

Instructions of the CPC Central Committee on Several Issues in Striving for a Successful Conclusion of the Struggle against the Five Antis

(May 20, 1952)

First, the principles for handling cases in the “Five Antis” struggle

The "Five Antis" struggle has entered or is entering its final stage in all the major and medium-sized cities where it has been carried out. Therefore, the correct identification and appropriate handling of various types of industrial and commercial households is a key task to strive for a successful conclusion of the "Five Antis" struggle. The principle of handling is "struggle strictly and handle leniently, and be strict with those who should be strict and lenient with those who should be lenient."

In order to end this struggle properly, we must oppose two tendencies: one is to start with a bang but end with a whimper, to end it hastily, especially to treat misunderstandings leniently, and to lack the due seriousness of dealing with illegal industrial and commercial households, which will cause dissatisfaction among the basic masses and will lead to the arrogance of illegal bourgeois elements again. The other is to only care about the immediate economic interests and refuse to reasonably reduce the over-calculated amount of illegal income of capitalists, to seriously verify and correctly determine the case. At the same time, there is the wrong idea of demanding more fines, more compensation, more public-private partnerships, and more confiscations, regardless of the actual economic situation, which has seriously neglected the importance of continuing to unite and transform capitalists to carry out production so that workers will not lose their jobs.

Therefore, we must continue to uphold the spirit of combining leniency with seriousness, and handle cases in a realistic and pragmatic manner, making sure that they are reasonable and logical, so that we can both eliminate the "five poisons" of the bourgeoisie and unite the bourgeoisie to develop production and business.

Second, correctly grasp the standards for classifying industrial and commercial households in the "Five Antis" struggle

The boundaries of different types of industrial and commercial households should be distinguished by the amount of their illegal income and the circumstances of their violations as equally important conditions, and the two should be combined for evaluation. Using the amount of illegal income alone as the boundary of distinction is not comprehensive, as it is only one aspect of the standard. Those with serious or minor circumstances can be demoted or changed to a different category. This spirit has been reflected in the classification regulations for industrial and commercial households in Beijing during the "Five Antis" movement approved by the State Council. At the same time, based on today's actual needs of uniting and transforming the bourgeoisie to develop production and business, when determining the categories, several other important factors should be taken into account, such as the capitalists' consistent political attitude, their role in economic life, etc., and should be considered comprehensively. This is even more important when determining the categories of representatives of the bourgeoisie who cooperate with us politically and several large households, especially large industrial households. Specifically:

1. Proportion of general classification of industrial and commercial households:

Comrade Peng Zhen mentioned in his explanation of the regulations on combating corruption that among the total number of industrial and commercial households in major cities, law-abiding households account for about 10%, basically law-abiding households account for about 60%, semi-

law-abiding and semi-law-breaking households account for about 25%, and seriously law-breaking households and completely law-breaking households account for about 5%. This proportion is generally in line with the basic situation in various places. Even if the actual evaluation results are not entirely consistent due to the different early and late implementation of the "Five Antis" struggle and the speed of handling in major cities, they should not be too far away from the above proportions.

At present, there are two inappropriate tendencies in determining general classifications: one tendency is to classify too many law-abiding households, which is inappropriate. Generally speaking, among industrial and commercial households, whether large, medium or small, only a very small number of them truly abide by the law. Even if the situation in some large cities is different, the proportion of basic law-abiding households can be appropriately expanded, but the maximum number of law-abiding households should not exceed about 30%. The other tendency is to classify too few law-abiding households, which is inappropriate. The general law-abiding households should not be less than 5%.

In major cities, the number of households that seriously violate the law and households that completely violate the law should generally be no less than 2%. However, for special reasons or in medium-sized cities, it may be less than 2%.

2. Classification of large enterprises in the business community:

(1) The so-called big households, from an economic point of view, refer to industrial and commercial households with large capital, many workers and shop assistants, and large business operations; from a political point of view, they refer to the upper strata of the bourgeoisie, or representatives of the bourgeoisie who participate in consultation organs and government organs at all levels. When determining the big households, both political and economic conditions should be combined for assessment.

(2) The Central Committee has issued instructions on various occasions regarding the political and economic importance of large households over small and medium-sized households. The classification of large households by the Shanghai Municipal Committee approved by the Central Committee on May 2, namely, five categories: resolutely protected, generally protected, politically used as usual, downgraded, and resolutely cracked down, and the above-mentioned general classification of law-abiding households, basically law-abiding households, semi-law-abiding and semi-illegal households, seriously illegal households, and completely illegal households, are mutually compatible and interrelated.

The standard for classifying large households is generally based on the number and severity of their violations, and more importantly, their political conditions. Even if the number of their violations is large, but their political performance is good, the Office should consciously give them appropriate protection. For example, although some large households have committed huge numbers of violations, they are large industrialists and are politically close to us. They have cooperated with us for many years and have a good attitude during the "Five Antis" campaign. They should be included in the list of law-abiding households or basically law-abiding households to show preferential treatment. The standard for such personnel can be set as follows, following the proposal of Shanghai:

(a) Those who had contributed to the democratic movement before liberation or those who had been active in various movements since liberation;

(b) Those who are engaged in major industries beneficial to the national economy and people's livelihood, with large factories, many workers, good equipment, advanced technology, abundant

production, high taxation and great influence, or those who have accumulated funds after liberation or transferred capital from abroad to expand their equipment and actively operate;

(c) experts who have made certain technical achievements and are needed for future development;

(D) Being active in the "Five Antis" campaign, making a thorough confession, and helping others or reporting those who have made contributions;

(e) A person who holds a national or local political status and is a national or local representative figure.

(3) The proportion of large households to be classified must be well understood by the municipal party committees and even the central bureaus and branches. The proportion of classification can be determined by the local governments according to the actual situation in each locality and with reference to the proportion set by Shanghai approved by the central government. The proportion in Shanghai is that those who firmly protect (law-abiding households) account for 10% of the large households, those who generally protect (basically law-abiding households) account for 31%, those who continue to use the system politically (semi-law-abiding households) account for 37%, those who downgrade (severe law-breaking households) account for 16.3%, and those who firmly crack down (completely law-breaking households) account for 5.7%.

3. The amount standard for basic law-abiding households;

The illegal amount of basic law-abiding households in Beijing's standards for classifying and handling industrial and commercial households is generally less than 2 million yuan. However, if the circumstances are taken into account and the principle of lenient treatment is followed, a small number of illegal income exceeding 2 million yuan are also included in the basic law-abiding households or law-abiding households. Based on this principle, Shanghai has classified most illegal income below 20 million yuan and a small number of illegal income below 20 million yuan.

Therefore, even if the illegal income of ordinary industrial and commercial households in various places is more than 2 million yuan, if the circumstances are minor and they are completely honest or they have good political performance, they can be listed as basically law-abiding households or law-abiding households.

Third, practical and reasonable verification and decision-making

1. In the struggle against the Five Antis, due to the fact that the calculations were too far back, the discounts were too high, the calculations were too wide, the standards were different, and other reasons, the calculations of the illegal gains of capitalists in various places were not balanced, but generally they were very high. Based on the preliminary figures calculated in the seven major cities of the Southwest and other regions (Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangzhou, Wuhan, Beijing, Shenyang, Xi'an), and in connection with the figures of more than 30 other large and medium-sized cities that have carried out the Five Antis, it is estimated that the total illegal gains of capitalists nationwide are about 20 trillion to 23 trillion yuan. Therefore, it is necessary to recalculate and finalize the case in accordance with the verification and control ratio stipulated in the Central Committee's May 9th instruction, that is, more than one-third but less than one-half, and use 8 trillion to 39 trillion yuan as the current control figures for the whole country, so that it is in line with reality and the capitalists can settle down and get closer to us again, restore their enthusiasm for business, and facilitate the rapid recovery and development of the economy. The specific distribution of the control figures will be announced separately.

2. The so-called ratio of more than 3.91% and less than 1/2 is calculated based on the initial calculation of illegal income as the main criterion, while taking into account the net profit of the capitalists in 1951. For example:

- (1) The amount of illegal income and net profit are similar and can be calculated together.
- (2) If the illegal income is lower than the net profit, it can be calculated based on the illegal income ratio.
- (3) If the amount of illegal income is much higher than the net profit, which means that the amount is even greater than the actual amount, it may be less than one-third of the amount of illegal income during verification.

When actually implementing this ratio, all localities, especially large cities, must pay due attention to the fact that the calculations during different periods of the local "Five Antis" struggle may have been different in severity and leniency, and a balance should be made during the final verification.

3. The verification and finalization method can generally be solved by the "back-to-back" method. The steps should be evaluated by the employer, the labor side puts forward opinions, and then after consultation, the city (district) conservation inspection committee will review and finalize the case or the city (district) people's court will make a judgment. If necessary, other methods can also be used to verify and finalize the case.

Fourth, since it is difficult to distinguish which of the capitalists' "off-book assets" are the dividends they deserve, which are the capitalists' private property, and which are truly transferred funds, we should not launch a campaign to return them to the accounts. In some places, the practice of "off-book assets" of capitalists has developed to the point of "digging up the bottom of the account", which is extremely detrimental to production and should be stopped immediately. Whether the capitalists are willing to return their "off-book assets" to the accounts is currently up to their own volition, and it is inappropriate to force them to return to the accounts.

Fourth, refund plan

1. Generally, only property and taxes are refunded, and only a few are fined. For households that have committed serious violations, except for a very small number of serious cases that need to be fined more, the fine should generally be as small as possible. For some of them that have performed well, they can be declared downgraded (i.e., half-law-abiding and half-law-breaking households) and exempted from fines to show leniency. For households that have completely violated the law, except for a very small number of cases that have the circumstances of Section 5, Article 1, which need to be fined more or have part or all of their property confiscated, they should generally be allowed to continue production and business after being fined. This principle also shows that the "Five Antis" struggle is not mainly for making some money, but for transforming society.

Second, the refund can be divided into three ways:

(1) Refund of cash (including current currency, foreign currency, gold, silver, and silver dollars, etc.): It is estimated that due to the impact of the "Three Antis" and "Five Antis" campaigns, normal economic life was once stagnant, so the cash that illegal capitalists may withdraw is unlikely to be very large at present. At the same time, in order to take care of production and activate the market, the cash refund period can be extended to September or October this year and end in February or March next year. Those who voluntarily withdraw cash or have already withdrawn before September can be accepted, but it is not necessary to encourage them. For those who have already withdrawn,

if it is found that the amount is too high after verification and finalization, and the amount withdrawn is too much, the excess amount can be returned after democratic evaluation, consultation, and review.

(2) Converting public shares (including taken over or confiscated industries and commerce): If the illegal capitalists are unable to pay all the cash, they can convert part of the amount to be refunded into public shares, and turn it into a public-private joint venture or remain private and only add part of the public shares, becoming a public-supervisory private operation. In the former case, the public shares can be slightly higher than half of the total funds of the enterprise; in the latter case, the number of public shares should not be too large, and the principle is not to exceed the total number of private shares. (3) Writing IOUs: If it is impossible to refund cash and it is not appropriate to convert too much public shares, the remaining part can be paid by the capitalists in installments. Except for those with extremely large amounts, which can be repaid over many years, the general repayment period is two years. It is best to settle the repayment in the autumn and winter of next year, otherwise the capitalists will be burdened too much and their production interest will be affected.

3. The three types of ratios are generally about 50% in cash, about 30% in public shares, and about 20% in IOUs, that is, a ratio of 5:3:2. Localities can refer to the above ratios and make their own regulations based on actual conditions. Generally, the cash refund ratio in small and medium-sized cities can be lower than 50%. If the actual verified figures in some regions or large cities are higher than the current figures controlled by the central government, the excess part can be refunded in the latter two ways, and there is no need to pay cash in proportion.

Fifth, the principles for taking over and confiscating illegal businesses

1. In the "Five Antis" campaign, illegal businesses will generally not be taken over or confiscated except for the following categories:

- (1) Those causing extremely serious harm or destruction to the national economy and people's livelihood;
- (2) The illegal act is extremely heinous;
- (3) The property is indeed the property of the enemy or puppet regime and has been illegally stolen.

2. Takeover is not allowed in the following circumstances:

- (1) Although I need it subjectively and the enterprise itself has a promising future, the illegal business operator is not guilty of a serious crime and must not be taken over by force. It must still be handled in the normal way;
- (2) If illegal businesses are willing to surrender because they have no cash to refund, or if their workers encourage us to take over and the business can develop on its own, we do not need to take over. We can adopt public-private partnership or public equity as appropriate;
- (3) If an illegal enterprise cannot sustain itself and I have no way to take it over, I shall not take it over. I would rather provide relief to the workers after the enterprise collapses.

3. For all those taken over or confiscated, if production can continue to develop, it should be operated seriously; if it is impossible to maintain, it should be closed early, relief should be provided to general workers, and the skilled workers among them should be absorbed as much as possible and transferred to other production units.

4. Whether it is taking over or confiscating, it should be dealt with last, and it should not be decided rashly or implemented rashly; before taking over or confiscating, it should generally be approved by the higher authorities (for example, large administrative regions and municipalities must be approved by the central bureau); if the industry or commerce to be taken over or confiscated has a national impact, it must be reported to the central government for approval. Those who have been taken over or confiscated before but have not reported it should report it for approval according to the above procedures.

Sixth, the issue of the announcement of the treatment of various households and the court trials during the "Five Antis" campaign

1. The first three categories of households are generally handled by the district conservation inspection committee. After evaluation, consultation, review and finalization, the industrial and commercial households to be announced for processing can be held in a centralized meeting and announced in batches. The labor side can also send some representatives to participate, and then a formal classification notice will be issued.

2. The latter two categories of households should be sentenced by the court according to the State Council's regulations on the people's courts during the "Five Antis" campaign. Among them, those who have committed serious violations should be carefully grasped by the Municipal Party Committee and preferably tried by the Municipal People's Court. For those in the latter two categories who are exempted from punishment, the district or municipal people's court should also officially announce lenient treatment to show seriousness.

The people's courts must be careful not to make the trial procedures too complicated and protracted, nor to make them turn into mass struggle meetings that are difficult to control.

3. The proportion of sentencing, after the case is finalized according to the above-mentioned general classification standards, the number of people sentenced to detention (including suspended sentences) should generally not exceed 0.2% of the total number of industrial and commercial households. As for those sentenced to life imprisonment and death penalty, it is hoped that all major administrative regions will submit all the names and materials of each region to the Executive Yuan for comprehensive review in late May or early June at the latest, and then make the final decision.

Seventh, the coordination between the return of stolen money from the "Three Antis" movement and the struggle against the "Five Antis" movement

At present, when local governments are deciding cases related to the "Three Antis", the most difficult issue is the bribery and acceptance of bribes by businessmen. It is not easy to determine, and the impact and fluctuations on businessmen due to the investigation of bribery or the recovery of stolen money in the "Three Antis" are also huge. Some places have also had some biases due to inappropriate handling of this issue. For this reason, it is specially stipulated that:

1. In any case of investigating bribery or recovering stolen goods from business owners due to the "Three Antis" campaign, whether it is the military or any local department, the business owners must first be summoned by the district branch of the Municipal Economy Inspection Committee. After verification and confirmation, they must be approved by the Municipal Economy Inspection Committee and handled in a unified manner. No department may directly summon business owners, recover stolen goods, or impose fines without approval. Anyone who has previously taken money or goods from business owners must report to the Municipal Economy Inspection Committee within a time limit so that they can be reviewed and handled in a unified manner.

2. Where there is solid evidence of bribery or corruption, if both the corrupt individual and the business owner have admitted it, the case can be dealt with according to law. If only one party or the informant has witnesses and material evidence, the material evidence must be solid before the case can be prosecuted in the People's Court (or People's Court) and handled at its discretion.

3. When only one party admits the crime and the other denies it, or when a third party accuses the case and both parties deny it, and there is no solid evidence, both parties can sign a pledge and make separate conclusions to close the case.

8. Other issues

1. In order to adjust economic life in a timely manner after the "Five Antis" movement is over and to concentrate on restoring production and business and developing urban-rural exchanges, all small and medium-sized cities and towns that have not yet carried out the "Five Antis" campaign should not start the "Five Antis" campaign again at present. In all large and medium-sized cities that have already carried out the "Five Antis", except for individual cases, the "Five Antis" campaign against merchants and street vendors should also be postponed and not carried out for the time being. The Central Committee stipulates that all places that have not yet carried out the "Three Antis" or "Five Antis" campaign should not carry out it before the autumn tax collection. Whether and how to carry out it after the autumn tax collection will be notified separately.

2. All cases of counter-revolutionary and other political natures discovered during the "Five Antis" movement, if they are not active saboteurs, can first be dealt with for their economic issues in the "Five Antis" movement, and then transferred to the public security or other appropriate departments to continue handling their political issues.

3. All cases of drug trafficking and smuggling discovered during the "Five Antis" campaign should be handled in accordance with the central government's instructions on prohibiting drug trafficking. Other special cases do not need to be restricted by the deadline for the end of the "Five Antis" struggle and should still be carried out separately.

4. This instruction is sent to the provincial and municipal Party committees, who shall convene their subordinate responsible cadres to convey it. However, the estimated figures of illegal income and the verification control figures shall not be issued, and the classification ratio of large households and the verification control ratio shall also be controlled internally and shall not be disclosed. When reporting the finalization of the "Five Antis" case, all localities shall not announce the specific figures mentioned above and the actual number of general classifications of industrial and commercial households in various places.

5. All localities can convey the basic spirit and principles of this directive to the general cadres and workers and shop assistants who participated in the "Five Antis" struggle, and explain them earnestly to achieve unity in policy and thought, so that everyone can understand that today's lenient and serious attitude towards the bourgeoisie is to restore and develop production and business, which is beneficial to the working class and the people's cause. Therefore, the working class should assume the leadership responsibility for winning the victory of the "Five Antis" struggle and turning to the development of production.

Printed based on the original provided by the Central Archives

Note: On May 20, 1952, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China telegraphed: "To all central bureaus, branch bureaus, provincial committees, district committees, and municipal committees of major cities: We are sending you the "Central Committee's Instructions on Several

Issues in Winning the Victory of the "Five Antis" Struggle." We hope that you will study it carefully and implement it strictly.

Headlines

CCP Central Committee Directive on Several Issues Regarding the Successful Conclusion of the 'Five-Anti' Campaign

(May 20, 1952)

I. Principles for Finalizing and Handling Cases in the Five-Anti Campaign

The *Five-Anti* campaign has already entered or is entering its concluding phase in all major and medium-sized cities where it has been implemented. Therefore, the accurate categorization and appropriate handling of various types of industrial and commercial households is a crucial task for securing a victorious conclusion of the campaign. The guiding principle is: **"Strict in struggle, lenient in handling; strict where it is due, lenient where it is appropriate."**

To properly conclude this campaign, two tendencies must be opposed:

1. **Ending hastily and carelessly**—especially due to a misinterpretation of "leniency in handling," which leads to a lack of seriousness toward illegal industrialists and merchants. This causes dissatisfaction among the working masses and emboldens the illegal bourgeois elements.
2. **Prioritizing short-term economic interests**—this manifests in an unwillingness to reasonably reduce the inflated calculated illegal gains of capitalists, to verify them earnestly, and to make accurate judgments. Simultaneously, incorrect ideas have emerged, such as the pursuit of excessive fines, repayments, forced public-private partnerships, and confiscations, regardless of the actual economic situation. These tendencies severely undermine the important task of continuing to unite and reform the capitalists, and ensuring workers do not become unemployed.

Therefore, it is necessary to continue upholding the principle of combining leniency with seriousness, proceeding with case finalization truthfully and appropriately, so that the outcome not only aids in eliminating the "five poisons" of the bourgeoisie but also in uniting them to develop production and business.

II. Correctly Applying Standards for Categorizing Industrial and Commercial Households

Categorizing different types of industrial and commercial households should be based **equally on the amount of illegal gains and the nature of the offenses**, and these two criteria should be considered together. Relying solely on the amount of illegal income is one-sided. Households with serious or minor offenses may be reclassified accordingly. This principle is already reflected in the classification guidelines used in Beijing's Five-Anti campaign, which were approved by the State Council.

Additionally, considering the need to unite and reform the bourgeoisie to develop production and business, other important factors should be taken into account when determining classification, such as a capitalist's consistent political attitude and their role in the economic sphere. This is especially important when determining the classification of politically cooperative bourgeois representatives and larger industrial households.

1. General Classification Proportions

As Comrade Peng Zhen stated in his explanation of the “Regulations on the Punishment of Corruption,” in most large cities, among all industrial and commercial households:

- Law-abiding households constitute around **10%**,
- Basically law-abiding households about **60%**,
- Semi-law-abiding and semi-illegal households about **25%**,
- Seriously illegal and fully illegal households about **5%**.

This breakdown roughly corresponds to the general situation across regions. Although timing and pace of the Five-Anti campaign differ by city, final results should not deviate too much from the above ratios.

Currently, two incorrect tendencies exist in categorization:

- One tendency **overclassifies law-abiding households**. In general, truly law-abiding households, whether large, medium, or small, are very few. Even in cities where conditions allow, the percentage of law-abiding households should not exceed **30%**.
- Another tendency **underclassifies law-abiding households**, which is also inappropriate. There should be no fewer than **5%** classified as law-abiding.

In most large cities, seriously illegal and completely illegal households should constitute no less than **2%**. Medium-sized cities with special conditions may fall slightly below that.

2. Classification of Large Households

(1) *Definition of Large Households:*

Economically, these refer to industrial and commercial businesses with substantial capital, large numbers of workers and employees, and large-scale operations. Politically, they refer to upper bourgeoisie figures, or those serving as representatives in consultative or government bodies. Political and economic criteria should both be used in their classification.

(2) *Significance and Classification:*

Large households are more significant both politically and economically than small or medium-sized ones. As approved on May 2 by the Central Committee in the Shanghai Party Committee's classification of large households, they are divided into five types:

- Firmly protected (law-abiding households),
- Generally protected (basically law-abiding),
- Politically reused at original level (semi-law-abiding),

- Reused at reduced rank (seriously illegal),
- Firmly struck down (fully illegal).

These classifications are consistent with the general five categories.

(3) Political Considerations:

Political conditions are key when classifying large households. Even if their illegal gains are high, if they have performed well politically, they should receive appropriate protection. For example, if a large capitalist has a long-standing cooperative relationship with the Party and behaved well in the campaign, they may be classified as law-abiding or basically law-abiding to indicate special treatment.

Standards for such favorable treatment, following Shanghai’s model, include:

- (a) Contributed to the democratic movement before liberation or actively participated in post-liberation campaigns,
- (b) Operates major industries beneficial to national livelihood (e.g., large factories, many workers, good equipment, advanced technology, large production, high tax contributions),
- (c) Has technical expertise important for future national construction,
- (d) Was active in the Five-Anti campaign, made full confessions, and helped expose others,
- (e) Is a nationally or locally recognized political figure.

(4) Proportions of Classification:

Local Party committees and central/regional bureaus must strictly manage classification proportions, adjusting based on local realities. Shanghai’s classification of large households is as follows:

- **10%** firmly protected (law-abiding),
- **31%** generally protected (basically law-abiding),
- **37%** politically reused (semi-law-abiding),
- **16.3%** reused at reduced rank (seriously illegal),
- **5.7%** firmly struck down (fully illegal).

III. Standards for Illegal Income in Basic Law-Abiding Households

In Beijing, basic law-abiding households are generally those whose illegal income does not exceed **2 million yuan**. However, if their circumstances warrant leniency, some with illegal gains over that amount may still be classified as law-abiding or basically law-abiding.

Shanghai has adopted this principle, including most cases with illegal income under **20 million yuan**, and a few over that amount—provided their offenses were minor and confessions were thorough.

Other regions may classify households with over 2 million yuan in illegal income as law-abiding or basically law-abiding if their offenses are minor, their confessions complete, or their political behavior is good.

Certainly! Here is the **continued translation** of the May 20, 1952 CCP Central Committee directive on key issues in concluding the "Five-Anti" Campaign (中共中央关于争取“五反”斗争胜利结束中的几个问题的指示):

Three, Proportions Among the Three Types [of Payment Methods]

(1) Among the three methods—**cash payment**, **conversion into public shares**, and **promissory notes**—the proportions should be flexibly arranged based on actual local conditions and the financial status of the capitalists involved. However, as a general principle:

- **Cash payments** should not exceed **one-third** of the total amount.
- **Conversion into public shares** should generally account for **one-third to one-half**.
- The remaining **should be handled via promissory notes**.

This will ease the immediate financial burden on capitalists, enabling them to maintain enthusiasm for production and operations.

(2) In special cases where the amount is very large or the financial capacity of the capitalist is very limited, the proportions may be further adjusted as appropriate. The **key principle** is that post-payment, capitalists must still be able to **sustain their enterprises**, pay wages to workers, and continue normal business activities. Overburdening them could result in **production halts, layoffs, and economic contraction**, which must be avoided.

Fifth, Review and Rectification of Mistakes

During the "Five-Anti" struggle, some localities have exhibited **errors in policy application and implementation**, such as:

- Pursuing **overly harsh punishments**,
- Using the campaign as a **pretext for mass confiscation**,
- Failing to distinguish properly between degrees of offense,
- Applying **uniform treatment** regardless of individual circumstances.

Such tendencies **violate the Central Committee's policy line**, especially the guideline of "strict in struggle, lenient in handling." Therefore, local authorities **must promptly review and rectify** improper or excessive actions.

Sixth, Guiding Ideology for Ending the Campaign

The "Five-Anti" campaign is a **mass struggle** led by the Party against **corruption, tax evasion, fraud, theft of state assets, and bribery** among the capitalist class. However, its **fundamental goal** is to **reform and integrate** the bourgeoisie into the socialist transformation of society, **not to destroy them**.

Thus, while concluding the campaign:

- The **mistakes** of capitalist businesspeople should be clearly recognized,
 - **Positive achievements** in cooperation and reform must be **affirmed and encouraged**,
 - The direction should shift toward **long-term supervision, reform, and cooperation** under Party leadership,
 - The economy should **resume normal order** with revitalized public-private relations.
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Seventh, Strengthening Leadership and Organization

All levels of Party committees must strengthen their leadership over the conclusion phase of the "Five-Anti" campaign:

- Carefully guide policy interpretation and implementation,
 - Ensure that **case closures, asset handling, and payment plans** align with **central guidelines**,
 - Prevent local abuses, especially **excessive confiscation or political mislabeling**,
 - Maintain **unity between cadres, workers, and capitalists**, promoting cooperation and continued industrial development.
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Conclusion

The Central Committee emphasizes that the victory in the "Five-Anti" struggle will be **measured not only by how thoroughly corruption is exposed**, but also by how well the Party can:

- Maintain social stability,
- Sustain economic recovery,
- Reform and utilize the capitalist class,
- Strengthen worker-capitalist unity,
- Advance toward **socialist construction** under the leadership of the CCP.

End of Directive.