

DOCUMENT OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Chung-fa No. 117 (67)

To Party committees of all military districts, Party committees of all levels, all provincial and municipal revolutionary committees, and all revolutionary mass organizations:

The decision of the CCP Central Committee on the Anhwei problem* is herewith conveyed to you. It is hoped that all localities will carry out with modifications where necessary the provisions of a policy character formulated in this document.

The Center points out with emphasis that revolutionary committees of all levels and all military district commands and garrison forces of the PLA, regardless of whether they are in districts, organs and units under military control or in places not under military control, must hold high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, put politics in command, persevere in the mass line, and safeguard the better practice of big contending, big blooming, big-character posters, and big debates.

Attention is called to the following in particular:

First, mass organizations must not be declared counter-revolutionary organizations at will. The declaration of a mass organization as a counter-revolutionary organization must first be approved by the Center.

Second, the masses must not be hit and called "counter-revolutionaries," and indiscriminate arrests are forbidden. Those labeled "counter-revolutionaries" merely because they have trespassed against or criticized a military district command, or voiced

disagreement over the power-seizure in a place or unit, shall without exception be indicated. Those who have already been arrested shall without exception be freed, and orders for the arrest of others not yet in custody shall without exception be rescinded. Many students from outside areas trespassed on Chungnanhai on several occasions and some from military institutes and schools trespassed on the Defense Ministry, but the Center and the Military Committee did not rebuke them or order them to admit their guilt, repent or write self-examinations. The matter was settled through explanation of the position and they were told to go back to their own quarters. However, intrusions into military organs are regarded as too serious a matter in various localities.

Third, individual responsible persons of a mass organization, if found conclusively to be counter-revolutionaries or criminals, should be dealt with according to law. But they must be distinguished from the broad masses of the organization. When repressing an organization conclusively found to be reactionary, it is also necessary to strictly distinguish the few counter-revolutionary leaders at the top from the hoodwinked masses in general. Repression of mass organizations at random is forbidden. The practice of registering backbone elements, adopted in the early days of the liberation in dealing with reactionary party and youth league organizations, is also forbidden.

Fourth, problems relating to revolutionary mass organizations or revolutionary masses who have made some mistakes or even serious mistakes should be solved by means of rectification and developing criticism and self-criticism. They should not and must not be ordered to parade in the streets with big placards hanging on their necks, or to put up big posters and hold mass meetings to admit their guilt. Chairman Mao has more than once taught us that "it is not a crime to make revolution," "it is not a crime to speak out," and it is not a crime to practice extensive democracy. The practice of stressing admission of guilt by the masses is extremely wrong. Suppression of the revolutionary masses under the pretext of "suppression of counter-revolution" is strictly forbidden.

Fifth, resolutely and correctly support all Leftist revolutionary

mass organizations. Between Leftist organizations, there must be no arbitrary support for one side against another side.

The Central Committee of the Chinese
Communist Party

April 1, 1967

* See pp. 392-395.