

ORDER OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION

COMRADE LIN PIAO:

THIS DOCUMENT IS VERY GOOD.

MAO TSE-TUNG

April 6

Chairman Mao directs the Chinese PLA to intervene in local great cultural revolutions and give the Left vigorous support. This is a great decision of strategic significance. It is a brand new historical task. Actively responding to the call of the great leader Chairman Mao, the broad masses of commanders and fighters of our Army have played a very great role in the work of supporting the Left. Recently we have examined the work of supporting the Left in some military districts, in some of which it is well done and in others not well done. Many new problems have at present appeared to which serious attention should be promptly called. With this end in view, the following order is promulgated.

(1) In dealing with mass organizations, be they revolutionary or controlled by reactionary elements, or when their situation is not clear, shooting is forbidden. Only political work may be conducted.

(2) Arbitrary arrests are forbidden, particularly large scale arrests. Counter-revolutionary elements, against whom conclusive evidence has been found, should be arrested. But the evidence must be conclusive, and the arrests must first be approved.

(3) It is forbidden to arbitrarily declare a mass organization a reactionary organization and repress it. It is moreover forbidden to call a revolutionary organization a counter-revolutionary organization. A mass organization which has made certain mistakes must be actively given education to help it. As for mass

organizations which have been conclusively found to be under the control of reactionary elements, work of differentiation and persuasion must be carried out to isolate the worst of their leaders and win over the hoodwinked masses. When it is absolutely necessary to declare them reactionary organizations and repress them, approval must first be obtained from the Center.

(4) No action shall be taken against the masses who intruded into or assaulted military organs in the past, regardless of whether they are the Left, the middle, or the Right. Only those Rightist leaders who are found to be particularly bad should be prosecuted. However, targets to be attacked should be limited as much as possible. [Persons or organizations?] should not be classified as Left, middle, or Right merely on the basis of their having or not having intruded into or stormed military organs.

(5) Before deciding on what attitude to take toward the large mass organizations, profound investigation and study should be made locally and class analysis should also be made. Before taking any important action, a report should be made to the Central Cultural Revolution Group and the All-PLA Cultural Revolution Group and their advice sought.

(6) No mass character "self-blaming" movement should be launched. Nor should the masses be forced to write self-examination and criticism. Self-examination and criticism voluntarily written by the masses should be returned to the authors themselves. In dealing with some of the masses who have not awakened for a long time and who moreover persist in their erroneous viewpoints, do not urgently demand them to admit their error. Instead, they should be allowed time so they may educate themselves in the course of struggle. Corporeal punishment and disguised corporeal punishment, such as making [people] don tall dunce caps, wear black placards, parade in the street, kneel down, etc., is forbidden.

(7) Education in the struggle between the two lines — the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line — must be carried out deeply in the armed forces. Study of Chairman Mao's works must be

related to the struggle between the two lines. Extensively collect various concrete information exposing the reactionary line and the small handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This should be printed and distributed among company-level units for the purpose of education, so that the broad masses of commanders and fighters may know their reactionary facts, carry out through criticism and repudiation, and eliminate their evil influence.

(8) Cadres sent to local areas or in charge of support-the-Left work must be carefully briefed with regard to policy. Counter-revolutionary elements of the Chao Yung-fu type (formerly a deputy commander of Tsinghai Provincial Military District and a counter-revolutionary who had sneaked into the Party and the Army, Chao Yung-fu usurped Army powers by adopting underhand and sinister tactics and carried out savage, armed suppression of revolutionary mass organizations) or persons with ultra-Right thought should be prevented from taking charge of support-the-Left work.

(9) In supporting the Left, it is necessary to learn to do mass work, trust the masses, rely on them, and consult with them on important matters. It is necessary to skillfully adopt means of persuasion and education instead of adopting simple and crude means of issuing orders.

(10) Acts already done which run counter to the above-mentioned points must be rectified immediately, and remedial measures should be actively taken. From now on, resolutely work according to the above-mentioned points.

This order must be speedily transmitted by telegram or telephone to all organs of the Army and within company units and widely posted.

The Central Military Commission

April 6, 1967