take the socialist road and



that all of them support Chairman Mao.

Some of them have joined conservative organisations because they do not have the facts clear and have been misled. We must not take them as our enemies. The contradictions between us and them are within the ranks of the people, and are not those between ourselves and the enemy. It is necessary to do painstaking and thoroughgoing ideological work with them and to convince them by persuasion, not force them to submit.

In the course of supporting the Left, opinions may diverge and contradictions arise between some armed forces and some mass organisations. This also is a problem within the ranks of the people. Under no circumstances should we treat the masses in the way of treating the enemy. Our leading cadres must go personally to have friendly chats with the masses, treating them as their equals and shedding their airs of loftiness. If we have made a mistake, we must admit it frankly. Even if the masses may lack a good attitude in criticising us and have said something too harshly, we also must restrain ourselves and listen to their opinions. We must boldly criticise ourselves and correct our mistakes and must not hide our words and be shy in correcting our mistakes. Mistakes are harmless providing we correct them. If we correct them, we can surely win the support of the masses. Even if mistakes are not made by members of our Army who support the Left, and even if the masses have acted improperly, we also have to do political and ideological work patiently among them.

## II

Chairman Mao says: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them."

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a tremendous revolutionary mass movement. The 16-Point Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, drawn up under Chairman Mao's guidance, clearly indicates that to dare or not boldly to arouse the masses is the question that will decide the future of this great proletarian cultural revolution. Only by mobilising the masses from the bottom to the top, relying on them, and vigorously conducting mass movement, will it be possible to fully expose the handful of power-holders who take the capitalist road and who hide themselves in the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, to thoroughly defeat them and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Like all reactionaries, the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road have a dreadful fear of the masses. They will go to their doom if the masses are awakened and rise. They make desperate efforts to suppress the masses and do not allow them to rise up and make revolution.

We do just the opposite. Both at the beginning of a movement and when it develops in a deep-going way, we devise all sorts of measures to arouse the masses to the maximum and to direct our attack at the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

Our practical experience in the great cultural revolution during the past year shows that the extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat advocated by Chairman Mao is a powerful weapon with which to arouse the vast numbers of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals to expose and overthrow the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. When the masses wage the struggle by arguing matters out, putting up big-character posters and holding great debates it leaves the enemy no hiding place. No matter how sly the enemy may be and how deeply he hides himself, he will be exposed. No matter how "gigantic" the enemy may look, he will be unhorsed.

The main trend of the revolutionary mass movement is always correct and always conforms to the development of society. Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the masses can surely educate and liberate themselves in the course of struggle. When there are shortcomings and mistakes, the the masses can completely rectify them if they are assigned with Mao Tse-tung's thought and the Party's directives and polices. We should view the revolutionary mass movement with enthusiasm and resolutely support the revolutionary actions of the masses, and on no account should we fetter the masses under any pretext and conduct the revolution in a passive way If our methods and style of work do not conform to the requirements of such a large-scale mass movement we should make determined efforts to improve them very rapidly.

In a revolutionary mass movement it is necessary to forge a great revolutionary alliance. Only by uniting is it possible to be strong and to defeat the enemy. Chairman Mao has always laid stress on the importance of great revolutionary alliances, on uniting all those who can be united, and has opposed the policy of a "select few."

At all times and under all circumstances we should forge a great revolutionary alliance and consolidate it, and organise hundreds of millions of people into a mighty revolutionary force. Otherwise, it is not a real mass viewpoint or a real mass line, and it will be impossible to isolate completely and defeat thoroughly the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

To help the revolutionary Left and the revolutionary masses as a whole, to master Chairman Mao's strategic concept of great revolutionary alliances and to act earnestly in accordance with it is an important task in our struggle



to support the Left.

The revolutionary Left is the mainstay of the revolutionary mass movement and the backbone force of the revolutionary contingent. In order to help the revolutionary masses forge a great revolutionary alliance, we must first support the real revolutionary Left, so that it may develop and strengthen, and become the core to unite with the revolutionary masses. If we do not support the real revolutionary Left and if the Left is not the core of our great alliance, we shall lead the revolutionary mass movement astray.

In helping the revolutionary masses to construct great revolutionary alliances we should do painstaking ideological work. First we should help the revolutionary Left to have a clear understanding of the Marxist truth that only by emancipating mankind as a whole can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation; this truth has been repeatedly stressed by Chairman Mao. We should help them to eliminate self-interest, to build up the collective spirit, with the political far-sightedness and the breadth of vision of proletarian revolutionaries, to strive consciously to unite the revolutionary masses and in this way to achieve step by step the unity of more than 95 per cent of both the masses and the cadres.

At the same time we should also help those among the masses and those cadres who have been poisoned and misled by the bourgeois reactionary line to raise their political consciousness, to break with it completely, to stand consciously on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to unite around the revolutionary Left. Only in this way can the great revolutionary alliance have a reliable ideological basis and does it become possible to form and consolidate that unity.

## III

Chairman Mao says: "Only by being their (the masses) pupil can he be their teacher." "With respect to the ... question of the Party's relationship with the masses, the Party must lead the masses to carry out all their correct ideas in the light of the circumstances and educate them to correct any wrong ideas they may entertain."

The masses are the masters in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The masses know the situation best; they are wise and experienced. We must modestly learn from them, regard ourselves as friends and pupils of the masses, and on no account should we lord it over the masses and act as seniors of the masses. We must humbly listen to the opinions of the masses, particularly the opinions of the revolutionary Left. We should listen to the opinions that are agreeable to us, as well as those opinions

that are disagreeable to us. When we come to a place, we must often seek the opinions of the masses on our initiative and, by careful observation, find out what their demands are. Under no circumstances should we superficially recognise the role of the masses and, when doing our work, keep the masses away, refuse to consult the masses and practise subjectivism and commandism.

Of course, when we say we have faith in the masses and rely on them we by no means advocate the theory of spontaneity. We do not mean that the masses have no need of leadership, education, assistance and improvement. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guide to all revolutionary mass movements and a basic weapon which the masses use to educate and emancipate themselves. If they depart from the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, mass movement will lose the correct orientation.

Comrade Lin Piao points out that Mao Tse-tung's thought is not inborn in the working people. Mao Tse-tung's thought must be instilled into the minds of the workers and peasants through the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works before it can change the outlook of the working people and before this moral force can be transformed into a powerful material force.

In boldly arousing the masses, we use Mao Tse-tung's thought and the principles and policies of the Party in conducting propaganda among the masses, in organising and arming them. In supporting the revolutionary Left, the most basic thing for us to do is to serve as a team for propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's theories, line, principles and policies about the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must frequently help the masses to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works in the light of their living ideas, to eliminate their selfish ideas and foster devotion to public interest, to heighten their revolutionary spirit, their scientific approach and their sense of organisation and discipline, to use Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide all their actions, so that they may have the courage to make revolution and will be good at making revolution. This precisely represents our true concern and love for the revolutionary Left. If we do not act in this way, but allow the masses to do what they want and take no heed of them, it is obviously incorrect. This is not a real mass viewpoint, but is disregard of responsibility for the revolution and for the masses.

Our Army comes from the people; it serves the people and relies on the people. It has always been particularly important for our Army to have a full understanding of the great role of the masses, assume a correct



attitude toward them and integrate itself with them. We have learned this very deeply in the years of war. We could defeat the enemy, and the enemy could not defeat us. The reason was very simple: it was because the broad masses were on our side and not on the side of the enemy. Today, the cadres and fighters have gone out of their offices and barracks to carry out the important tasks of supporting the revolutionary Left, industry and agriculture, exercising military control and conducting military and political training among the students. In the face of this completely new mass work of a huge scale, in the face of the unprecedented revolutionary mass movement, the cadres and fighters feel very deeply that it is more urgent and more important than ever to strengthen their mass viewpoint.

Whether or not one can treat the masses correctly and serve and rely on the people is a question of world outlook. It is not easy for one to strengthen one's mass viewpoint. We have entered a new era, one in which the workers, peasants and soldiers are the masters. However, over the past several thousand years, the world outlook of the ruling classes has always denied the role of the masses and interpreted the changes that take place in society as due to the role played by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, and individual heroes. This old ideology still affects people's thinking. Strenuous efforts are needed to reverse this reversal of history and wipe out this historical idealism. We must attach importance to strengthening the mass point of view, overcome historical idealism, consciously tackle this as a major issue and a big understaking and regard it as a fundamental question and basic task in ideological work.

Chairman Mao's theories on the mass point of view and the mass line are a brilliant development of Marxism-Leninism. How Chairman Mao gives leadership to the mass movement and how he regards it set magnificient example for us to follow. If we want to acquire a mass point of view we must learn from Chairman Mao. We must study Chairman Mao's works on the subject deeply and make serious efforts to learn from what he does in practice.

Such study should not be confined to books. We must put into practice whatever we have learned. We must act according to Chairman Mao's teaching, go to the masses, make extensive contacts with them, undertake serious investigation and research, and educate ourselves by living examples, so that we can really become one with the masses.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is the best classroom for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. So long as we resolutely carry out Comrade Lin Piao's instructions and study and apply

Chairman Mao's works in the course of the struggle, we can certainly remould our world outlook, foster our mass point of view, make a success of our mass work and satisfactorily fulfil the glorious tasks of supporting the revolutionary Left, industry and agriculture, exercising military control and conducting military and political training among students, which have been entrusted to us by our great leader Chairman Mao.

(*Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorial, June 27, 1967 )



# Mistakes in Orientation and Line

In performing the task of supporting the Left, the Army often made "mistakes in orientation and line." This statement refers to wrong actions taken by the Army in attacking and suppressing revolutionary mass organisations and revolutionary masses, mainly due to its failure to see that they were the genuine revolutionary Left loyal to Mao Tse-tung. A typical case is the Canton Military Region, which made the following "examination" of its mistakes. – Ed.

## *Examination of Mistakes in the Work of Supporting the Left in the Canton Area*

(Made by the Party Committee of the Canton Military Region on August 20, 1967)

To Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin, the Central Committee, the Military Commission of the Central Committee, and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee:

Since the end of January this year when we began to intervene in the local great cultural revolution in response to our great leader Chairman Mao's call for the PLA to give active support to the broad masses of the Left, certain successes have been gained in carrying out the "three-support" and "two-military" tasks in the Canton area, thanks to the correct leadership of the Chairman, Vice Chairman Lin, the Party Central Committee, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee and the positive efforts of all the commanders and fighters. However, at one time in the work of supporting the Left, we committed many mistakes, some being mistakes in orientation and line. Even after April, we still had not fully awakened and had not determinedly and thoroughly corrected our mistakes, with the result that unnecessary losses were sustained in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Canton area.

## I

The mistakes we made in the work of supporting the Left in the Canton area were chiefly that in a certain period we did not staunchly stand on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, did not take the struggle between two roads as the key, and did not treat the masses correctly.

When we first intervened in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Canton area, it was precisely a time when some revolutionary rebel groups and mass organisations found themselves in a complicated situation on the question of power seizure. At the time, we did not analyse and deal with these problems by taking the struggle between the two lines as the key and did not first of all affirm the general orientation of struggle of the revolutionary young fighters and revolutionary masses and their exploits in the course of the great cultural revolution. Instead, we magnified some of their mistakes and adopted the attitude toward the so-called "four big incidents" (namely, the storming of the Military Region Command, the storming of the broadcasting station, the storming of the Public Security Bureau and the sham seizure of power from the former Provincial Party Committee) in defining the character of the mass organisations, with the result that the boundary line between the Left, the middle and the Right has blurred, and certain revolutionary organisations and revolutionary masses were attacked and suppressed.

On January 22, the "Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Rebel Joint Committee" (*Sheng-ko-lien* [省革聯] for short) followed the correct general orientation of struggle against the capitalist roaders in authority in the former Provincial Party Committee. At that time, however, instead of first of all affirming their general orientation of struggle, we saw only that they had committed certain mistakes because of lack of sufficient experience in struggle. In early February, after certain organisations of *Sheng-ko-lien* took part in storming the military region command, we became even more convinced that their mistakes were serious. So in social propaganda work, we publicly denounced *Sheng-ko-lien*, thereby bringing pressure on it. Subsequently, when we were organising a provisional production command headquarters and provisional production leadership group at various levels, we excluded from them the mass organisations which had participated in *Sheng-ko-lien.* These actions were wrong.

In March, we again mistakenly banned and disbanded some mass organisations such as the "August 1 Combat Corps" both inside and outside the Army and wrongly arrested certain prople. And in consolidating social order and strengthening public security arrangements in Canton city in preparation for the holding of the Spring Export Comodities Fair, we also expanded the scope of attack and arrested some people who should



not have been arrested. At the same time, we also suppressed the activities of such revolutionary mass organisations as the "Red Flag Commune" and "August 31 Combat Corps" of Chungshan (Sun Yat-sen) University.

In early April, we relayed the speech of Vice Chairman Lin at the all-PLA conference of army-level cadres and the spirit of the conference, the five-point directive of the Central Committee concerning the question of Anhwei, and the 10-point order promulgated by the Military Commission of the Central Committee. In mid-April, Premier Chou personally came to Canton and gave important directives on the great cultural revolution in the Canton area. At this time, although we had perceived the mistakes made in the work of supporting the Left in the preceding period, and had begun to make some examinations and corrections, yet we awakened very late and did not correct our mistakes thoroughly enough.

On May 14, our great leader Chairman Mao made an extremely important comment on our report entitled "Lessons Drawn from the Work of Supporting the Left in the Preceding Period and Next Steps to be taken." In the comment Chairman Mao taught us: "All those who have made mistakes should correct them resolutely. If they fail to correct their mistakes, they will sink deeper and deeper into the mire, and in the end they will still have to correct them; but by then they will have suffered considerable loss in prestige. If they correct their mistakes early, their prestige can only be higher than before."

When Comrade K'ang Sheng came to Canton in mid-May, he too gave us important instructions.

Thus, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee time and again urged us to correct our mistakes thoroughly, yet we did not awaken promptly nor in good time publicly examine and thoroughly correct our mistakes. Especially in respect to the question of the "August 1 Combat Corps," although the revolutionary rebel groups had again and again demanded the corps' exoneration, we still insisted that it had many grave problems. It was not exonerated for a long time, and the result was that the broad masses of this organisation suffered long repression. Nor did we give enough support to some revolutionary rebel groups which the Premier had approved while in Canton. We failed to establish deep class feelings and revolutionary militant friendship with them.

## II

The mistakes we made in the work of supporting the Left are entirely the responsibility of the Standing Committee of the Party Committee of the Military Region.

The chief reason why we committed such mistakes is our failure to seriously and creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, to regularly take ourselves as the target of the revolution, and to transform our own world outlook in the proper way. Our level of ideological consciousness still lagged far behind the demand of the new stage of the socialist revolution and we did not have a clear understanding of the theory, line, guideline and policy for the present great proletarian cultural revolution, which Chairman Mao has personally started and is leading. As a result, in the work of supporting the Left, we have not been able to treat the masses correctly, nor have we been able to deal with ourselves correctly.

So serious have been our conservative thoughts and so numerous have been the old rules and conventions in our minds that we have had a poor understanding of the new things of the great proletarian cultural revolution and lacked the stand, viewpoint and ideas and feelings of proletarian revolutionaries. Hence, after our intervention in the great cultural revolution in the Canton area, we have not been able to take the struggle between the two lines as the key link, identified the Left correctly, and thus committed mistakes on the basic question of how to treat the masses correctly. Chairman Mao has taught us: We must trust the masses, rely on them, boldly mobilise them, and respect their creative spirit. But we have overconfidence in ourselves, as we have always wanted to confine the vigorously developing mass movement to the framework of our own subjective imagination. As a result, not only have we failed to give strong support to the actions of revolutionary rebel groups, but sometimes we have restrained them. We mistakenly restricted, or even resorted to dictatorial measures against, certain revolutionary rebel groups and mass organisations. In this way, we virtually placed ourselves in a position antagonistic to the masses and departed from Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

After we made these mistakes, the Central Committee and the broad revolutionary masses have given us a great deal of education and assistance. However, since conceit and self-complacency prevented us from correctly treating ourselves and correctly dealing with the achievements and shortcomings and mistakes in our work, we have awakened very slowly and have not seriously settled and thoroughly corrected our mistakes soon enough. We have not studied properly and correctly and in good time implemented some directives given by the Central Committee. We have not taken some encouragement given by the Central Committee as the motive power for the forward thrust, but we rest content with what we have achieved. In many important areas of work, we have not taken the mass line and often rejected



the sincere but sharp criticism levelled against us by revolutionary rebel groups. As a result, we have been thrown into greater passivity.

III

Our hearts are extremely heavy because of such serious mistakes we have made in the work of supporting the Left. We have disappointed Chairman Mao, Vice Chairman Lin, the Party Central Committee, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee. We have also disappointed the proletarian revolutionary groups and the broad revolutionary masses.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Mistakes should be corrected, and the more quickly and more thoroughly they are corrected, the better." We have the determination to thoroughly correct the mistakes made in the work of supporting the Left. We reaffirm: All those revolutionary mass organisations inside and outside the Army which we formerly banned and dissolved shall be vindicated and rehabilitated without exception, and all public statements, notices and "indictments" which we had promulgated in respect to banning and dissolving these revolutionary mass organisations shall be null and void without exception. All people who have been arrested——with the exception of those bad people whose crimes have been proved by evidence and who should be dealt with according to the law as provided by the Central Committee——shall be rehabilitated. Here, we wish to extend our apology to the revolutionary mass organisations which had been mistakenly banned and dissolved, to the people who had been wrongly arrested, and to the revolutionary mass organisations and revolutionary masses whom we had mistakenly repressed. At the same time, we bear the responsibility for certain mistakes made by some mass organisations under our influence. We thank the broad masses of revolutionary rebels and revolutionary masses for their criticisms and help to us, and hope that they will continue to criticise, help and supervise us.

We firmly respond to the great call issued recently by Vice Chairman Lin: "Hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung and perform new merits in the great proletarian cultural revolution." In our work of supporting Left in the future, we shall resolutely stand on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, seriously undertake creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, modestly learn from the revolutionary masses, destroy self-interest and foster devotion to public interest, and completely transform our world outlook. We will follow closely Chairman Mao's strategic plan, unswervingly support the revolutionary rebels, and resolutely unite, fight and win together within them. We shall win over and unite with

the broad masses, grasp the general orientation of struggle tightly, and thoroughly criticise——politically, ideologically and theoretically——the handful of Party capitalist roaders headed by China's Khrushchev, while completely destroying the bourgeois headquarters. We shall, through mass criticism, gradually realise the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary three-in-one combination with proletarian revolutionaries as the core. We shall hold high the great banner of "supporting the Army and cherishing the people," further strengthen the unity between the Army and the civilian population, make a success of the "three-support" and "two-military" work, and resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

We request the Central Committee to comment if the above examination is correct or not.

Fianlly, we wish Chairman Mao——the reddest red sun in our hearts——a long, long life!

(Canton *Tzu-liao Chuan-chi* [資料專輯] November 17, 1967)



# "Seize a Handful in the Army"

On September 5, 1967, Chiang Ch'ing (Madame Mao), while speaking to representatives of the two factions of mass organisations from Anhwei, made an authoritative remark that the slogan, "Seize a handful in the Army!", was wrong. This slogan was widely used by the proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country following the Wuhan Incident. As a result, "a handful in the Army" was seized everywhere, according to Chiang. –Ed.

## *Chiang Ch'ing's Speech at a Conference with Representatives from Anhwei* (September 5, 1967)

(Excerpts) Sometime earlier, there was this wrong slogan: "Seize a handful in the Army." As a result, "a 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 Piao. 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 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 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 is the fact that you have fallen into a trap set by others.

The slogan of seizing the 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 made mistakes and have shortcomings should be given a chance a criticise 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 criticise 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: The "Good Groups" 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 criticised. T'ao Tsai-feng and Liang Shou-fu are quite wrong.) (The "Good Group" 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 defence, 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 group, so that some of these guns were not seized but were surrendered. Only a small number of Leftists have guns...

Now the Central Committee has adopted a document, and I shall read it to you here (reading the CCP Central Committee's "September 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 greater 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 organisations 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-don'ts" 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 sabotage 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 honour. (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-yuan: 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 groups you belonged to, you must return the material you have seized, and if you do not return them, you will have to surrender you arms...

(Peking leaflet, September 18, 1967; translated in *SCMP* No. 4069, November 29, 1967.)

* * *

## *Chou En-lai's Speech at a Meeting with Representatives of Universities and Colleges in Peking* (September 17, 1967)

**In his speech, Chou also denounced the slogan "Seize a handful in the Army!" and defended the Army for the mistakes it made in supporting the Left.**

(Excerpts) After the July 20 incident, a mistake was made in propaganda; this was the slogan "Seize a handful in the Army!". I do not mean that there are no wicked people in the Army; there are, such as Wang I-lun ( 王逸倫 ) of Inner Mongolia, Chao Yung-fu ( 趙永夫 ) of Tsinghai, Ch'en Tsai-tao ( 陳再道 ) and Chung Han-hua ( 鐘漢華 ) of Wuhan. The result was that we seized these people everywhere——



Chao Yung-fu's, characters of the T'an [Chen-lin] type, and Ch'en Tsai-tao's. We already pointed this out to you in August, and it should have had some persuasive effect. But you did not listen; instead, you went on setting up liaison stations everywhere, from Canton to Shenyang.

"Seize a handful in the Army" reached its height of frenzy in the whole of August, and by the end of the month things got worse. We could not but issue the "September 5 Order" forbidding the seizure of arms...

Some mistakes have been made by the Army in supporting the Left, but essentially they have nothing to do with the bourgeois reactionary line last year. Without the red line for 18 years (while there has been the influence of Liu-Teng), how could China have stood erect in the world as a giant? Things have become even clearer this year. The PLA has played a great role. Chairman Mao has exhorted us to believe in and rely on the masses, cadres, and the PLA.

We must believe in and rely on the masses. But the masses must get themselves organised, and the movement must develop in a forward direction. We must believe in and rely on the majority of the cadres, but the cadres must undergo education and win the confidence of the masses; they must be liberated from the bourgeois reactionary line. In this transitional period we must have the PLA. The Army has come forward, and its task is so urgent. It is inevitable that it should have some shortcomings and made mistakes. It has been divorced from the masses for a long time in the past; it has been preoccupied with making rebellion within itself. In the Army, there are also men like Lo Jui-ch'ing who do not put politics to the fore.

Of course, the PLA should study Mao's selected works and set in motion campaigns for four-good companies and five-good soldiers. This will insure the superiority of the thought of the Chairman. The Army makes mistakes principally due to its lack of experience. If the three requirements [militancy, clarity, and accuracy] can be met within the Army, then people who are not of the type of Chao Yung-fu will reform on the order of Chairman Mao and at the urging of Marshal Lin. We believe that if we go to war today, the moment we issue the order, the old Red Army soldiers who joined the Army at later periods will head for the battlefields and kill the enemy bravely.

"Seize a handful in the Army" is an ultra-"Leftist" idea; it is harmful to the great cultural revolution. People who hold this idea when they go to outside areas invariably support the faction which opposes the leadership.

Now things are different from what they were in the past. Now the leadership has stood out; its mistakes may be criticised. Things cannot

be the same as last year. Your outside liaison stations still bring the factional character of Peking to other areas, and no matter in which respect this problem has arisen.

Now we need to strengthen and consolidate the PLA. The PLA is a force which may not be shaken. When Red Guards were set up, it was said that Red Guards must learn from the PLA and were reserves for the PLA. Some of you sitting here wear armbands. Since you are wearing armbands, it is wrong for you not to learn from the PLA but to create antagonism. The PLA may make mistakes, but you should take a comradely attitude toward helping them. We believe that if only they are genuine fighters, they will correct themselves. The PLA observes the "four-don'ts." When their guns were seized from them, they still recited quotations from Chairman Mao. Heart-warming stories can be found everywhere...

(Canton *Chu-ying Tung-fang-hung* [ 珠影東方紅 ], October 1, 1967)



# *Appendix I IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS*

## Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
(May 16, 1966)

The following Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, drawn up under the personal guidance of Mao Tse-tung, was issued on May 16, 1966 but released to the general public a year later on May 16, 1967. Called "An Epoch-making Document" in a joint article by the editorial departments of the *Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and Chieh-fang-chun Pao* in commemoration of the second anniversary of its publication, the circular puts forward the theory, line, principles and policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution. –Ed.

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 organisations, 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'ang 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 criticise 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 rumours, 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 criticise 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 liberalisation, 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 bourgeiosie, 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 co-existence 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 bourgeios 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, text-books, 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 Yenan Forum on Literature and Art, Letter to the Yenan 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 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 bourgeios 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 criticise and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and sieze the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticise 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 organisations 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.

## Outline Report Concerning the Current Academic Discussion of the Group-of-Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution

(February 7, 1966)

The following outline report, often referred to as the *"February Thesis"* or *"February Outline,"* was drawn up on February 7, 1966, and approved by the CCP Central Committee for discussion on February 12, 1966, but was revoked by the Central Committee on May 16, 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 (彭　　真), Lu Ting-i ( 陸 定 一 ), K'ang Sheng ( 康　　生 ), Wu Leng-hsi ( 吳 冷 西 ), Hsu Li-ch'un ( 許 立 群 ), Hu Sheng (胡　　繩 ), Yao Chen (姚　　溱 ), Wang Li ( 王　　力), Fan Jo-yu ( 范 若 愚 ), Liu Jen (劉　　仁 ) and Cheng T'ien-hsiang ( 鄭 天 翔 ).

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 bouregois 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 Marixsm-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 popularisation 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 serveral months and that we cannot fulfil our task by writing several conclusive articles or by drawing political conclusions for those whom we have criticised. 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 analysed and criticised, 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 *Kung-jen Jih-pao (Workers' Daily), Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Pao (China Youth News), and T'i-yu Pao (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 organise forces of revolutionary academic workers. They must rely on the staunch revolutionary Left, unite with all revolutionary intellectuals, 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 "co-operatives" 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, criticise 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 longterm 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 endlessly grapple with 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.

(*Hsin-kang-yuan* [ 新 鋼 院 ], Peking, No. 18, May 20, 1967.)



## Comrade Lin Piao's Letter to Members of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission Of the CCP Central Committee

(March 22, 1966)

Comrades of the Standing Committee,

I am herewith sending you for your attention the Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces which Comrade Chiang Ch'ing convened. The Summary, which has been repeatedly gone over by the comrades attending the forum and has been personally examined and revised by the Chairman three times, is an excellent document. It applies Mao Tse-tung's thought to answer many important questions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism. It is of both extremely great practical and far-reaching historic significance.

The last 16 years have witnessed sharp class struggle on the front of literature and art, and the question of who will win out has not yet been settled. If the proletariat does not occupy the positions in literature and art, the bourgeoisie certainly will. This struggle is inevitable. And it represents an extremely broad and deep socialist revolution in the realm of ideology. If things are not done properly, revisionism will prevail. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and unswervingly carry this revolution through to the end.

The problems and the ideas raised in the Summary correspond fully with the realities in the work of literature and art in the armed forces, and the ideas must be resolutely carried out so as to enable this work in the armed forces to play an important role in keeping politics in the forefront and in promoting the revolutionisation of people's thinking.

Please let me know your opinions on the Summary before it is submitted to the Central Committee for examination and approval.

With greetings,

Lin Piao

## Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature And Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ch'ing

### I

Entrusted by Comrade Lin Piao with the task, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing invited some comrades in the armed forces to a forum held in Shanghai from February 2 to 20, 1966, to discuss certain questions concerning the work in literature and art in the armed forces.

Before these comrades left for Shanghai, Comrade Lin Piao gave them the following instructions: "Comrade Chiang Ch'ing talked with me yesterday. She is very sharp politically on questions of literature and art, and she really knows art. She has many opinions, and they are very valuable. You should pay good attention to them and take measures to insure that they are applied ideologically and organisationally. From now on, the Army's documents concerning literature and art should be sent to her. Get in touch with her when you have any information for her to keep her well posted on the situation in literary and art work in the armed forces. Ask her for her opinions, which will help improve this work. We should not rest content with either the present ideological level or the present artistic level of such work, both of which need further improvement." Comrade Hsiao Hua and Comrade Yang Ch'eng-wu expressed enthusiastic approval of and support for the forum and instructed us to act in accordance with Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's opinions. They also expressed their thanks to Comrade Chiang Ch'ing for her concern for the work in literature and art in the armed forces.

At the beginning of the forum and in the course of the exchange of views, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said time and again that she had not studied Chairman Mao's works well enough and that her comprehension of Chairman Mao's thought was not profound, but that whatever points she had grasped she would act upon resolutely. She said that during the last four years she had largely concentrated on reading a number of literary works and had formed certain ideas, not all of which were necessarily correct. She said that we were all Party members and that for the cause of the Party we should discuss things together on an equal footing. This discussion should have been held last year but had been postponed because she had not been in good health. As her health had recently improved, she had invited the comrades to join the discussions according to Comrade



Lin Piao's instructions.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing suggested that we read and see a number of items first and then study relevant documents and material before discussing them. She advised us to read Chairman Mao's relevant writings, had eight private discussions with a comrade from the Army and attended four group discussions, 13 film shows and three theatrical performances together with us. She also exchanged opinions with us while watching the films and the theatrical performances. And she advised us to see 21 other films. During this period, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing saw a sample copy of the film *The Great Wall Along the South China Sea,* received the directors, cameramen and part of the cast and talked with them three times, which was a great education and inspiration to them. From our contacts with Comrade Chiang Ch'ing we realise that her understanding of Chairman Mao's thought is quite profound and that she has made a prolonged and fairly full investigation and study of current problems in the field of literature and art and has gained rich practical experience through her personal exertions in cultivating "experimental plots of land." Taking up her work while she was still in poor health, she held discussions and saw films and theatrical performances together with us and was always modest, warm and sincere. All this has enlightened and helped us a great deal.

### II

In the course of about 20 days, we read two of Chairman Mao's writings and other relevant material, listened to Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's many highly important opinions and saw more than 30 films, including good and bad ones and others with shortcomings and mistakes of varying degrees. We also saw two comparatively successful Peking operas on contemproary revolutionary themes, namely, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment* and *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold.* All this helped to deepen our comprehension of Chairman Mao's thought on literature and art and raise the level of our understanding of the socialist cultural revolution. Here are a number of ideas which we discussed and agreed upon at the forum.

1. The last 16 years have witnessed sharp class struggles on the cultural front.

Actually in both stages of our revolution, the new-democratic stage, and the socialist stage, there has been a struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the cultural front, that is, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership on this front. In the history of our Party the struggle against both "Left" and Right opportunism has also included struggles between the two lines on the cultural front. Wang Ming's line represented

bourgeois thinking which was once rampant within our Party. In the rectification movement which started in 1942, Chairman Mao made a thorough theoretical refutation first of Wang Ming's political, military and organisational lines and then, immediately afterwards, of the cultural line he represented. Chairman Mao's "On New Democracy," "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," and "Letter to the Yenan Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing 'Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels'," are the most complete, the most comprehensive and the most systematic historical summaries of this struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. They carry on and develop the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art. After our revolution entered the socialist stage, Chairman Mao's two writings, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work," were published. They are the most recent summaries of the historical experience of the movements for a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary literature and art in China and other countries. They represent a new development of the Marxist–Leninist world outlook and of the Marxist–Leninist theory on literature and art. These five writings by Chairman Mao meet the needs of the proletariat adequately and for a long time to come.

More than 20 years have elapsed since the publication of the first three of these five works by Chairman Mao and nearly ten years since the publication of the last two. However, since the founding of our People's Republic, the ideas in these works have basically not been carried out by literary and art circles. Instead, we have been under the dictatorship of a black anti-Party and anti-socialist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought. This black line is a combination of bourgeois ideas on literature and art, modern revisionist ideas on literature and art and what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s (in the Kuomintang areas of China). Typical expressions of this line are such theories as those of "truthful writing," "the broad path of realism," "the deepening of realism," opposition to "subject-matter as the decisive factor," "middle characters," opposition to "the smell of gunpowder" and "the spirit of the age as the merging of various trends." Most of these views were refuted long ago by Chairman Mao in his "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art." In film circles there are people who advocate "discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy," in other words, discarding the classics of Marxism–Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and rebelling against the orthodoxy of people's revolutionary war. As a result of the influence or



domination of this bourgeois and modern revisionist counter-current in literature and art, there have been few good or basically good works in the last decade or so (although there have been some) which truly praise worker, peasant and soldier heroes and which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers; many are mediocre, while some are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, we must resolutely carry on a great socialist revolution on the cultural front and completely eliminate this black line. After we are rid of this black line, still others will appear and the struggle must go on. Therefore, this is an arduous, complex and long-term struggle which will take decades, or even centuries. It is a cardinal issue which has a vital bearing on the future of the Chinese revolution and the future of the world revolution.

A lesson to be drawn from the last decade or so is that we began to tackle the problem a little late. We have taken up only a few specific questions and have not dealt with the whole problem systematically and comprehensively. So long as we do not seize hold of the field of culture, we will inevitably forfeit many positions in this field to the black line, and this is a serious lesson. After the Tenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee in 1962 adopted a resolution on the unfolding of class struggle throughout the country, the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology in the cultural field has gradually developed.

2. The last three years have seen a new situation in the great socialist cultural revolution. The most outstanding example is the rise of Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes. Led by the Central Committee of the Party, headed by Chairman Mao, and armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, literary and art workers engaged in revolutionising Peking opera have launched a heroic and tenacious offensive against the literature and art of the feudal class, the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists. Under the irresistible impact of this offensive, Peking opera, formerly the most stubborn of strongholds, has been radically revolutionised, both in ideology and in form, which has started a revolutionary change in literary and art circles. Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes like *The Red Lantern, Shachiapang, Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment,* the ballet *Red Detachment of Women,* the symphony *Shachiapang* and the group of clay sculpture *Rent Collection Courtyard* have been approved by the broad masses of workers peasants and soldiers and acclaimed by Chinese and foreign audiences. They are pioneer efforts which

will exert a profound and far-reaching influence on the socialist cultural revolution. They effectively prove that even that most stubborn of strongholds, Peking opera, can be taken by storm and revolutionised and that foreign classical art forms such as the ballet and symphonic music can also be remoulded to serve our purpose. This should give us still greater confidence in revolutionising other art forms. Some people say that Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes have discarded the traditions and basic skills of Peking opera. On the contrary, the fact is that Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes have inherited the Peking opera traditions in a critical way and have really weeded out the old to let the new emerge. The fact is not that the basic skills of Peking opera have been discarded but that they are no longer adequate. Those which cannot be used to reflect present-day life should and must be discarded. In order to reflect present-day life, we urgently need to refine, create, and gradually develop and enrich the basic skills of Peking opera through our experience of real life. At the same time, these successes deal a powerful blow at conservatives of various descriptions and such views as the "box-office earnings" theory, the "foreign exchange earnings" theory and the theory that "revolutionary works can't travel abroad."

Another outstanding feature of the socialist cultural revolution in the last three years is the widespread mass activity of workers, peasants and soldiers on the fronts of ideology, literature and art. Workers, peasants and soldiers are now producing many fine philosophical articles which splendidly express Mao Tse-tung's thought in terms of their own practice. They are also producing many fine works of literature and art in praise of the triumph of our socialist revolution, the big leap forward on all the fronts of socialist construction, our new heroes, and the brilliant leadership of our great Party and our great leader. In particular, both in content and in form the numerous poems by workers, peasants and soldiers appearing on wall-newspapers and blackboards represent an entirely new age.

Of course, these are merely the first fruits of our socialist cultural revolution, the first step in our long march of ten thousand *li*. In order to safeguard and extend these achievements and to carry the socialist cultural revolution through to the end, we must work hard for a long time.

3. The struggle between the two roads on the front of literature and art is bound to be reflected in the armed forces, which do not exist in a vacuum and cannot possibly be an exception to the rule. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is the chief instrument of the dictatorship of the



proletariat in China. It represents the mainstay and hope of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world. Without a people's army, neither the victory of our revolution nor the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism would have been possible, and the people would have nothing. Therefore, the enemy will inevitably try to undermine it from all sides and will inevitably use literature and art as weapons in his attempt to corrupt it ideologically. However, after Chairman Mao pointed out that basically, literary and art circles had not carried out the policies of the Party over the past 15 years, certain persons still claimed that the problem of the orientation of literature and art in our armed forces had already been solved, and that the problem to be solved was mainly one of raising the artistic level. This point of view is wrong and is not based on concrete analysis. In point of fact, some works of literature and art by our armed forces have a correct orientation and have reached a comparatively high artistic level; some have a correct orientation but their artistic level is low; others have serious defects or mistakes in both political orientation and artistic form, and still others are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. The August First Studio has produced as bad a film as the *Pressgang*. This shows that the work in literature and art in the armed forces has also come under the influence of the black line to a greater of lesser degree. Besides, we have as yet trained relatively few creative workers who are really up to the mark; the ideological problems in creative work are still numerous, and the ranks are still not so pure. We must analyse and solve these problems properly.

4. The Liberation Army must play an important role in the socialist cultural revolution. Comrade Lin Piao has kept a firm hold on the work in literature and art since he has been in charge of the work of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party. The many instructions he has given are correct. "The Resolution on Strengthening Political and Ideological Work in the Armed Forces" adopted at the enlarged session of the Military Commission clearly specified that the aim of the work in literature and art in the armed forces was "to serve the cause of fostering proletarian ideology and liquidating bourgeois ideology and consolidating and improving fighting capacity in close conjunction with the tasks of the armed forces and in the context of their ideological situation." There is already a nucleus of literary and art workers in the armed forces whom we have trained and who have been tempered in revolutionary war. A number of good works have been produced in the armed forces. Therefore, the Liberation Army must play its due role in the socialist cultural revolution

and must fight bravely and unswervingly to carry out the policy that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve socialism.

5. In the cultural revolution, there must be both destruction and construction. Leaders must take personal charge and see to it that good models are created. The bourgeoisie has its reactionary "monologue on creating the new." We, too, should create what is new and original, new in the sense that it is socialist and original in the sense that it is proletarian. The basic task of socialist literature and art is to work hard and create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. Only when we have such models and successful experience in creating them will we be able to convince people, to consolidate the positions we hold, and to knock the reactionaries' stick out of their hands.

On this question, we should have a sense of pride and not of inferiority.

We must destroy the blind faith in what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s (in the Kuomintang areas of China). At that time, the Left-wing movement in literature and art followed Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line politically, organisationally it practised closed-doorism and sectarianism, and its ideas on literature and art were virtually those of Russian bourgeois literary critics such as Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov and of Stanislavsky in the theatrical field, all of whom were bourgeois democrats in tsarist Russia with bourgeois ideas and not Marxist ones. The bourgeois-democratic revolution is a revolution in which one exploiting class replaces another. It is only the proletarian socialist revolution that finally destroys all exploiting classes. Therefore, we must not take the ideas of any bourgeois revolutionary as guiding principles for our proletarian movement in ideology or in literature and art. There were of course good things in the 1930s too, namely, the militant Left-wing movement in literature and art led by Lu Hsun. Around the middle of the 1930s, some Left-wing leaders under the influence of Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line abandoned the Marxist-Leninist class standpoint and put forward the slogan of "a literature of national defence." This was a bourgeois slogan. It was Lu Hsun who put forward the proletarian slogan of "a mass literature of the national revolutionary war." Some Left-wing writers and artists, notably Lu Hsun, also raised the slogans that literature and art should serve the workers and peasants and that the workers and peasants should create their own literature and art. However, no systematic solution was found for the fundamental problem of the integration



of literature and art with the workers, peasants and soldiers. The great majority of those Left-wing writers and artists were bourgeois nationalist-democrats, and a number failed to pass the test of the democratic revolution, while others have not given a good account of themselves under the test of socialism.

We must destroy blind faith in Chinese and foreign classical literature. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. His criticism of the modernist literature and art of the bourgeoisie was very sharp. But he uncritically took over what are known as the classic of Russia and Europe, and the consequences were bad. The classical literature and art of China and of Europe (including Russia) and even American films have exercised a considerable influence on our literary and art circles, and some poeple have regarded them as holy writ and accepted them in their entirety. We should draw a lesson from Stalin's experience. Old and foreign works should be studied too, and refusal to study them would be wrong; but we must study them critically, making the past serve the present and foreign works serve China.

As for the relatively good Soviet revolutionary works of literature and art which appeared after the October Revolution, they too must be analysed and not blindly worshipped or, still less, blindly imitated. Blind imitation can never become art. Literature and art can only spring from the life of the people which is their sole source. This is borne out by the whole history of literature and art, past and present, Chinese and foreign.

The rising forces in the world invariably defeat the forces of decay. Our People's Liberation Army was weak and small at the beginning, but it eventually became strong and defeated the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionary. Confronted with the excellent revolutionary situation at home and abroad and our glorious tasks, we should be proud to be thoroughgoing revolutionaries. We must have the confidence and courage to do things never previously attempted, because ours is a revolution to eliminate all exploiting calsses and systems of exploitation once and for all and to root out all exploiting-class ideologies, which poison the minds of the people. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, we must create a new socialist revolutionary literature and art worthy of our great country, our great Party, our great people and our great Army. This will be a most brilliant new literature and art opening up a new era in human history.

But it is no easy matter to create good models. Strategically we must take the difficulties in creative work lightly, but tactically we must

take them seriously. To create a fine work is an arduous process, and the comrades in charge of creative work must never adopt a bureaucratic or casual attitude but must work really hard and share the writers' and artists' joys and hardships. It is essential to get first-hand material as far as possible, or when this is impossible at least to get the material at second hand. There should be no fear of failures or mistakes. Allowance should be made for them, and people must be permitted to correct their mistakes. It is necessary to rely on the masses, follow the line of "from the masses, to the masses," and repeatedly undergo the test of practice over a long period, so that a work may become better and better and achieve the unity of revolutionary political content and the best possible artistic form. In the course of practice it is necessary to sum up experience in good time and gradually grasp the laws of various forms of arts. Otherwise, no good models can be created.

We should give the fullest attention to the themes of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and it would be entirely wrong to ignore them.

A serious effort should now be made to create works of literature and art about the three great military campaigns of Liaohsi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin and other important campaigns while the comrades who led and directed them are still alive. There are many important revolutionary themes, historical and contemporary, on which work urgently needs to be done in a planned and systematic way. A success must be made of the film, *The Great Wall Along the South China Sea.* The film *The Long March* must be revised successfully. A nucleus of truly proletarian writers and artists should be trained in the process.

6. People engaged in the work of literature and art, whether they are leaders or writers and artists, must all practise the Party's democratic centralism. We favour "rule by the voice of the many" and oppose "rule by the voice of one man alone." We must follow the mass line. In the past, some people pressed the leadership to nod and applaud when they produced something. This is a very bad style of work. As for the cadres in charge of creative work in literature and art, they should always bear two points in mind: First, be good at listening to the opinions of the broad masses; second, be good at analysing these opinions, accept the right ones and reject the wrong ones. Completely flawless works of literature and art are non-existent, and as long as the keynote of a work is good, we should help improve it by pointing out its shortcomings and errors, Bad works should not be hidden away, but should be shown to the masses for their



comment. We must not be afraid of the masses but should have firm trust in them, and they can give us much valuable advice. Besides, this will improve their powers of discrimination. It costs several hundred thousand or as much as a million yuan to produce a film. To hide a bad film away is wasteful. Why not show it to the public so as to educate writers and artists and the masses and at the same time make up for its cost to the state and thus turn it to good account ideologically and economically? The film *Beleaguered City* has been shown for a long time but it received no criticism. Shouldn't the *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* write an article criticising it?

7. We must encourage revolutionary and militant literary and art criticism by the masses, and break the monopoly over literary and art criticism by a few so-called critics (those wrong in orientation and deficient in militancy). We must place the weapon of literary and art criticism in the hands of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate professional critics with critics from among the masses. We must make this criticism more militant and oppose unprincipled vulgar praise. We must reform our style of writing, encourage the writing of short, popular articles, turn our literary and art criticism into daggers and hand-grenades and learn to handle them effectively in close combat. Of course, we must at the same time write longer systematic articles of theoretical depth. We oppose the use of terminology and jargon to frighten people. Only in this way can we disarm the self-styled literary and art critics. The *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* and the *Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i* should set up special columns, regular or occasional, for comment on literature and art. Warm support should be given to good or basically good works and their shortcomings pointed out in a helpful way. And principled criticism must be made of bad works. In the theoretical field, we must thoroughly and systematically criticise typical fallacies on literature and art and the many other fallacies spread by certain people who attempt to falsify history and to boost themselves in such books as the *History of the Development of the Chinese Film, A Collection of Historical Data on the Chinese Drama Movement in the Last Fifty Years* and *A Preliminary Study of the Repertory of Peking Opera.* We must not mind being accused of "brandishing the stick." When some people charge us with over-simplification and crudeness, we must analyse these charges. Some of our criticisms are basically correct but are not sufficiently convincing because our analysis and evidence are inadequate and should be improved. With some people it is a matter of understanding; they start by accusing us of over-simplification

and crudeness but eventually drop the charge. But when the enemy condemns our correct criticisms as over-simplified and crude, we must stand firm. Literary and art criticism should become one of our day-to-day tasks, an important method both in the struggle in the field of literature and art and in Party leadership in this field of work. Without correct literary and art criticism it is impossible for creative work to flourish.

8. In the struggle against foreign revisionism in the field of literature and art, we must not only catch small figures like Chukhrai. We should catch the big ones, catch Sholokhov and dare to tackle him. He is the father of revisionist literature and art. His *And Quiet Flows the Don, Virgin Soil Upturned* and *The Fate of a Man* have exercised a big influence on a number of Chinese writers and readers. Shouldn't the Army organise people to study his works and write convincing critical articles containing well-documented analysis? This will have a profound influence in China and the rest of the world. The same thing should be done with similar works by Chinese writers.

9. As for method, we must combine revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in our creative work, and must not adopt bourgeois critical realism or bourgeois romanticism.

The fine qualities of the worker, peasant and soldier heroes who have emerged under the guidance of the correct line of the Party are the concentrated expression of the class character of the proletariat. We must work with enthusiasm and do everything possible to create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. We should create typical characters. Chairman Mao has said that "life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life." We should not confine ourselves to actual persons and events. Nor should we portray a hero only after he is dead. In fact, there are many more living heroes than dead ones. This means that our writers must concentrate and generalise experience from real life accumulated over a long period of time to create a variety of typical characters.

When we write about revolutionary wars, we must first be clear about their nature—ours is the side of justice, and the enemy's is the side of injustice. Our works must show our arduous struggles and heroic sacrifices, but must also express revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism. While depicting the cruelty of war, we must not exaggerate or glorify its horrors. While depicting the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle, we must not exaggerate or glorify the sufferings involved. The cruelty of a



revolutionary war and revolutionary heroism, the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary optimism constitute a unity of opposites, but we must be clear about which is the principal aspect of the contradiction; otherwise, if we make the wrong emphasis, a bourgeois pacifist trend will emerge. Moreover, while depicting our people's revolutionary war, whether in the stage in which guerilla warfare was primary and mobile warfare supplementary, or in the state in which mobile warfare was primary, we must correctly show the relationship between the regular forces, the guerillas and the people's militia and between the armed masses and the unarmed masses under the leadership of the Party.

Regarding the selection of subject-matter, only when we plunge into the thick of life and do a good job of investigation and study can we make the selection properly and correctly. Playwrights should unreservedly plunge into the heat of the struggle for a long period. Directors, actors and actresses, cameramen, painters and composers should also go into the thick of life and make serious investigations and studies. In the past, some works distorted the historical facts, concentrating on the portrayal of erroneous lines, instead of the correct line; some described heroic characters who nevertheless invariably violate discipline, or created heroes only to have them die in a contrived tragic ending; other works do not present heroic characters but only "middle" characters who are actually backward people, or caricatures of workers, peasants or soldiers; in depicting the enemy, they fail to expose his class nature as an exploiter and oppressor of the people, and even glamorise him; still others are concerned only with love and romance, pandering to philistine tastes and claiming that love and death are the eternal themes. All such bourgeois and revisionist trash must be resolutely opposed.

10. Re-educate the cadres in charge of the work of literature and art and reorganise the ranks of writers and artists. For historical reasons, before the whole country was liberated it was rather difficult for us proletarians to train our own workers in literature and art in the areas under enemy rule. Our cultural level was relatively low and our experience limited. Many of our workers in literature and art had received a bourgeois education. In the course of their revolutionary activities in literature and art, some failed to pass the test of enemy persecution and turned traitor, while others failed to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas and became rotten. In the base areas, we trained a considerable number of revolutionary workers in literature and art. Especially after the publication of the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," they had the correct orientation,

embarked on the path of integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and played a positive role in the revolution. The weakness was that, after the country was liberated and we entered the big cities, many comrades failed to resist the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of our writers and artists, with the result that some of them have fallen out in the course of advance. Ours is the literature and art of the proletariat, the literature and art of the Party. The principle of proletarian Party spirit is the outstanding feature distinguishing us from other classes. It must be understood that representatives of other classes also have their principle of party spirit, and that they are very stubborn too. We must firmly adhere to the principle of proletarian Party spirit and combat the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in creative thinking, in organisational line and in style of work. As for bourgeois ideology, we must draw a clear line of demarcation and must on no account enter into peaceful co-existence with it. A variety of problems now exist in literary and art circles which, for most people, are problems of ideological understanding and of raising such understanding through education. We must earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, creatively study and apply them, tie up what we learn from them with our own thinking and practice and study them with specific problems in mind. Only in this way can we really understand, grasp and master Chairman Mao's thought. We must plunge into the thick of life for a long period of time, integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers to raise our class consciousness, remould our ideology and wholeheartedly serve the people without any regard for personal fame or gain. It is necessary to teach our comrades to study Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's works and to remain revolutionary all their lives, and pay special attention to the maintenance of proletarian integrity in later life, which is not at all easy.

III

By taking part in the forum, we have acquired a relatively clear understanding of all the questions mentioned above, and our opinions on them now correspond with the realities in the work in literature and art among the armed forces. As a result, the level of our political consciousness has been raised, and our determination to carry out the socialist cultural revolution and our sense of responsibility in this respect have likewise been strengthened. We will continue to study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously, make serious investigations and studies and do well in our cultivation of "experimental plots" and the production of good models, so as to take the lead in the current struggle of the cultural revolution to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology.

(*Peking Review*, No. 23, June 2, 1967)



*Appendix II*

# *DIRECTIVES ISSUED BY MAO TSE-TUNG DURING THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION*

A series of directives was issued by Mao Tse-tung to guide the course of the great cultural revolution. These directives were usually qualified by the word 'latest,' presumably to distinguish them from earlier ones. The exact date on which a given directive was issued cannot be ascertained in most cases, as the official press usually prefaced it with the words, "Chairman Mao recently pointed out..." Once a directive was issued, the people in the whole country were invariably called upon to study, implement, disseminate and defend it with vigour and in an exemplary fashion. Following are the directives, listed chronologically according to the approximate date of publication:

## *The People's Liberation Army Should Be A Great School*

"The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. In this great school, our armymen should learn politics, military affairs and culture. They can also engage in agricultural production and side occupations, run some medium-sized or small factories and manufacture a number of products to meet their own needs or exchange with the State at equal values. They can also do mass work and take part in the socialist education movement in the factories and villages. After the socialist education movement, they can always find mass work to do, in order to ensure that the army will forever be at one with the masses. They should also participate in each struggle of the cultural revolution as it occurs to criticise the bourgeoisie. In this way, the army can concurrently study, engage in agriculture, run factories and do mass work. Of course, these tasks should be properly co-ordinated, and a difference should be made between the primary and secondary tasks. Each army unit should engage in one or two of the three tasks of agriculture, industry and mass work, but not in all three at the same time. In this way, our army of several million will be able to play a very great role indeed."

(From the *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorial, "Turn Our Army into a Great School of Mao Tse-tung's Thought," August 1, 1966)

*The Whole Country Should Become A Great School of Mao Tse-tung's Thought*

"While the main activity of the workers is in industry, they should at the same time also study military affairs, politics and culture. They, too, should take part in the socialist education movement and in criticising the bourgeoisie. Where conditions permit, they should also engage in agricultural production and side occupations, as is done at the Tach'ing Oilfield.

"While the main activity of the peasants in the communes is agriculture (including forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations and fishery), they should at the same time study military affairs, politics and culture. Where conditions permit, they should also collectively run some small factories. They should also criticise the bourgeoisie.

"This holds good for students too. While their main task is to study, they should in addition to their studies, learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs. They should also criticise the bourgeoisie. The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionised, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue.

"Where conditions permit, those working in commerce, in the service trades and in Party and government organisations should also do the same."

(From the *Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial of August 1, 1966 entitled, "The Whole Country should Become A Great School of Mao Tse-tung's Thought." This directive is usually referred to as the "May 7 Directive.")

*On Rebellion*

"To rebel is justified!"

(From the *Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial, "It's Fine!" August 23, 1966. It was changed to "To rebel against the reactionaries is justified!" in the later stage of the power-seizing struggle)

*Call for the Masses To Seize Power*

"Proletarian revolutionaries, form a great alliance to seize power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road!"

(From a *Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial of January 22, 1967)



*PLA and the Masses*

"The PLA should support the broad masses of the Left."

(From a CCP Central Committee Directive, January 23, 1967)

*On 'Three-in-One Combination'*

"In every place and unit where power must be seized, it is necessary to carry out the policy of the revolutionary 'three-in-one' combination in establishing a provisional organ of power which is revolutionary and representative and enjoys proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called the revolutionary committee."

(First appeared in *Hung-ch'i*, No. 5, 1967)

*The PLA To Give Military Training to School Students*

"The Army should give political and military 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 organisation, 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 popularise it step by step. And the students should be persuaded to implement the teaching of Marx that without emancipating all mankind, the proletariat cannot achieve its own final emancipation, and in political and military 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."

(This is known as the "March 7 Directive" and was issued on March 7, 1967)

*"Three Faiths and Three Reliances"*

"We must have faith in and rely on the masses, have faith in and rely on the People's Liberation Army and have faith in and rely on the majority of the cadres."

(From an editorial of *Hung-ch'i*, No. 6, 1967, calling upon the people to support the Army and the Army to cherish the people)

*On the Working Class*

"There is no fundamental clash of interest within the working class. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no reason whatsoever for the working class to split into two big irreconcilable organisations."

(This was first given in June 1967 but was repeated in a joint editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao*, *Hung-ch'i* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao*, October 1, 1967)

*Red Guards and the Great Alliance*

"The revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary student organisations should realise the revolutionary great alliance. If both sides are revolutionary mass organisations, they should realise the revolutionary great alliance in accordance with revolutionary principles."

(From a joint editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao*, *Hung-ch'i* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao*, October 1, 1967)

*Combat Self-interest*

"It is imperative to combat self-interest and criticise and repudiate revisionism."

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, October 6, 1967)

*On the Formation of Revolutionary Great Alliance*

"All factories, schools, departments and agencies, and enterprise units must form revolutionary great alliance under the revolutionary principle and according to different systems, business lines and trades, and classes in schools, so as to facilitate the establishment of revolutionary 'three-in-one' combination, the conducting of mass criticism and repudiation and of struggle-criticism-transformation in all units, the grasping of revolution and the promotion of production, work and war preparedness."

(From "Notice Concerning the Carrying Out of Revolutionary Great Alliance According to Systems," *Jen-min Jih-pao*, October 18, 1967)



*On Revolutionary Organisational Forms*

"Revolutionary organisational forms should serve the needs of revolutionary struggle. When an organisational form no longer conforms to the needs of the struggle it should be abolished."

(From an editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao*, October 19, 1967)

*Treatment of Cadres*

"The key to forming the revolutionary "three-in-one' combination, consolidating the revolutionary great alliance and making a success of struggle-criticism-transformation in each unit is the correct attitude in dealing with cadres, and this question must be solved properly."

(Shanghai *Wen-hui Pao*, October 21, 1967)

*Revolution in Education*

"The proletarian revolution in education should be carried out by relying on the masses of the revolutionary students, teachers and workers in the schools, by relying on the activists among them, namely those proletarian revolutionaries who are determined to carry the great proletarian revolution through to the end."

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, November 3, 1967)

*On Current Situation*

"The situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the country is excellent, not just good. The entire situation is better than ever before. An important sign on this excellent situation is that the masses of the people have been fully aroused. Never before has a mass movement like this one been unfolded so extensively and penetratingly as it has this time."

(From a *Jen-min Jih-pao* article of November 10, 1967, entitled "The Situation is Better Than Ever Before" by Jen Li-hsin)

*On Cadres*

"The question of relations between superiors and subordinates should

be properly solved, and the relations between cadres and the masses should be harmonised. From now on, cadres should go to the grass-roots level to make investigations; they should persist in the mass line, frequently confer with the masses on matters that have come up, and be their pupils. In a certain sense, the fighters with rich practical experience are the wisest and the most talented."

(Shanghai *Wen-hui Pao* editorial of November 10, 1967 )

*PLA and Study Courses*

"Fighters should be included in the study courses sponsored by the Army."

(From an editorial of *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* of December 12, 1967 entitled, "Always Remain Pupils of the masses")

*Programme for Rectifying and Building the Party*

"The Party organisation should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous and vital organisation of vanguards which can lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in struggle against the class enemy."

(From the New Year's Day editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao,* 1968 )

*On Mao's Thought Study Courses*

"To run study courses is a good method. Many problems can be settled in the study courses."

(From a joint editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* of February 5, 1968 greeting the establishment of the Hopei Provincial Revolutionary Committee )

*On Economy*

"Practise stricter economy in making revolution."

(From Shanghai *Wen-hui Pao* of February 23, 1968 )



*Basic Experience of Revolutionary Committees*

"The basic experience of revolutionary committees is this – they are three-fold: They have representatives of revolutionary cadres, representatives of the armed forces and representatives of the revolutionary masses. This forms a revolutionary 'three-in-one' combination. The revolutionary committee should exercise unified leadership, eliminate redundant or overlapping administrative structures, follow the policy of better troops and simpler administration and organise a revolutionised leading group which keeps in contact with the masses."

(From a joint editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and Chieh-fang-chun Pao* of March 30, 1968, entitled "Revolutionary Committees are Fine!")

*On the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*

"The great proletarian cultural revolution is in essence a great political revolution under the conditions of socialism made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle between the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership on the one hand and the Kuomintang reactionaries on the other, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie."

(From a joint editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* of April 10, 1968 )

*On Factionalism*

"We should make a class analysis with regard to factionalism. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie are in fact two big factions diametrically opposed to each other. We must adhere to the factionalism of the proletarian revolutionaries. This means that we must adhere to the Party spirit of the vanguards of the proletariat, that is the revolutionary spirit of the Left armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must oppose all manifestation of bourgeois factionalism within the revolutionary ranks, that is the factionalism of the Right opportunist, conservative faction, the factionalism of the extreme 'Left' faction which is 'left' in form but 'right' in essence, and the factionalism of all counter-revolutionary double-dealing factions. Only in this way can the people of the proletarian revolutionary faction consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance

in accordance with revolutionary principles, distinguish the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves from those among the people, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end."

(From a joint editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* of April 18, 1968 greeting the establishment of the Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee )

*CCP, KMT and the Masses*

"To protect or to suppress the masses of the people —— this is a fundamental distinction between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

(From a joint editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* of June 3, 1968 acclaiming the founding of the Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee )

*On Education*

"It is still necessary to have colleges – here I refer, in the main, to colleges of science and engineering. However, the period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionised, proletarian politics should be put in command and the road for training technicians from among the workers, which the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant followed, should be taken. Students should be selected from the workers and peasants, who have practical experience. They should return to production after a few years of schooling."

(From the editor's note of *Jen-min Jih-pao* of July 22, 1968 on an investigation report entitled "The Road for Training Engineering and Technical Personnel as Shown by the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant.")

*On the Working Class*

"Our country has seven hundred million people and the working class is the leading class. Its leading role in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work should be brought into full play. The working class also should continuously raise its political consciousness in struggle."

(From a joint editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* of August 15, 1968 entitled



"Warmly Acclaim the Establishment of the Yunnan Provincial Revolutionary Committee.")

*On Proletarian Revolution in Education*

"In carrying out the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working class leadership; it is essential for the masses of workers to take part and, in co-operation with Liberation Army fighters, bring about a revolutionary three-in-one combination, together with the activists among the students, teachers and workers in the schools who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end. The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and take part in fulfilling all the tasks in the schools of struggle-criticism-transformation, and they will always lead the schools. In the countryside, the schools should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants – the most reliable ally of the working class."

(From "The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything" by Yao Wen-yuan, member of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Group, in the No. 2 1968 issue of *Hung-ch'i* )

*On 'Struggle-Criticism-Transformation' in Factories and Other Enterprises*

"The struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a revolutionary committee of the three-in-one combination, mass criticism and repudiation, purifying the class ranks, Party organisation, simplifying organisational structure, changing unreasonable rules and regulations and sending people who work in offices to lower levels." (*Ibid.*)

*On the Revolution in Journalism*

"Newspapers must not be run behind closed doors. They must face the masses, and must have the general orientation and at the same time be fresh and lively."

(From an article by the editorial departments of *Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* appearing in the No. 2 issue, 1968, of *Hung-ch'i*, entitled: "Carry the Great Revolution on the Front of Journalism Through to the End —— Repudiate the Counter-revolutionary Revisionist Line on Journalism of China's Khrushchev.")

*On Re-educating Intellectuals*

"The majority or the vast majority of the students trained in the old schools and colleges can integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and some have made inventions or innovations; they must however, be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of the correct line and thoroughly change their old ideology. Such intellectuals will be welcomed by the workers, peasants and soldiers."

(Form an article by commentators of *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Hung-ch'i*, entitled "On the Question of Re-educating Intellectuals," in the September 10, 1968 issue of *Hung-chi*)

*On Cadres' Participation in Labour*

"Sending the masses of cadres to do manual work gives them an excellent opportunity to study once again; this should be done by all cadres except those who are too old, weak, ill or disabled. Those who are now working as cadres also should go in groups to do manual work."

(From a *Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial note of October 5, 1968, introducing the experience of the "5.7 [May 7th] Cadre School" in Heilungkiang in sending cadres to do manual work)

*On the Work of Party Rectification, Party Building and Reliance on the Masses*

"A human being has arteries and veins and his heart makes the blood circulate; one breathes through the lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling oxygen afresh, that is, getting rid of the waste and letting in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the waste and let in the fresh for only in this way can it be full of vigour. Without eliminating waste and getting fresh blood the Party has no vigour."

"Our power, who gives it to us? The working class gives it, the poor and lower-middle peasants give it, and the masses of labouring people who comprise over 90 per cent of the population give it. We represent the proletariat and the masses, and have overthrown the enemies of the people; the people therefore support us. One of the basic principles of the Communist Party is to rely directly on the revolutionary masses."

(From the editorial of *Hung-ch'i*, No. 4, 1968,



entitled, "Take in Fresh Blood from the Proletariat — An Important Question in Party Rectification.")

*On the Cultural Revolution*

"The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."

(From the Communique of the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, adopted on October 31, 1968)

**Chiang-Yung-Hui ( 講 用 會 )**

*"Discussion-application meeting"*

This term is frequently used in the Communist press following the establishment of Mao Tse-tung's thought study courses throughout China in October 1967. It means meetings held to study Mao Tse-tung's thought and to learn how to apply it.

**Chieh-Kai-Tzu ( 揭 蓋 子 )**

*"Remove the lid"*

The term "lid" was first used by certain intellectuals during the "hundred flowers blooming" period of 1957. These intellectuals were later denounced as "rightists" in the rectification campaign. "The lid" denotes any hindrance to progress.

Anything that hampers thought reform is referred to as ( 思 想 蓋 子 ) meaning "an ideological lid."

**Ching-Chi-Chu-I ( 經 濟 主 義 )**

*"Economism"*

This refers to the practice of using wage increases and other material benefits to undermine the "revolutionary fervour" of the working people and lure them away from the Maoist line—meaning the "proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao."

**Erh-Shen-Hsin ( 二 深 信 )**

*"Two firm beliefs"*

The firm belief that the thought of Mao Tse-tung can command everything, reform everything and actuate everything, and the firm belief that the broad revolutionary masses listen best to Chairman Mao's words and can educate themselves.

**Erh-Yueh-Ni-Liu ( 二 月 逆 流 )**

*"The February adverse current"*

In February 1967, T'an Chen-lin, Vice-Premier and member of the CCP Political Bureau, spoke against the injustice done to Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and many other "power-holders". This was regarded by the "rebels" as a signal for a counter-attack by the disgraced leading cadres and was thus called the "adverse current" in the course of the cultural revolution.

**Fan-Ssu-Yu ( 反 四 右 )**

*"Oppose four Rightist tendencies"*

The "four Rightist tendencies" are Rightist opportunism, Rightist splittism, Rightist capitulationism and Rightist reversal of verdicts.

**Heh-Hsien (黑綫)**

*"Black line"*

This term is used to condemn the so-called "anti-Party and anti-socialist" thoughts reflected in writings.

**Heh-Pang (黑幫)**

*"Black gang"*

This is usually applied to people in the fields of literature, culture and propaganda charged with being anti-Mao, anti-Party and anti-socialism, but also includes dissident Party officials at times.

**Ho-Hsi-Ni ( 和 稀 泥 )**

*"Mixing thin mud"*

A slang expression current in North China used by the revolutionary masses to criticise the way the great revolutionary alliance and the "three-in-one combination" were being formed. It implies that the alliances contain



not only the revolutionaries, but counter-revolutionaries and bad elements as well.

**Hsiao-T'uan-T'i-Chu-I ( 小 團 體 主 義 )**

*"Small group mentality"*

This is applied to people who are concerned only with the interests of a particular group but not the overall interests.

**Hsiu-Yang (修養)**

*"Self-cultivation"*

A simplified name for Liu Shao-ch'i's work *How To Be A Good Communist.*

**Hung-Se-Chieh-Pan-Jen ( 紅 色 接 班 人 )**

*"Red successors"*

This refers to young communists who in time will take over the Party and the government from the hands of the aged Communists. Mao Tse-tung designated the five necessary qualifications for the successors as follows:

1. Genuine Marxist-Leninists;
2. Revolutionaries who serve the majority of the people of China and the whole world;
3. Proletarian political leaders capable of rallying and working with the overwhelming majority;
4. Cadres who set an example in applying the Party's democratic centralism; and
5. Modest and prudent and on guard against arrogance and impetuosity.

**Huo-Hsueh-Huo-Yung ( 活 學 活 用 )**

*"Creative study and application"* [of such things as Mao Tse-tung's writings or People's Liberation Army's political and ideological work]

Individuals, enterprises and work units in China are urged to learn from Mao Tse-tung's written work or PLA's way of doing things in order to lay a firm grip on its essential spirit, but apply it to each individual case as they see fit.

**I-Fen-Wei-Erh ( 一 分 為 二 )**

*"One divided into two"*

This refers to a "Marxist method of dialectical analysis." According to Chinese interpretation, it means that one must look at a person or work from two sides: the good features and the defects, positive and negative factors. Struggle of one against the other brings about progress in a person and uninterrupted development in work. One is supposed to see more of others' abilities and attainments and less of their shortcomings and failures, so that one knows what one lacks and then tries to catch up with the advanced.

**I-Pang-I; I-Tui-Hung ( 一幫一；一對紅 )**

*"With one assisting another ; a pair will become 'red'"*

With one who is "red" assisting another who is not, both will be "red." The underlying idea is for the "progressive" to help the "backward," so that everybody will be progressive.

"Red" denotes politically oriented and reliable.

**I-P'ien-Hung ( 一 片 紅 )**

*"All Red"*

The whole country (China) is said to be "all red" when revolutionary committees were established in all 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in China.

**I-Yuan-Hua-Ling-Tao ( 一 元 化 領 導 )**

*"Unified leadership."*



At a time when the "reactionary theory of many centres" was prevalent throughout the country, Mao Tse-tung gave instruction that the revolutionary committees should "exercise unified leadership."

**Kan-San-Hung ( 捍 三 紅 )**

*"Defend three reds"*

The "three reds" are the red political power (revolutionary committees), the proletarian headquarters (headed by Mao Tse-tung with Lin Piao as the deputy head) and the PLA. During the power-seizure period, the revolutionary masses were called upon to defend them.

**La-I-P'i, Ta-I-P'i ( 拉一批，打一批 )**

*"Gang up with one group of people to attack another group"*

A phrase used by Mao/Lin's supporters to describe the method allegedly employed by the Liu/Teng faction in sabotaging the cultural revolution.

**Lao-San-P'ien ( 老三篇 )**

*"Three much-read articles" or "Three good old articles"*

Among the articles in Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, there are three entitled, "In Memory of Norman Bethune" (written on December 21, 1939), "Serve the People" (September 8, 1944) and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains" (June 11, 1945). During the socialist cultural revolution, a campaign to study these three articles was launched first in the PLA and later among workers in other fields in China. These three articles, old thought they are, are regarded as the indispensable guide in remoulding one's world outlook and the most powerful weapon to break bureaucratic habits.

**Lao-Ta-Nan-Wen-T'i ( 老大難問題 )**

*"Long-standing, big and difficult problems"*

This phrase refers to important problems which have remained un-

solved for a long time. A variation is Lao-Ta-Lan-Tan-Wei ( 老大難單位 ) meaning "units with long-standing, big and difficult problems."

**Liang-Ssu-San-Ch'a ( 兩思三查 )**

*"Two recollections and three examinations"*

Recollection of sufferings in the old society, recollection of struggles in the great cultural revolution; examination of one's attitude toward Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, examination of one's words and deeds to see if they conformed to the main orientation, and examination of one's determination to carry to GPCR through to the end.

**Lo-Shih (落實)**

*"Put into full effect"*

This phrase is extensively used in the Chinese press. It means to realise or carry out. Example: "Let the 'four-firsts' and 'three-eight working style' lo-shih (be fully implemented) in public health work, or in production." The two words are also used as a noun: hence ( 三落實 ), meaning that work has been properly carried out in three aspects.

**Min-Ping-Kung-Tso-San-Lo-Shih ( 民兵工作三落實 )**

*"Put the three aspects of militia work on a solid basis"*

This is a directive issued by Mao Tse-tung in 1962 in connection with the "everyone a soldier" movement. It called upon the people throughout the country to do a good job in the militia work in three aspects: organisational, political and military.

(See also Lo-Shih above.)

**Nan-Ni-Wan Ching-Shen ( 南泥灣精神 )**

*"Nanniwan spirit"*

It refers to the spirit of the 8th Route Army in facing hardships when



they were engaged in land reclamation in Nanniwan, Shensi, during the "Long March" period. This phrase has been used to illustrate a dauntless spirit in tackling arduous tasks.

**San-Ch'a-Yun-Tung ( 三查運動 )**

*"Three check-up campaign"*

It means the uncovering of diehard capitalist roaders, of renegades and spies, and of the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, with a view to eliminating them all.

**San-Chia-Ts'un ( 三家村 )**

*"Three-Family Village"*

This refers to an "anti-Party and anti-socialist clique" comprising Teng T'o, a former member of the Secretariat of the Peking Municipal Party Committee; Wu Han, ex-vice mayor of Peking; and Liao Mo-sha, former director of the United Front Department of the Peking Municipal Party Committee.

**San-Chieh-Ho ( 三結合 )**

*"Three-in-one combination"*

This term was first used during the "Leap Forward" period to denote the combination of leading cadres, experts and the masses (workers) in the technical innovation movement. During the cultural revolution movement, however, this same term was used to denote the combination of leading members of revolutionary mass organisations, leading members of PLA units in a locality and leading cadres of Party and state organisations in the new organs of power (the revolutionary committees).

**San-Chih-Liang-Chun ( 三支兩軍 )**

*"Three-support and two-military (tasks)"*

This refers to the tasks entrusted to the PLA in the course of the great

cultural revolution. The PLA is called upon to support the Left, support industry and support agriculture; give political and military training to students (Red Guards) and exercise military control in places and units where the Maoist rebels failed to seize power.

**San-Chung-Yu-Yun-Tung ( 三 忠 于 運 動 )**

*"Three-loyalty movement"*

This movement was launched in the spring of 1968, urging the masses, particularly the armed forces, to be "forever loyal to Chairman Mao, forever loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought and forever loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line."

**San-Fan-Fen-Tzu ( 三 反 份 子 )**

*"Three-anti elements"*

It refers to those charged with "anti-Party, anti-Mao Tse-tung's thought and anti-socialism" crimes.

**San-Hai ( 三 害 )**

*"Three evils"*

This refers to 'factionalism,' 'anarchism' and 'economism' – the three "evil means" allegedly employed by Liu Shao-ch'i's followers to sabotage the work of the revolutionary committees.

**San-Hsiang-Hsin, San-I-K'ao ( 三 相 信 , 三 依 靠 )**

*"Three faiths, three reliances"*

A simplified expression of Mao Tse-tung's directive: "Have faith in and rely on the masses, have faith in and rely on the PLA, and have faith in and rely on the majority of the cadres."



**San-Mien-Hung-Ch'i. ( 三 面 紅 旗 )**

*"Three red banners"*

The three red banners represent the general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's commune.

**San-Pa-Tso-Feng ( 三 八 作 風 )**

*"Three-eight working style"*

This refers to the three phrases and eight characters written by Mao Tse-tung to describe the working style that officers and men of the PLA were exhorted to adopt.

The three phrases are: correct political direction, a simple and arduous working style, and flexible strategy and tactics. The eight characters mean, "united, tense, stern and lively."

**San-Ta-Chi-Lu, Pa-Ta-Chu-I ( 三 大 紀 律 , 八 大 注 意 )**

*"The three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention"*

These were laid down by Mao Tse-tung during the War of Liberation, to be observed by the PLA. The three main rules of discipline are: (1) Obey orders in all your action; (2) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses; and (3) Turn in everything captured. The eight points for attention are: (1) Speak politely, (2) Pay fairly for what you buy; (3) Return everything you borrow; (4) Pay for anything you damage; (5) Do not hit or swear at people; (6) Do not damage crops; (7) Do not take liberties with women; and (8) Do not ill-treat captives.

**San-Ta-Ke-Ming-Yun-Tung ( 三 大 革 命 運 動 )**

*"Three great revolutionary movements"*

The three great revolutionary movements are the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation.

**San-Ta-Min-Chu ( 三 大 民 主 )**

*"Democracy in the three main fields"*

This refers to the three aspects of democratic life in the People's Liberation Army, namely, democracy in the political, economic and military fields. With regard to political democracy, fighters are politically on an equal footing with cadres and are free to criticise and voice their opinions against them and to put forward proposal regarding work in the army. With regard to economic democracy, the economic committee elected by the company's armymen meeting assists the company leadership in managing the company's mess and production and supervise expenditures to guard against corruption and waste and any violation of policies. With regard to military democracy, in periods of training there must be mutual instruction between cadres and fighters and among the fighters themselves, and there must be a review of the results of the instruction and learning. In periods of fighting, the rank and file should be aroused to discuss how to fulfil combat tasks and at the end of an engagement to review the fighting.

**San-T'iao-Piao-Chun ( 三 條 標 準 )**

*"Three-point criterion"*

This was put forth by Lin Piao for the training, selection and promotion of cadres, and first appeared in the *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* New Year's Day editorial of 1967. They are:

1. To hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and to be loyal to Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought;
2. To give prominence to proletarian politics and to keep in close contact with the masses; and
3. To have revolutionary vigour and drive.

**San-Tzu-I-Po ( 三 自 一 包 )**

*"Three freedoms and one contact"*

The three freedoms refer to extension of plots of land for private production, free markets and increase of private enterprises. One contract means allowing each household to assume a contractual obligation towards the



State for producing a fixed quantity of grain.

**Shan-T'ou-Chu-I ( 山 頭 主 義 )**

*"Mountain stronghold mentality"*

The phrase is derived from an old Chinese saying "Occupy a mountain and make oneself a king." It refers to the undesirable attitude of certain cadres and leaders of mass organisations who regard those areas or organisations under their control as their "kingdoms."

**Szu-Ch'ing Yun-tung ( 四 清 運 動 )**

*"Four clean-up movement"*

This campaign, referred to on December 26, 1964 as Szu-Ch'ing (four clean-ups) in the *Nan-fang Jih-pao*, was described by Premier Chou En-lai in his Report on the Work of the Government a few days previously as being of "great revolutionary and historic significance...In this movement it is necessary to carry out a cleaning up and capital construction in the political, economic, ideological and organisational fields in accordance with the socialist principle of thorough-going revolution and to conduct a profound class education and socialist education among the masses of the people so as to promote proletarian and eradicate bourgeois ideology."

In practice, this meant to tidy up the local Party organisation, screen and re-educate basic-level cadres and clean up the financial, operational and management systems in the people's communes.

**Szu-Chiu ( 四 舊 )**

*"Four olds"*

It refers to old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits. In China's great socialist cultural revolution, teen-age students were organised for the first time on August 18, 1966 in Peking, as "Red Guards" to eradicate old ideas, culture, customs and habits of "all the exploiting classes."

**Szu-Hao-Lien-Tui ( 四 好 連 隊 )**

*"Four-good company (of the Liberation Army)"*

This refers to companies of soldiers who were good in political ideology, good in three-eight working style (San-Pa-Tso-Feng, see above), good in military training, and good in management of the living conditions of men.

**Szu-Ke-I-Ch'ieh ( 四 個 一 切 )**

*"Four everythings"*

The four "everythings" are "Think of Chairman Mao in everything, obey Chairman Mao in everything, follow closely Chairman Mao in everything and everything for Chairman Mao." This is said to be a motto written down in his diary by the late Army hero Men Ho and was publicised for nationwide emulation.

**Szu-Ko-Ti-I (四 個 第 一)**

*"Four Firsts"*

This refers to Lin Piao's concept on the relationships between men and weapons, political and other work, all aspects of political work and ideological work, and books and living ideas. He made the oft-quoted statement, "Human factor is first, political work first, ideological work first and living ideas first."

**Szu-Pu (四 不)**

*"Four don'ts"*

This slogan was used during the drive to form "great revolutionary alliances." The revolutionary masses and armymen were asked not to say or do anything, or hold any meeting, or put up any big-character poster which is unfavourable to the formation of the "great revolutionary alliance."

**Szu-Ta (四大)**

*"Four greats"*



It denotes "great contending", "great blooming", "big-character posters" and "great debates". These are the four methods to carry out the "struggle by reasoning."

**Szu-Ta-Tzu-Yu ( 四 大 自 由 )**

*"Four great freedoms"*

A slogan allegedly put forward by Liu Shao-ch'i during the land reform period, which is denounced by the Maoists. It refers to the freedom to engage in usury, to hire labour, to sell land and to run private enterprises.

**Ta-Chai-Ching-Shen ( 大 寨 精 神 )**

*"Tachai spirit"*

"Tachai" is a production brigade of Tachai Commune in a proverty-stricken district of Shansi province. It is a national model for the spirit of self-reliance. It is said that by dogged effort, the peasants of Tachai during the past decade have transformed their barren rocky hillsides into fertile terraces.

All production brigades and teams throughout the country are told to "learn from the Tachai spirit."

**Ta-Chi-I-Ta-P'ien, Pao-Hu-I-Hsiao-Ts'o ( 打 擊 一 大 片 , 保 護 一 小 撮 )**

*"Hit hard at many in order to protect a handful"*

This is said to be a "component part of the bourgeois reactionary line of Liu Shao-ch'i" in contrast to Mao Tse-tung's teaching: "The target of attack must be narrowed and more people must be helped through education."

**Ta-Ch'ing-Ching-Shen ( 大 慶 精 神 )**

*"Tach'ing spirit"*

Tach'ing is the name of a large oilfield in China. Its exact location has never been made public. The term is intended to typify the hard-working spirit of workers in China.

**Ta-Ch'uan-Lien ( 大 串 連 )**

*"Great exchange of revolutionary experience"*

This term was widely used during the Red Guard movement. Red Guards going from one place to another to "exchange revolutionary experience" is called "ch'uan-lien".

**Ta-Chuo-Hung-Ch'i-Fan-Hung-Ch'i ( 打 着 紅 旗 反 紅 旗 )**

*"Waving red flags to oppose the red flag"*

This refers to the cunning tactic employed by Mao Tse-tung's opponents who pretended to be his followers but acted contrariwise.

**Ta-Min-Chu (大 民 主)**

*"Extensive democracy"*

According to an explanation given by Lin Piao, to practise "extensive democracy" is to permit the broad masses to use the media of free airing of views, big-character posters, great debates and extensive contacts, to criticise and supervise the Party and government leading institutions and leaders at all levels.

**Ta-Tse-Ch'iang-Ch'ao-Chua ( 打 ，砸 ，搶 ，抄 ，抓 )**

*"Beating, smashing, looting, ransacking and kidnapping"*

These are five acts of violence the Red Guards committed as they resorted to "struggle by violence."

**Ta-Tzu-Pao ( 大 字 報 )**

*"Big-character posters"*

These are propaganda posters written in big characters, stuck on walls or boards. These posters were widely used during the 1957 "anti-rightist" campaign and the 1968 commune movement. They are even more extensively



used in the present "cultural revolution." Even Mao Tse-tung himself wrote a big-character poster entitled, "Bombard the Headquarters" on August 5, 1966.

**Tang-Ti-San-Ta-Tso-Feng ( 黨 的 三 大 作 風 )**

*"Three essential aspects of the Party's style of work"*

A style of work, fostered by Mao Tse-tung, which essentially entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising self-criticism.

**To-Chung-Hsin-Lun ( 多 中 心 論 )**

*"The theory of many centres"*

The phrase first appeared in an editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao* of August 5, 1968. It says that the theory of many centres is a sort of bourgeois "mountain stronghold mentality." If every department and every unit adopted the attitude of "I am the centre," then there would be many centres in the country, resulting in no real centre at all. The editorial maintains that Chairman Mao's headquarters is the only centre in the country.

**Tou-P'i-Kai ( 鬥，批，改 )**

*"Struggle-criticism-transformation"*

This means to struggle against and crush those in authority who are taking the capitalist road; to criticise 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 super-structure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base.

**Tou-Ssu-P'i-Hsiu ( 鬥 私 批 修 )**

*"Combat selfishness and repudiate revisionism"*

This slogan-type instruction of Mao's was relayed by Lin Piao in his 1967 National Day speech. According to Lin, to combat selfishness is to

struggle against selfishness in one's own mind with Marxism-Leninism; to repudiate revisionism is to oppose it with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and to struggle against a handful of power-holders in the Party taking the capitalist road.

**T'ou-T'ou (頭 頭)**

*Literally "Head-head"*

It means "chieftains" of Red Guard factions (with a sense of contempt).

**T'u-Ku-Na-Hsin (吐 故 納 新)**

*"Get rid of the waste and let in the fresh"*

This is the Maoist method used in purging the Party of undesirable elements. "To get rid of the waste" is to get rid of those veteran Party leaders and members whose loyalty to Mao Tse-tung and his doctrines is questionable. "To let in the fresh" is to admit into the Party those "advanced elements of the proletariat" who have displayed utter loyalty to Mao during the power struggle.

**Tu-Ts'ao (毒 草)**

*"Poisonous Weed"*

All those literary and art works—books, articles, films, stage plays, songs, paintings, etc.—which are considered by the Maoists as against the interests of the Party and socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, are "poisonous weeds." A variation of this is Tu-Chien (毒 箭), meaning "poisoned arrow."

**T'uan-Chieh-P'i-P'ing-T'uan-Chieh (團 結 、批 評 、團 結)**

*"Unity-criticism-unity"*

This phrase refers to the formula set forth by Mao Tse-tung of "starting from the desire for unity, distinguishing between right and wrong through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis."



In other words, it is a method of conducting ideological struggles within the ranks of the Chinese Communist Party. To overcome Party members' objections to Party policies, leading Party cadres were told to criticise Party dissidents from the standpoint of a desire for unity and make them change their opinions so as to attain final unity among themselves.

**Wang-Ming-T'ou-Hsiang-Lu-Hsien (王 明 投 降 路 綫)**

*"Wang Ming capitulationist line"*

Wang Ming, pseudonym for Ch'en Shao-yu, studied at the Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow in 1925. He was one of the two leading figures among the "Twenty-eight Bolsheviks"—young men who had no revolutionary experience but were imbued with the view prevailing in Moscow that a good grounding in Leninist theory was far more important. Joining the Communist Party in 1927 in Moscow, Wang pursued a policy now identified as the capitulationist line — a policy which disclaims the leadership of the proletariat but stresses the common interests of all the people while advocating class harmony and class capitulationism.

**Wei-Ta-Chan-Lueh-Pu-Shu (偉 大 戰 略 部 署)**

*"Great strategic plan"*

A plan formulated by Mao Tse-tung in the latter part of 1967 to bring about unity among the rival factions and the formation of revolutionary committees on a nation-wide scale.

**Wen-Kung-Wu-Wei (文 攻 武 衛)**

*"Attack with words, defend with arms"*

This slogan was put forth by Chiang Ch'ing in July 1967 when bloody clashes between rival Red Guard factions occurred throughout the country. This slogan encouraged the Red Guards to use force in reply to violent attacks by their opponents. As a result, armed struggles engulfed the whole country.

**Wu-Hao-Chan-Shih ( 五好戰士 )**

*"Five-good soldiers"*

This refers to the training of young soldiers to be good in political ideology, good in military techniques, good in the "three-eight working style," good in carrying out assigned tasks, and good in physical training.

**Wu-Hsien-Shang-Kang ( 無 限 上 綱 )**

*"Building up crimes"*

This is a slang expression current in North China, meaning inflating small matters into serious offences in order to incriminate a person or a group of persons. It has been frequently used by Red Guard factions accusing other factions of indulging in this practice.

**Wu-I-Liu-Ping-Tuan ( 五 一 六 兵 團 )**

*"The May 16 Corps"*

An ultra-leftist group which called for "doubting all" and "overthrowing all", including Chou En-lai, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other departments of the State Council. It was branded a "counter-revolutionary gang" by Yao Wen-yuan in his article "Comments on T'ao Chu's Two Books" (*Peking Review,* No. 38, September 15, 1967). Some of the leaders of the group were identified to be former members of the Cultural Revolution Group under Ch'en Po-ta and Chiang Ch'ing.

**Wu-Ko-T'ung-I ( 五 個 統 一 )**

*Literally, "five unifications"*

The whole Party, the whole Army and the people in the whole country are called upon to unify their thinking, policies, plans, command and actions under the "great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought."



**Wu-T'ung ( 五 同 )**

*"Five togethers"*

In order to integrate themselves with the masses, the cadres were told to "eat, live, labour, study and 'combat selfishness and repudiate revisionism' together with them."

| | Page |
|---|---|
| All red | 470 |
| Attack with words, defend with arms | 483 |
| Beating, smashing, looting, ransacking and kidnapping | 480 |
| Big-character poster | 480 |
| Black gang | 468 |
| Black line | 468 |
| Building up crimes | 484 |
| Combat selfishness and repudiate revisionism | 481 |
| Creative study and application | 469 |
| Defend three reds | 471 |
| Democracy in the three main fields | 476 |
| Discussion-application meeting | 467 |
| Economism | 467 |
| Extensive democracy | 480 |
| February Adverse current | 468 |
| Five-good soldiers | 484 |
| Five togethers | 485 |
| Five unifications | 484 |
| Four clean-up movement | 477 |
| Four don'ts | 478 |
| Four everythings | 478 |
| Four firsts | 478 |
| Four-good company | 478 |
| Four greats | 478 |
| Four great freedoms | 479 |
| Four olds | 477 |
| Gang up with one group of people to attack another group | 471 |
| Get rid of the waste and let in the fresh | 482 |
| Great exchange of revolutionary experience | 480 |
| Great strategic plan | 483 |
| Head-head | 482 |
| Hit hard at many in order to protect a handful | 479 |
| Long-standing, big and difficult problems | 471 |
| May 16 Corps | 484 |
| Mixing thin mud | 468 |
| Mountain stronghold mentality | 477 |
| Nanniwan spirit | 472 |
| One divided into two | 470 |
| Oppose four rightist tendencies | 468 |
| Poisonous Weed | 482 |
| Put into full effect | 472 |
| Put the three aspects of Militia work on a solid basis | 472 |
| Red successors | 469 |
| Remove the lid | 467 |
| Self-cultivation | 469 |
| Small group mentality | 469 |
| Struggle-criticism-transformation | 481 |
| Tachai spirit | 479 |
| Tach'ing spirit | 479 |
| Theory of many centres | 481 |
| Three-anti elements | 474 |
| Three check-up campaign | 473 |
| Three-eight working style | 475 |
| Three essential aspects of the Party's style of work | 481 |
| Three evils | 474 |
| Three faiths, three reliances | 474 |
| Three-family village | 473 |
| Three freedoms and one contract | 476 |
| Three great revolutionary movements | 475 |
| Three-in-one combination | 473 |
| Three-loyalty movement | 474 |
| Three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention | 475 |
| Three much-read articles | 471 |
| Three-point criterion | 476 |
| Three red banners | 475 |
| Three-support and two-military tasks | 473 |
| Two firm beliefs | 467 |
| Two recollections and three examinations | 472 |
| Unified leadership | 470 |
| Unity-criticism-unity | 482 |
| Wang Ming Capitulationist line | 483 |
| Waving red flags to oppose the red flag | 480 |
| With one assisting another, a pair will become red | 470 |




# *Appendix IV*

## *CHRONOLOGY*

### (December 1966 – September 1966)

1966

December 10 — *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* editorially urged leading army cadres at all levels to go to the masses and promote among them the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

December 17 — All Peking newspapers frontpaged the foreword by Lin Piao for the second edition of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung.*

December 19 — Representatives of 100,000 PLA officers and men who were mainly responsible for receiving 11 million revolutionary teachers and students attending Red Guard rallies in Peking in the past few months were commended at an open reception by Party and government leaders at the Peking Workers' Stadium. Among the speakers were Hsiao Hua, who spoke on behalf of Lin Piao, Chou En-lai, Chiang Ch'ing and Ch'en Po-ta.

December 26 — *Jen-min Jih-pao* in an editorial "Welcome the Upsurge of the Great Cultural Revolution in Industrial and Mining Enterprises" declared that the "Chinese working class is the leading force and the most active factor in this revolution..." It urged the workers and revolutionary teachers and students to exchange revolutionary experiences in the factories and schools. "They must learn from each other, help and support each other for mutual advancement," the editorial said.

December 28 — More than 100,000 Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students who marched to Peking from all over the Chinese mainland met in the afternoon at the Peking Workers' Stadium to exchange revolutionary experiences. Present at the rally were Chou En-lai, K'ang Sheng, Yang Ch'eng-wu and Chiang Ch'ing. Both Chou En-lai and Chiang Ch'ing spoke at the rally.

December 31 — The PLA General Political Department called upon the whole Army to carry out "support the government and cherish the people" activities with emphasis on publicising Mao Tse-tung's thought.

December 31 — The Ministry of Interior Affairs issued a notification urging the people to "support the Army and honour dependents of servicemen" during the New Year and the Spring Festival.

1967

January 1 — In a joint New Year's Day editorial "Carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Through to the End", *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Hung Ch'i* reviewed the development and progress of the cultural revolution in 1966, attributing more than ever before all achievements to Mao Tse-tung's thought. The editorial set forth the following four central tasks for the year: 1) To carry out the great cultural revolution on a large-scale in the factories and rural areas so as

to stimulate the revolutionisation of people's thinking and promote the development of industrial and agricultural production; 2) To promote the idea of making revolutionary students, teachers and intellectuals go to the factories and rural areas in a planned and organised way and to integrate themselves with the worker-peasant masses; 3) To mobilise on the principle of developing extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat hundreds of millions of people to launch a general attack on the enemies of socialism and, at the same time, criticise and supervise leading organs and cadres at all levels; 4) To continue to carry out mass criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line.

The *Chieh-fang-chun-Pao* New Year's Day editorial urged all officers and men to hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher, bring the mass movement of creatively studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's works to a new stage and turn the P.L.A. into a truly great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

January 5 — The Shanghai *Wen-hui Pao* published the "Message to All Shanghai People" by 11 revolutionary mass organisations in Shanghai; the message urged the people to "grasp the revolution, promote production and utterly smash the new counter-attack launched by the bourgeois reactionary line."

January 9 — *Jen-min Jih-pao* devoted its whole front page to an editorial note and the "Message to All Shanghai People" by the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and ten other revolutionary mass organisations in Shanghai.

January 11 — Thirty-two organisations in Shanghai issued an "Urgent Notice" in the Shanghai *Wen-hui Pao* and *Chieh-fang Jih-pao* following the publication of the "Message to All Shanghai People" earlier by 11 Shanghai revolutionary rebel groups. The ten-point message was issued to combat the capitalist roaders' conspiracy in "using material incentives to corrupt the revolutionary will of the masses." On the same day, the CCP Central Committee, State Council, Military Commission, and Cultural Revolutionary Group sent a message of greetings to the thirty-two organisations, praising the correctness of their policy and action in opposing "economism of the counter-revolutionary revisionism."

January 12 — Mao Tse-tung and the CCP Central Committee ratified the decision of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee on reorganising the All-Army Cultural Revolution Group.

On the same day, *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Hung Ch'i* published their joint editorial entitled "Oppose Economism and Smash the Latest Counter-Attack by the Bourgeois Reactionary Line."

In Shanghai, more than 100,000 rebels of the thirty-two mass organisations staged a rally acclaiming the message to them from the CCP Central Committee and three other central organs in recognition of their action in opposing "economism."

January 14 — *Chieh-fang-chun* Pao published an editorial entitled "The Great Poletarian Cultural Revolution in Our Army Must Be Thoroughly Carried Out." The editorial admitted that a handful of power-holders taking



the capitalist road who wormed their way into the PLA and an extremely few diehards continued to put up resistance to the great cultural revolution in the Army.

January 15 — An Article by commentator in the *Kuang-ming Jih-pao* urged the workers, peasants and cadres to go back to their factories, villages, and offices and rebel against the local power-holders instead of staying in Peking to "establish revolutionary ties and exchange revolutionary experiences."

January 17 — PLA officers and men pledged to stand squarely behind the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to combat "economism" and capture the bastions in which counter-revolutionary revisionism has entrenched itself, and establish new revolutionary order.

January 19 — Commenting on the revolutionaries' seizure of leadership of Shanghai *Wen-hui Pao* and *Chieh-fang Jih-pao* from the hands of the bourgeois Rightists, *Jen-min Jih-pao* carried an editorial entitled "Let Mao Tse-tung's Thought Occupy All Positions in the Press."

January 22 — *Jen-min Jih-pao* published an editorial "Proletarian Revolutionaries, Form a Great Alliance To Seize Power From Those in Authority Who Are Taking the Capitalist Road!"

January 25 — *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* carried an editorial "The People's Liberation Army Firmly Backs The Proletarian Revolutionaries." The editorial declared that at the present stage of the proletarian cultural revolution, "it is not possible for the People's Liberation Army to refrain from intervening."

January 25 — The great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries of Kweichow province successfully took over all the powers of leadership of the Provincial Committee of the CCP and of the Provincial People's Council, the Kweiyang Municipal Committee of the CCP and the Municipal People's Council. Comrpising 40 revolutionary organisations of the province, the Kweichow Proletarian Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters issued a five-point proclamation urging the local people to "grasp revolution and promote production," "resolutely oppose economism," and "strengthen the proletarian dictatorship."

January 29 — The State Council ordered the cancellation of the traditional Spring Festival holidays to ensure that nothing would interrupt the development of the proletarian revolutionary alliance so essential to the seizure of political power from the Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

January 31 — The victory of the revolutionaries in Heilungkiang in their struggle against the capitalist roaders led to the birth of the first Provincial Revolutionary Committee on the "three-in-one combination" basis. A mass rally of 100,000 "red rebels" and PLA men was held in Harbin to inaugurate this provisional organ of power in Heilungkiang province. Sung Jen-ch'iung, 1st Secretary of the Northeast Bureau of the CCP Central Committee, spoke at the meeting.

February 2 — The *Jen-min Jih-pao* published an editorial entitled "A New Dawn Breaks Over the Northeast," acclaiming the seizure of power by revolutionary rebels in Heilungkiang province.

February 3 — The establishment of the Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee was announced at a 100,000-strong rally held in Tsinan today. On the same day, a notice issued by the Revolutionary Committee declared null and void all directives and orders promulgated by the former CCP Provincial Committee and People's Council.

February 6 — The Kweichow Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters issued a ten-point order calling for united action to recapture State powers of southwestern China.

February 7 — *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* published an editorial entitled "Our Army Will Always Link Heart-to-Heart With the Revolutionary Left."

February 8 — An order of the Central Military Commission enjoined teachers and students of PLA colleges and schools and members of the Army literary and art groups to leave the organs of the Canton Military Region and the army barracks following their assault of such organs and arrest of persons without authorisation.

February 12 — In a notice the CCP Central Committee and the State Council ordered the immediate dissolution of all "national organisations" formed in Peking and elsewhere during the early period of the great cultural revolution. Members of such organisations were ordered to return to their respective units, and return the funds they had taken from the State treasury.

February 13 — The Kweichow Provincial Revolutionary Committee was inaugurated today on the basis of the three-in-one combination comprising responsible members of revolutionary mass organisations, representatives of the PLA units stationed in the province and leading cadres of Party and government organs.

February 22 — The Congress of the Red Guards of Universities and Colleges in Peking was inaugurated at a 10,000-strong rally. Chou En-lai attended the inaugural meeting and extended greetings on behalf of Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao, the Party Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group. The Declaration of the Congress of the Red Guards was adopted at the rally. Besides reaffirming loyalty to Mao Tse-tung and his proletarian revolutionary line, the Declaration also stressed that the main body of the Red Guards should be formed by revolutionary students from families of the working people (workers, peasants, soldiers, cadres).

February 24 — Establishment of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee was declared at a grand rally attended by Chang Ch'un-ch'iao and Yao Wen-yuan. The "Draft Resolution on the Present Situation and Tasks of Shanghai's Great Cultural Revolution" was read out at the rally and was unanimously adopted.

February 24 — *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* published an editorial entitled "The People's Liberation Army Is A Pillar of Proletarian Dictatorship."

March 7 — Mao Tse-tung issued a directive instructing the PLA to "give political and military training in the universities and middle schools and help in re-opening school classes." This is known as the March 7 (1967) Directive, but was published in the press as late as March 8, 1968.



March 17 — *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* published an editorial, "Let the Militia Play Its Full Role in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

March 18 — The CCP Central Committee published an open letter to "Revolutionary Workers and Staff and Revolutionary Cadres In Industrial and Mining Enterprises Throughout the Country," urging them to "carry the great cultural revolution through to the end, make a diligent study of Chairman Mao's works, and co-operate with the PLA comrades."

March 18 — Establishment of the Shansi Provincial Revolutionary Committee was announced at the Representative Conference of Revolutionary Organisations of Shansi Province held in Taiyuan from March 12 to 18.

March 22 — A representative conference of Peking revolutionary workers and staff was held at the Great People's Hall with 10,000 attending. It was a conference to pledge implementation of Mao Tse-tung's policy of "grasping the revolution and promoting production." Chou En-lai and Ch'en Po-ta spoke at the meeting.

March 25 — The Congress of Red Guards of the Middle Schools of Peking was proclaimed at a meeting held in the Great People's Hall attended by 10,000 middle school Red Guards. Chou En-lai and Chiang Ch'ing made important speeches at the meeting.

April 20 — Over 100,000 people attended a rally at the Peking Workers' Stadium to celebrate the establishment of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee. Chou En-lai, Hsieh Fu-chih and Chiang Ch'ing spoke at the meeting. A message saluting Mao Tse-tung was adopted.

April 24 — Mao Tse-tung received in the evening leading members of the revolutionary committees of Shanghai, Shansi, Kweichow, Heilungkiang, Shantung and Peking. Lin Piao, Chou En-lai, Ch'en Po-ta, K'ang Sheng and Li Fu-ch'un were among those present.

May 8 — The editorial departments of *Hung Ch'i* magazine and the *Jen-min Jih-pao* published an article entitled "Betrayal of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Is the Essential Element in the Book on 'Self-Cultivation'."

May 10 — Chiang Ch'ing's speech, "On the Revolution of Peking Opera" delivered in July 1964 at a forum of stage artists attending a festival of Peking opera on contemporary themes, was simultaneously published in the *Hung Ch'i*, No. 6, 1967 and today's *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao*.

May 16 — The Circular of the CCP Central Committee, dated May 16, 1966 to revoke the "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Great Cultural Revolution" was published. The editorial comments of the *Hung Ch'i* magazine and the *Jen-min Jih-pao* called the Circular "A Great, Historic Document."

May 23 — A mass rally of more than 16,000 representatives of Peking's literary and art circles, workers, peasants and soldiers, teachers and students and others was held in Peking in commemoration

of the 25th anniversary of the publication of Mao Tse-tung's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art." Ch'en Po-ta spoke at the meeting.

June 1 The *Hung Ch'i* magazine and the *Jen-min Jih-pao* published an editorial entitled "A Great Strategic Measure" in commemoration of the anniversary of Mao Tse-tung's personal approval for publication on June 1, 1966 of the first "Marxist-Leninist" big-character poster which was put up in Peking University on May 25, 1966.

June 10 Over 14,000 members of literary and art organisations in Peking held a rally to criticise and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Ch'en Po-ta, head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and Chin Ching-mai were among the principal speakers at the meeting.

July 1 To mark the 46th anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party, the *Hung Ch'i* published an editorial under the title "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung Illuminates the Road for Our Party's Victorious Advance"; *Jen-min Jih-pao* under the title "Use Mao Tse-tung's Thought To Remould Our World Outlook"; and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* under the title "Forever Make Revolution According to Mao Tse-tung's Thought."

July 12 The Chinese Red Guard delegation led by Yao Wen-yuan, member of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, returned to Peking today after attending the 5th Congress of the Albanian Union of Working Youth and visiting Albania from June 21 to July 10. The delegation was greeted on arrival by Party and government leaders including Chou En-lai, Ch'en Po-ta and Chiang Ch'ing.

July 13 A rally to launch the mass campaign for thorough criticism and repudiation of the P'eng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique was held today in Peking. It was convened by the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee. Ch'en Po-ta spoke at the meeting.

July 20 Ch'en Tsai-tao, commander of the Wuhan Military Region, staged a counter-revolutionary coup in Wuhan with the active participation of armymen and members of certain mass organisations. They abducted emissaries from Peking, including vice-premier Hsieh Fu-chih and Wang Li, member of the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group.

July 22 Hsieh Fu-chih and Wang Li, who were dispatched by the Central Cultural Revolution Group as its representatives to Wuhan to handle important problems concerning the great cultural revolution there, returned to Peking.

July 25 A mass rally of one million armymen and civilians was held in Peking to extend warm welcome to Hsieh Fu-chih and Wang Li, who returned safely from Wuhan. On the same day, the three services in Wuhan also staged a demonstration in support of the proletarian revolutionaries in the Wuhan area.

July 27 In a letter, the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group commended the revolutionary masses and members of the PLA in the Wuhan area for defending the cultural revolution



through their struggle against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

August 2 *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* carried an editorial praising the "proletarian revolutionaries" of Wuhan and accusing "China's Khrushchev" and his agents in the Party and the army in Wuhan for "hoodwinking" some PLA units into taking a hostile stand against the "proletarian revolutionaries."

August 12 The Tsinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee, consisting of responsible members of mass organisations, PLA representatives stationed in the province and revolutionary leading cadres, was inaugurated at a mass rally attended by over 100,000 people in Sining.

September 5 An order of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group declared: "All mass organisations and individuals, irrespective of their affiliations, are forbidden to seize under any pretext whatever the arms, ammunition, equipment, vehicles, materials and supplies of the PLA."

September 5 Speaking at a conference of representatives of Anhwei province in Peking, Chiang Ch'ing pointed out: "Sometime earlier, there was this wrong slogan: 'Seize a handful in the Army!' As a result, 'a handful in the Army' was seized everywhere, and even the weapons of our regular troops were seized."

September 9 The Administrative Office of the CCP Central Committee issued a notice calling upon the proletarian revolutionaries of the whole country to earnestly study a speech by Chiang Ch'ing on September 5 at a meeting of representatives from Anhwei.

September 14 The *Jen-min Jih-pao* carried an editorial entitled "Promote Revolutionary Alliance Through Revolutionary Criticism." The editorial admitted that the working class had split into two factions hostile to each other, and appealed for unity in the working class.

September 23 Nearly 100,000 members of the Peking units of the Institute of National Defence Sciences and Technology and the national defence industrial system met to celebrate the formation of the revolutionary great alliance of their organisations. Vice Premier Nieh Jung-chen spoke at the meeting.

September 24 *NCNA* in a release disclosed that Mao Tse-tung had recently inspected parts of North China, Central-South China and East China. During the inspection he made a study of conditions of the great cultural revolution in the provinces of Honan, Hupeh, Kiangsi and Chekiang and in Shanghai.

October 1 The editorial departments of the *Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i* magazine and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* published a special article entitled "Long Live the Victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in celebration of the National Day. Meanwhile, Lin Piao while speaking at a 500,000-strong rally at the Tienanmen Square declared that the great cultural revolution had won a decisive victory.

October 8 The *Hung-ch'i* magazine published in its 15th issue an editorial entitled "A Great Revolution To Achieve the Complete Ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung's Thought." The editorial called for conscientious study and profound comprehension of Mao Tse-tung's instruction on combating self-interest and criticising and repudiating revisionism.

October 10 The Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee made a decision calling for earnest study and resolute implementation of Mao Tse-tung's instruction on the question of how to handle the cadres, which was issued during his inspection tour of North, Central-South and East China.

October 16 The Standing Committee of Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee passed a decision that four-fifths of the Standing Committee members must go down to the grassroots level to learn from the masses, leaving only one-fifth of the members behind to carry on the Committee's routine work.

October 17 In the "Notice Concerning Implementation of Revolutionary Great Alliance According to Systems" issued by the CCP Central Committee, State Council, Military Commission and Cultural Revolution Group, Mao Tse-tung gave an instruction as follows: "All factories, schools, departments and agencies, and enterprise units must form revolutionary great alliance under the revolutionary principle and according to different systems, business lines and trades, and classes in schools, so as to facilitate and promote the establishment of revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, the conducting of mass criticism and repudiation and of struggle-criticism-transformation in all units, the grasping of revolution and promotion of production, work and war preparedness."

October 25 The *Jen-min Jih-pao* carried an editorial entitled "Universities, Middle and Primary Schools Must Resume Classes While Making Revolution."

November 1 The Revolutionary Committee of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was inaugurated at a mass rally in Huhehot. T'eng Hai-ch'ing, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee, declared in his inaugural speech: "We must thoroughly eliminate the influence and poison of the counter-revolutionary revisionist and national splittist group that has affected all spheres and fronts for the past two decades, and push forward to a new high tide the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation."

November 3 All Peking papers carried a long article by Yang Ch'eng-wu, Acting Chief of PLA General Staff, under the title, "Establish in a Thoroughgoing Way the Absolute Authority of Our Great Supreme Commander Chairman Mao and of His Great Thought."

November 3 The *Jen-min Jih-pao* published several tentative programmes for the revolution in education together with an editor's note which quoted Mao Tse-tung's instruction on the subject: "The proletarian revolution in education should be carried out by relying on the masses of the revolutionary students, teachers and workers in schools, by relying on the activists among them, namely those proletarian revolutionaries who are determined to carry the great proletarian revolution through to the end."



November 6 At a Peking rally commemorating the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, Lin Piao said in his speech: "With supreme courage and wisdom, Chairman Mao has successfully led the first great proletarian cultural revolution in history. This is an extremely important landmark, demonstrating that Marxism-Leninism has developed to the state of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

November 12 The CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group announced their decision to set up a preparatory committee for the Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee to be headed by Huang Yung-Sheng, Ch'en Yu, K'ung Shih-ch'uan, Wang Shou-tao, and Ch'en Te.

November 13 Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and other Party and government leaders received delegates attending the meeting of representatives of activists in the study of Mao Tse-tung's works in the PLA Air Force units stationed in Peking, comrades attending the plenary session of the Air Force Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and comrades who have taken part in the work of receiving the revolutionary masses during the great proletarian cultural revolution.

November 14 Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and other Party and government leaders received PLA cadres and representatives of mass organisations who were attending Mao Tse-tung's thought study class in Peking, delegates of the PLA and local cadres of some provinces and cities who were attending conferences in Peking, red diplomatic personnel who returned from Indonesia, and the red experts and technicians who returned from Burma where they had helped with that country's construction.

November 29 Lin Piao wrote an inscription for the First Congress of Activists in the Study of Mao Tse-tung's Works in the Naval Forces: "Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman; making revolution depends on Mao Tse-tung's thought."

December 3 Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and other Party and government leaders received delegates to the first congress of activists in the study of Mao Tse-tung's works in the PLA Navy and Communications Corps stationed in Peking and cadres who had taken part in the work of receiving the revolutionary masses and other work during the great proletarian cultural revolution.

December 6 The Tiensin Municipal Revolutionary Committee was inaugurated today. Speaking at a celebration rally, Hsieh Hsueh-kung, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee, said that in the acute and complex struggle, the proletarian revolutionaries experienced many reversals and that the founding of the committee by no means signified the ending of the revolution but a new starting point in it. *Jen-min Jih-pao and Chieh-fang-chun Pao* published editorials warmly congratulating the birth of the committee.

December 31 Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and other Party and State leaders received over 20,000 cadres of the PLA and Party organs, representatives of masses attending Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes in Peking and representatives attending other conferences in Peking.

1968

January 1 The editorial for the New Year's Day of 1968 in *Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* put forward five militant tasks: 1) To develop the great mass movement of living study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought still more extensively and deeply; 2) To continue to develop the revolutionary mass criticism in depth, promote and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and "three-in-one" combination, and penetratingly carry out the struggle-criticism-transformation in each unit and department; 3) To rectify the Party organisation and strengthen Party building; 4) To implement still further Mao Tse-tung's call, "support the Army and cherish the people," and greatly strengthen the unity between armymen and civilians; 5) To grasp revolution and promote production and other work, and promote preparations against war.

January 5 The Kiangsi Provincial Revolutionary Committee was inaugurated. The establishment of this revolutionary committee was hailed by a joint editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* of January 7 under the title "The Red Flag of the Chingkang Mountains Will Remain Firm Through All the Generations To Come."

January 11 The Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee held an enlarged meeting in commemoration of the first anniversary of the "January Revolution" in Shanghai.

January 18 A notice of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group said: Reforms of systems concerning wages, welfare, cash rewards, extra wages, allowances, workers protective facilities and health-protecting food should be dealt with in a unified manner during 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."

January 24 The establishment of the Kansu Provincial Revolutionary Committee was announced. On January 25, *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* published an editorial entitled "The Wind of Spring Has Reached the Yumen Pass" greeting this newborn provisional power organ.

January 26 Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and other Party and State leaders received an undisclosed number of military cadres attending the 4th congress of activists in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought convened by the Headquarters of the PLA General Staff, delegates attending the 2nd congress of activists in the study of Mao's thought convened by the PLA General Logistics Department, the delegates to the 2nd congress of activists in study of Mao's thought from the PLA Air Force and the delegates to the congress of activists in the study of Mao's thought from the Second Artillery Corps of the PLA.

January 27 The birth of the Honan Provincial Revolutionary Committee was proclaimed. *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* published on January 30 an editorial "A Song of Triumph Sung on the Vast Central Plain" lauding its establishment.

February 3 The establishment of Hopei Provincial Revolutionary Committee was hailed by an editorial in the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* of February 5, under the title "All Mountains and Rivers Are Red in North China."



February 5 The Hupeh Provincial Revolutionary Committee was inaugurated today. Its birth was marked by an editorial, "An Ambitious Plan Emerging from the Mighty Yantze River," simultaneously appearing in the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* of February 7.

February 19 Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and other Party and State leaders received over 20,000 representatives of the PLA units under the Peking Garrison Command and other units engaged in the tasks of supporting the Left, industry and agriculture, exercising military control, and giving military and political training in Peking and commanders and fighters of the PLA 8341 Unit stationed in Peking.

February 21 The Revolutionary Committees of Kwangtung Province and Canton Municipality were simultaneously inaugurated at a rally in Canton. This event was greeted by *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* in an editorial on February 23 entitled "Our Soldiers, Pointing, Gaze South Toward Kwangtung, So Green, So Luxuriant in the Distance."

March 6 The Revolutionary Committees of Kirin Province and Changchun Municipality were set up at the same time. The occasion was marked by the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* on March 10 in an editorial entitled "The Red Sun Shines Over the Changpai Mountains."

March 7 The first anniversary of the publication of Mao Tse-tung's "March 7 Directive" was widely marked throughout the country. The directive which mainly concerned the Army's role in "carrying out political and military training in the universities and schools" has been extensively publicised.

March 8 Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and other State leaders received over 10,000 delegates of several conferences of activists in the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought from the Artillery Corps, Armoured Corps, Engineer Corps, Railway Corps, Tele-communications Corps and the Anti-chemicals Corps, the Higher Military Academy and the Political Academy of the P.L.A.

March 23 Some 500,000 armymen and civilians in Nanking met to celebrate the birth of the revolutionary committees of Kiangsu province and Nanking municipality. This event was lauded by the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* in an editorial under the title "In Heroic Triumph Heaven and Earth Have Been Overturned."

March 24 The Chekiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee was set up. On March 28, *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* marked the occasion with an editorial entitled "Following Chairman Mao Leads to Victory."

March 26 Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and other State leaders received over 10,000 cadres at and above the regimental level working in various general department of the P.L.A., in the Science and Technology Commission for National Defence, the General Office for National Defence

Industry, the military academies and schools in Peking and organisations under the Peking Military Region Command and cadres from other military areas attending meetings in Peking.

April 8 The Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee was inaugurated. To mark this event, the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* carried an editorial entitled "The Land of Hibiscus Glowing in the Morning Sun."

April 10 A hundred thousand people in Yinchuan celebrated the victorious birth of the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region Revolutionary Committee. The *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* marked the occasion with an editorial entitled "If We Reach Not the Great Wall, We Are No True Men."

April 18 The Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee was inaugurated. On April 20, the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* greeted it with an editorial entitled, "Victory of the Proletarian Revolutionaries."

May 1 The establishment of the Shensi Provincial Revolutionary Committee was announced. On May 3, the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* hailed its birth in an editorial entitled, "The Yenan Spirit Shines Forever."

May 7 Hundreds of millions of armymen and civilians all over the country held rallies in commemoration of the second anniversary of the publication of Mao Tse-tung's "May 7 Directive."

May 8 Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and other State leaders received in Peking PLA commanders and fighters, Party and government cadres and representatives of the revolutionary masses from different parts of the country, who were attending Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes in the National Capital.

May 10 Some 600,000 armymen and people in Shenyang gathered to celebrate the birth of the Liaoning Provincial and Shenyang Municipal Revolutionary Committees. *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* greeted the event with an editorial under the title "Land of the Northeast Blossoms Red."

May 17 The *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* published an editorial "An Epoch-Making Document" to commemorate the second anniversary of the "May 16 Circular" formulated under the personal guidance of Mao Tse-tung.

May 20 Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and other State leaders received over 20,000 PLA commanders and fighters attending Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes in Peking, delegates to the second congress of activists in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought of the Science and Technology Commission for National Defence and to the first congress of activists convened by the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

May 27 Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao personally approved the promulgation of an order by the CCP Central Committee, the Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolutionary Group conferring posthumously the title of "a good cadre boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line" on Men Ho, deputy instructor of the 2nd battalion of the 4th regiment of a certain unit of the Tsinghai Provincial Military District. This was followed by a nationwide campaign to learn from Men Ho.



May 31 The Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee was set up. The event was acclaimed by *Jen-min Jin-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* in an editorial entitled, "The 70 Million People of Szechwan Are Marching Forward."

June 3 Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and other State leaders received more than 20,000 PLA cadres attending the Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes of ground air and naval forces under the Nanking and and Shenyang Commands and classes of other military departments and units.

June 30 Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and other State leaders received over 20,000 PLA cadres attending Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes for cadres from units of ground, naval and air forces under the Tsinan, Canton and Lanchow Commands, and representatives of military control committees attending the national conference of grasping revolution and promoting production in the coal industry, and from other State and military organs.

July 1 In commemoration of the 47th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* published an editorial under the title, "Develop the Party's Working Style of Forging Close Links with the Masses."

July 3 A notice of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group ordered immediate cessation of all armed struggles, resumption of railway traffic, and return to the local authorities of Vietnam-bound supplies, arms and ammunition the factional rebels seized from the PLA in Kwangsi.

July 24 On the question of factional fighting in Shensi province, a notice of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group declared: "Armed struggles must be stopped immediately, all bands formed specially for armed struggles must be disbanded, and the hoodwinked must be taught to return to production."

August 5 Armymen and workers all over the country hailed Mao Tse-tung's gift of mangoes to the Worker-Peasant Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Team in the Capital. They pledged to translate the solicitude Mao Tse-tung had shown them into an enormous force for winning all-round victory in the great cultural revolution.

Meanwhile, in commemoration of the second anniversary of the publication of Mao Tse-tung's big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," the *Jen-min Jih-pao* carried an editorial under the title "Unite under the Leadership of the Proletarian Headquarters Headed by Chairman Mao" It stressed that the proletarian headquarters headed by Mao Tse-tung with Lin Piao as the deputy head was the sole centre of leadership of the Party, the Army and the broad revolutionary masses all over the country. There

could be no other centre. The so-called "theory of many centres" was a reactionary theory based on the bourgeois "mountain stronghold" mentality and on individualism.

August 11 — Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and other State leaders received in Peking more than 20,000 revolutionary fighters attending Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes for cadres of the ground, naval and air force units under the Foochow, Wuhan, Chengtu, Kunming, Sinkiang and Tibet Commands, delegates to the second congress of the "four-good" companies of the Navy and to the second congress of activists in the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought from the artillery units under the Peking Command, and other military cadres.

August 13 — The Revolutionary Committees of Yunnan Province and Kunming Municipality were inaugurated. On August 15, the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-Fang-chun Pao* greeted it with an editorial entitled, "Warmly Acclaim the Establishment of the Yunnan Provincial Revolutionary Committee."

August 19 — The Revolutionary Committees of Fukien Province and Foochow Municipality were simultaneously set up. The *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* on August 21 greeted the occasion with an editorial entitled "Unite in Common Opposition to the Enemy."

August 25 — The *Hung-ch'i* magazine, in its No. 2 issue of 1968, published an article by Yao Wen-yuan under the title "The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything." This article transmitted Mao Tse-tung's two latest directives on: (1) "carrying out the proletarian revolution in education" with the working-class playing the principle role; (2) carrying out "struggle-criticism-transformation" in a factory.

August 26 — The Revolutionary Committee of the Kwangsi Chuang Nationality Autonomous Region was established. On the following day, the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* acclaimed the event with an editorial entitled, "Closely Follow Chairman Mao's Great Strategic Plan and March Forward!"

August 31 — The editorial departments of the *Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i magazine* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* published an article entitled, "Carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution on the Front of Journalism Through to the End – Repudiate the Counter-revolutionary Revisionist Line on Journalism of China's Khrushchev." The article declared that China's Khrushchev was the chief culprit opposing the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought which all proletarian newspapers must regard as their most sacred duty.

September 5 — The Revolutionary Committees of the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region were inaugurated. Thus, revolutionary committees were established in all the 20 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in China. Hailing this "the whole country is Red" event, the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* published an editorial entitled, "Long Live the All-Round Victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

September 25 — The *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* carried an editorial under the title "Implementation of Chairman Mao's Instructions Means Victory" in commemoration of the first anniversary of Mao Tse-tung's inspection tour of North, Central-South and East China.



# *BIBLIOGRAPHY*

## Newspapers


*Che-chiang Jih-pao* (浙江日報) [Chekiang Daily], Hangchow, Chekiang Province
*Chi-lin Jih-pao* (吉林日報) [Kirin Daily], Changchun, Kirin Province
*Chiang-hsi Jih-pao* (江西日報) [Kiangsi Daily], Nanchang, Kiangsi Province
*Chieh-fang-chun Pao* (解放軍報) [Liberation Army Daily], Peking
*Chieh-fang Jih-pao* (解放日報) [Liberation Daily], Shanghai
*Ch'ing-hai Jih-pao* (青海日報) [Chinghai Daily], Sining, Chinghai Province
*Fu-chien Jih-pao* (福建日報) [Fukien Daily], Foochow, Fukien Province
*Hei-lung-chiang Jih-pao* (黑龍江日報) [Heilungkiang Daily], Harbin, Kirin Province
*Ho-nan Jih-pao* (河南日報) [Honan Daily], Chengchow, Honan Province
*Ho-pei Jih-pao* (河北日報) [Hopeh Daily], Paoting, Hopeh Province
*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao* (西藏日報) [Tibet Daily], Lhasa, Tibet
*Hsin-an-hui Jih-pao* (新安徽日報) [New Anhwei Daily], Hofei, Anhwei Province
*Hsin-chiang Jih-pao* (新疆日報) [Sinkiang Daily], Urumchi, Sinkiang Province
*Hsin-hua Jih-pao* (新華日報) [New China Daily], Nanking, Kiangsu Province
*Hsin-kuei-chou Jih-pao* (新貴州日報) [New Kweichow Daily], Kweiyang, Kweichow Province
*Hu-nan Jih-pao* (湖南日報) Hunan Daily, Changsha, Hunan Province
*Hsinhua Daily News Release* (新華社電訊稿) (English and Chinese Editions), Peking
*Hu-pei Jih-pao* (湖北日報) [Hupeh Daily], Wuhan, Hupeh Province
*Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日報) [People's Daily], Peking
*Kan-su Jih-pao* (甘肅日報) [Kansu Daily], Lanchow, Kansu Province
*Kuang-si Jih-pao* (廣西日報) [Kwangsi Daily], Nanning, Kwangsi Province
*Kuang-ming Jih-pao* (光明日報) [Kuangming Daily], Peking
*Liao-ning Jih-pao* (遼寧日報) [Liaoning Daily), Mukden, Liaoning Province
*Nan-fang Jih-pao* (南方日報) [Nanfang Daily], Canton, Kwangtung Province
*Nei-meng-ku Jih-pao* (內蒙古日報) [Inner Mongolia Daily], Huhehot, Inner Mongolia
*Ning-hsia Jih-pao* (寧夏日報) [Ningsia Daily], Yinchuan, Ningsia Autonomous Region
*Pei-ching Jih-pao* (北京日報) [Peking Daily], Peking
*Shan-si Jih-pao* (山西日報) [Shansi Daily], Taiyuan, Shansi Province
*Shen-si Jih-pao* (陝西日報) [Shensi Daily], Sian, Shensi Province
*Szu-ch'uan Jih-pao* (四川日報) [Szechwan Daily], Chengtu, Szechwan Province
*Ta-chung Jih-pao* (大衆日報) [Tachung Daily], Tsinan, Shantung Province
*Wen-hui Pao* (文滙報) [Wenhui Daily], Shanghai
*Yun-nan Jih-pao* (雲南日報) [Yunnan Daily], Kunming, Yunnan Province

## Other Publications


*CCP Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* (1966–1967), published by the Union Research Institute, 1968, Hong Kong

*Chieh-fang-chun Hua-pao* (解放軍畫報) [Liberation Army Pictorial], monthly, Peking

*Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i* (解放軍文藝) [Liberation Army Literature], monthly, Peking

*Chung-hsueh Hung-wei-ping* (中學紅衛兵) [Middle School Red Guards], Canton, published by the Revolutionary Alliance of Middle School Red Guards of the "Red Flag" faction of Canton

*Chung-kuo Chien-she* (中國建設) [China Reconstructs], English, monthly, Peking

*Chung-kuo Wen-hsueh* (中國文學) [Chinese Literature], English, monthly, Peking

*Chung-ta Chan-pao* (中大戰報) [Chungshan University War Bulletin], Canton, published by "Revolutionary Rebel Committee of Chungshan University Joint Committee," Canton "East Wind Hsueh-ko-hui."

*Chung-ta Hung-ch'i* (中大紅旗) [Chungshan University Red Flag], published by the Editorial Board of Chung-ta Hung-ch'i of Chungshan University, Red Guard Congress of Canton, Canton, Kwangtung Province

*Chu-ying Tung-fang-hung* (珠影東方紅), published by the Editorial Board of Chu-ying Tung-fang-hung, Pearl River Film Studio, Red Headquarters of State Organs, Red Alliance, Canton, Kwangtung Province

*Wen-ke Wen-chien Hui-pien* (文革文件滙編) [Collection of Documents Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution], Vol. 1, published by "Propagandists of Mao Tse-tung's Thought," Peking College of Chemical Engineering, May 1967

*Chung-kung Chun-jen-chih* (中共軍人誌) [Mao's Generals], published by the Research Institute of Contemporary History, 1968, Hong Kong

*Chung-kung Wen-hua-ta-ke-meng Tzu-liao Hui-pien* (中共文化大革命資料彙編) Collection of Materials of the Great Cultural Revolution of Communist China, published by the Ming Pao Monthly Magazine, 1967, Hong Kong

*Current Background* (CB), American Consulate General, Hong Kong

*Facts and Features*, published by Institute of International Relations, Taiwan, Republic of China

*Hung-ch'i* (紅旗) [Red Flag], semi-monthly, Peking

*Hung-hua-kung* (紅華工), [Red South China Engineering Institute], Canton

*Hsin-kang-yuan* (新鋼院) [New Steel Academy], Peking





*Jen-min Hua-pao* (人民畫報) [China Pictorial], monthly, Chinese and English, Peking

*Kuang-yin Hung-ch'i* (廣印紅旗), Canton

*Kung-jen Chan-pao* (工人戰報) [Workers War Bulletin], Foochow, Fukien Province

*Liu-chou Kung-tsung* (柳州工總) [Liuchow Workers Headquarters], published by "4.22 Liuchow Revolutionary Rebels Grand Army's Liuchow Workers' Headquarters," Liuchow, Kwangsi

*Pei-ching Chou-pao* (北京週報) [Peking Review], English, weekly, Peking

*Pei-ching Kung-jen* (北京工人) [Peking Workers], Peking

*Selections from China Mainland Magazines* (SCMM), American Consulate General, Hong Kong

*Survey of China Mainland Press* (SCMP), American Consulate General, Hong Kong

*T'i-yu Chan-pao* (體育戰報) [Sports and Physical Culture War Bulletin], Canton

*Tzu-liao Chuan-chi* (資料專輯) [Special Collection of Materials], Canton

*Wuhan Kang-erh-ssu* (武漢鋼二司), Huichow edition, published in Huichow, Kwangtung Province