

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

with meritorious deeds.

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

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

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

The Central Military Commission

February 11, 1967