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Revolutions Within the Chinese Revolution 1966–1982

Edited by Roderick MacFarquhar and John K. Fairbank

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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF CHINA

General editors

DENIS TWITCHETT and JOHN K. FAIRBANK

Volume 15

The People's Republic, Part 2:

Revolutions within the Chinese Revolution

1966–1982

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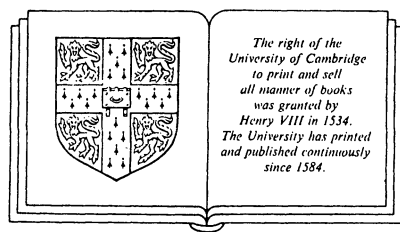
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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

As the modern world grows more interconnected, historical understanding of it becomes ever more necessary and the historian's task ever more complex. Fact and theory affect each other even as sources proliferate and knowledge increases. Merely to summarize what is known becomes an awesome task, yet a factual basis of knowledge is increasingly essential for historical thinking.

Since the beginning of the century, the Cambridge histories have set a pattern in the English-reading world for multivolume series containing chapters written by specialists under the guidance of volume editors. *The Cambridge Modern History*, planned by Lord Acton, appeared in sixteen volumes between 1902 and 1912. It was followed by *The Cambridge Ancient History*, *The Cambridge Medieval History*, *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, and Cambridge histories of India, of Poland, and of the British Empire. The original *Modern History* has now been replaced by *The New Cambridge Modern History* in twelve volumes, and *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* is now being completed. Other Cambridge histories include histories of Islam, Arabic literature, Iran, Judaism, Africa, Japan, and Latin America.

In the case of China, Western historians face a special problem. The history of Chinese civilization is more extensive and complex than that of any single Western nation, and only slightly less ramified than the history of European civilization as a whole. The Chinese historical record is immensely detailed and extensive, and Chinese historical scholarship has been highly developed and sophisticated for many centuries. Yet until the second quarter of the twentieth century the study of China in the West, despite the important pioneer work of European sinologists, had hardly progressed beyond the translation of some few classical historical texts, and the outline history of the major dynasties and their institutions.

Recently Western scholars have drawn more fully upon the rich traditions of historical scholarship in China and also in Japan, and greatly advanced both our detailed knowledge of past events and institutions and also our critical understanding of traditional historiography. In addition,

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the present generation of Western historians of China can also draw upon the new outlooks and techniques of modern Western historical scholarship, and upon recent developments in the social sciences, while continuing to build upon the solid foundations of rapidly progressing European, Japanese, and Chinese sinological studies. Recent historical events, too, have given prominence to new problems, while throwing into question many older conceptions. Under these multiple impacts the Western revolution in Chinese studies is steadily gathering momentum.

When *The Cambridge History of China* was first planned in 1966, the aim was to provide a substantial account of the history of China as a benchmark for the Western history-reading public: an account of the current state of knowledge in six volumes. Since then the outpouring of current research, the application of new methods, and the extension of scholarship into new fields have further stimulated Chinese historical studies. This growth is indicated by the fact that the *History* has now become fifteen volumes, but will still leave out such topics as the history of art and of literature, many aspects of economics and technology, and all the riches of local history.

The striking advances in our knowledge of China's past over recent decades will continue and accelerate. Western historians of this great and complex subject are justified in their efforts by the need of their own peoples for greater and deeper understanding of China. Chinese history belongs to the world, not only as a right and necessity but also as a subject of compelling interest.

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

DENIS TWITCHETT

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a	a	chu	ch'u	er	erh	hou	hou
ai	ai	chuai	ch'uai			hu	hu
an	an	chuan	ch'uan	fa	fa	hua	hua
ang	ang	chuang	ch'uang	fan	fan	huan	huan
ao	ao	chui	ch'ui	fang	fang	huang	huang
		chun	ch'un	fei	fei	hui	hui
ba	pa	chuo	ch'o	fen	fen	hun	hun
bai	pai	ci	tz'u	feng	feng	huo	huo
ban	pan	cong	ts'ung	fo	fo		
bang	pang	cou	ts'ou	fou	fou	ji	chi
bao	pao	cu	ts'u	fu	fu	jia	chia
bei	pei	cuan	ts'uan			jian	chien
ben	pen	cui	ts'ui	ga	ka	jiang	chiang
beng	peng	cun	ts'un	gai	kai	jiao	chiao
bi	pi	cuo	ts'o	gan	kan	jie	chieh
bian	pian			gang	kang	jin	chin
biao	piao	da	ta	gao	kao	jing	ching
bie	pieh	dai	tai	ge	ke, ko	jiong	chiung
bin	pin	dan	tan	gei	kei	jiu	chiu
bing	ping	dang	tang	gen	ken	ju	chü
bo	po	dao	tao	geng	keng	juan	chüan
bu	pu	de	te	gong	kung	jue	chüeh
		dei	tei	gou	kou	jun	chün
ca	ts'a	deng	teng	gu	ku		
cai	ts'ai	di	ti	gua	kua	ka	k'a
can	ts'an	dian	tien	guai	kuai	kai	k'ai
cang	ts'ang	diao	tiao	guan	kuan	kan	k'an
cao	ts'ao	die	tieh	guang	kuang	kang	k'ang
ce	ts'e	ding	ting	gui	kuei	kao	k'ao
cen	ts'en	diu	tiu	gun	kun	ke	k'o
ceng	ts'eng	dong	tung	guo	kuo	ken	k'en
cha	ch'a	dou	tou			keng	k'eng
chai	ch'ai	du	tu	ha	ha	kong	k'ung
chan	ch'an	duan	tuán	hai	hai	kou	k'ou
chang	ch'ang	dui	tui	han	han	ku	k'u
chao	ch'ao	dun	tun	hang	hang	kua	k'ua
che	ch'e	duo	to	hao	hao	kuai	k'uai
chen	ch'en			he	ho, he	kuan	k'uan
cheng	ch'eng	e	o	hei	hei	kuang	k'uang
chi	ch'ih	ei	ei	hen	hen	kui	k'uei
chong	ch'ung	en	en	heng	heng	kun	k'un
chou	ch'ou	eng	eng	hong	hung	kuo	k'uo

<i>Pinyin</i>	<i>Wade-Giles</i>	<i>Pinyin</i>	<i>Wade-Giles</i>	<i>Pinyin</i>	<i>Wade-Giles</i>	<i>Pinyin</i>	<i>Wade-Giles</i>
la	la	ni	ni	re	je	ti	t'i
lai	lai	nian	nien	ren	jen	tian	t'ien
lan	lan	niang	niang	reng	jeng	tiao	t'iao
lang	lang	niao	niao	ri	jih	tie	t'ieh
lao	lao	nie	nieh	rong	jung	ting	t'ing
le	le	nin	nin	rou	jou	tong	t'ung
lei	lei	ning	ning	ru	ju	tou	t'ou
leng	leng	niu	niu	ruan	juan	tu	t'u
li	li	nong	nung	rui	jui	tuan	t'uan
lia	lia	nou	nou	run	jun	tui	t'ui
lian	lien	nu	nu	ruo	jo	tun	t'un
liang	liang	nü	nü			tuo	t'o
liao	liao	nuan	nuan	sa	sa		
lie	lieh	nüe	nueh	sai	sai	wa	wa
lin	lin	nuo	no	san	san	wai	wai
ling	ling			sang	sang	wan	wan
liu	liu	o	o	sao	sao	wang	wang
lo	lo	ou	ou	se	se	wei	wei
long	lung			sen	sen	wen	wen
lou	lou	pa	p'a	seng	seng	weng	weng
lu	lu	pai	p'ai	sha	sha	wo	wo
luan	luan	pan	p'an	shai	shai	wu	wu
lun	lun	pang	p'ang	shan	shan		
luo	lo	pao	p'ao	shang	shang	xi	hsi
lǔ	lǔ	pei	p'ei	shao	shao	xia	hsia
lǜe	luch	pen	p'en	she	she	xian	hsien
		peng	p'eng	shei	shei	xiang	hsiang
ma	ma	pi	p'i	shen	shen	xiao	hsiao
mai	mai	pian	p'ien	sheng	sheng	xie	hsieh
mian	mian	piao	p'iao	shi	shih	xin	hsin
mang	mang	pie	p'ieh	shou	shou	xing	hsing
mao	mao	pin	p'in	shu	shu	xiong	hsiung
mei	mei	ping	p'ing	shua	shua	xiu	hsiu
men	men	po	p'o	shuai	shuai	xu	hsu
meng	meng	pou	p'ou	shuan	shuan	xuan	hsuan
mi	mi	pu	p'u	shuang	shuang	xue	hsueh
mian	mien			shui	shui	xun	hsun
miao	miao	qi	ch'i	shun	shun		
mie	mieh	qia	ch'ia	shuo	shuo	ya	ya
min	min	qian	ch'ien	si	szu, ssu	yan	yen
ming	ming	qiang	ch'iang	song	sung	yang	yang
miu	miu	qiao	ch'iao	sou	sou	yao	yao
mo	mo	qie	ch'ieh	su	su	ye	yeh
mou	mou	qin	ch'in	suan	suan	yi	i
mu	mu	qing	ch'ing	sui	sui	yin	yin
		qiong	ch'iong	sun	sun	ying	ying
na	na	qiu	ch'iu	suo	so	yong	yung
nai	nai	qu	ch'ü			you	yu
nan	nan	quan	ch'üan	ta	t'a	yu	yü
nang	nang	que	ch'üeh	tai	t'ai	yuan	yuan
nao	nao	qun	ch'ün	tan	t'an	yue	yueh
ne	ne			tang	t'ang	yun	yun
nei	nei	ran	jan	tao	t'ao		
nen	nen	rang	jang	te	t'e	za	tsa
neng	neng	rao	jao	teng	t'eng	zai	tsai

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zan	tsan	zhan	chan	zhou	chou	zi	tzu
zang	tsang	zhang	chang	zhu	chu	zong	tsung
zao	tsao	zhao	chao	zhua	chua	zou	tsou
ze	tse	zhe	che	zhuai	chuai	zu	tsu
zei	tsei	zhei	chei	zhuan	chuan	zuan	tsuan
zen	tsen	zhen	chen	zhuang	chuang	zui	tsui
zeng	tseng	zheng	cheng	zhui	chui	zun	tsun
zha	cha	zhi	chih	zhun	chun	zuo	tso
zhai	chai	zhong	chung	zhuo	cho		

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Wade-Giles to Pinyin

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a	a	ch'ü	qu	hsiu	xiu	ku	gu
ai	ai	chua	zhua	hsiung	xiong	k'u	ku
an	an	chuai	zhuai	hsü	xu	kua	gua
ang	ang	ch'uai	chuai	hsüan	xuan	k'ua	kua
ao	ao	chuan	zhuan	hsüeh	xue	kuai	guai
		ch'uan	chuan	hsün	xun	k'uai	kuai
cha	zha	chüan	juan	hu	hu	kuan	guan
ch'a	cha	ch'üan	quan	hua	hua	k'uan	kuan
chai	zhai	chuang	zhuang	huai	huai	kuang	guang
ch'ai	chai	ch'uang	chuang	huan	huan	k'uang	kuang
chan	zhan	chüeh	jue	huang	huang	kuci	gui
ch'an	chan	ch'üeh	que	hui	hui	k'uei	kui
chang	zhang	chui	zhui	hun	hun	kun	gun
ch'ang	chang	ch'ui	chui	hung	hong	k'un	kun
chao	zhao	chun	zhun	huo	huo	kung	gong
ch'ao	chao	ch'un	chun			k'ung	kong
che	zhe	chün	jun	i	yi	kuo	guo
ch'e	che	ch'ün	qun			k'uo	kuo
chei	zhei	chung	zhong	jan	ran		
chen	zhen	ch'ung	chong	jang	rang	la	la
ch'en	chen			jao	rao	lai	lai
cheng	zheng	e	e, o	je	re	lan	lan
ch'eng	cheng	en	en	jên	ren	lang	lang
chi	ji	eng	eng	jeng	reng	lao	lao
ch'i	qi	erh	er	jih	ri	le	le
chia	jia			jo	ruo	lei	lei
ch'ia	qia	fa	fa	jou	rou	leng	leng
chiang	jiang	fan	fan	ju	ru	li	li
ch'iang	qiang	fang	fang	jua	rua	lia	lia
chiao	jiao	fei	fei	juan	ruan	liang	liang
ch'iao	qiao	fen	fen	jui	rui	liao	liao
chieh	jie	feng	feng	jun	run	lieh	lie
ch'ieh	qie	fo	fo	jung	rong	lien	lian
chien	jian	fou	fou			lin	lin
ch'ien	qian	fu	fu	ka	ga	ling	ling
chih	zhi			k'a	ka	liu	liu
ch'ih	chi	ha	ha	kai	gai	lo	luo, lo
chin	jin	hai	hai	k'ai	kai	lou	lou
ch'in	qin	han	han	kan	gan	lu	lu
ching	jing	hang	hang	k'an	kan	luan	luan
ch'ing	qing	hao	hao	kang	gang	lun	lun
chio	jue	hen	hen	k'ang	kang	lung	long
ch'io	que	heng	heng	kao	gao	lû	lû
chiu	jiu	ho	he	k'ao	kao	lûch	lûe
ch'iu	qiu	hou	hou	kei	gei		
chiung	jiong	hsi	xi	k'ei	kei	ma	ma
ch'üung	qiong	hsia	xia	ken	gen	mai	mai
cho	zhuo	hsiang	xiang	k'en	ken	man	man
ch'o	chuo	hsiao	xiao	keng	geng	mang	mang
chou	zhou	hsieh	xie	k'eng	keng	mao	mao
ch'ou	chou	hsien	xian	ko	ge	mei	mei
chu	zhu	hsin	xin	k'o	ke	men	men
ch'u	chu	hsing	xing	kou	gou	meng	meng
chü	ju	hsio	xue	k'ou	kou	mi	mi

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<i>Wade-Giles</i>	<i>Pinyin</i>	<i>Wade-Giles</i>	<i>Pinyin</i>	<i>Wade-Giles</i>	<i>Pinyin</i>	<i>Wade-Giles</i>	<i>Pinyin</i>
miao	miao	peng	beng	suan	suan	ts'eng	ceng
mieh	mie	p'eng	peng	sui	sui	tso	zuo
mien	mian	pi	bi	sun	sun	ts'o	cuo
min	min	p'i	pi	sung	song	tsou	zou
ming	ming	piao	biao			ts'ou	cou
miu	miu	p'iao	piao	ta	da	tsu	zu
mo	mo	pieh	bie	t'a	ta	ts'u	cu
mou	mou	p'ieh	pie	tai	dai	tsuan	zuan
mu	mu	p'ien	bian	t'ai	tai	ts'uan	cuan
		p'ien	pian	tan	dan	tsui	zui
na	na	pin	bin	t'an	tan	ts'ui	cui
nai	nai	p'in	pin	tang	dang	tsun	zun
nan	nan	ping	bing	t'ang	tang	ts'un	cun
nang	nang	p'ing	ping	tao	dao	tsung	zong
nao	nao	po	bo	t'ao	tao	ts'ung	cong
nei	nei	p'o	po	te	de	tu	du
nen	nen	p'ou	pou	t'e	te	t'u	tu
neng	neng	pu	bu	tei	dei	tuan	duan
ni	ni	p'u	pu	ten	den	t'uan	tuan
niang	niang		teng		deng	tui	dui
niao	niao	sa	sa	t'eng	teng	t'ui	tui
nieh	nie	sai	sai	ti	di	tun	dun
nien	nien	san	san	t'i	ti	t'un	tun
nin	nin	sang	sang	tiao	diao	tung	dong
ning	ning	sao	sao	t'iao	tiao	t'ung	tong
niu	niu	se	se	tieh	die	tzu	zi
no	nuo	sen	sen	t'ieh	tie	tz'u	ci
nou	nou	seng	seng,	tien	dian		
nu	nu		sheng	t'ien	tian	wa	wa
nü	nu	sha	sha	ting	ding	wai	wai
nuan	nuan	shai	shai	t'ing	ting	wan	wan
nüeh	nüe	shan	shan	tiu	diu	wang	wang
nung	nong	shang	shang	to	duo	wei	wei
		shao	shao	t'o	tuo	wen	wen
o	e, o	she	she	tou	dou	wo	wo
ong	weng	shei	shei	t'ou	tou	wu	wu
ou	ou	shen	shen	tsa	za		
		sheng	sheng	ts'a	ca		
pa	ba	shih	shi	tsai	zai	ya	ya
p'a	pa	shou	shou	ts'ai	cai	yang	yang
pai	bai	shu	shu	tsan	zan	yao	yao
p'ai	pai	shua	shua	ts'an	can	yeh	ye
pan	ban	shuai	shuai	tsang	zang	yen	yan
p'an	pan	shuan	shuan	ts'ang	cang	yin	yin
pang	bang	shuang	shuang	tsao	zao	ying	ying
p'ang	pang	shui	shui	ts'ao	cao	yo	yue, yo
pao	bao	shun	shun	tse	ze	yu	you
p'ao	pao	shuo	shuo	ts'c	cè	yü	yu
pei	bei	so	suo	tsei	zei	yüan	yuan
p'ei	pei	sou	sou	tsen	zen	yüeh	yue
pen	ben	ssu	si	ts'en	cen	yün	yun
p'en	pen	su	su	tseng	zeng	yung	yong

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PREFACE TO VOLUME 15

Volume 14 of *The Cambridge History of China* took the story of the Chinese Communist experiment in social engineering up to the eve of the Cultural Revolution in 1965. At that point, the country appeared to have recovered from the disaster of the Great Leap Forward, and the regime was ready to launch its postponed 3rd Five-Year Plan. Despite the earlier break with the Soviet Union, China once again looked like simply a variation of the Stalinist-type state. Virtually all Chinese, including most top leaders, and all foreign observers were unaware that Mao Tse-tung was about to launch a new campaign to transform that image, a movement that in every respect except loss of life would be more shattering than any that had gone before.

The harbingers of the Cultural Revolution were analyzed in Volume 14. In Volume 15, we attempt to trace a course of events still only partially understood by most Chinese. We begin by analyzing the development of Mao's thought since the Communist seizure of power, in an effort to understand why he launched the movement. We grapple with the conflict of evidence between what was said favorably about the Cultural Revolution at the time and the often diametrically opposed retrospective accounts.

We go on to examine how Mao's last desperate effort to transform China spiritually was followed, after his death in 1976, by a new revolution, as his successor Teng Hsiao-p'ing set a fresh course, opening up China in an endeavor to transform the country economically. Far from making the Chinese more revolutionary, the effect of the Cultural Revolution seemed to have readied them to discard the principles of Karl Marx in favor of those of Adam Smith. Most of the contributors to this volume take their analyses of the new course through the early 1980s, when Teng's experiment was registering its first major achievements.

Our chapters on politics, economics, foreign relations, education, and intellectuals follow on from similar ones in Volume 14. But in addition, in

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two chapters we shift perspective from that of the policymakers in Peking to that of the people of China, to suggest what the revolution has meant for them. And we also look across the Taiwan Strait to the island province, which has used its insulation from the successive upheavals on the mainland to transform itself in a different way.

This is the sixth and final volume covering the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, at least for this edition of *The Cambridge History of China*. As before, our footnotes indicate how much we are in debt to others. It is a pleasure to point out that our citations of Chinese scholars have greatly increased as a result of the policy of *k'ai-fang* (openness) pursued in Peking during the past decade.

Joan Hill has been the anchor for Volumes 10 through 15 of this series. During a period of fifteen years she has cheerfully borne responsibility for manuscript production. In so doing, she has ably coped with authors' manuscripts, footnotes, and bibliographical essays, with the compiling of bibliographies (an arcane art), and with the accuracy of romanization in our six submissions to the Cambridge University Press. By this time, complexities, whether of authorial personality or of textual format, have no terrors for her. We take this inadequate means of expressing our great indebtedness and thanks.

We are also highly indebted to two young Harvard scholars who have taken time off from their own researches to help bring this enterprise to a conclusion. Gwendolyn Stewart has devoted long hours of painstaking toil to the heartbreaking and patience-straining task of preparing the Glossary-Index and ensuring the accuracy and consistency of the Bibliography. Yin Xiaohuang, a mainland scholar, has expended considerable effort to ensure the completeness and precision of the Chinese citations in the Bibliography. Nancy Hearst, the Fairbank Center librarian, and Timothy Connor and his colleagues at the Harvard-Yenching Institute, under the leadership of the doyen of East Asian librarians, Eugene Wu, have provided crucial backup, particularly in the later stages of editing. In the final stages, Nancy Hearst spent many careful hours copy-editing, proofreading, and checking corrections on the proofs and improved enormously a hitherto flawed text. The transformation of manuscript into book was carefully carried out by Nancy Landau and Martin Dinitz for the Cambridge University Press.

This volume, like its immediate predecessor, was assisted at an early stage by a working conference of contributors in January 1983, generously financed by the Rockefeller Foundation and run by Patrick Maddox under the aegis of Harvard's Fairbank Center. We are delighted also to

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reiterate our gratitude for the indispensable support of the Ford and Mellon foundations at various stages, as well as the help of the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Finally we express our thanks to Harvard University for housing this project throughout its existence and particularly to Nancy Deptula, administrative officer of the Council on East Asian Studies, for handling its finances over the years.

RLM
JKF

ACRONYMS

Some of these abbreviations represent publications; others stand for names and titles in the text. Characters for publications will be found in the Bibliography; those for names and titles, in the Glossary-Index.

APC	Agricultural Producers' Cooperative
BR	<i>Beijing Review</i>
CASS	Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
CB	<i>Current Background</i>
CC	Central Committee
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CFJP	<i>Chieh-fang jih-pao</i>
CHOC	<i>The Cambridge History of China</i>
CKYC	<i>Chung-kung yen-chiu</i>
CI	Comintern
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CLG	<i>Chinese Law and Government</i>
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CQ	<i>China Quarterly</i>
CSYB	<i>Chinese statistical yearbook</i>
ECMM	<i>Extracts from China Mainland Magazines</i>
FBIS	Foreign Broadcast Information Service
FLP	Foreign Languages Press
FYP	Five-Year Plan
GLF	Great Leap Forward
GPCR	Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
HC	<i>Hung-ch'i</i>
HHPYK	<i>Hsin-hua pan-yueh k'an</i>
HHYP	<i>Hsin-hua yueh-pao</i>
IASP	International Arts and Sciences Press
IMH	Institute of Modern History
JAS	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>

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<i>JMJP</i>	<i>Jen-min jib-pao</i>
JPRS	Joint Publications Research Service
<i>KMJP</i>	<i>Kuang-ming jib-pao</i>
KMT	Kuomintang
<i>KTTH</i>	<i>Kung-tso t'ung-hsun</i>
<i>LHCC</i>	<i>Lu Hsun ch'üan-chi</i>
<i>LSYC</i>	<i>Li-shih yen-chiu</i>
MAC	Military Affairs Commission
<i>Mao, SW</i>	<i>Selected works of Mao Tse-tung</i> (English translation)
<i>MC</i>	<i>Modern China</i>
<i>MTHC</i>	<i>Mao Tse-tung hsuan-chi</i>
<i>MTTC</i>	<i>Mao Tse-tung chi</i>
NCNA	New China News Agency (Hsin-hua she)
NEFA	Northeast Frontier Agency
<i>nei-pu</i>	“Internal use only”
<i>NFJP</i>	<i>Nan-fang jib-pao</i>
NPC	National People's Congress
NSC	National Security Council
<i>NYT</i>	<i>New York Times</i>
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
<i>PC</i>	<i>People's China</i>
PKI	Communist Party of Indonesia
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PR	<i>Peking Review</i> (later <i>Beijing Review</i>)
PRC	People's Republic of China
<i>SCMM</i>	<i>Selections from China Mainland Magazines</i>
<i>SCMP</i>	<i>Survey of China Mainland Press</i>
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SMR	South Manchurian Railway
<i>SWB/FE</i>	<i>Summary of World Broadcasts (Far East)</i>
<i>TCNC</i>	<i>T'ung-chi nien-chien</i>
URI	Union Research Institute
USC	Universities Service Centre
<i>Wan-sui</i>	<i>Mao Tse-tung ssu-hsiang wan-sui</i>