

THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION --
A RECORD OF MAJOR EVENTS

- September 1965 to December 1966 -

[Following is a complete translation of the Chinese-language publication Wu-ch'an-chieh-chi Wen-hua Ta-ko-ming Ta-shih-chi (English version above), compiled by the "Ch'uan-min-chieh-ping" and "Chung-hsiao-han" combat teams of the 28th Regiment of the Ching-kang-shan Corps of Tsinghua University, Peking, February 1967, pp 1-39.]

Editor's Note: The great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated by our great leader Chairman Mao in 1966, is the greatest event in the sixties of the 20th century. This revolution ushers in a new stage in the socialist development of our country; and opens up a new era in the history of the international communist movement. This is a significant event which concerns the future and destiny of both our country and the world. It continues the struggle between the two lines within our Party. It pronounces the complete bankruptcy and defeat of the bourgeois line headed by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping; and eradicates the poisonous root for a restoration of capitalism and revisionism in our country. That the storm of the "January Revolution" spread nation-wide has further illustrated that the working people have begun their true control of this land of 9.6 million square kilometers of the Chinese People's Republic.

Guided by the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the proletarian revolutionaries and all revolutionary comrades of the country united themselves, greeted the dawn of the Northeast and the spring thunder of the Southwest, marched bravely on with their heads high in the storm of the "January Revolution" and devoted themselves to strive for new, greater, and more extensive victories in 1967. They pledged themselves to carry to the end the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the storm of the "January Revolution," and on the most glorious day when the proletarian revolutionaries are going all out to seize power from the hands of the "lords," who are a handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, this record of major events is published. However, as our level is limited and the pertinent materials gathered are not complete, and time available is also short, these are inevitably many mistakes and defects. It is hoped that comrades will offer valuable suggestions and criticism to us.

The "Chuan-min chieh-ping" and "Chung-hsiao-han" Combat Teams of the 28th Regiment of the Ching-kang-shan Corps of the Tsinghua University. February 1967 in Peking.

FIRST STAGE (September 1965 - May 1966)

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's [1202 2429 0337] article raised the curtain of the nation-wide great proletarian cultural revolution and tolled the death knoll of the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Shaken and frightened, these persons immediately set out to organize a large-scale counter attack, openly resisted Chairman Mao, and attempted to astray a grave political struggle to the path of pure academic discussion, so as to stifle in the cradle the great proletarian cultural revolution. However, our great leader Chairman Mao came straight to the point to declare the essence of this struggle, guided the movement along the correct line of progress, and also dug out the time bombs around him--Peng Chen, Lu Ting-i, Lo Jui-ching, Yang Shang-kun, and others of the anti-Party clique--to the great delight of all.

During September and October, 1965: At the Political Bureau conference, with leading comrades from all major administrative areas attending, Chairman Mao sensed the political nature of the Wu Han question in that Wu Han, acting as a representative of bourgeoisie, was attacking the Party. The key question regarding Hai Jui's Dismissal was the dismissal of officials. The Chairman asked Peng Chen: "Can Wu Han be criticized?" Evading the essence of the question, Peng Chen replied: "Some questions regarding Wu Han can be criticized." This exchange was kept secret from Comrade Kang Sheng and other comrades of the five-man group until 2 January 1966.

2 September: In his talk to cadres engaged in the "four cleaning" campaign, Lin Feng dwelled upon Liu Shao-chi's three methods to present revisionism: the promotion of socialist education, adoption of two educational systems and two labor systems, and participation of cadres in labor performance. This was an outright attempt to usurp credit and to use Chairman Mao's great development of Marxism-Leninism to build up Liu Shao-chi, the highest revisionist in China.

23 September: At the conference of cultural bureau and

department heads, Peng Chen repeatedly attacked Chairman Mao by name, saying: "In truth, all persons are equal, regardless of whether they are in the Party Central Committee or the Chairman." He also stated: "Everyone shares the wrong words spoken," in an attempt to protect the rightists and to attack the leftists.

25 September: At the conference of cultural bureau and department heads, Lu Ting-i went all out to denounce Stalin.

10 October: Chairman Mao delegated the task of criticizing Wu Han to the Shanghai Municipal Committee, which began to prepare the necessary materials, since it was impossible to launch the criticism in Peking.

10 November: The Wen-hui pao carried Yao Wen-yuan's article: "Criticizing the New Historic Play: 'Hai Jui's Dismissal'," thus raising the curtain of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Chieh-fang-chun-pao immediately reprinted the article and pointed out that "Hai Jui's Dismissal" represented a major poisonous weed.

11-26 November: While newspapers in the East China region carried Yao Wen-yuan's article, Peking newspapers and periodicals did not, because of the orders from the Central Propaganda Department and Peng Chen. Peng Chen questioned Shanghai comrades: "What has happened to your Party character?" He also twice dispatched Fan Chin [5400 3866], former director of Peking Jih-pao, to Shanghai to learn of the background of Yao's article.

24-29 November: Since various newspapers did not carry Yao's article, it was decided that the Shanghai Publishing House would reprint the article as a pamphlet for nation-wide distribution. An urgent telegram was also sent to Hsin-hua Bookstores throughout the country to inquire about possible advanced subscriptions. Replies came from all areas, except Peking. Even a telephone call did not produce any definite reply until 29 November, when it was forced to agree.

28 November: Peng Chen was forced into taking action only when Premier Chou assumed personal supervision. A meeting was called at the West Room of the Great Hall of the People to discuss reprinting Yao's article. At the meeting, Peng Chen asked Teng To: "How is Wu Han now?" Teng To replied: "Wu is now nervous, for he is aware that this criticism originates from a source." Peng Chen declared: "Source or not, we seek only the truth. In truth, everyone is equal."

29 November: Peking Daily reprinted Yao's article, with a note written by Peng Chen, depicting this political struggle as an academic debate concerning the evaluation of historic personages and historic plays. The last paragraph of the note quoting the Chairman's words was added after the Premier interceded. The article was carried

in the column of academic criticism.

30 November: People's Daily carried Yao's article in the column of academic research, with an ambiguous note.

2 December: Kwangming Daily reprinted Yao's article, in compliance with instructions from Yao Chen [1202 3308] (Secretary of the former Peking Municipal Committee) who said: "Peng Chen ordered that the article should not be carried simultaneously by different newspapers on the same day, in order to lessen the shock."

6 December: Wen-hui-pao reported on the reprinting of the article by various newspapers in the country, and published the notes carried by these newspapers. According to the date of their publication, the Chieh-fang-chun-pao was listed first. This considerably irritated Peng Chen.

8 December: Red Flag carried Chi Peng-yu's article: "Study History For Revolution."

9 December: At the Peking rally commemorating the 30th anniversary of the "9 December" movement, Chiang Nan-hsiang boldly praised the "correct leadership" of the original Northern Bureau under Liu Shao-chi and Peng Chen. He was reluctantly obliged to merely mention in passing our great leader Chairman Mao.

12 December: Yao Chen gave Peng Chen the article: "Starting From Adding and Multiplying" by Ching Yun carried in the 1962 88th issue of Chung-yang Hsuen-chiao Tung-tai for a rectification campaign against Kuan Feng. Directed by Peng Chen, Teng To wrote the article: "On Moral Heritage Regarding Hai Jui's Dismissal" under the pseudonym Hsiang-Yang-Sheng. Approved by the Peking Municipal Committee for circulation, the article intended to lead the political struggle into a purely academic discussion.

14 December: Peng Chen called a work conference of the Peking Municipal Committee at the International Hotel. To Wu Han, Peng Chen said: "You should examine your thinking where you are wrong and persist where you are right, upholding the truth and correcting mistakes." Peng Chen was actually supporting Wu Han.

21 December: The Chairman sought Peng Chen, Chen Po-ta, Ai Szu-chi, and Kuan Feng, saying: Chi's article is very good (8 December). I read it three times and found that the only defect was the omission of specific names. Yao Wen-yuan's article was also very good, and produced a shock in the theatrical, historical, and philosophical circles. Chia-ching dismissed Hai Jui. The Lushan Conference was called to discuss work. In less than 15 days, Peng Te-huai came out to say: 'In Yenan, you cussed me for 40 days. Now, you will not allow me to cuss you for 20 days.' Peng Te-huai intends to cuss some more. . . ." Peng Chen, however, pretended to obey, but persisted in

diverting the life-or-death political struggle into an academic discussion.

22 December: The Chairman sought Kang-Sheng, Peng Chen, and Yang Cheng-wu; and reiterated his talk on 21 December, pointing out that the key question concerned the dismissal. Peng Chen attempted to ward off this point by saying: "Investigation shows that Wu Han and Peng Te-huai have neither organizational nor direct contact." He also insisted that Chairman Mao should accept his viewpoint.

23 December: Peng Chen requested a private audience with Chairman Mao. After the interview, he rumored: "The Chairman says that a conclusion will be reached on the Wu Han question in two months;" and "Chairman Mao agrees with my viewpoint that Wu Han is not a political question." Peng Chen also repeated this rumor on many occasions.

26 December: When the Shanghai Municipal Committee Secretary reported his work, Peng Chen reprimanded: "You didn't even notify me before you published such an article (meaning Yao's article). What happened to your Party character?" Peng Chen claimed that Teng To and Wu Han were both leftists in the past. He also criticized the Wen-hui-pao Editor's Note and its failure to place the Peking Daily Editor's Note in first place.

27 December: Peking Daily published Wu Han's "Self-criticism Regarding Hai Jui's Dismissal," in which he persisted in mistakes and also exposed his own critical problem, Peking Daily withheld comment and thus implied endorsement. The article was published at Peng Chen's order. He also directed the People's Daily to reprint the article.

29 December: People's Daily published Fang Chiu's article: "Social Thinking as Represented by Hai Jui's Dismissal." Collectively written by the Central Propaganda Department, the article presented a wrong viewpoint regarding a good and honest official. At several meetings, Peng Chen stated: "We criticize only 'Hai Jui's Dismissal'; but not 'Hai Jui's Appeal!'"

2 January 1966: Lu Ting-i blamed the Shanghai Municipal Committee for negligence in notifying the Central Propaganda Department. He also alleged that Hai Jui's Appeal should not be criticized. It was Chou Yang who instructed the Shanghai Peking-Opera Institute to write "Hai Jui's Appeal." Yao Wen-yuan's article, in fact, also criticized it. Lu Ting-i also said: "Deleting the final portion, Yao Wen-yuan's article would have been fine." At the meeting, Kang Sheng opposed this view.

8 January: Peng Chen gathered materials with the intention of waging a rectification campaign against Kuan Feng and other leftist comrades.

9 January: Peng Chen approved for dissemination the Chairman's 21 December talk, but covered up key questions.

13 January: People's Daily carried En Tung's article: "Referring to The Dismissal Question" which accepted the challenge from Wu Han and also mentioned the Lushan Conference.

17 January: Peng Chen and Hsu Li-chun suppressed Chi Peng-yu's article: "The Reactionary Nature of Hai Jui's Dismissal" and 'Hai Jui Denounces the Emperor' " and Kuan Yao and Lin Sen's article: "The 'Hai Jui Denounces the Emperor' and 'Hai Jui's Dismissal' Are Two Anti-Party and Anti-socialist Poisonous Weeds. "

Calling a conference of the three Peking newspapers: Kuangming Daily, Peking Daily, and People's Daily, and the three Peking periodicals: Front, Red Flag, and New Construction, Hsu Li-chun made arrangements for handling the criticism question. He stated: "In the future, articles of criticism to be carried by the three newspapers and periodicals must be reviewed in advance. Red Flag will not engage in criticism." He also alleged: "We must have leadership to launch a campaign of mixed combat." At the meeting, Peng•Chen reiterated the tune that the "Wu Han question is an academic question. "

17-28 January: Chi Peng-yu telephoned Hsu Li-chun to ask: "Can an article criticizing the key questions of Wu Han be published?" Hsu replied: "There are now many articles criticizing the key questions, not just yours. They invariably cannot be published now." Chi sent the article to Peng, who answered through his secretary by telephone, saying: "Peng Chen is very busy, as he will soon depart for the countryside. He does not have time to read the article. "

The Peking Municipal Committee announced: "The various periodicals do not carry discussion articles any more, but will carry conclusion articles later. "

31 January: Peng Chen called for gathering materials to rectify the leftists. Hsu Li-chun immediately complied.

2 February: At the enlarged conference of the Peking Municipal Committee, Peng Chen announced the intention of adopting the "blooming" policy toward the rectification of the leftists. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, Kang Sheng offered criticism.

3 February: Delegated by Lin Piao, Chiang Ching gathered Liu Chih-chien and other troop cultural workers in a meeting.

At the enlarged conference of the five-member group (Peng Chen, Kang Sheng, Chou Yang, Lu Ting-i, and Wu Leng-hsi), Peng made public five articles denouncing the leftists and announced: "Investigation proves that Wu Han is not related to Peng Te-huai." He intends to launch a rectification campaign against the leftists. He also stated: "Teng To is also a leftist and supports the three red flags." Afterward, Liu Jen and

Yao Chen testified that what he said was correct. Kang Sheng rose to say: "We must not attack the leftists. We should protect Comrade Kuan Feng, rely upon the leftists, cultivate the theoretical column of the leftists, and attack the rightists." He also criticized Hsu Li-chun for "not gathering material on Wu Han, but, instead, concentrating efforts on gathering materials on the leftists." After the conference, Peng Chen ordered Hsu Li-chun and Yao Chen to write a report outline.

4 February: At Tiao-yu-tai, Peng Chen, Hsu Li-chun, and Yao Chen drafted the "Outline Report of the Five-member Group of the Central Cultural Revolution." While the five-member group remained in name, the report was, in fact, drafted by Peng Chen alone. Although they stayed in the same building, Kang Sheng and Wu Leng-hsi were not even aware of it. The report distorted the essence of this great cultural revolution, diverted it to the academic field, propagated five Sutra and three torn flags, and constituted an outright counter-revolutionary revisionist platform. The Peking Municipal Committee discussed the report.

5 February: Peng Chen presented the report to the standing committee of the Central Political Bureau for discussion. He noted that the report was not passed among and discussed by the five-member group, because the time was short. It was then orally reported on by Hsu Li-chun, who was not part of the five-member group. Peng Chen also spoke at the meeting, but did not touch upon the matter of the essence of the report.

8 February: In his report to the Chairman, Peng Chen cheated the Political Bureau comrades and spoke wantonly to the Chairman. The Chairman's opinion was diametrically opposite to the report. The Chairman pointed out that the key question was the dismissal, and again twice asked Peng: "Is Wu Han opposed to the Party and socialism?" When Peng Chen proposed to launch a rectification campaign against the leftists, the Chairman promptly rebutted: "The question of leftists may come up in three years." Hsu Li-chun immediately brought out Kuan Feng's miscellaneous articles. The Chairman quickly countered: "There is nothing wrong in writing some miscellaneous articles. I have long read ^{He} Nsiang Ming's articles, which are quite good." The Chairman called for protection of the leftists and cautioned against attacking them. Peng suggested: "Shall we make a political conclusion?" The Chairman replied: "The class struggle in the cultural field will not end with a hastily improvised political conclusion." Accordingly, it was obvious that Peng Chen lied when he claimed that the "Chairman will offer a political conclusion after two months." Afterward, Peng Chen fabricated a "Central approval" for an urgent dissemination of the report.

10 February: Peng Chen telephoned the standing committee of the Political Bureau to change his outline report into a formal document, alleging that the Chairman had agreed. He also usurped the name of the Central Committee to approve his outline report.

12-14 February: Peng Chen disseminated the outline report of the five-member group in Shanghai, claiming that the Chairman and the Central Committee had both agreed with the "Outline Report On Academic Research." Discussion was permitted on questions that Shanghai presented on subjects other than political topics.

13 February: Peng Chen appointed Hu Sheng to talk with Chang Chung-chiao in Shanghai. Hu stated: "The key points in the Wu Han question are not to be discussed. Nor can the question be related to the Lushan Conference. Wu Han is not opposed to the Party and socialism. This is what the Chairman said." He also added: "This is what Peng Chen told me to say."

18 February: Peng Chen assigned his outline report to Party or organizations at all levels.

Hsu Li-chun and Hu Sheng convened personages of Peking academic circles and leading personnel of Peking newspapers to disseminate the Chairman's directive. At the meeting, Teng To was appointed the responsible member of the first group.

28 February: Peng, Hsu, and Yao Chen departed to visit ... [two words deleted]

1 March: In summing up the progress of the great cultural revolution, Peng Chen clamored that his outline report was a great document in the program. In his own name, Hsu Li-chun reported on the progress of academic criticism, and praised the Peng Chen outline report as "a summation of the great cultural revolution to which the Central Committee attached considerable importance."

2 March: People's Daily and Red Flag published Yin Ta's article: "The Revolution of History Must Be Carried To The End." This article had previously been held up for one and a half years.

Peng Chen and the Peking Municipal Committee told Wu Han to go to the countryside (in Chang -ping) to participate in the "four cleaning campaign" under the pseudonym Lao Li (Li Ming-kuang).

11 February: Yang Yung-chih of Shanghai telephoned the Central Propaganda Department to inquire whether "academic lords" implied anyone. When Hsu transmitted the inquiry to Peng Chen, he told Hsu to reply by telephone: "I Peng Chen state: (1) 'academic lords' does not imply anyone specifically, except Ah-Q. But the term also applies to whoever has a scar on his head. (2) Why didn't you first notify the Central Propaganda Department before publishing Yao Wen-yuan's article?" At this point, Peng angrily demanded: "What happened to the Party character of the Shanghai Municipal Committee?"

12 March: Chairman Mao said [Nothing more appears in text] Kwangming Daily published Mo Hsing's commentary on Pao-ching-hua, which had been held up for one year and four months.

17-20 March: At the meeting of the Political Bureau Standing Committee, the Chairman spoke on the question of the great cultural revolution. He said: "The policy we adopted before to accept all intellectuals has both good and bad points. Consequently, many cultural departments are now controlled by bourgeois intellectuals. We shall inquire regarding the control of various cultural departments. Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan are Party members and yet are opposed to communism. They are, in fact, the opposition party. Regarding the academic authority held by these bourgeoisie, we must not fear that the younger generation will break some 'laws,' and must never hold up their manuscripts and articles. The Central Propaganda Department must not become a 'Rural Work Department'." (The Rural Work Department was disbanded.)

25 March: Chi Peng-yu and Yun Chang-kuei published in Red Flag the article: "Chien Po-tsan's Historic Viewpoint Must Be Criticized."

28-30 March: The Chairman twice sought Kang Sheng for talks. He also gathered Chiang Ching, Kang Sheng, Chao Li-ming, Wei Wen-po, Chang Chung-chiao, and other comrades in discussion to criticize the outline report of the five-member group. Pointing out that Wu Han published many articles, without prior notification or approval, he asked why Yao Wen-yuan should be required to give advance notice about his article. Could it be that a decision of the Central authorities was not enough? Holding up manuscripts from leftists and protecting academic lords of the rightists, the Central Propaganda Department represented the king of Hell. "We must overthrow the king of Hell and liberate the little devils," he said. The Chairman continued: "I have always proposed that whenever a Central organization does some thing bad, we should call on the local organizations to rebel and to attack the Central. We need more Sun Wu-king's from various localities to disrupt the Heavenly Palace." The Chairman then criticized Peng Chen: "If Peng Chen, the Peking Municipal Committee, and the Central Propaganda Department continue to harbor bad persons, then, the Central Propaganda Department, the Peking Municipal Committee, and the five-man group should be disbanded." He also told Peng Chen to order Hsu Li-chun to telephone an apology to the Shanghai Municipal Committee for the matter regarding Comrade Yang Yung-chih. Finally, the Chairman said: "In September last year, I asked some Central comrades what we should do if revisionism appears in the Central Committee. This is very possible, as it is also most dangerous. We must protect the leftists and cultivate the leftist column

in the course of the great cultural revolution. "

30 March: The Central Military Affairs Committee approved Chiang Ching's "Summary of the Symposium, " and also sent it to the Central Committee and the Chairman for approval.

1 April: Peng Chen twice telephoned Tsao Ti-chiu, the Shanghai Municipal Committee Secretary. He did not follow the Chairman's instructions, and did not apologize. On the contrary, he fabricated rumors to shirk his own responsibility.

2 April: The Premier informed the Chairman that he agreed with the Chairman's instructions and that the Secretariat would discuss the matter.

3 April: Lin Piao convened Chiang Ching, Liu Chih-chien, and cultural workers of the Liberation Army to a symposium. After the meeting, Liu Chih-chien wrote a report to Peng Chen. After the first was thought too general, Liu Chih-chien prepared a second report which was suppressed by Peng Chen.

5 April: Peng Chen called the Peking Municipal Committee to a work conference to arrange for resistance to the Central authorities.

6 April: Peng Chen convened the Peking Municipal Committee and the five-member group. At the meeting, Peng Chen repeatedly pointed to his own achievements. He claimed that he never fell behind in the struggle for cooperative movement transformation of industry and commerce, the four cleanings in rural areas and plants, and the opposition to international revisionism. Only in this great cultural revolution did he fall behind, because he was late in starting and knew little about it. He also alleged: "It is possible to reach a conclusion on the Wu Han question. "

4 April: At a conference on cultural reaction, Lin Mo-han (Deputy Director of the Central Propaganda Department) went all out to usurp and distort the unapproved "Summary of the Symposium, " and also defended the literature of the thirties.

9-12 April: Teng Hsiao-ping presided over the conference of the Secretariat, which Premier Chou attended. Kang Sheng first disseminated the Chairman's instructions, which was, the previous talk. Peng Chen spoke in general formality and alleged: "I merely persist in my opinion regarding 'blooming'. " In other words, other than in this aspect, he remained correct in all else. He continued: "I have never, do not, and will not oppose Chairman Mao. " In fact, however, he consistently refused to accept Chairman Mao's criticism. Comrade Kang Sheng criticized him for a series of grave mistakes in the course of the great cultural revolution. Chen Po-ta also criticized Peng Chen for a series of mistakes, from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, in terms of the political line. Finally, Teng Hsiao-ping and Premier Chou pointed out that Peng Chen's mistakes were those of

opposing Chairman Mao. The conference resolved to disband the five-member group, and dismiss its outline report, and to establish the Drafting Committee for the Cultural Revolution.

10-15 April: Peng Chen convened a conference of the Standing Committee of the Peking Municipal Committee to feign criticism of Wu Han, Teng To, and Liao Mo-sha; and to pretend enthusiasm. By doing so, he intended to cover up his protection of the rightists. Furthermore, without approval from the Central authorities, he showed the "draft of the Central circular" to comrades of the Municipal Committee Secretariat. This was a violation of Party discipline.

14 April: Peking Daily suddenly became enthusiastic in gathering materials to rectify "Yen-shan Yeh-hua" and "San-chia-tsun."

16 April: The Chairman convened a conference of the Political Bureau Standing Committee to discuss Peng Chen's mistakes. The Chairman announced the dismissal of the five-member group.

Peking Daily carried a three-page false criticism, using Peng Chen's opinion. Peng Chen decided on the article and the date of publication. The news was broadcast over the radio, as well as transmitted by the Hsin-hua News Agency. On the same evening, the Hsin-hua News Agency headquarters ordered cancellation of this news item.

18 April: The Liberation Army Journal published an editorial calling for holding high the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and enthusiastically participating in the great socialist cultural revolution. The editorial was based on the symposium convened by Comrade Chiang Ching. It pushed the great proletarian cultural revolution to a new upsurge.

19 April: The Central authorities issued a circular against the reprinting of materials carried by the Peking Daily.

4 May: The Central Political Bureau discussed the question of mistakes pertaining to Peng Chen, Lu Ting-i, Lo Jui-ching, and Yang Shang-kun.

8 May: Liberation Army Journal and Kuangming Daily separately carried Kao Chu and Ho Ming articles, exposing the conspiracy of the three-family black gang. Not only was the black store shaken, even its backing was exposed.

8 - 17 May: The Shensi Provincial Committee held a symposium on the socialist cultural revolution. All principal leading personnel of the Northwest Bureau participated. Afterward, all Northwest newspapers reported the event.

Day missing Day: Tsinghai Daily carried the article: "Take the leader first, in capturing rebels," pointing to Peng Chen who then remained a riddle. Shensi Daily followed to reprint the article. This, in fact, was a conspiracy,

aimed at raising the status of the Northwest, for the Northwest was an important base of Liu Shao-chi.

11 May: The North China Bureau sent a work team headed by Huang Chih-kang to the Peking Municipal Committee. The team not only failed to criticize the black gang, but, on the contrary, chose to suppress the masses.

16 May: The enlarged conference of the Central Political Bureau passed the resolution to cancel the outline report of the five-member group, done previously by the Central Committee on 24 February. The former revisionist Peking Municipal Committee thus collapsed.

18 May: The Central resolution to cancel the 24 February resolution was disseminated to Party organizations at all levels.

19 May: Tao Chu delivered a mobilization report on the great cultural revolution in the Central-South region, openly protecting the counterrevolutionary three-family village black gang, in a vain attempt to lead astray the great proletarian cultural revolution.

23 May: The North China Bureau arranged a Peking Hotel conference, which lasted until the end of July. The movement had just begun then in Peking. By gathering the Party secretaries from various government organizations, higher schools, and some key middle schools in a conference, the North China Bureau, in fact, harbored these demons of various descriptions in a shelter from the storm. It carried out a rightist opportunist line of relying upon the black gang to wage a struggle against the black gang.

25 May: In Peking University, Nieh Yuan-tzu displayed the first Marxist-Leninist large-character poster. This was the day when the Peking Commune announced that at twelve o'clock at night Li Hsueh-feng and Chiang Nan-hsiang would arrive at the Peking University. Li told Party members of the said school that they must cover up Nieh Yuan-tzu's large-character poster. He also ordered the Peking University Party Committee to exercise leadership over the movement. In Tsinghua University, the Geological College, and other schools, the Party committees successively took actions to block news dissemination and to watch the activities of the revolutionary students, as if they were the enemies. For a while, the dark clouds gathered to form an atmosphere of terror.

SECOND STAGE June to July 1966

The large-character poster put up by Nieh Yuan-tzu and other comrades appeared like spring thunder and led to an upsurge in the nation-wide great proletarian cultural revolution. However, the bevy of persons headed by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, frightened by the revolutionary mass movement, hastily deployed their henchmen and sent out

"fire brigades." From the reactionary standpoint of bourgeoisie, they exercised bourgeois dictatorship to suppress the surging great cultural revolution, confused black and white and reversed the right and the wrong, encircled and oppressed the revolutionaries, and viciously imposed a white terror. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the revolutionary masses waged a tit-for-tat struggle to pulverize their conspiracies, one after another. In Peking and other areas, a campaign was launched to drive the work teams away from the higher and middle schools, until our great leader Chairman Mao returned to Peking and announced the withdrawal of the work teams. These fire brigades were eventually chased away and swallowed up by the rolling sea in the resounding movement of the revolutionary masses.

1 June: Chairman Mao ordered a radio broadcast about the large-character poster put up by Nieh Yuan-tzu and six other comrades. Honored as the first Marxist-Leninist large-character poster of the country, this revolutionary poster fanned the socialist wind and ignited the fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Comrade Kang Sheng said: "When I learned of the liberation of Comrade Nieh Yuan-tzu, I felt that I also won liberation." Li Hsueh-feng remarked: "I suffered a stupefying strike and now face a very difficult situation."

Early in June, the Central Standing Committee members in Peking led by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping were mistrustful and afraid of the masses. Taking the opportunity when the Chairman was not in Peking, they imposed a bourgeois reactionary line and decided on sending the work teams. They also made eight stipulations to control large-character posters and other activities.

With the People's Daily editorial: "Eradicate All Demons," the cultural revolution reached a high tide. In all provinces, the revolutionary masses and revolutionary teachers and students assumed the role of vanguards of the great cultural revolution to launch the attack against the Party faction in power taking the capitalist road in their respective units.

Early in June, Liu, Teng, and their followers selected a large number of persons from various Central departments to form work teams to go to higher schools and research agencies in Peking to "control" the movement. It was for the purpose of imposing their wrong line that they imposed these work teams upon the masses, in the course of this great proletarian cultural revolution.

2 June: People's Daily carried Nieh's large-character poster and a commentary. The entire city of Peking "exploded." Large-character posters emerged in all schools like batteries firing at the Party faction in power taking the capitalist road.

Starting from early in the morning, thousands of workers, peasants, cadres, and students in Peking arrived successively at the Peking University in support of the revolutionaries.

3 June: The CCP Central Committee resolved to reorganize the Peking Municipal Committee and appointed Li Hsueh-feng as the first secretary, and Wu Te the second secretary. Assuming his position, Li promptly appointed to various positions Chao Feng, Wang Li, Chen Ko-han, and other black gang elements of the former Peking Municipal Committee.

Li Hsueh-feng hastily dispatched the work team headed by Chang Cheng-hsien to the Peking University "to put out the fire," in an attempt to suppress the surging great cultural revolution.

A large character poster appeared in the League Municipal Committee criticizing Li Hsueh-feng's talk on 25 May at the Peking University. In a rage, Li pointed out the slogan: "Whoever opposes the new Municipal Committee opposes the Party Central Committee." Li also condemned some revolutionary masses as "rightists" and "Political mongers." The "3 June" incident created by Li set a precedent of the work team instigating one group of the masses to wage a struggle against another.

At his first meeting with the new Peking Municipal Committee and cadres of Peking higher schools, Li Hsueh-feng disseminated and explained the eight stipulations with which the Liu-Teng headquarters intended to restrict the movement. The eight were: (1) No large-character posters on the street. (2) No rallies. (3) No parades on the street. (4) No encirclement of residences. (5) Make a distinction between the inside and the outside. (6) Guard against sabotage by bad elements. (7) Manhandling and insulting others are prohibited. (8) Prevent undesirable development of the movement. This was a vain attempt to stifle the mass movement.

In the evening, Wu Te disseminated Li's eight-point directive at the Peking University.

Tsingtao Daily/sic/ carried the editorial: "Great Offensive, Great Counterattack, Great Revolution," calling for the four great's. The newspaper was promptly reprimanded by the Tsinghai/sic/ Provincial Committee and Cheng Kuang-yuan [4453 0342 6678] was dismissed from his office.

4 June: Liu-Teng ordered the League Central Committee to dispatch work teams to control the great cultural revolution in middle schools. Hu Ko-shih transferred over 1,900 persons to organize work teams to suppress the mass movement in middle schools.

5 June: In the Municipal Committee organizations, those who put up the posters against Li Hsueh-feng were encircled. The new Municipal Committee instigated one group of the masses to struggle against another for nearly half a month. Over

200 persons were picked for rectification, and eighty per cent of them coerced into making a self-examination.

In the Tsinghua University, Liu Tao [0491 3447], Ho Peng-piao [6320 1756 9482] and other family members of high-ranking cadres put up the poster: "Tsinghua Party Committee Should Stand at the Forefront of the Movement.," calling on Chiang Nan-hsiang to strengthen leadership. This large-character poster, it was reported, was the idea of Ho Lung, and was drafted by Ho's secretary. Liu Shao-chi read the draft and approved of it.

Early part of June: At the ceremony in Shao-shan, inaugurating the irrigation project, Tao Chu boldly raised Liu Shao-chi to an equal position with our most beloved and respected leader Chairman Mao with the intention of raising the status of Liu Shao-chi. He wantonly stated: "The irrigation project area of Shao-shan is the native village of two Chairmen." This showed the close relationship between Tao and Liu.

6 June: Teng Hsiao-ping recommended Tao Chu to Peking. Under the wing of Liu and Teng, Tao Chu advanced to be the director of the Central Propaganda Department in one leap, and thus became a new representative of the Liu and Teng reactionary line.

Kueichou Daily published the editorial: "Resolutely Remove the Anti-Party and Anti-socialist Black Flag of Wang Hsiao-chuan" and the radio station also broadcast the editorial. The revolutionaries of Kueichou Teachers College held that Kueichou Daily feigned criticism, but truly attempted to protect him. Some thought that it was an attempt to sacrifice the small to preserve the big. The Provincial Committee dispatched Chang Hsiang-yang [1728 0686 7122] to hint that it was an illegal counterrevolutionary event.

The Sian Chiaotung University displayed posters against Liu Lan-tao, Northwest Bureau Secretary. Liu condemned those responsible for the posters as counterrevolutionaries producing counterrevolutionary large-character posters.

7 June: At the meeting of the provisional branch secretaries of the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu announced the decision of the Central Secretariat (headed by Teng Hsiao-ping): in the old Central Propaganda Department, Deputy Directors Hsu Li-chun, Yao Chen, and Lin Mo-han; and Secretary-general Tung Ta-lin would be suspended from their duties for reflection and self-confession. Their remuneration and life amenities continued as before. There was, however, not even one single word mentioned regarding the kings of hell: Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang, and Chang Tzu-i. At the reorganization of the Central Propaganda Department, Liu and Teng contemplated appointing Chang Tzu-i as deputy director of the new Central Propaganda Department. Opposed by the

revolutionary masses, their conspiracy was thwarted.

In Kansu, a bevy of persons headed by Li Kuei-tzu [2621 6311 1311] raised the question of the Party committee of the Lanchou University, though the overwhelming majority of fellow students thought that the first secretary of the University Party Committee was basically a good cadre. The work tem, however, suppressed the opinion of the majority of students. Under the behind-the-scene manipulation by Provincial Committee secretaries Fei Meng-piao, Ma Chi-kung, and Cheng Ping, those criticized by Li Kuei-tzu were invariably branded demons and suffered ruthless persecution. During the over 70 days of white terror, two persons committed suicide, 14 persons attempted suicide, 38 persons ran away, and three others were missing.

8 June: At a conference of the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu stated: "Lu Ting-1 has been the director of the Propaganda Department for 21 years. ...He hides his soul. Sometimes, he is far left. Now, I don't recognize what is he." He continued: "In the past, Chou Yang was an authority in the field of literature and art and held my respect. He distinguished himself in the campaigns against Hu Feng and Feng Hsueh-feng, and Ting Ling. Although he came from a large landlord family, he promoted class struggle." He also alleged that Hsu Li-chun, Li Mo-han, and Tung Ta-lin were "not so bad before;" and that "under good leadership, they can be valuable." They deteriorated "because of Peng Ch .."

Yang Chia-chih [2799 1367 1807], a student of Wuhan University, wrote a letter to Wang Jen-chung, criticizing Wang's note published in Hupei Correspondence. Subsequently, he was branded as a black gangster by Wang in a frightening political persecution. Yang was the object for struggle in public meetings on seven occasions, expelled from the League, branded a counterrevolutionary, and sent to labor reform in the countryside for 20 days. As late as 9 October, he was treated as a black gangster.

9 June: At the Hangchou Conference, Chairman Mao suggested caution in sending work teams and opposed the wanton dispatch of work teams everywhere.

Three anti's element Po I-po (Party Committee Secretary of the former kingdom of industry and commerce) dispatched deputy director Lin Yeh to Tsinghua as head of a work team, with 500 persons, to "put out the fire" in Tsinghua, in an effort to extend his black claw into Tsinghua.

Chang Cheng-hsien, head of the work team in Peking University, imitated the tone of Li Hsueh-feng and declared that any dissenting opinion regarding the work team would be an attempt "to blacken the work team" and would indicate a "mistrust of the Party Central Committee."

In mid-June: Liu, Teng, and Tao disregarded Chairman Mao's directive; and wantonly dispatched a large number of work teams to Peking municipality and elsewhere.

13 June: The work team headed by Li Chien-pai arrived at the Central Propaganda Department. On 14 June, Tao also dispatched Chang Ping-hua to the Central Propaganda Department as the standing deputy director of the work team.

While attending the Hangzhou Conference, Tao was aware that Chairman Mao opposed sending the work teams. He, nevertheless, stated on 14 June at the joint conference of work teams and Party branches that: "The work teams now exercise dictatorship." He also sent Chang Chi-chun to head a work team in the Academic Department and appointed Chang Chi-chun as the head of the cultural revolution group in the Academic Department. (Chang was later suspended from duty for self-examination.)

16 June: Speaking about the Ministry of Higher Education, Tao Chu stated that Chiang Nan-hsiang, Minister of Higher Education, was a black gangster. He also protected Ho Wei, Minister of Education.

Po I-po disseminated Chairman Mao's directive regarding the work teams; and, yet, immediately violated the Chairman's directive by alleging: "The work teams lack adequate personnel."

In mid-June: The revolutionary masses rose to open fire upon the black gang, in a brisk movement. Liu Shao-chi, however, issued a directive calling on the work teams to group the school cadres and teachers to enforce the policy for a "better-quality struggle." He explained: "Schools and individuals should both be grouped. ...Every move should lead to the output of products and by-products. In this case, the by-products are the detection of some counterrevolutionaries." Consequently, the work teams started immediately in the movement to absurdly name some persons as "leftists" and some revolutionary masses as "rightists" or "counter-revolutionaries."

18 June: In the Peking University, the revolutionary teachers and students dashed resistance and spontaneously waged a struggle against the black gang. Chang Cheng-hsien, the work team head, used certain defects of the mass campaign to describe the event as a "counterrevolutionary event" (reported in the News Brief on Cultural Revolution, 9th issue, Peking University) and so reported to the new Municipal Committee. Li Hsueh-feng commented: "Chang Cheng-hsien is correct in the counterattack, and succeeds in considerable achievements." He continued: "All those showing their hand should be so identified" Li also said: "As in 1957, or even more so, we must have more counterattacks of the like."

At the conference of school work-team heads, Li Hsueh-feng let Chang Cheng-hsien speak on his 22 points of experi-

ence in suppressing the mass movement. This document subsequently served as the basis for the nation-wide suppression of revolutionary students.

The Shensi Provincial Committee was reorganized. Shensi Daily condemned the revolutionary rebels who cast suspicion upon the Northwest Bureau Committee as being counterrevolutionary. From then on, the mass movement lost momentum in the Northwest region. The Northwest Bureau showed fascist features in suppressing the revolutionary masses.

Several cases of bloodshed occurred in the subordinate middle school of the Lanchow Railway College and the Lanchow University.

19 June: Arriving at the Tsinghua University, Wang Kuang-mei, the number one pickpocket of Tsinghuayuan, claimed that "Comrade Shao-chi asked me to come to look at the large-character posters;" and that "fellow students want me to remain in Tsinghua to join in promoting the great cultural revolution. I'm willing to stay, but I must go back to ask for instructions."

Two days later, Wang brought Liu Shao-chi's instructions back to Tsinghua University, and became an "ordinary work team member" using the pseudonym "Hsiao Ho." In fact, she was the adviser sent on extending the black claw into Tsinghua.

Po I-po also appeared in Tsinghua, at the same time. He met and debated with student Kuai Ta-fu [5566 1102 1381] for the first time. Po compared Kuai to Lu Ping [7120 1677] and described him as a leftist among leftists.

20 June: Using the name of the Central Committee, Liu, Teng, and Tao Chu disseminated the 18 June report by Chang Cheng-hsien, head of the Peking University work-team, throughout the country. They claimed that Chang was "correct" and "prompt" in suppressing the revolution; and stated that "upon discovery of similar phenomena in other areas, it can be handled according to the measure taken at the Peking University." Consequently, it became a fashion in all areas to suppress the revolutionary teachers and students.

In mid-June: Since Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, and Tao Chu stubbornly maintained the reactionary bourgeois standpoint, and imposed the work teams upon the masses to handle the mass movement like the Kuomintang did with its political training program, in their attempt to enforce their reactionary line and to attack the revolutionary teachers and students, the revolutionary teachers and students in all higher schools rose to show their dissatisfaction with the work teams, which had, in fact, become the stumbling block hindering progress of the movement. A series of incidents, such as the "16 June," the "20 June," and the "24 June" occurred in succession in various schools in which revolutionary activities broke out to drive away the work teams.

21 June: In his talk to the work team sent to the girls middle school subordinate to the Peking Teachers University, Liu Shao-chi said: "Now that they have begun to take the offensive, this is a good thing. When the enemies come out, they are like snakes coming out of their holes, and it will be easier for you to eliminate them" Regarding the faction in power taking the capitalist road, he advised: "We should not wage a struggle against them now." Regarding the revolutionary teachers and students, he advocated: "Unless they come over to our side, we should suppress them, isolate the prominent ones, and hold rallies to suppress the teachers." Liu also reasoned: "Opposition to the work teams is a new way of thinking..." He then elucidated that "criticism of the work teams is related to the former Municipal Committee."

22 June: Liu Shao-chi once again received the work teams (another interview was held on 24 June), saying: "Who is behind all this? Why do they refuse to listen to the work teams and the Party? Anyone rejecting the Party is engaged in illegal underground activities of instigating the masses." Liu cherished a deep hatred against the revolutionary large-character posters and viciously advocated encirclement tactics, saying: "Debate is good. We can refute them, one by one. When they put up 50 posters were "counterrevolutionaries and bad elements who appear as leftists," who "obviously have among them high-ranking cadres of the former Municipal Committee."

The three-anti's element Po I-po instructed the work team sent to the Geology College: "Anyone bent on chasing away the work team is determined to seize the power from the work team, that is, to seize the power from the Party."

23 June: Liu Shao-chi told his son Liu Yun-no [0491 0336 6179] that: "There are ulterior motives in the posters calling for the overthrow of the royalists, as there are obviously those who intend to seize power." He wondered: "Why was it that in your place there was never any demon discovered, as the blackboard slogans were obviously using instigating words." Referring to the Seventh Ministry of Machine-building Industry, he claimed that "They are not the black gang."

Li Hsueh-feng boldly appeared with a work report which wantonly discussed the bright and the dark aspects of the mass movement. He alleged: "The situation is now complicated ... The rightist students seize the opportunity to cause trouble, with the intention to seize power. Like we did in the 1957 rightist offensive, we should call on all Communist Party members to come out at the critical moment to prevent a coup."

China Youth [Chung-kuo Ching-nien-pao] also published the article: "Glorious Duty of Leftist Students" to prepare

the public for a large-scale suppression of the revolutionary teachers and students.

Meanwhile, at the inaugural meeting of the cultural revolution group in the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu said: "The movement must be placed under strict Party control; and any weakening of Party leadership is invariably wrong." He called for grouping the revolutionary masses in all areas into the right, the middle, and the left. He also stipulated three months as the period for the movement in the Central Propaganda Department.

24 June: In Tsinghua University, Kwei Ta-fu and other revolutionary rebels waged a frontal clash against the work team. The revolutionary rebels of Tsinghuayuan launched their first offensive against the reactionary bourgeois line headed by Yeh Lin and Wang Kuang-mei. The bloody suppression perpetrated by the work team, however, temporarily controlled the situation.

8 Some persons with ulterior motives used the People's Daily editorial: "Party's Sunshine Illuminates the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" to suppress the revolutionary rebels.

25 June: Teng Hsiao-ping telephoned Tao Chu and asked him to go to the the Ministry of Health to protect the Party Committee of the said Ministry and Chien Hsin-chung [6929 0207 0022], claiming that they were not the black gang.

Following Teng Hsiao-ping's instructions, Tao Chu spoke at the mobilization meeting for cultural revolution at the Ministry of Health and enthusiastically promoted the reactionary line, under the headline: "We must strengthen Party Leadership." He alleged: "Whoever opposes the Party, regardless of whatever he may say, is invariably a feigned leftist, and true rightist."

24 June: Red Guards of the middle school subordinate to Tsinghua University appeared for the first time in the political arena, with the nation-wide renowned article: "Long Live the Spirit of Proletarian Revolutionary Rebellion." Based on the brilliant Mao Tse-tung's thinking, they were the first to come out with the slogan: "Rebellion is justified," which pained the bourgeois lords. Enraged, the bourgeois lords resorted to the tools of dictatorship to persecute and suppress them. The young revolutionaries, however, were undaunted and persisted in their combat. They reappeared with: "Again On Long Live the Spirit of the Proletarian Revolutionary Rebellion" and then: "Once More Long Live the Spirit of the Proletarian Revolutionary Rebellion."

26 June: Liu, Teng, and Tao stealthily used the name of the Central Committee to approve for dissemination Hsiao Wang-tung's [5135 2602 2639] report from the Ministry of Culture. They agreed: "to select and transfer 1,000 cadres

from the Liberation Army, together with politically resolute cadres from the Ministry of Culture, to organize work teams to be sent to various agencies to strengthen the movement and regular work performance." They also agreed to gather the black gang for "training" in preparation for further struggle. They commented; "To organize work teams and to sponsor training classes is feasible, as they provide importance assurance for the great cultural revolution on the cultural front."

Tao Chu appointed Chang Chi-chun, Deputy Director of the Central Propaganda Department, to the Philosophy and Social Sciences Department of the Chinese Academy of Sciences as the head of the cultural revolution group.

27 June: Liu and Teng used the name of the Central Committee to convene democratic personages to a symposium to protect the four-family store. They alleged that the "Peng, Lo, Lu, and Yang incidents carried the possibility of a political coup;" and that Peng Chen "showed strong signs of sectarianism, failed to understand Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, lacked the spirit of self-criticism, and was fond of personal prominence." They praised Peng Chen for "his working ability and credit in opposing international revisionism." They also claimed that Lu Ting-i was "opposed to dogmatism, but not revisionism; opposed to sectarianism, but not capitulationism; and opposed to the left, but not the right."

28 June: Using the name of the Central Committee, Liu, Teng, and Tao approved for dissemination the Central-South Bureau's "Report on Situation and Opinions of the Great Cultural Revolution," which called on all provincial and municipal propaganda, education, culture, newspapers, radio stations, and publishing houses, and all subordinate agencies to dispatch effective work teams. They also directed all agencies "not to be hasty to counterattack, when the demons start to attack." They continued: "We must tell the revolutionary leftists to withstand their attack and to await an opportune moment to organize a counterattack."

Speaking to the work team sent to the girls middle school subordinate to the Teachers University, Teng Hsiao-ping said: "We must gradually restore the Party and League organizations." He reasoned: "If the movement overthrows all the Communist Party and Young Communist League members, is that a victory?"

30 June: Peking Daily carried the editorial: "Communist Party Members and Young Communist League Members Should Stand At the Foremost Front of the Movement." This was a representative work of the reactionary bourgeois line, and served as the theoretical basis for the work teams to suppress the student movement.

End of June to the middle of July: Liu Shao-chi personally took charge of the movement in Tsinghua, at the girls school subordinate to the Teachers University, the Radio Broadcast Institute, and the Building Construction Engineering College. He personally proposed steps to suppress the harassment and to restore Party and League organizational activities, as well as school vacations for students to take part in labor performance and military training.

Since then, the work teams have adhered to the reactionary bourgeois standpoint, exercised bourgeois dictatorship, and suppressed the surging great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have reversed the right and the wrong, confused black and white, and encircled and oppressed the revolutionaries, in a reign of terror.

From late June to the middle of July, all schools in Peking strictly controlled news dissemination, and closed their doors "to rectify the rightists," "to catch the roaming fish," and "to suppress harassment." In Tsinghua, Peking University, Peking Teachers University, Geology College, Peking Aeronautical College, and Peking Engineering College, there were over 20 days of bloody suppression of the masses. Many students were coerced into writing statements in blood, or even committed suicide.

1 July: Red Flag, in its ninth issue, reprinted Chairman Mao's brilliant work: "Talk at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art." The editor's note pointed out that this was an epoch-making document, and the most complete, thorough, and correct Marxist-Leninist line for literature and art in the history of proletarian revolution.

The "Talk" served as the compass, the detecting machine, and the bugle for march. The editor's note pointed out that the four brilliant articles: "Talk at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art," "On New Democracy," "On Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," and "Talk at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda" constituted the documental outline of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The ninth issue of Red Flag also carried the articles: "Trust and Rely Upon the Masses" and "Thoroughly Criticize the Counterrevolutionary Revisionist Line of the Former Peking Municipal Committee."

The article: "Trust and Rely Upon the Masses" pointed out that an extremely important policy of our Party to promote the great proletarian cultural revolution called for trusting, relying on, and mobilizing the masses, and for vigorously promoting the mass campaign.

People's Daily published the editorial: "Long Live Mao Tse-tung's Thinking" written by Comrade Chen Po-ta. Liu and Teng revised the manuscript and tried their best to depreciate Mao-tse-tung's thinking. They deleted from the manuscript the

very important sentence: "Chairman Mao enjoys the highest of prestige among the people of the whole country and throughout the world." In the sentence: "A revolutionary leader who has experienced such long, complex, violent, and multifarious struggle as Comrade Mao Tse-tung is rare history," they added: "as Marx, Engles, Lenin, and Stalin." In their effort to protect the anti-Party clique of Peng, Lo, Lu, and Yang, and to cover up their own crime of usurping the Party, the military, and government, they changed the manuscript: "They extended their hand very far to grasp power in the Party, the military, and government" to read: "they extended their hand very far, intending to grasp power in the Party, the military, and government."

The ninth issue of Red Flag also carried an article exposing and criticizing the three-anti's crime of Chou Yang. Liu promptly dispatched someone to telephone Chou to "comfort" him and to tell him "to carefully recuperate" somewhere. Liu also sent word to Chou "not to become excited about all this." Chou thus was "very grateful" to Liu.

2 July: In the name of the Central Committee, Liu and Teng told Po I-po and Tao Lu-chia to draft the "Circular On Promoting the Great Cultural Revolution in Industry and Communications and Capital Construction Agencies." The Circular called for strengthening Party leadership through the work teams. In drafting the circular, Tao Lu-chia viciously ascribed the seasonal reduction of steel and coal output due to repairs and maintenance of facilities in June to the great cultural revolution. He even exaggerated the facts in order to "point out the grave nature."

3 July: Liu Shao-chi issued the three-point directive to Liu Tao and the others, calling for: "Using Kuai Ta-fu as a life target, reducing them (the revolutionary mass) to the minority, and depriving them of democracy," to enforce the ruthless suppression of the great cultural revolution in Tsinghua University.

Three anti's element to Po I-po arrived at Tsinghua University for the second time and said: "The work team dispatched by Chairman Mao has seized power from Chiang Nan-hsiang. What else are you opposing?" He alleged: "Kuai Ta-fu intends to seize power from the Communist Party." He thus further aggravated the white terror. The counterrevolutionaries feigned to be leftists and raised the red flag to oppose the red flag.

Wang Jen-chung wrote the Hupeh Provincial Committee the "Opinions regarding the great cultural revolution in middle and higher schools." (the 3 July black directive) This black directive later served as the outline for the Hupeh Provincial Committee to suppress the mass movement and stifle the great proletarian cultural revolution.

5 July: In Tsinghua, Wang Kuang-mei promoted the sale of Liu Shao-chi's black goods everywhere, and announced the intention of using Kuai Ta-fu as a living target. She also personally directed the bloody suppression of the revolutionary masses.

In the girls middle school subordinate to the Teachers' University, Teng Hsiao-ping was frightened by the mobilized masses. He calumniated the nearly 1,000 revolutionary teachers and students of the school, and wantonly advocated the line of high-ranking cadres' children. Propagating the reactionary theory of blood relationship, he said, "There are many cadre's children in your school and the leftists are powerful, making it easy to promote the movement."

Early in July: Frightened by the revolution in middle schools, Liu and Teng sought to end the movement in the middle schools. They ordered one third of the schools to end the movement in mid-August and the rest to conclude the movement by 1 October. All junior middle schools, they ordered, must open on 1 September, without delay. Liu claimed that the "great cultural revolution was only a matter of a few months" and that "further discussion of it will be tasteless."

10 July: Liu Shao-chi vainly attempted to protect those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road and to divert the general progress of the movement. He ordered the work team in the first subordinate middle school of the Teachers' University to experiment on educational reform, with the intention of promoting the results for nation-wide adoption.

Liu Shao-chi received the work team in the first subordinate middle school of the Teachers' University and stated that "the danger has passed," assuming that he was successful in suppressing the revolutionary masses. Making further arrangements to persecute the revolutionary teachers and students, he ordered detection of the "behind-the-scene support" of the rebels, alleging that "what is invisible now is those giving behind-the-scene support, including those who furnish ideas. Some students, too, may have remained behind-the-scene."

13 July: Liu and Teng called a meeting to discuss the "Preliminary Plan for The Great Cultural Revolution in Peking Middle Schools," with Hu Ko-shih and others attending. At the meeting, Liu stated: "The primary task in promoting cultural revolution in middle schools is to examine the teachers and school staff members." Liu called for prompt restoration the leadership functions of the Party branches, saying that "the Party branches must exercise leadership over such a large-scale cultural revolution." Liu also ordered Hu-Ko-shih to organize the "training classes" in order to separate the college students from the teachers. At the meeting, Liu condemned the Red Guards as "an illegal organization" and prohibited its development. He proposed an increase of

personnel to strengthen his program.

After the meeting, the League Central Committee drafted a report in accordance with the black directive from Liu and Teng, in preparation for dissemination throughout the country. Subsequently, however, Comrade Kang Sheng opposed and thwarted the scheme.

In compliance with the order from Liu Shao-chi and Tao Chu, Ho Wei of the Ministry of Education signed for dissemination the "Circular On Entrance Examination to and Graduates of Middle and Primary Schools," calling on middle and primary schools in all areas to immediately hold entrance examinations, to open schools, and to assign graduates as usual, in an attempt to stifle the great cultural revolution in middle and primary schools throughout the country.

14 July: Tao Chu announced establishment of the new Central Propaganda Department, in compliance with the directive from Liu and Teng. As Deputy Directors, he appointed Chang Ping-hua and Yung Wen-tao, whom he brought from the Central-South Bureau, and Chang Chi-chun of the old Central Propaganda Department. At the meeting, he also invited to the rostrum and announced the promotion of some in the Ministry of Higher Education upholding the reactionary bourgeois line: Hsiao Wang-tung, Chien Hsin-chung, and Ting Lai-fu, and revisionist Jung Kao-tang.

Liu issued a directive to the first middle school subordinate to the Teachers University: "Teachers and students are not permitted to hold meetings in secret. The Red Guard is a secret organization and illegal," in a vain attempt to stifle in the cradle all the new-born things of the great cultural revolution.

At the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu reported on Liu Shao-chi's criticism regarding the Central Propaganda Department: "The Central Propaganda Department lacks enthusiasm in the movement. It should transfer cadres to strengthen the movement in cultural and educational systems in the country." This was an attempt to disperse the revolutionary strength of the Central Propaganda Department and to send them out as "fire brigades" in various areas of the country. Tao also announced that Chang Chi-chun was Deputy Director of the Central Propaganda Department, in accordance with Teng Hsiao-ping's suggestion. Later, when the revolutionary masses of the Philosophy and Social Sciences Department in the Chinese Academy of Sciences rose to oppose Chang, Tao assured him: "I guarantee that you are a leftist."

16 July: Our great leader Chairman Mao once again swam with ease across the Yangtze River, in one hour and five minutes, a distance of 30 Chinese li. The good health of our respected and beloved leader is the greatest happiness of all

Chinese people and the people of the whole world. This is the most effective assurance for the great proletarian cultural revolution to win the final victory. Long live Chairman Mao!

17 July: Liu Shao-chi ordered the Central Propaganda Department to tackle the questions of educational reform, educational system, teaching materials, and pedagogical methods, in an attempt to change the goal of the struggle.

In the second ten-day period of July: The movement was sluggish and slow in Peking and some other cities. The Peking work team aggravated oppression of the revolutionary masses and students. In Peking University, Tsinghua, and other schools, the requests by teachers and students for inter-school revolutionary chuan-lien were invariably rejected. In the Teachers University, Sun Yu-yu instigated one group of the masses to wage a struggle against another, which led to blood shed. The work team prohibited the rebels from appealing to the Central authorities. In the Radio Broadcast College, some 500 persons were manhandled. The revolutionary students risked their lives to dash out of their schools to petition the Central authorities. •

The Shanghai Municipal Committee adopted strict rules to control the movement. Consequently, a strange atmosphere prevailed over the higher schools, in which the students read Mao's "Selected Works" in the morning, took a rest in the afternoon, and learned to swim after four o'clock. Some schools proposed resumption of classroom work and earlier graduation. From 16 to 18 July, the Municipal Committee called a conference having the theme: "One Red Heart and Two Preparations," which student representatives of the third year of junior middle schools attended.

Chao Tzu-yang, Secretary of the Kwangtung Provincial Committee, issued "directives" on 28 June, and again on 5, 7, and 21 July, alleging that "youths are inexperienced and will gain enlightenment after some setback." He was "resolutely opposed to street parades lest the students would be exploited by others." In oppressing the revolutionary teachers and students, whoever agreed with the "correspondence from Peking" was condemned as a rightist in order to prevent the student victims from going to Peking to petition.

In Sian, the suppression of students led to the two-day encirclement of the Sian Daily. The Provincial Committee ordered armed militiamen to "guard the Northwest Bureau and suppress the robbers."

In Hupeh, there was also a series of incidents in Wuhan University, Wuhan Water Transportation College, and other schools, involving suppression of students.

Liu Shao-chi approved the recommendation of Tao Chu and Wang Jen-chung that Liu Yang-chiao (standing deputy minister of the Ministry of Higher Education) was not a black gangster.

At a Central meeting, Liu told Ho Wei: "You must protect Liu Yang-chiao and don't be afraid to become a royalist over the Liu Yang-chiao question." He also let Liu Yang-chiao go somewhere else "to take a rest and to avoid mass struggle."

Liu Shao-chi told Tsao Ti-chiu: "Shanghai is more orderly, not as confusing as Peking. This illustrates the high prestige the Shanghai Municipal Committee enjoys among the masses." He encouraged Tsao to continue suppressing the revolutionary movement. Tsao was elated by Liu's words.

18 July: Our great leader Chairman Mao returned to Peking and noticed that the movement was cold and deadly. Sadly the Chairman pointed out: "Some schools have even closed their gates, as there are also some cases of the suppression of students." The "distinction between the inside and the outside" was used, the Chairman said, as an "excuse to prohibit the display of large-character posters." He stated: "This situation is intolerable and shows a mistake in the direction. We must quickly change it and smash all restrictions." The Chairman also pointed out: "We must not merely sit in an office and listen to reports. We must be prepared to promote revolution, even if it means to revolutionize ourselves. We must go to the masses, believe in them, and rely upon them to gain sensory perception." Subsequently, Comrades Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching, Kang Sheng, and others went to various universities to read the large-character posters and to learn about the movement.

Liu Shao-chi called the "educational reform" conference at Huai-jen-tang, with Tao Chu, Po I-po, Chang Ping-hua, Yung Wen-tao, Hu Ko-shih, Ho Wei, and others attending. The conference covered the topics of further dispatch of work teams to various areas and the educational reform question, in an attempt to take advantage of the opportunity of the great cultural revolution to promote Liu Shao-chi's contraband "two educational systems."

Liu told Ho Wei: "Don't show interest merely in the movement in the Ministries of Higher Education and of Education, but also in other areas." After the conference, Ho Wei promptly dispatched several hundred cadres for suppression of the great cultural revolution in various areas.

19 July: When the revolutionary masses of the Central Propaganda Department unanimously rose to demand a struggle against the black gang, Tao followed Liu's three-point directive and staged a small-scale "back-to-back" struggle meeting which was cold and listless. Afterward, however, Tao played up the event in the newspapers.

20 July: In accordance with Liu's directive, Tao Chu transferred cadres from the Central Propaganda Department and other agencies to organize a work team headed by Yung

Wen-tao. The team began training and studied Liu's "Talk on Educational Questions," in preparation for a three-way departure (to South China, Central-south, and Southwest) to suppress the great cultural revolution. They even prepared for the presentation, within one month, of a proposal for educational reform of higher, middle, and primary schools.

Late at night, Liu Shao-chi braced himself against rain to go to Tsinghua University to read large-character posters. At the eve of the bankruptcy of the reactionary line, he personally encouraged the work team.

12 July [sic]: In Peking University, the revolutionary students put up a revolutionary large-character poster aimed at the work team. Chang Cheng-hsien sensed the unfavorable situation and quickly arranged for a retreat, in an attempt to preserve the work team for a later comeback. Manipulated by the Municipal Committee, there were three self-examinations on three consecutive days from 16 to 18 July. He also changed suddenly to attacking the black gang.

After 18 July: The work teams in Tsinghua and other higher schools also "suddenly" changed, and attacked the black gang.

19 July: In Peking University and other higher schools, a high tide appeared in the criticism of the erroneous line of the work teams.

21 July: Chairman Mao met with members of the Central Cultural Revolution group, discussed the change regarding the methods used by work teams, and drafted the "16 articles and communique." He also pointed out that during the conference period, all comrades attending should go to Peking University and the Radio Broadcasting Institute to read the large-character posters, since there were many problems in the two schools.

22 July: At a meeting presided over by Liu Shao-chi, Po I-po and Tao Lu-chia had the right to speak, while the head and adviser of the Central Cultural Revolution group were deprived of their right to speak. At the meeting, Tao and Po openly opposed the correct line of the Central Cultural Revolution group. Tao Lu-chia presented a false report of the Academy of Sciences and received commendation from Liu.

At the five-hour meeting that day, Tao and Po controlled the floor for three hours. Comrades of the Central Cultural Revolution group commented: "We never had the right to speak." Finally, Liu arrogantly made the decision against withdrawing the work teams.

23 July: Po and Tao hastily transmitted Liu Shao-chi's directive not to withdraw the work teams, and defended the work teams and the suppression of harassment, to oppose Chairman Mao's correct line.

22-26 July: Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching, Kang Sheng, and

other comrades followed Chairman Mao's instructions and penetrated Peking University to learn the situation. They stood at the side of the revolutionaries and supported the proposal for a great debate.

24 July: In the morning, Chairman Mao asked the Central Cultural Revolution group. Li Hsueh-feng, Liu Shao-chi, and others to a meeting to discuss the question of the withdrawal of the work teams. A decision was made to withdraw the work teams. A work conference followed and there was drafted the sixteen articles and the communique.

Po I-po, however, regarded the wise decision of Chairman Mao as a disaster and hastily sent out a notice at one o'clock in the afternoon for a conference of Party secretaries of various departments and work-team heads of various higher schools, which some 50 persons attended. At the meeting, instead of disseminating Chairman Mao's instructions, he chose to fan the counterrevolutionary fire, advocated refusal to withdraw the work teams, and also gathered materials from various higher schools for Liu Shao-chi, in an attempt to prove that what the work teams did were correct and to attack the decision of Chairman Mao regarding withdrawal of the work teams.

25 July: In order to continue with the Liu-Teng line, Po I-po and Tao Chu sent Tao Lu-chia to the Municipal Committee to establish eight enormous staff offices to promote the work-team line without work teams, in an attempt to resist Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Liu Shao-chi told Po I-po to gather the "anti-harassment" materials at the Peking Forestry Institute, Chemical Fiber Institute, and Machine-building Institute, hoping to prove that it was correct to dispatch the work teams and necessary to suppress harassment, thus wantonly attacking Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

26 July: Liu, Teng, Tao, and Hu Ko-shih once again resisted Chairman Mao with their "Non-withdrawal of middle school work teams," their "Further leading the movement in middle schools," and their "Adopting the advisory form to lead the movement."

In Peking University, over 10,000 persons attended the rally at which Comrade Chen Po-ta pointed out: "The attitude toward the work teams is a matter of class struggle." He called for removal of stumbling blocks to promote revolution. He also proposed that the new Municipal Committee should dismiss Chang Cheng-hsien. Li Hsueh-feng, however, again tried to cover up the case and avoid responsibility.

Before 26 July, Chang Cheng-hsien arrogantly refused to meet the leading comrades of the Central Cultural Revolution group. He also attempted to deceive some fellow students into protecting him.

27 July: The 26 July rally in Peking University was like a large bomb which touched off an explosion in all Peking higher schools, starting a ferocious attack against the work teams.

Delegated by Chairman Mao and the Central Standing Committee, Premier Chou intervened in the great cultural revolution in Tsinghua University.

Comrade Chen Po-ta went to Teachers University to continue the penetration of the masses.

Some leading persons from other provinces attending the meeting in Peking knew about the impending withdrawal of the work teams and promptly telephoned their respective provinces. Some work teams were thus quietly withdrawn, even before they were criticized by the masses, who did not know the reasons for their withdrawal. Among these teams were those in Hupeh, Kwangtung, Yunnan, and Szechwan.

Liu Shao-chi questioned Comrade Kang Sheng: "Who is Kuai Ta-fu?" Kang replied: "One among the revolutionary masses." Liu stated: "I consider him a demon. I think you are behind Kuai Ta-fu."

At the rally of middle school students in Hai-tien-chu, Chou Chieh, the work team head, oppressed the revolutionary students who opposed the work team. On the spot, Comrade Wang Li of the Central Cultural Revolution group proposed dismissal of Chou Chieh from his position. At the meeting, Hu Ko-shih and Hu Yao-pang brought Hui to see Liu and Teng at night, and complained bitterly against the Central Cultural Revolution group. Hu Ko-shih and the others also declared that they would show Comrades Chen Po-ta and Kang Sheng that it was wrong to dismiss Chou Chieh.

Liu Shao-chi realized that the work teams would inevitably fall, and seized the opportunity before the circular was dispatched to contact his daughter Liu Ping-ping and the work team of the Girl's Middle School subordinate to the Teachers University: "Withdrawal must be quick, otherwise, it will become impossible." He also told Liu Ping-ping to organize a farewell meeting in honor of the work team. Liu Ping-ping followed his instructions. Liu Shao-chi complimented her: "You did better than your mother." He also told her: "With the departure of the work team, you will exit from the arena. Let them come. Once they appear on the stage, the masses will see clearly. If they do well, let them lead. If they behave badly, overthrow them."

28 July: The new CCP Peking Municipal Committee promulgated: "Circular On Withdrawal of Work Teams from Higher Schools." After that, the revolutionary masses achieved their liberation and pronounced the bankruptcy of the Liu-Teng line.

On the eve of the collapse of the work teams, Liu Shao-chi was greatly excited. On that evening, he vented his

displeasure with the withdrawal to Wang Kuang-mei and Liu Tao. He also insisted that Kuai Ta-fu "rose by himself, not as a result of the work team branding him a counter-revolutionary." He then clamored about his "question of protecting the minority." All the while, Wang Kuang-mei and Liu Tao were crying.

Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching, Kang Sheng, and other comrades of the Central Cultural Revolution group upheld the dismissal of Chou Chieh, supported the revolutionary students in their rebellion against the work teams, and criticized the mistakes of the League Central Committee. On the same day many revolutionary students rose to chase away the work teams. Hu Ko-shih hastily sought support from Liu and Teng. Liu Shao-chi comforted Hu Ko-shih, saying that "the League Central Committee was generally good in work performance," and supported Hu Ko-shih and the others to continue to resist the Central Cultural Revolution group. Liu Shao-chi also told the League Central Committee "to visit the schools once every two or three days" after the withdrawal of the work teams.

Teng Hsiao-ping propped up Hu Ko-shih by explaining: "In the cultural revolution, the League Central Committee was wrong merely in its lack of the mass line and inadequate protection of the minority. It should admit only the mistakes which it committed." Liu and Teng also told Hu: "Let's call a meeting tomorrow to discuss all this." Teng Hsiao-ping added "Let them (meaning the Central Cultural Revolution group) take over in the future!"

29 July: At the "Congress of Activists of Cultural Revolution," our respected and beloved Chairman Mao received all delegates, thus greatly enhancing the enthusiasm of the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students and bringing the great cultural revolution to an upsurge. A group of students previously branded by the work teams as "counter-revolutionaries" were named in invitations to attend the conference. Among these was Kuai Ta-fu of Tsinghua University.

At the meeting, Premier Chou, Teng Hsiao-ping, and Liu Shao-chi spoke; and Li Hsueh-feng announced the decision to withdraw the work teams. In their speeches, Liu and Teng coordinated with each other. Teng spoke of "an old revolutionary meeting with a new problem," in a vain attempt to cover up his own mistakes.

In the afternoon, Wang Kuang-mei unexpectedly reappeared in Tsinghua. At a debate meeting, she stated: "The work team has had achievements and defects. I have my own views, but I am not going to discuss them now." She continued: "Today I am deeply moved by the warm welcome given us by the fellow students. Perhaps the reason for this is

the life relationship between Comrade Liu Shao-chi and I." She disclosed: "It was raining last night when Comrade Shao-chi came to read the large-character posters for three hours." She claimed: "I have my own views regarding the great proletarian cultural revolution in Tsinghua University; but I am not discussing them now." She stated: "Whether or not Comrade Kuang-mei is a revolutionary is a matter for all to judge." By way of wantonly praising the work team, she thought that it would be possible to suppress the criticism by the masses of the work team.

Supplement: 27 July: In Tsinghua University, students Lei Jung [7191 5554] and Wang Hsiao-ping [3769, 1420 1627] (daughter of Wang Jen-chung), acting at Wang Jen-chung's instigation, put up a poster against the work team to deceive the masses, thus gathering some political capital in Tsinghua for Wang Jen-chung. Lei Jung and Wang Hsiao-ping joined the provisional preparatory committee to prepare the ground work for Wang Jen-chung to control Tsinghua.

THE THIRD STAGE (August To October 1966)

The 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CCP Central Committee was convened. The 16-article outline of the great proletarian cultural revolution reached the entire country like thunder in the spring and considerably encouraged and guided the revolutionary rebels. The fierce flame of the great cultural revolution blazed up further, while the Red Guards, with unlimited vitality, appeared on the horizon. Upon discovery of this new thing, our great leadership Chairman Mao promptly gave it this warm and resolute support. A vast revolutionary army was thus quickly organized in the country. The young Red Guards were undaunted by powerful enemies, and dared to think, to act, and to rebel. Breaking down the four old's and building up the four new's, they stood at the forefront to criticize the reactionary bourgeois line and trained the spear of struggle at Liu Shao-chi, the main root of the reactionary revisionist bourgeois line at the highest level within the Party.

1 August: Chairman Mao personally convened and presided over the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth CCP Central Committee, which had world-wide significance. This was a new milestone in the socialist revolution of our country.

Chairman Mao wrote a letter to the Red Guards of the middle school subordinate to Tsinghua University. Our great leader was sensitive to new-born things and, upon discovery of the Red Guards--a new-born thing with unlimited vitality--immediately gave his warm support to their spirit of revolutionary rebellion. He also earnestly taught them to pay attention to unite the majority. Accordingly the Red Guards,

once condemned as a "counterrevolutionary organization," won a new birth.

On the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the Army, People's Daily pointed out, in the editorial: "The Whole Country Should Become A Great School Of Mao Tse-tung's Thinking," that this was the scientific answer creatively offered by Chairman Mao, who summed up the experiences of the proletarian dictatorship in our country and other nations to meet the questions of how to prevent a return of capitalism, to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, and to assure gradual transformation toward communism.

1-12 August: The 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth CCP Central Committee was in session.

The conference discussed and passed the "Resolution on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," that is, the sixteen articles personally presided over during their formulation by Chairman Mao; and also issued a communique of the conference.

At the later stage of the conference, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau held an election. Liu Shao-chi was sidetracked; and Comrade Lin Piao was decided upon as the heir to Chairman Mao.

5 August: By the first large-character poster: "Bombardment of Headquarters," our great leader Chairman Mao personally sounded the bugle charge to launch a fierce attack against the reactionary bourgeois line and its black headquarters.

8 August: The sixteen articles were promulgated. They were a product of the struggle between two lines, a product of the victory of the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao over the reactionary bourgeois line, and a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

10 August: Our great helmsman Chairman Mao received the revolutionary masses who went to the State Council hostel to greet the promulgation of the "sixteen articles." He earnestly told us: "You should concern yourselves with major events in the country, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end." This was the call from Chairman Mao to 700 million people for marching toward a new stage of socialism.

12 August: The Session adjourned and issued the Communique.

The Communique emphatically pointed out: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era." "Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding principle for all the work of our Party and country." "The intensive study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works by the whole Party and the whole nation is an important event of historic significance."

The Plenary Session stressed that the series of

directives by Comrade Mao Tse-tung concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution were the guide for action in the current cultural revolution of our country; they constituted an important development of Marxism-Leninism.

The 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee announced the victory of the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao, declared the defeat of the reactionary bourgeois line, and led the great proletarian cultural revolution on the correct path. These represented a great new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought on the path of socialist revolution.

After the 11th Plenary Session, the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao was integrated with the broad revolutionary masses, leading to the appearance of mass criticism against the reactionary bourgeois line and a new upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

However, as Chairman Mao cautioned at the closing meeting of the Plenary Session: "We must never take for granted that once a thing is written in the resolution all Party committees and comrades will implement it. There is always a small minority which is unwilling to implement." Upon correction of the erroneous line of the previous period, it would reappear in another form. The struggle between the two lines remains acute and complex.

In the first ten-day period of August: In Peking higher schools, the revolutionary teachers and students strongly demanded further thorough criticism of the reactionary bourgeois line of the work teams. The new Municipal Committee, however, ordered various schools to immediately elect preparatory committees for cultural revolution and to immediately change to attacking the black gang, and to forbid any attempt to criticize the work teams lest this change the general direction of the struggle. The new Municipal Committee tried its best to resist any criticism against the work teams.

Starting at the end of July and in early August, the parallel sentences: "When the father is heroic the son is a manly fellow. When the father is reactionary the son is a scoundrel," began to appear in some higher and middle schools in Peking. These parallel sentences offered a definite contribution toward thoroughly pulverizing the counterrevolutionary revisionist Peng Chen's attempt to distort the policy calling for "emphasis in performance." At that time, the revolutionary masses understood and supported the parallel sentences. However, as some leading members of the Central Committee pointed out, the parallel sentences were incomplete and could be used to produce an adverse effect.

Later, the parallel sentences were actually used by some persons as tools to oppress dissenting opinions. There

was the absurd theory of "spontaneous Red" which circulated in various areas. Those who propagated this absurd theory took advantage of the innocent young to point out that "when the father is heroic the son is a manly fellow" and thus deceived some students. This, in fact, was the reactionary theory of blood relationship of the exploiting class. A thoroughly reactionary historic idealism, this was diametrically opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and fundamentally antagonistic to the Marxist-Leninist class analysis.

1 August: Chang Ping-hua announced dismissal of the name of the work team at a cultural revolution meeting in the Central Propaganda Department. He, however, also stressed the functions of the work team in the Cultural Revolution group and decided that the work team members should remain at their "work" under a different guise.

2 August: At the People's University, Teng Hsiao-ping protected Kuo Hsing-chiu [6753 1743 4428] and once again emphasized that the dispatch of work teams was a "new problem for the old revolutionaries."

3 August: Liu Shao-chi spoke at the Peking Architecture Institute and continued to advocate his 29 July black talk regarding "protection of the minority."

In early August: the 26 July speeches by Chen Po-ta and Chiang Ching, and the 29 July speech by Premier Chou were successively disseminated throughout the country. Revolutionaries in all areas received considerable encouragement from the speeches. The work teams continued to quietly withdraw from all areas. Ninety per cent of the work teams committed mistakes regarding the direction and line, but never came under criticism before they were withdrawn to remove the stumbling block of the movement.

In Kueilin and other areas, serious cases of one group of the masses waging struggle against another occurred.

4 August: Peking University and Tsinghua University held separate rallies to criticize the reactionary bourgeois line. Premier Chou, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching, and other leading comrades of the Central Committee, as well as leading comrades from various major administrative regions, provincial, and municipal committees in Peking attending the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth CCP Central Committee were also present at these rallies.

At the Tsinghua University rally attended by over 10,000 persons Premier Chou personally pronounced the innocence of Kuai Ta-fu, Liu Chuan [0491 3123], and other revolutionary comrades. Student representatives from the middle school subordinate to Tsinghua University proposed reorganization of the League Central Committee.

6 August: Tao Chu was forced into cancelling the plan to dispatch work teams to Central-South, East China, and other

areas. Under a different cover, however, he sent cadres to radio broadcast stations, People's Daily agency, Hsin-hua News Agency, Academic Department, and other units to serve as liaison officers.

7 August: Directed by Wang Jen-chung, the Tsinghua University's provisional preparatory committee came out with the "7 August Proposal" for "you mind your business and I mind mine."

8 August: The "8 August" Chuan-lien Association mysteriously appeared in Tsinghua. While it raised the flag of criticism of the work team, nevertheless, since its inauguration it showed a strong inclination for compromise. In fact, it never represented the progressive thinking of the broad masses, but stood for a middle-of-the road thinking.

10 August: To exercise a further control over the movement in Tsinghua, Wang Jen-chung transferred from Hupeh to Tsinghua his secretaries Lu and Chang, and others who became liaison officers for promoting the reactionary line of Liu, Teng, and Tao.

12 August: In a photograph of a mass rally, the Hung-wei-pao (the organic newspaper of the Canton Municipal Committee) dared to stealthily insert Liu Shao-chi's photograph into the picture. This was a grave political event.

13 August: Liu Shao-chi would not reconcile himself to defeat. He went to the Peking Architecture Institute to "investigate" the situation and to prepare for a comeback. He again defended his "protection of the minority."

14 August: In receiving the preparatory committee of People's University, Teng Hsiao-ping and Tao Chu spoke as a team to cover up for each other. Teng said: "I am an old revolutionary facing a new problem." Tao followed: "This is truly a case of an old revolutionary; and I am a middle-age revolutionary. While I may not be an old revolutionary, it is, nevertheless, also a new problem to me." They both tried to evade their responsibility.

During the second ten-day period of August: Different views regarding the question of the work teams appeared in higher schools throughout the country. One group of the masses proposed thorough criticism of the erroneous line. Some organizations also called for an immediate struggle against the black gangs in various schools. For instances, in Tsinghua, there were the "8 August Chuan-lien Association" and the "9 August Chuan-lien Association For Immediate Struggle Against The Black Gang." In the Geology College, the "Tung-fang-hung Commune" was opposed to the "Corps for Struggle, Criticism, and Reform."

In various areas, the Party factions in power taking the capitalist road took advantage of the difference of opinions among the masses to mobilize one group of the masses.

against another. There were also some cases of serious armed clash, such as that in Changsha. The brave revolutionaries and many persecuted comrades overcame numerous difficulties and went to Peking to appeal their cases. Some of them hiked all the way to Peking from Tientsin, Sian, Changsha, and other areas, creating the precedent for the great revolutionary Chuan-lien.

In Sian, from 14 to 16 August, revolutionary students staged a sit-down demonstration to protest the Northwest Bureau and the Shensi Provincial Committee, which instigated workers and peasants to wage a struggle against students. Incidents of blood-shed occurred at the gates of the Provincial Committee and of the Northwest Bureau on 4, 6, 9, 14, 16, 18, 20, and 25 August. Incidents of blood-shed also occurred in Pao-chi, Han-chung, Hsien-yang, Po-cheng, Tung-chuan, Lo-yang, and other localities of the Northwest.

In Chungking, on 18 August, there was a revolutionary expose of the Municipal Committee. Later, the masses abruptly divided into two groups.

In Changsha, instigated by the Municipal Committee, armed clashes broke out on 19 and 20 August during which workers encircled and attacked Hunan University students in a serious incident. The Municipal Committee secretaries sat idly by during the incidents, and were later dismissed from their offices.

18 August: At the mass rally to meet students arriving in Peking from other areas, Comrade Chen Po-ta spoke on: "Grow Up In Strong Wind and Waves," when he pointed out: "We should follow the teachings of our great leader Chairman Mao: All revolutionaries and revolutionary youths must brace themselves against wind and rain, and see the world. The revolutionaries can not grow in a hot house, but must grow in strong wind and waves." He continued: "We must not forget our origin. We are all children of the working people, who have raised us with their blood and sweat. We must never forget this. The working people are our parents. We must accord them full respect, learn from them, and always and forever join them."

18 August: In a green military uniform, Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arm Comrade Lin Piao joined the army of cultural revolution to celebrate the great proletarian cultural revolution. (The first meeting). Looking at the vast army of cultural revolution, Chairman Mao told Comrade Lin Piao: "This is a large-scale movement which truly mobilizes the masses. This is of great significance in revolutionizing the thinking of the people throughout the country." At the rally, Comrade Lin Piao and Comrade Chou En-lai made important speeches, pointing out: "Our Chairman Mao is the supreme commander of this great cultural revolution." The revolutionary teachers and students coming to Peking from

other areas for chuan-lien and petitioning also spoke at the rally. Chairman Mao received the young Red Guards at the rally, wore a Red Guard arm band, and highly commended their revolutionary spirit. Chairman Mao's voice came like thunder in the spring. Within a short period, Red Guards gained prominence in schools, plants, and rural areas throughout the country, and became a vast army for cultural revolution. However, in some provincial and municipal committees, government agencies, and schools, certain leading cadres merely imitated and fabricated Red Guard organizations as tools to promote their reactionary bourgeois line.

19 August: Newspapers carried the news that Chairman Mao received the army of cultural revolution on 18 August. The people sensitively noticed that Liu Shao-chi stood to the side.

In Tsinghua, the "Sunflower: Combat Team put up the revolutionary poster: "Wang Kuang-mei Is The Number One Pickpocket In Tsinghuayuan," pointing out the Liu Shao-chi question. Immediately afterward, Ho Peng-fei and others put up the poster: "Three Questions to Wang Kuang-mei," which created a considerable stir.

20 August: The notorious "Statement of Tan Li-fu" appeared.

In less than twelve days after adoption of the sixteen articles, Tan impatiently came out to viciously attack Mao Tse-tung's thought. Resorting to "class line," the "struggle against the black gang," and a "touch on the soul" as the pretext, he went all out to present a program opposed to the sixteen articles adopted by the Party Central Committee. This was a representative work of the reactionary bourgeois line, with the key question centered in the "power." The "Statement" was well distributed throughout the country. There were those who showed little interest in the Central Committee resolution personally formulated by Chairman Mao, but held in esteem this program, which opposed the Central Committee resolution. They reprinted and broadcast the program with enthusiasm. The "Statement" thus provided the theoretical basis for the instigation of one group of the masses against another in various areas, for using the majority to oppress the minority, and for engineering armed clashes, in an attempt to save the reactionary bourgeois line.

Supplement: 1 August: Wang Jen-chung told the leading cadres of the provisional preparatory committee: "The Central Cultural Revolution group asked me to take charge of Tsinghua, Peking University, the middle school under Peking University, the middle school under Peking University. Henceforth, I will serve as your consultant. You can see me once every three or five days." However, Premier Chou stated: "On 29 July, the Central Standing Committee sent me to intercede

in the great cultural revolution in Tsinghua."

18 August: Ho Peng-fei, Chiao Tsung-huai [0829 1350 3232], and others put up the large-character poster: "Three Questions to Wang Kuang-mei." This poster was based on the oral dictation by Wang Jen-chung. At the end of July, Wang Jen-chung once obstructed leading cadres of the provisional preparatory committee from putting up posters against Wang Kuan-mei. Subsequently, Wang Jen-chung, Ho Lung, and Li Ching-chuan met at Ho's residence and decided to point out the question of Wang Kuang-mei through their children. Consequently, Wang, Jen-chung suddenly turned around and sought leading cadres of the provisional preparatory committee to dictate this poster.

On the same evening, Liu Tao telephoned Wang Jen-chung regarding the poster against Liu Shao-chi and Wang Kuang-mei. Wang immediately asked her to come to see him. Wang Jen-chung intended to send 12 persons from the Political Institute of the Liberation Army to Tsinghua as liaison officers. Wang's secretary Lu Nai-chiang [0712 0035 1730] began to arrange tasks for these liaison officers.

21 August: Red Flag carried in its 11th issue: "Forward Victoriously the Road of Mao Tse-tung's Thought" and reprinted the poster by Nieh Yuan-tzu and six other comrades, and the People's Daily commentary.

The commentary carried this time offered important changes: "What we accept is the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. Regarding all erroneous leadership endangering the revolution, we must not unconditionally accept it, but should resolutely resist ..." That was the change made personally by Chairman Mao.

After the clarification of the Peng Chen question, the editorial again reiterated: "Anyone, regardless of how high his position may be, how well established his qualifications, and how great his prestige, so long as he does not work according to Mao Tse-tung's thought and opposes Mao Tse-tung's thought, we must wage a resolute resistance against his erroneous ideas, all the way until he is dismissed from office." At the same time, it emphatically pointed out: "Ours is a large country with 700 million people. We must have agreement in thinking. United with Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will have united action."

At the meeting debating the Kuo Yang-chiu [6753 8846 4428] question of People's University, Tao Chu, on the one hand, claimed that Kuo was not a leftist, in an effort to support the rebels represented by the Red Guards of the People's University; and, on the other, also alleged the Kuo was not a black gangster to prop up the royalists. This exposed Tao Chu as an outright double-dealing character.

23 August: Chairman Mao wrote: "New Peking University."

This was the mobilization call to break down the old and establish the new, and the bugle sound to promote the proletarian and demote the bourgeois. It encouraged the revolutionary teachers and students throughout the country to hold higher the great flag of the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao for waging to the end the struggle against the reactionary bourgeois line. Accordingly, the all-round offensive against the reactionary bourgeois line and its headquarters reached a new upsurge.

In Tsinghua, on 19 August, the "Sunflower" Combat Team put up the revolutionary large-character poster: "Wang Kuang-mei Is the Number One Pickpocket In Tsinghuayuan," pointing out by name Liu Shao-chi and Wang Kuang-mei.

Wang Jen-chung then, in his attempt to seize the initiative, told Ho Peng-fei and the others to put up "Three Questions to Wang Kuang-mei."

On 21 August, Comrade Liu Tao, daughter of Liu Shao-chi, put up the large-character poster: "Pledging My Life to Follow Chairman Mao. This poster was prepared at Wang Jen-chung's residence, after Liu Tao had a long talk with Wang Jen-chung, who first read the poster and made some changes.

The "Sunflower" again came out with another poster: "Wang Kuang-mei is Precisely the Number One Pickpocket of Tsinghuayuan."

On 23-24 August, Chairman Mao's first large-character poster reached Tsinghua from Peking University. Revolutionary teachers and students of the whole school launched a high tide for bombardment of Liu Shao-chi's black headquarters. Tsinghuayuan was replete with large-character posters opening fire at Liu Shao-chi, Wang Kuang-mei, Po I-po, and Li Hush-feng. The entire Peking Municipality was shaken. The enemies were frightened, and the revolutionaries considerably encouraged.

In Geology College, the "Tung-fang-hung" Commune fiercely opened fire at Tsou Chia-yu [6760 1367 1429], head of the former work team in the Geology College. A resolute and unremittingly valiant struggle was launched.

Aeronautical College: The "Red Flag Combat Team" sustained its struggle for 28 days, resolutely demanding that Chao Ju-chang [6392 1172 3864], head of the work team, make a self-examination.

In Kunming, revolutionary action also appeared on 23 August in an attack against the black headquarters. However, the small number of persons adhering to the reactionary bourgeois line would not reconcile themselves to defeat. They used the social foundation of their reactionary line and their influence within the Party to cause trouble. They resorted to both overt and covert methods to resist the revolutionary proletarian line, to sabotage the effort of the revolutionary masses, and to protect the reactionary bourgeois line.

In Tsinghua, on the afternoon of 24 August, some leading cadres of the provisional preparatory committee, under Wang Jen-chung's manipulation, instigated some unenlightened masses and some Red Guards of the 12th school to destroy a large number of large-character posters, directing their spear at the revolutionary masses and even manhandling some persons. Once again the spirit of revolutionary rebellion in Tsinghuayuan was condemned as a "counterrevolutionary adverse current" and a "rebellion of rightists."

In the Ministry of Chemical Industry, directed by anti-Party element Po I-po, black gangster Liang Ying-yung [4731 5235 1661] "presided" over the third rally of 10,000 persons on 25 August, previous rallies were held on 18 and 24 August, to wage a struggle against Kao Yang [7559 2254], Party Committee Secretary in the Ministry. They encircled and attacked revolutionary comrades, and seriously trampled upon the sixteen articles.

In Szechuan, on 28 August, there was the so-called Chiang-pei "28 August" incident in Chungking, where rumors were directed to calumniate the "15 August" Combat Corps.

On 26 August, Rebels in Chengtu rose to expose the question of the Provincial Committee, and met with encirclement at the Office of the Provincial Committee. Subsequently, on 1 and 2 September, several incidents occurred in succession, with one group of students against another, and one group of the masses against another.

In Anhwei, on 27 August, Rebels in Hofei rose to expose Li Pao-hua, first Secretary of the Provincial Committee. Li instigated the uninformed masses against the masses which led to blood shed.

In Peking, on the evening of 26 August, the new Municipal Committee gathered all heads of the black gang in the city and sent them to an undisclosed locality, north of Chuyung-kuan. Using "reform" as a pretext, there was a news blackout of the event. In fact, this was an attempt to protect them from the masses and the law. This event served to expose the reactionary bourgeois line of the new Municipal Committee.

In the last ten-day period of August: The movement developed in depth. The Red Guards appeared on streets to sweep away the four old's. The great cultural revolution began to touch the political economy. The campaign in the schools for struggle, criticism, and reform reached out to become a campaign in society, and succeeded in considerable achievements in breaking down the four old's and establishing the four new's.

The factions in power taking the capitalist road, the bourgeois reactionary "authorities," and the blood-sucking parasites suffered a great deal in the hands of the

lutionary teachers and students, and young Red Guards.

25 August: In Peking, the class enemies, in their class struggle, stabbed and wounded some Red Guards. In the struggle against the enemies, the Red Guards displayed the revolutionary spirit of bravery and loyalty to Chairman Mao. With hatred against the class enemies, the Red Guards launched a large-scale campaign for confiscation of property to deal a blow to the demons.

31 August: For the second time, Chairman Mao received 500,000 young Red Guards and revolutionary masses from all areas of the country arriving at Peking. On behalf of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Central Cultural Revolution group, Premier Chou announced at the rally that revolutionary teachers and students from all areas would arrive in Peking by groups in succession on the revolutionary chuan-lien. He also extended warm support to the revolutionary chuan-lien.

Revolutionary teachers and students arrived in Peking to see the red sun in their heart, Chairman Mao. They also went to all areas of the country to fan the socialist wind and to light the fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This was a new thing which emerged in the course of the great cultural revolution. In the revolutionary melting pot of chuan-lien, they steeled themselves. Through chuan-lien, they distinguished the right and the wrong, and familiarized themselves with the society and the classes. This was of far-reaching significance.

The attitude toward the revolutionary chuan-lien served to disseminate throughout the country Mao Tse-tung's thought, to propagate Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line, to organize the proletarian revolutionary army, and to effectively dash the reactionary bourgeois line.

A handful of the factions in power taking the capitalist road and those stubbornly adhering to the reactionary bourgeois line were frightened by the revolutionary chuan-lien, and attempted by all possible methods to sabotage it.

In Peking, Wang Jen-chung unilaterally stressed the importance of perfecting one's own unit and prohibited Peking University teachers and students from departing for chuan-lien to other areas. When the revolutionary teachers and students broke away from Wang's restrictions and left for chuan-lien elsewhere, Wang Jen-chung denounced the students, saying: "Some students now doubt even the sixteen articles. If they insist on leaving, they can. The movement will be delayed for two weeks." With this, he intended to resist the great revolutionary chuan-lien.

In Shanghai, schemed and organized by the Municipal Committee, a large number of workers and students sought Red Guards from Peking day and night, grasped some of their defects for exaggeration, and attacked them. Municipal Committee

Secretary Tsao Ti-chiu and others wantonly undermined the revolutionary relationship between the Red Guards from the north and the Shanghai workers and students, in an attempt to avoid exposing themselves.

In Kwangtung, the five revolutionary students who suffered persecution because of the "Peking Correspondence" departed for chuan-lien in the north and met with unreasonable obstruction and calumny.

In Hupeh, revolutionary teachers and students from other areas were not welcome. Some students from Changsha, Hunan, who suffered persecution and intended to report the situation to Peking, met with obstruction and changed their route to go north through Shanghai.

Some persons of the Provincial Committee were sold cold toward chuan-lien and attempted to obstruct it. Whang Ti-hsueh stated: "The cultural revolution did not succeed in any achievement in Wuhan. Why should anyone go to Peking? It is better to strive for some achievements first before going to report the good news to the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao in Peking." At the Rally greeting the revolutionary teachers and students from other areas on 4 September, however, he said: "In Wuhan, you can see the resounding, truthful, unprecedented, and large-scale great proletarian cultural revolution." Ten days after the rally, the revolutionary teachers and students began to suffer.

In Yunnan, the young Red Guards from Peking were under surveillance; and chuan-lien was prohibited.

At the end of August: the First and the Second Headquarters were established in Peking. They excluded the dissenting persons. In many schools, the revolutionary rebels were once again condemned as "counterrevolutionaries" and "rightist organizations."

Early September: Wang Jen-chung told leading members of the "Red Guards of Tsinghua University" (conservatives): "What does Kuai Ta-fu amount to? At most 200 large-character posters. We should ignore him and wait until after the autumn." (Premier Chou had said earlier on 4 August at the 10,000 persons rally in Tsinghua: "Regarding Comrades Kuai Ta-fu, Liu Chuan, and the others, I am the first in favor of their liberation and in declaring them innocent.")

During the first ten-day period of September: Revolutionary teachers and students in Peking and elsewhere departed in succession for revolutionary chuan-lien in various areas. Fanning the socialist wind and igniting the fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution, they joined the local revolutionary masses in promoting class struggle against the provincial and municipal committees. Alarmed and flustered, the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road resorted to all possible tricks to sow dissension among and

attack the revolutionary students on their revolutionary chuan-lien. Many students from Peking were condemned as "counterrevolutionaries" or forced to parade in the streets.

In Peking, there were many cases of oppression of the minority. The reactionary bourgeois line appeared as the "leftist" to oppress the revolutionary masses and to prevent them from criticizing the reactionary line. The "Red Flag" of the Peking Aeronautical College, the "Tung-fang-hung" of the Geology Institute, the "Tung-fang-hung" of the Engineering College, and other revolutionary organizations continued to wage a struggle.

On 5 September, the liaison officers in various schools were withdrawn. In Tsinghua, the liaison officers requested permission (from Wang Jen-chung) to withdraw.

In Shanghai, after the 30 and 31 August incidents, there was another 4 September incident. Peking Red Guards and Shanghai middle school students dashed into the Shanghai Municipal Committee to demand an interview. Tsao Ti-chiu, on the one hand, arranged for collection of the names, family background, and behavior of these students; and, on the other, instigated, at the gate of the Municipal Committee: "The Shanghai masses themselves are well aware of the problems in Shanghai ..." He alleged: "We propose struggle by reasoning. When the Peking students beat up Shanghai people, these Shanghai people should not fight back." Immediately, Peking students were encircled on the streets of Shanghai; and large-character posters, slogans, and handbills were circulated to attack the Peking Red Guards and defend the Shanghai Municipal Committee. Such handbills as: "Yang Fu-chen's Urgent Telegram" and "We Old Workers Will Speak" appeared in quantity and were spread wide, reaching even Peking.

In Kwangtung, there were rumors of large numbers of Red Guards coming south, and handbills of calumny were circulated everywhere.

In Hupeh, in receiving the Wuhan delegation to Peking, Wang Jen-chung alleged: "(1) The Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao are aware of the condition of the Hupeh Provincial Committee; (2) The Hupeh Provincial Committee is not a problem; (3) The handful of persons going south to Hupeh will merely delay progress of the movement." Chang Ti-hsueh went further: "As the saying goes 'There are the nine-headed birds above and the Hupeh fellows below,' I am a Hupeh fellow myself." He personally then "represented" the 32 million people of Hupeh to condemn the People's University students on their way to Kueilin (some People's University fifth year students, who were Party members with poor peasant background.) In Wuhan, there was a campaign to apprehend the students who were travelling south.

6 September: Revolutionary masses of the whole country demanded that the Central Propaganda Department open

its gate to promote revolution. They also put up revolutionary posters which were unreasonably rejected.

7 September: People's Daily carried the editorial: "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production." This was a great policy offered by Chairman Mao.

10 September: In higher schools of Peking, the oppressed revolutionary minority established the Peking Red Guard Revolutionary Rebels Headquarters, that was, the Third Headquarters, which became the original great alliance of rebels.

11 September: Meeting with leading persons of the Tsinghua liaison officers, Wang Jen-chung stealthily used the name of Chairman Mao to reject the request for withdrawal of liaison officers. Wang stated: "It was with Chairman Mao's approval that you came. You must also have Chairman Mao's approval before you withdraw. We are the primary liaison officers. What will I do, if you withdraw?"

15 September: Chairman Mao received revolutionary teachers and students for the third time. Comrade Lin Piao pointed out in his speech: "A handful of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists who have not been properly reformed attempt to bombard the proletarian headquarters." He called on the revolutionary masses to raise their vigilance and promptly detect tricks and conspiracies of the enemies.

17 September: Red Flag, in its 12th issue, carried the editorial: "Master the General Direction of the Struggle," which pointed out: "We must pay attention to unite the majority and concentrate forces to attack the bevy of bourgeois rightists. The key point of attack is the faction in power who infiltrated the Party and now take the capitalist road." It called on "Party organizations at all levels, broad worker-peasant-soldier masses, revolutionary cadres and intellectuals, and youths to be sure of closely mastering this general direction of the struggle." It also stressed: "...under no pretext or form will any attempt to attack the revolutionary masses, or to instigate one group of the masses to struggle against another be tolerated."

In Peking, using the struggle against the black gang as the pretext, various higher schools resisted criticism against the reactionary bourgeois line. The majority used the struggle against the black gang to oppress the minority. For instance, at Tsinghua University there was a struggle against Chiang Nan-hsiang.

At the Great Hall of the People, where he met with 12 students of the Kwangtung Study Group, Tao Chu protected the Kwangtung Provincial Committee, Chao Tzu-yang, and Ou Meng-chueh. He also evaluated himself highly, suppressed the masses, and attempted to avoid an examination by the revolutionary masses.

20 September: In his speech to the Cultural Revolution Standing Committee at the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu set the tone for comments on the movement at the previous stage in the Central Propaganda Department. He repeatedly stressed that the "general direction and line were correct" in the movement in the Central Propaganda Department. Striving to defend himself, he stated: "I will never agree with any allegation that I am a person in power taking the capitalist road."

Hsiung Fu [3574 1788] (Deputy Director of the Central Propaganda Department), delegated by Tao Chu, met with two Red Guard organizations of the Philosophy and Social Sciences Department. He reported on Tao Chu's four-point directive and called on the masses to wage a struggle against the black gang, to avoid the question of the struggle between two lines, and thus attempted to divert the general direction of the struggle. He also protected Wu Chuan-chi [0702 0278 0796]. The royalists consequently clamored: "Whoever opposes Tao Chu's four-point directive opposes the Party Central Committee and is a counterrevolutionary!" Under the reign of white terror, there were many cases of property confiscation, body search, arrest, beating, detention, and interrogation.

23 September: "Tung-fang-hung" of the Geology College once again bombarded the Ministry of Geology. After 14 days of assiduous struggle, Deputy Minister Tsou Chia-yu [6760 1367 1429] was forced to return to the school for self-examination and criticism.

Chen Po-ta sent Comrades Kuan Feng and Chi Peng-yu to the Geology College as observers to support the revolutionary activities of the "Tung-fang-hung" Commune.

24 September: Chang Ping-hua distorted the editorial in the Red Flag's 12th issue and Comrade Lin Piao's speech, and issued the mobilization order to "catch the rightists." At once, a reign of white terror prevailed over Hunan, where many revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres were branded as "black ghosts," "rightists," and "counterrevolutionaries," and suffered ruthless political persecution and bodily harm. Some persons were coerced into committing suicide.

In Tsinghua University, the "Ching-kang-shan Red Guards" headed by student Kuai Ta-fu were organized, with their spear trained once again at Liu Shao-chi.

25 September: Premier Chou alone received leading members of the Third Headquarters in the capital.

Meeting with some teacher and student representatives of 13 higher schools of the arts, deputy chairman Yeh Ching-ying stated: "Recently, there was a great happy event in our Party. Chairman Mao has chosen his first heir. With the experience of 40 years of struggle, the Chairman has proven that Comrade Lin Piao has rich experience in revolutionary struggle, and is a

great statesman and strategist with a high degree of achievement in the art of leadership. He is the best heir to Chairman Mao."

26 September: The Third Headquarters of the capital held a rally at the Workers' Stadium. The Premier spoke at the rally and supported the minority in their resolute promotion of revolution.

27 September: Meeting with revolutionary teachers and students arriving in Peking from Southwest on chuan-lien, Chen Po-ta pointed out: "In the course of the great cultural revolution, the struggle between the two lines is grave, acute, and complex."

In Peking, a minority in the higher schools organized the "Committee to Defend Mao Tse-tung's thought and the 16 Articles." At the first meeting held at the Teachers' University to criticize "Tan Li-fu's Statement," they waged an uncompromising struggle against the reactionary bourgeois line and yet met with counterattack from some students.

THE FOURTH STAGE (October 1966 to Early January 1967)

1 October: On this glorious day, Comrade Lin Piao, close comrade-in-arm of our great leader Chairman Mao, made an important speech. People's Daily and Red Flag, in its 13th issue, pointed out: "Whether or not we criticize the reactionary bourgeois line is the key to whether or not we can implement the 16 articles of the cultural revolution, and whether or not we can correctly promote extensive struggle, criticism, and reform. In this, there is no room for a compromise." Greatly encouraged, the revolutionary rebels held high the banner for criticizing the reactionary bourgeois line and stormed the Liu and Teng black headquarters. The nation-wide great cultural revolution embarked upon a new upsurge.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, people of the whole country joyfully celebrated the 17th anniversary of the founding of the nation. At the Peking celebration rally, Comrade Lin Piao pointed out: "The struggle continues between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line." He stated: "Those who persist in mistakes are only a handful of persons who deviate from and oppose the people, as they are also opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought. This determines that they are doomed to defeat."

People's Daily editorial: "Arm 700 Million People With Mao Tse-tung's Thought" pointed out: "The great Mao Tse-tung's thought enables the revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative hidden among hundreds of millions of people to break out like atomic energy." The editorial called on us "to resolutely respond to the call from the Central Committee, and, in the course of the great cultural revolution, to hold high the great

red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to stress proletarian politics, and to push to a new upsurge the mass campaign for creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works."

Hsiung Fu, Deputy Director of the Central Propaganda Department and Director of the Hsin-hua News Agency, ordered the photography department to fabricate a photograph (the caption read: Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Vice Chairman Liu Shao-chi, and Vice Chairman Sung Ching-lin on Tien-an-meng rostrum) This was a grave political event.

3 October: Red Flag, in its 13th issue, carried the editorial: "Forward On the Great Road of Mao Tse-tung's Thought. The death knoll was tolled for the bourgeois reactionary line.

5 October: The CCP Central Committee approved for transmission the urgent directive of the Central Military Affairs Committee and the General Political Department: "On the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Troop and Military Institutes." (1) Certain leading organizations and military institute leadership overemphasized the special characteristics of military institutes, suppressed democracy, and dampened enthusiasm in the movement. (2) Those comrades who were branded "counterrevolutionaries, anti-Party elements, and rightists" at the early stage of the movement by institute Party committees or work teams must be redeemed of their good names, with the black material detrimental to their honor destroyed in public. (3) Among the leading personnel and instructors of the military institutes, there was a handful of bad elements who were opposed to the Party and to socialism. The east wind of the great cultural revolution should be directed to ferret them out for thorough struggle and criticism. The urgent directive supported the revolutionary rebels and started the struggle between the two lines in military institutes.

6 October: At the Workers' Stadium, 120,000 revolutionary teachers and students from higher schools throughout the country attended a rally to pledge themselves to "Open Fire At the Reactionary Bourgeois Line." (Sponsored by the Third Headquarters in Peking) Premier Chou, Chiang Ching, and others attended and resolutely supported the revolutionary rebels.

Tao Chu received representatives of two factions from the Ministry of Education and said: "There are now some who will not be satisfied unless they brand someone else as a black gangster. I don't believe that there are so many black gangsters." He protected Ho Wei and dampened the enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses.

In Shanghai, there were only one million copies of the Red Flag 13th issue editorial printed, compared with 1.4 million copies of the article: "Struggle by Reason, Not by Force." In early October, the Shanghai Municipal Committee ordered "two weeks of labor performance, in principle" to send most students to the countryside, so that those who

stubbornly upheld the reactionary line could escape criticism. On 6 October, the Municipal Committee suddenly changed to show concern for the chuan-lien, which was used as the pretext to set free many persons.

In Hupeh, the Provincial Committee did not respond to the Red Flag editorial. Instead, the movement in the Wuhan area suddenly changed to an attack on the black gang, with the claim that "at present, only an attack on the black gang can master the general direction of the struggle."

In Kwangtung, the Red Flag 13th issue editorial was not reprinted, publicized, or studied through organized effort. On the contrary, the attack against the black gang was used to divert attention from criticizing the reactionary bourgeois line. For instance, there was the struggle against Ou-Yang Shan on 9 October. During the second ten-day period of October, Chung-san Medical College began criticism against the bourgeois reactionary line. The Provincial Committee, however, resorted to drought resistance as the pretext to send over 20,000 higher school students to rural areas to resist drought. They gradually returned to schools at the end of October.

9 October: On behalf of the Party Central Committee, Premier Chou stated that the Central Committee had decided to let Wang Kuang-mei present a written self-examination to the revolutionary teachers and students of the Tsinghua University. Under the powerful pressure of the broad masses of teachers and students, Wang Kuang-mei, on the following day, offered a very poor self-examination.

Large-character posters appeared in large number in Peking University, Tsinghua, and Teachers University exposing Li Hsueh-feng for implementing the bourgeois reactionary line.

Revolutionary rebels began to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line as implemented by the conservatives. Most of the conservatives in Peking University successively departed for chuan-lien.

Vice Chairman Lin order suspension from duty for self-examination Lo Shun-chu [5012 5293 0443], member of the original Military Affairs Committee. This was the achievement of the "Red Flag Combat Team" of the Peking Aeronautical College after 28 days of assiduous battle, and a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

13 October: Revolutionary teachers and students gathered at the Peking Exhibition Hall for the first "Rally to Thoroughly Criticize the Reactionary Line of Peking Municipal Committee Represented by Li Hsueh-feng."

14 October: Fifty thousand persons met in Teachers' University for another criticism against the bourgeois reactionary line, as represented by Li Hsueh-feng of the Peking Municipal Committee. At the rally, Li Hsueh-feng offered a self-examination.

18 October: Chairman Mao received, for the fourth time, 1.5 million young Red Guards. Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students from various areas declared: "We will overthrow whoever opposes Chairman Mao! We pledge our lives to defend Chairman Mao! We pledge our lives to safeguard the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao!"

Hsiung Fu, of the Central Propaganda Department, changed the slogans of the Rally in the "18 October Slogan Incident," which was another very serious political event.

19 October: People's Daily editorial: "Learn from Lu Shun's Spirit of Revolutionary Toughness" pointed out that it was of important significance in the country and among nations that we commemorate the 30th anniversary of the death of Lu Shun, the bravest great standard bearer on the cultural front of our country, amid the high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Lu Shun's death, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students, and Red Guards unanimously requested a solemn commemoration of Lu Shun, the vanguard of the proletarian cultural revolution, so as to enhance his spirit of thorough revolution.

The Central Propaganda Department planned to call a forum with only 150 persons attending. Without prior approval from the Central Cultural Revolution group, the forum was sponsored by Hsiung Fu and Liu Tsu-chun [0491 4371 2504] at Tao Chu's order, with all plans approved by Tao Chu. The meeting attempted to reduce the great political influence of Lu Shun who had been reevaluated anew by Chairman Mao. Subsequently, the Central Cultural Revolution group discovered the plan, curbed the meeting, and decided on a rally to commemorate the occasion.

31 October: A cultural revolution army of 70,000 persons solemnly commemorated Lu Shun, the great standard bearer on the cultural front. They pledged determination to hold higher the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, to enhance the undaunted revolutionary rebellious spirit and thorough revolutionary character of Lu Shun, and to resolutely defend the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, so as to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end. Chen Po-ta and Yao Wen-yuan spoke at the rally.

Red Flag, in its 14th issue, carried the editorial: "Commemorating Our Cultural Vanguard Lu Shun."

During the second 10-day period of October: Chairman Mao proposed calling a work conference of the Central Committee, with principal leading personnel of the major administrative regions, provinces, and municipalities attending, to discuss various phenomena and problems which emerged in the course of the great cultural revolution.

23 October: Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping offered

separate self-examinations.

24 October: A report conference was held and the Chairman spoke.

25 October: Chairman Mao, Lin Piao, Chou En-lai, and Chen Po-ta made important speeches on the struggle between the two lines.

On Chen Po-ta's report: "Summing Up the Movement of Two Months," Chairman Mao read and commented as follows: "Send immediately to Comrade Chen Po-ta: I have read the manuscript and found it very good. Please consider inserting the two sentences: 'Grasp Revolution; Promote Production.' Please prepare it in pamphlet form for extensive circulation, and assure that every branch and every Red Guard team will have at least one copy."

20 October: At the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu spoke wantonly on the difference between the general situation and the individual cases in work teams. He implied: "The work team of the Central Propaganda Department is an individual case."

21 October: From the Dairen Marine Transportation Institute, 15 young Red Guards marched for half a month to reach Peking. This was another great creation in the course of the great cultural revolution.

22 October: People's Daily editorial: "Red Guards Are Not Afraid of Difficulties of Long March" pointed out: "The chuan-lien is a major creation in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao has always fully supported the great chuan-lien, and also has proposed an extensive promotion of this revolutionary act." The editorial continued: "To march on foot for the great chuan-lien, instead of riding on a train or bus, is agains another very significant first event." The editorial pointed out: "As a matter of fact, those who are not prepared to wage an assiduous struggle can never become true revolutionaries." The editorial said: "Our younger generation must always remain faithful to Chairman Mao and to Mao Tse-tung's thought, to the Party, and to the people. We shall inherit the Red Army spirit of the long march, and pass it on to future generations."

The mass criticism against the bourgeois reactionary line reached a new upsurge. In his talk to some revolutionary comrades at the Central Propaganda Department and the Hsin-hua News Agency, Tao Chu, however, continued to stress that criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line should start from the reality of various agencies. The task to struggle against the black gang in the Department, he claimed, would not be changed.

25 October: Comrade Chen Po-ta answered questions on "Red Guards are Not Afraid of Difficulties on the Long March." He declared: "The Central Committee supports chuan-lien by foot."

To walk the way is to learn about the path once travelled by Chairman Mao. In hiking, you are preparing for a powerful campaign of struggle, criticism, and reform. You must arm your thinking with Mao Tse-tung's thought."

25 October: In the telegram of congratulation sent to the Congress of the Albanian Labor Party, Chairman Mao warmly praised the heroic Albania as a great socialist light in Europe which dared to engage in combat against the imperialists and their lackeys, and against all ferocious enemies of the world. He warmly praised the friendship between the Chinese and Albanian people as a revolutionary and combat friendship which could withstand stormy tests.

27 October: Our country succeeded in the experimental launching of a nuclear guided missile weapon. The guided missile flew normally over a planned distance and accurately reached the target in the nuclear detonation. This was the second nuclear explosion, and a brilliant achievement of the great cultural revolution and a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of naming the locomotive: "Mao Tse-tung," Comrade Lin Piao wrote: "The People's Revolution Guided by Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Locomotive of Progress in History."

28 October: Premier Chou pointed out in a speech that cadres, upon returning to their respective areas, should hold three-level cadre meetings to disseminate the spirit of the Central Committee work conference.

Upon conclusion of the Central Committee work conference, leading comrades of regional, provincial, and municipal committees returned to hold three-level cadre conferences and to offer self-examinations to the revolutionary teachers and students.

29 October: Peking University held a rally for thorough criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line of the Peking Municipal Committee as represented by Li Hsueh-feng. At the rally, Li made a self-examination and admitted that the new Municipal Committee implemented a bourgeois reactionary line.

Some Peking teachers and students held an exhibit of revolutionary rebellion, modeled after the Ta-ching Exhibit. Instead of stressing Mao Tse-tung's thought, they praised those who implemented the bourgeois reactionary line. Comrade Chen Po-ta dispatched Chi Peng-yu and other comrades to observe the exhibit. Chi Peng-yu reported that Tao Lu-chia instigated one group of the masses against another, in the course of the cultural revolution.

30 October: Tao Chu received Hunan representatives of the masses visiting Peking and enthusiastically praised Chang Ping-hua to protect Chang.

1 November: In its 14th issue, Red Flag pointed out in the editorial: "Victory of the Proletarian Revolutionary Line

Represented by Chairman Mao" that: "The difference between correcting and persisting in mistakes is indicated in the attitude toward the masses and whether or not one has admitted in public to the masses that he has implemented the erroneous line, whether or not he has pronounced innocent those revolutionary masses whom he had branded as 'counter-revolutionaries, anti-Party elements, and rightists', so as to redress their honor and also to support their revolutionary action." The editorial also stressed: "Anyone, regardless of his past achievements, who persists in an erroneous line, will find that the nature of contradiction between he on the one hand and the Party and the people on the other will change from a non-antagonistic contradiction to an antagonistic contradiction. He will slide to the path opposed to the Party and socialism."

The Central Committee work conference adjourned. Responsible comrades of the various regional, provincial, and municipal committees departed in succession to call three-level cadre meetings.

Speaking at the Great People's Hall, Tao Chu tried his best to protect Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, stressing that their problem was one of "thinking." He also attempted to transfer the responsibility to the Chairman and calumniated the principle of democratic centralism of our Party.

2 November: Under the skillful manipulation by counterrevolutionary revisionist Jung Kao-tang, the national pingpong team and the gymnastics team sponsored a "Pledging Rally before Departure" as a demonstration against the rebels. After the rally, the Premier promptly decided that Jung should not go abroad. Jung, however, continued to play tricks to instigate the athletes to protect him.

3 November: Chairman Mao received, for the sixth time, revolutionary teachers and students arriving in Peking. Comrade Lin Piao spoke and pointed out that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was diametrically opposed to the bourgeois reactionary line. Only by way of thoroughly criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line would it be possible to correctly, fully, and thoroughly implement Chairman Mao's line.

In early November: The general headquarters of Shanghai worker revolutionary rebels was established. Rich in the glorious revolutionary tradition, Shanghai workers launched a ferocious attack against the bourgeois reactionary line.

The handful of persons in the Shanghai Municipal Committee headed by Tsao Ti-chiu realized their shaky position and hastily schemed to organize the worker guards to cope with the general headquarters of worker rebellion.

In Shanghai, revolutionary teachers and students in Chiaotung, the Mechanical Engineering Institute, the Foreign Language Institute, and other higher schools staged several

cases of "seizing" the black materials, with armed clashes. The Municipal Committee refused to implement Central directives and remained indifferent to the many incidents of blood-shed. At the rally convened by the revolutionary rebels to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line, the Municipal Committee Secretary declared: "I am not in favor of seizing the black materials."

8 November: At Peking University, Nieh Yuan-tzu and 10 other students put up the large-character poster: "Teng Hsiao-ping is the Party Person in Power Taking the Capitalist Road." The poster immediately aroused response from many areas.

9 November: Unable to tolerate the persecution by the Shanghai Municipal Committee, the Shanghai headquarters of revolutionary work rebels and other revolutionary organizations decided to go to the north to petition. This led to the "An-ting incident." On behalf of the Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolutionary group, Comrade Chang Chun-chiao signed the "double-five articles" to pledge resolute support to the revolutionary rebels.

Our great leader Chairman Mao confirmed that Comrade Chang Chun-chiao correctly handled the "An-ting incident." The Shanghai Municipal Committee, however, chose to block the dissemination of this joyful and encouraging news item. Since then, the Shanghai Municipal Committee harbored deep hatred against the headquarters of revolutionary worker rebels and attempted its best to sabotage the said headquarters.

Reveiving worker representatives on 19 November, Tsao Ti-chiu viciously calumniated the rebellious workers and alleged: "I support only rebellion against bourgeoisie, and will not support rebellion against the proletariat," in an attempt to instigate one group of the masses against another, and one group of workers against another.

On 25 November, Tsao Ti-chiu nakedly stated: "We do not support the rebellious workers in their establishment of a headquarters. Nor will we attend their meetings."

In late November, Municipal Committee member Ma Fu-shui departed for Peking to attend the forum on cultural revolution in the Industry and Communications systems. Before departure, he ordered the collection of material (production conditions and other information against the worker reblls, in preparation for this argument against the Central Cultural Revolution group.

In early November, Peking conservatives changed their usual reticence, trained their spear at the Third Headquarters in Peking, and took up the seizure of the black materials by the rebels to fabricate rumors about rebels killing some Liberation Army soldiers. They displayed large-character posters and slogans to attack the Third Headquarters.

Handbills calumniating the Third Headquarters in Peking

appeared in many areas throughout the country, in an attempt to create confusion. Starting with an attack on the Third Headquarters, the handful of persons systematically directed their spear at the proletarian headquarters--Central Cultural Revolution group. A gust of black wind thus started from Peking, known as the December black wind.

8 November: From the Peking Foreign Language Institute, the 101st middle school, the middle school subordinate to the People's University, and other schools came over 1,000 persons to attack the Third Headquarters. They shouted: "Kuai Ta-fu is a counterrevolutionary" and "When the father is reactionary, the son is bad." Since then, the Third Headquarters has been attacked by robbers several times.

Armed clashes were prevalent during this period. Some family members of high-ranking cadres organized the "Fourth Field" (in fact, a secret society organization). They declared the intention to "raze to the ground the Third Headquarters." In the Hsi-cheng-chu, they adopted fascist methods to enforce a reign of terror and suppress the revolutionary masses.

In Tsinghua, a reactionary slogan: "Long live Liu Shao-chi" appeared in the "I" Hall.

12 November: Comrade Chi Peng-yu spoke to the Second Headquarters (conservatives). He affirmed the "palace coup" of the "Red Flag" of the Peking Aeronautical College and pointed out that the conservatives should surrender to the truth.

13 November: Hl Lung desperately protected Jung Kao-tang. He even told Jung: "You said and did something wrong, but are not suspended from office. You can go to the masses to offer a self-examination, and then stand straight to lead."

15 November: In the middle school subordinate to the Agricultural College, a large-character poster: "An Open Letter to Comrade Lin Piao" came out to wantonly allege that "Lin Piao lacks theoretical capability," that "Lin Piao praises Chairman Mao, but resembles Khrushchev," and otherwise vehemently attacked Vice Chairman Lin's speech to the military institutes. The large-character poster immediately incurred a violent counterattack by revolutionary masses.

Some persons of the Peking First Lathe Plant contacted over 100 units of the Industry and Communications system (formerly under Po I-po and Tao Lu-chia) to established the "Red Workers Corps To Defend Mao Tse-tung's Thought," which claimed a membership of 300,000 persons, with the Third Headquarters as their target of attack. The next day, there was the incident of the beating of the "Tung-fang-hung" (rebels) of the Mechanical Engineering College.

16 November: On two consecutive days, Chairman Mao received Red Guards and young revolutionaries (the seventh time). At the Tien-an-meng tower, Chairman Mao told some responsible comrades: "You should put politics in command, go to the masses,

and join them in perfecting promotion of the great proletarian cultural revolution."

The Central authorities issued a circular that all students on chuan-lien after 20 November and successively return to their schools. This date was later changed to 20 December for various reasons.

18 November: In Peking, the "Important Notice" was promulgated to the effect that "Plants, mines, schools, government agencies, and other organizations are invariably prohibited from establishing their private detention room or court, and from arresting or interrogating anyone. These activities violate the State law and Party discipline. Anyone manipulating these activities behind or in front of the scene will be punished severely under the State law and Party discipline. Starting today, any of the afore-mentioned crimes so committed will be punished immediately." (The same notice also appeared in other areas after 18 November.)

This "Important Notice" was proposed by the Central Cultural Revolution group and disseminated with approval from Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. The promulgation of the "Important Notice" sufficiently assured proletarian democracy under proletarian dictatorship. The broad revolutionary masses invariably hailed the notice. There was, nevertheless, a handful of persons who calumniated the "Important Notice" as a large poisonous weed and a conspiracy, and spoke of their intention to thoroughly criticize it.

In receiving the Chinese students who were unreasonably ordered by Soviet revisionists to return to the country, Wang Li pointed out by name the main root of the bourgeois reactionary line: Liu and Teng.

The PLA General Political Department issued a notice calling on all cadres and soldiers, and militiamen of the whole Army to learn from Comrade Tsai Yung-hsiang, a good combatant of Chairman Mao, and to follow the example of Comrade Tsai Yung-hsiang in always remaining faithful to Chairman Mao and this thought. It urged resolute response to the call from Comrade Lin Piao for conscientiously studying the "old three articles" and for cultivating the communist world outlook of devotion to the public.

People's Daily carried the editorial: "Faithful Defender of the Great Cultural Revolution."

19 November: Chen Po-ta, Kuan Feng, Chi Peng-yu and others of the Central Cultural Revolution group, and representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army went to the Peking Hsi-cheng Chiu-cha-tui--Peking Liu-chung Lao-hai-shou--which was in fact an underground Fascist concentration camp. (located to the east of Chung-nan-hai). They made their own knives and daggers, and dug a tunnel toward Chung-nan-hai to promote counterrevolutionary activities. They privately

detained revolutionary teachers and students, and held hearings and applied torture, which resulted in several deaths. Some workers, teachers, students, and family members of high-ranking cadres were crippled with broken bones or brain concussion, or suffered severe internal injuries.

20 November: While attacking the Third Headquarters in the capital, some conservatives of the Second Headquarters wantonly alleged that "Chi Peng-yu's talk on 12 November was a large poisonous week representing Mao Tse-tung's thought, which was criticized by the Premier." They also attempted to redress the case of Tan Li-fu, and trained their spear at Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching, Kuan Feng, Chi Peng-yu, and other comrades. They fabricated public opinion, exaggerated some defects of the Third Headquarters as mistakes of the general direction, and attempted to blame the Central Cultural Revolution group for all this.

24 November: In the Peking Aeronautical College, high-ranking cadres' family members of the Red Guards organized the "1 August Column" which put up the poster: "Questioning the Central Cultural Revolution Group" to send up the first signal shot for the large-scale attack against the Central Cultural Revolution group. (Prior to this, large-character posters against the Central Cultural Revolution group had appeared in Chengtu.)

26 November: Twenty-five persons from the middle schools subordinate to the Petroleum Institute and the Iron and Steel Institute successively caused trouble at the Third Headquarters.

29 November: The "1 August Column" of the Peking Aeronautical College put up "Again Questioning the Central Cultural Revolution group."

30 November: In the large-character poster area of the Forestry Institute, a large slogan appeared at noon: "Kick Away the Central Cultural Revolution Group to Promote Revolution by Ourselves." The slogan was signed by Li Hung-shan [2621 3163 1472] identified as Red Guard combatant of the "Yung-hsiang-tang" Red Guard Corps.

During the second and the last 10-day periods of November; Nieh Yuan-tzu, Kuai Ta-fu, and others successively went to Shanghai to fan the socialist wind and ignite the fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They joined the revolutionary rebels of Shanghai to bombard the bourgeois reactionary line of the Shanghai Municipal Committee.

Starting from 22 November, Shanghai rebels held in succession meetings to launch the general offensive against the bourgeois reactionary line headed by Tsao Ti-chiu. Frightened, some persons of the Shanghai Municipal Committee schemed for a campaign "to bombard Nieh." They also calumniated and attacked the Third Headquarters in Peking, hoping to stifle the Shanghai revolutionary rebels in the cradle. The Shanghai

revolutionary rebels, however, withstood their attempt, and gained strength through combat.

25-26 November: Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arm Lin Biao received 2.5 million revolutionary teachers and students, and Red Guards. This was the eighth time, and also the final reception before the spring in the following year. This meeting illustrated the excellent situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and summed up the victory of the revolutionary teachers and students engaged in chuan-lien and study for three months. It contributed to the all-out hike of revolutionary teachers and students of the whole country for the great revolutionary chuan-lien.

During the more than three months since 18 August, including the occasion of the National Day celebration, Chairman Mao had met with over 11 million revolutionary teachers and students, and Red Guards. That our great leader Chairman Mao had met so many of the masses during such a short period was a great event unprecedented in both the history of the Chinese revolution and the history of the international communist movement.

The young revolutionaries excitedly hailed: "Chairman Mao, the red sun in our hearts, only you have such enormous spirit and resolution to initiate this world-shaking great revolutionary mass movement. You have established a most brilliant example for our younger generation and Marxists-Leninists throughout the world."

In early December: Manipulated by the Shanghai Municipal Committee, a handful of the persons in power schemed for establishment of the "Workers Guards For Defending Mao Tse-tung's Thought," which quickly "developed" into a membership of several hundred thousand. From the beginning, this organization served as a tool of the Municipal Committee.

1 December: The Peking Forestry College held a debate meeting, at which Li Hung-shan spoke of three "reasons": (1) The Central Cultural Revolution group was not organized according to the sixteen articles. (2) The Central Cultural Revolution group served as the "imperial envoys" who went everywhere and did whatever they pleased. (3) The Central Cultural Revolution group committed a mistake in direction in branding Tan Li-fu as a rightist. This absurd view was severely refuted by the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students.

2 December: In the Peking Aeronautical College, the "1 August Column" put up: "Once Again Questioning the Central Cultural Revolution Group." The Red Guard "1 August" Field Corps of the Peking Aeronautical College also came out with the large-character poster: "Also Questioning the Central Cultural Revolution Group." In the Peking Iron and Steel Institute, the "Red Storm" displayed: "Cast Aside the Central

Cultural Revolution Group, and Promote Revolution by Ourselves." In the Forestry Institute, the "9 December" "Yung-hsiang-tang" put up at the Tien-an-meng rostrum: "Central Cultural Revolution Group Implements A Bourgeois Reactionary Line." In the city, there were many reactionary slogans such as: "Central Cultural Revolution Implements a Leftist Line," "Kick Aside the Central Cultural Revolution Group, Promote Revolution by Ourselves," "Disband the Central Cultural Revolution Group to Promote Revolution in Peking," and others. Meanwhile, there were also many large-character posters in higher schools, attacking the Central Cultural Revolution group.

From late November to early December, the frenzied counterattack launched by the bourgeois reactionary line led to serious cases of armed clashes in Hofei, Changsha, Weifang, and other localities.

4 December: In Chungking, the Municipal Committee instigated the worker guards to launch an armed attack, resulting in 25 persons dead and over 260 injured.

Armed clashes in Wuhsi, Kiangsu, led to a reported 18 persons dead and several hundred injured.

Counterrevolutionary Wang Yung [3769 6102] put up on a street of Peking the poster: "Pledging My Life to Point Out the True Bourgeois Conspirator at the Side of Chairman Mao," aimed at Comrade Lin Piao. (Criminal Wang was later apprehended by the Ministry of Public Security.)

In early December: the Shanghai Liberation Daily was closed for its implementation of the bourgeois reactionary line. Hupei Daily, Hunan Daily, and Hung-wei-pao were also closed in succession by revolutionary rebels.

5 December: The "Peking Red Guard United Action Committee" (lien-tung) declared: "The new form of bourgeois reactionary line which appeared after the last bourgeois reactionary line is the greatest menace in the current movement." It called for "preparation for instant action."

The "Peking 17 Higher Schools United Action Column" clamored in the communique: "Forced to Ching-kang-shan Red Guard Combat Team" that "The new bourgeois reactionary line represented by Chi Peng-yu and Kuan Feng must be resolutely criticized, vitiated, and stricken down" and that "Chi and Kuan are the prime instigators for one group of the masses against another."

At the Peking Forestry Institute, the revolutionary rebels argued with Li Hung-shan. Striving to redress the case of Tan Li-fu, Li again called for "kicking away the Central Cultural Revolution group for promoting revolution." They also went on chuan-lien to prepare for a demonstration parade of tens of thousands of persons on 9 December to criticize Comrades Chi Peng-yu and Kuan Feng. (Their plan failed to materialize.)

At the debate meeting, counterrevolutionary I Chen-ya [2496 2182 0069] of Tsinghua rushed to the stage to allege wantonly that: "Nor can Chairman Mao represent the Party leadership" that: "Lin Piao should also be questioned" and that: "Lin Piao is not as experienced as Liu Shao-chi," thus serving as a vanguard of the counterrevolutionary adverse current.

7 December: Soviet revisionist Radio Moscow reported in a broadcast: "Large slogans appeared at the Peking Forestry Institute to oppose the Central Cultural Revolution group." The broadcast also viciously calumniated Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching, and other comrades. Meanwhile, Japanese Radio Tokyo also broadcast similar news.

8 December: Some persons in the Geology College came out to oppose the Central Cultural Revolution group, saying that the "Central Cultural Revolution group oppressed us before."

Conservatives in Tsinghua and the Geology college systematically published the 19 November speeches by Chen Po-ta and Chiang Ching to the "Red Flag" of Peking Aeronautical College and Tsinghua Ching-kang-shan, and added to these provocative notes to launch an all-out attack against the Central Cultural Revolution group.

In the evening, Li Hung-shan of the Forestry Institute again put up the large-character poster: "A Very Good Article for Teaching by Negative Example--Comrade Chen Po-ta's Summation of the Two-Month Movement is a Large Poisonous Weed." He viciously attacked Comrade Chen Po-ta, and fabricated a rumor to say that Chairman Mao commented that the article was good for teaching by negative example.

Receiving some comrades of the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu continued stubbornly to uphold his 23 November three points. He also claimed that since Liu and Teng remained members of the Central Standing Committee, this could only be a contradiction among the people. "I cannot describe them as faction in power taking the capitalist road." He thus continued to defend the Liu and Teng line. His three points were: (1) In general, the Central Propaganda Department implemented the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. (2) There was some influence of the erroneous line. (3) Deleted.

Incidents of blood-shed occurred in Peng-fu, Anhwei, on 8, 9, 12, 24, and 25 December.

9 December: The CCP Central Committee promulgated the "Draft of Ten Stipulations on Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production."

The Premier stressed in a speech: "Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin have full confidence in the Central Cultural Revolution group."

The "Red Workers Corps to Defend Mao Tse-tung's Thought" held a meeting at the Hung-hsing Cinema. (The Corps was led by worker-traitors Shih Chuan-hsiang [2514 0278 4382], Chang Pai-fa [1728 4102 4099]) At the meeting, some persons openly instigated with the slogan: "Long Live Liu Shao-chi" and called for "Striking down the support to the Central Cultural Revolution group."

Tsinghua Red Guard Yen Hsiao-tung [7346 2556 2639] (who once spoke in Kueilin to incite one group of the masses against another and thus won approval from the Kueilin Municipal Committee which reprinted his speech) put up the large-character poster: "An Open Letter to Chairman Mao," alleging that "after 3 October the movement in Peking committed a mistake in direction and line."

10-13 December: There were many large-character posters, especially in Tsinghua, against the Central Cultural Revolution group. Among these were: "Thirty Why's," "Testing All With Mao Tse-tung's thought," "Consultation First, Second, and Third," They openly attacked the Central Cultural Revolution group.

13 December: Red Flag, in its 15th issue, carried the editorial: "Strive For New Victory, : which considerably encouraged the revolutionaries and launched a counterattack against the December black wind. The editorial pointed out: (1) "What should be the aim of struggle is a matter of the great right and great wrong, as it is also a matter of principle involving Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought." (2) It pointed out the five criteria for those who implemented bourgeois reactionary line to correct their mistakes. (3) "We will use Chairman Mao's correct line as the guide, class struggle as the program, and class analysis as the method to study various phenomena, to analyze the movement of various classes in the current great cultural revolution, and to study what means are being used to promote activities."

In the 15th issue of Red Flag, Wang Li and other comrades wrote: "Proletarian Dictatorship and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

Tao Chu spoke to the Ministry of Health, and shamelessly claimed: "I believe that I am basically a proletarian revolutionary."

14 December: Early in the morning, Comrades Kang Sheng and Chiang Ching received revolutionary masses, pointing out that "Ours is democracy under proletarian dictatorship; and democracy serves to consolidate proletarian dictatorship."

The CCP Central Committee promulgated the three-point directive on militarymen returning or changing to civilian work, pointing out: (1) all militarymen returning or changing to civilian work will participate in the great cultural revolution only in their respective units, without organizing Red Guard or other independent agencies under another name.

amount of black materials, the Ta-ching Commune held a rally of criticism. The Party Committee in the Ministry of Petroleum began to disintegrate. The masses unanimously denounced Kang Shih-szu [1660 0013 1835].

22 December: The CCP Central Committee agreed with the proposal by the revolutionary teachers and students of the Higher Party School to dismiss Lin Feng from the position of the president and the Secretary of the Higher Party School. It also decided to hold hearings on the case.

In Tsinghua University, the Ching-kang-shan Corps issued a statement strongly demanding that Wang Kuang-mei, Po I-po, and Wang Jen-chung should return to the school for self-examination.

23 December: Armed clashes broke out in Canton, resulting in two persons dead and scores of others injured.

Receiving the Shanghai headquarters delegation of rebellious workers and the red cultural revolution committee, Chang Chun-chiao stated that he and Yao Wen-yuan intended to return to Shanghai soon to "disarm" the Shanghai Municipal Committee. He also spoke of mobilizing Shanghai cadres to rebel, and of gathering cadres and labor models to rebel.

By the last 10-day period of December, the worker movement in Shanghai gained further development. Chen Pi-hsien was pointed out as the one behind-the-scene. The rebels and Red Guards took over the Secretariat, Propaganda Department, Education Department, and Scientific Committee of Shanghai. The revolutionary rebels in Shanghai moved toward a great alliance for seizure of power.

24 December: A handful of persons of the Shanghai Municipal Committee realized the unfavorable situation and disclaimed any responsibility for the "Worker Guards Defending Mao Tse-tung's Thought." They also instigated the guard members to cease production and go north to petition, granting them subsidies for chuan-lien, in an attempt to sabotage production, undermine the economy, and disrupt the market. They even viciously resorted to the "three suspension" of electricity, water, and transportation to sabotage the great cultural revolution.

Manipulated and encouraged by the Municipal Committee, the Shanghai market was temporarily shaken. The Shanghai rebels promptly recognized their conspiracy, rose to seize power and expose their plot, and adopted effective measures to put down this crooked wind.

The revolutionary rebels in the sports circle of the country held the "Rally to expose and criticize revisionist June Mao-tang." The Premier, Chen I, Tao Chu, and H Lung attended the rally; and also spoke on the occasion. The Premier suggested reporting the situation of the Rally to the Chairman.

25 December: In Tsinghua, the Ching-kang-shan Corps and revolutionary teachers and students, numbering over 3,000 persons, staged a demonstration in the city to publicize the brilliant Mao Tse-tung's thought and the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line headed by Liu and Teng and to overthrow the bourgeois headquarters under them. This action on 25 December considerably encouraged the revolutionary rebels.

26 December: Revolutionary masses throughout the country joyfully celebrated the 73rd birthday of Chairman Mao our most beloved and respected teacher, great leader, great commander, and great helmsman.

The "Peking Red Guards United Action Committee" (Lien-tung) called a rally at the Exhibition Hall, and pointed their spear at the Central Cultural Revolution group and the proletarian headquarters.

Thousands of long march teams from all over the country, with hundreds of thousands of young revolutionaries, gathered in Peking to exchange experiences and to celebrate the great victory of long march guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought. Comrades Chou En-lai, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Yang Cheng-wu and Chiang Chin attended the rally.

On behalf of Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Biao, Comrade Chou En-lai extended greetings to all young revolutionaries participating in the long march. Comrade Chiang Ching stated: "The path of revolution is uneven and tortuous. Fellow students must bravely march forward with redoubled revolutionary spirit."

27 December: The Ching-kang-shan Corps of Tsinghua searched Po I-po's residence, and discovered munition, daggers, and other concerned materials. Five combatants of "Red Flag" of the Peking Aeronautical College captured Peng Te-huai in the Southwest area. At a rally held in the Workers' Stadium, Chou Jung-hsin and Yung Wen-tao offered self-examination.

28 December: Our country succeeded in another new nuclear explosion. This was a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and another major achievement in the great cultural revolution. People throughout the country began to celebrate the success of the great cultural revolution.

30 December: Chiang Ching, Wang Li, Luan Feng, Yao Wen-yuan, and other comrades of the Central Cultural Revolution group went to Tsinghua University to meet with all revolutionary teachers and students, and had important conversations. Comrade Chiang Ching extended cordial greetings and wished the revolutionary teachers and students new and great achievements in the new revolutionary situation of 1967.

Comrade Wang Li pointed out that 1967 would be a year of all-round class struggle in the country. He proposed summing up the experience of the previous period; studying "On

Correcting Erroneous Thoughts Within the Party," the "Old Three Articles," the "Study and Siutation," and Comrades Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta's talks at the Central work conference; and further thoroughly criticized the bourgeois reactionary line.

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan stated: "1967 will be a great revolutionary year. In 1967, we will launch an all-out attack on all fronts against bourgeoisie. In 1967, we will hold higher the banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and thoroughly criticize the Liu and Teng bourgeois reactionary line. 1967 will also be a year in which our revolutionary intellectuals will even more extensively integrate ourselves with workers, peasants, and soldiers."

31 December: The CCP Central Committee and the State Council promulgated the "Circular On Revolutionary Teachers and Students of Higher and Middle Schools Taking Part in Short Military Training." It pointed out that during meetings with revolutionary teachers and students arriving in Peking from various areas throughout the country Chairman Mao repeatedly pointed out to Comrade Lin Piao that the method of dispatching troop cadres to train the revolutionary teachers and students was good, as the training showed considerable results.

This Chairman Mao's directive added new and significant contents to the great proletarian cultural revolution in higher and middle schools throughout the country, and stood as another major creation of strategic significance in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Military training began in several higher and middle schools in Peking, after the new year.

In the evening, while receiving the "Revolutionary Rebels Corps to Canton to Catch Wang Jen-chung," Tao Chu "protested" in a rage, saying: "Your form of conference is not suitable for me. I am a standing member of the Central Political Bureau and advisor to the Central Cultural Revolution group. (He was reported to have stressed the same point five times) As I have not been dismissed, I protest." He continued: "I cannot accept your method of struggle, If you intend to wage a struggle against me, then, hold a struggle meeting." He stated: "You have no confidence in me. You must have confidence in me. I represent the Central Cultural Revolution group to receive you. I can answer your questions, but will not accept any criticism, even though criticism is permissible." He continued: "If you don't think this is an interview, then we can part." He also said: "I am delighted to talk to you. But if you insist, you can seek the Central Cultural Revolution group, or the Premier for a talk." He warned: "I will never admit that I am a new representative of bourgeoisie. I do

not carry the bourgeois reactionary line."

The protest was useless. The treacherous bourgeois royalist Tao Chu was eventually pointed out by the revolutionary masses armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

INCOMPLETE CONCLUSION

The great proletarian cultural revolution launched in our country in 1966 is the greatest event in the 60's of the 20th Century. This revolution ushers in a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country. It has opened up a new era in the history of the international communist movement.

Recalling the past and the changes in the political arena, one can see that the path of revolution is truly tortuous. However, by relying upon the forever invincible and brilliant Mao Tse-tung's thinking, we march on and become stronger in the course of the struggle.

Let us join hands and unite under the banner of the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and march on with full confidence to greet even greater victory.

We pledge ourselves to safeguard the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the forever invincible Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Long live Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great commander, and great helmsman!

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