

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Chung-fa No. 313 (67)

All provincial, municipal, autonomous region revolutionary committees (or preparatory groups), military control committees, all military regions, all provincial military districts:

At the crucial moment when the great proletarian cultural revolution was winning a decisive victory, our great leader Chairman Mao made an inspection tour in the recent two months of the North China, Central-south and East China regions, and investigated the conditions of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the provinces and municipalities of Hopei, Honan, Hupei, Hunan, Kiangsi, Chekiang and Shanghai. During the inspection tour, Chairman Mao laid down some extremely important directives to the great proletarian cultural revolution movement in various areas.

The draft records of the important directives of Chairman Mao during his inspection tour of the North China, Central-south and East China regions are now transmitted to you. It is hoped that you will organize the masses to study them in earnest and to comprehend them in depth, to use our great leader Chairman Mao's directives as weapons to sum up the experiences and lessons of the movement in the previous stage, to form the specific measures for thorough application, to follow closely Chairman Mao's strategic arrangements, and to push the great proletarian cultural revolution to a new stage.

The conditions of the thorough application in various places should be reported to the central authorities.

These draft records have not been read by the Chairman, and must not be published in newspapers and journals of any size.

The CCP Central Committee

October 7, 1967

Appendix:

IMPORTANT DIRECTIVES OF CHAIRMAN MAO DURING HIS INSPECTION TOUR OF THE NORTH CHINA, CENTRAL-SOUTH AND EAST CHINA REGIONS

(Draft records, not having been read by himself)

Chairman Mao said that in the three months of July, August and September (1967), the situation developed very fast. The situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the whole country was excellent in a big way, not just excellent in a small way.

The situation as a whole was better than any time in the past.

An important indication that the situation was excellent in a big way was that the people and the masses had been fully aroused. There had never been a mass movement which was aroused as widely and as deeply as this time. In the factories, the countryside, the organizations, the schools and the troops in the whole nation, there was discussion everywhere of the problems of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and everybody was concerned about the national affairs. In the past, when a family gathered together, much of the time was spent in gossiping. Now it was different. Whenever they got together, there would be discussions of the problems of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Between fathers and sons, among brothers and sisters, between husbands and wives, and even including teenagers and old ladies — all participated in the discussions.

Chairman Mao said that in some places there seemed to

have been a lot of confusion in the previous period, but in truth it was confusion for the enemies and refinement for the masses.

Chairman Mao said that after a few more months, the situation would become even better.

Chairman Mao called the revolutionary mass organizations in various places to realize the great revolutionary alliance. Chairman Mao said that there was no fundamental conflict of interest within the workers' class. Within the workers' class under a proletarian dictatorship, there was even less reason for a split into two mutually intolerable factional organizations. When a factory split into two factions, it was mainly because the persons in authority taking the capitalist road instigated masses to struggle against masses for the sake of deceiving the masses and protecting themselves. Mass organizations were infiltrated by bad people; but they were in extremely small numbers. Some mass organizations were influenced by anarchism; that was another cause. Some people became conservatives and committed mistakes; it was a question of understanding. This is sometimes said to be a question of stand; but even (people of) questionable stand can change. If a person has stood in a wrong rank, it is all right if he steps over to the right side. Very few people have difficulty in changing their stand; the majority can change. Revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary student organizations should realize the great revolutionary alliance. So long as the two factions are both revolutionary mass organizations, they should realize the great revolutionary alliance under the revolutionary principle. Both factions should refrain from talking about the shortcomings and mistakes of the others. Let people talk about their own shortcomings and mistakes. Each side should make more self-criticism, and should strive for common ground on major matters while minor differences may be left alone. This would be beneficial to the great revolutionary alliance.

Talking about the question of who should be nuclei of the great revolutionary alliance, Chairman Mao said that the attitude of "I shall be the nucleus" must be solved. Nuclei are born out of common recognition of the masses during the struggle and the practice, not out of self-appointment. It is most foolish for a person to propose "I shall be the nucleus." Wang Ming*, Po

Ku**, Chang Wen-tien — each of them wanted to be the nucleus, wanted people to recognize him as the nucleus; consequently they failed. What are peasants, what are workers, what are wars, what are striking down landlords and distributing land — they did not understand these.

Chairman Mao said that the deceived masses should be handled correctly. There must not be suppression of the deceived masses; and the major task is to carry out well an ideological political program.

On the question of dictatorship against bad people, Chairman Mao said that both the government and the Left faction should not make arrests, but should mobilize the revolutionary masses to deal with the problem by themselves. For instance, this is done by and large in such a way in Peking. The dictatorship is a dictatorship by the masses; it is not a good way to depend upon arrests by the government. The government may only arrest a very small number of people, on the basis of requests and assistance from the masses.

Bad leaders in an organization should be dealt with through mobilizing masses by that organization itself.

On the question of cadres, Chairman Mao said that the great majority of the cadres were good, and those who were not good formed a very small minority. It is essential to purify the persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road; but they are a small handful. Among our cadres, except for those who surrendered to the enemy, rebelled or betrayed the cause, the majority of them have certainly done something good in the past decades! We must unite with the majority of the cadres. We should even unite with, and educate those cadres who have made mistakes, including those cadres who have made serious mistakes, so long as they do not persist in not correcting their mistakes, or do not correct their mistakes after repeated education. We should expand our education front, and reduce our attack front; should use the formula "unity — criticism and self-criticism — unity" to solve the contradictions within ourselves. When repudiation and struggle are carried on, we must use civilized struggle, not armed

struggle, nor should we use armed struggle in some disguised form. Some comrades who made mistakes may not be able to think things through in a short time; they should be given more time, and be allowed to think for a further period. It should be allowed that their thoughts might have reverses; they may have thought things through at some time, but, when confronted with certain matters, would again be unable to think things through. For such cases we can still wait. We should allow cadres to make mistakes, and allow cadres to correct their mistakes. We should not strike them down as soon as they make mistakes. What's so important about making mistakes? It is good so long as the mistakes are corrected. We must liberate a batch of cadres, and let the cadres to step out.

Chairman Mao said that to handle the cadres correctly is the key question for the realization of revolutionary three-in-one combination, the consolidation of the great revolutionary alliance, and the success of struggle, repudiation and correction in each unit; and this must be solved properly. Our Party, after the rectification of styles in Yen-an, educated the vast cadres and unified the whole Party, thus insuring the victories of the resist-Japanese war and the liberation war. We must develop and enhance this tradition.

On the question of the relationship between superiors and subordinates, Chairman Mao said, why have some cadres suffered repudiation and struggle by the masses? One reason is that they had carried on the bourgeois reactionary line, and the masses were resentful. Another reason is that they were big shots with high salaries, being self-important and putting on airs, not consulting the masses, not treating people with equality, not being democratic, indulging in scolding and lecturing people, and seriously alienating themselves from the masses. Thus the masses have a lot to say about them. In usual times there was no opportunity for them to speak out; but it exploded in the great proletarian cultural revolution; and once it exploded, there was no end to it, which put these cadres in a very awkward position. From now on, we should absorb these lessons, properly solve the problem of the relationship between superiors and subordinates, and improve the relationship between cadres and the masses.

From now on, cadres should make trips individually to the lower places and take a look; when there are important issues they should consult the masses, and be the pupils of the masses. In a certain sense, the cleverest and most talented fighters are those who have the most experience in practice.

There must be unity. When a cadre has made mistakes and is in trouble, do not talk about him at his back, but should talk with him in private, or talk about it in meetings.

Now what we have got is an excess of graveness and tension, but not enough of unity and liveliness.

On the question of educating cadres, Chairman Mao said that the question of cadres should be approached from education and the expansion of the education front. Not only those who are armed (military) should be educated, but also those who are not armed (Party and government) should be educated as well. Studies should be strengthened. Study classes should be set up at the central level, and in all regions, all provinces and municipalities, for the cadres to be trained in turns in different periods. In each province, there should be held cadre meetings at all levels above the county people's armed forces department level, with the attendance of two to three hundred persons each province, or up to four to five hundred persons, and even to about one thousand persons in the big provinces. We should strive to accomplish this within half a year; or, it may be accomplished in one year.

Afterwards, we should strive to carry on this program once a year; each time for a not very long duration, roughly about two months.

Chairman Mao taught us that there must be education and strengthened study programs for the Red Guards. Leaders of the revolutionary rebel faction and little generals of the Red Guards should be told that now is exactly the time when it is possible for them to make mistakes. They should be educated with the experiences and lessons of those of us who have made mistakes. To carry on ideological political program for them is

primarily to argue things out with them.

During the inspection tour, Chairman Mao highly praised the accomplishments established during the great proletarian cultural revolution over the past year or so by the vast masses of workers and peasants, commanders and combatants of People's Liberation Army, the little generals of the Red Guards, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. Chairman Mao called for them to combat against self-interest to repudiate revisionism, to support the army and cherish the people, to grasp revolution, promote production, promote work and promote combat preparedness to do the works in all aspects even better, and to carry on the great proletarian cultural revolution to its end.

The Secretariat Bureau of the General
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* Wang Ming, an alias of Chen Shao-yu, Secretary General of the CCP Central Committee 1931-1933. He was reported to be in Moscow during the cultural revolution, leading a "CCP Extraordinary Committee".

** Po Ku, an alias of Ch'in Pang-hsien, Secretary General of the CCP Central Committee 1933-1935.