

INSTRUCTIONS FROM MAO TSE-TUNG

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[Full text of an article entitled "Chairman Mao's Latest Instruction, As Relayed by Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao."]

During his recent inspection tour of the northern, central-southern, and eastern parts of China, Chairman Mao gave many vital instructions, and comrades of the Central Committee asked me to elaborate on them here. As I did not take notes at the time, I can only rely on my memory, and having a low cultural level, it is possible that I may speak wrong.

First, the question of the current situation.

Concerning the situation of the present great cultural revolution, Chairman Mao said that taking the nation as a whole, the revolution had developed substantially. This is manifested in the following aspects:

In the first place, taking the country as a whole, revolutionary committees have already been established in seven provinces and cities. These are Peking, Shanghai, Shansi, Heilungkiang, Shantung, Kweichow, and Tsinghai. Struggle in the previous period was very acute. Through the good offices of the Central Committee, agreements have been reached province by province and city by city. To the above provinces and cities have been added Inner Mongolia, Szechwan, Kiangsi, Hunan, Honan, Hupeh, Chekiang, and Kansu, making the total number of 15.

There are still more than three months to go before the end of this year, and given efforts it is quite possible that problems may be solved in ten more units. In this way, problems will have been basically solved in 25 units. Of course, we cannot say that problems are no longer with us, but basically problems have been settled. Besides, in looking at the situation, we must take account of the fact that all kinds of masses have been mobilized. Now in a family [sic] several factions are set up, and when the great cultural revolution is discussed, two factions argue with each other heatedly. This symbolizes the fact that the great cultural revolution has been developed with breadth and depth.

Secondly, the question of education of cadres.

Comrades who are present here today have come to Peking for purposes of study, as is proposed by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao said that the great proletarian cultural revolution in the army has achieved considerable progress. A full conclusion has been drawn about the army. Without the People's Liberation Army, the excellent situation which we have just talked about would have been impossible. In supporting the Left, the Liberation Army is naturally handicapped by lack of experience, with the result that some comrades, and a part of the comrades of the provincial military regions and sub-regions, have committed mistakes.

This problem has been shown the utmost concern by Chairman Mao, who repeatedly asked how and why comrades of various units had erred. An important reason is that in such a mass movement you cadres have not been educated, have had no experience, and have had no training. One method of training is the holding of such meetings as this, and the holding of training classes. Such meetings may be held in Peking and attended by representatives of all provinces. But if such meetings are held not only in Peking but also in other parts of the country -- on a rotation basis, it would take a long time. Large military regions and provincial military regions may hold such meetings and such training classes. This presupposes that everyone of us will make fruitful study. Otherwise, you would still suffer reversals after your return from attending meetings in Peking. This is because man's thinking fluctuates. When you return to your place, you may encounter something which you may not understand. Thus, such meetings will give generally our cadres an education. Both those cadres who are guilty of mistakes and those who are not should study, discuss, and sum up experience together.

As Chairman Mao said, not only army cadres but also local cadres should adopt similar methods for study, and training classes should be held not only for cadres but for Red Guards as well, and both should be helped to improve themselves. This will enable the broad masses of cadres to be educated in the course of the movement. Chairman Mao said that problems should be solved, the scope of education should be enlarged and the scope of attack should be narrowed through education of cadres. Some comrades should be allowed to do more thinking. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee do not approve of methods like the "jet" method or the "hanging up the signboard" method. We should still settle the contradictions among us in accordance with the Party's consistent policies and the formulae of unity -- criticism -- unity. In this way, the scope of education enlarged, our broad masses of cadres will be educated and enabled to improve themselves.

Thirdly, the question of relationship between higher and lower levels.

In a number of conversations Chairman Mao brought up the question of relationship between the higher and lower levels. Many comrades have come in for struggle; they are forced to wear dunce caps or have placards hung on their necks or are beaten up. As I said earlier, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee are opposed to these things. Why have they not been listened to? A concrete study of the reasons shows that some comrades of ours have followed the bourgeois reactionary line which has thus badly influenced them. But, as we see it, there is still an important reason, and that is that for these years our cadres have divorced themselves from the masses to a serious extent.

As Chairman Mao said, some cadres have become high officials, received high salaries, lived in good houses, and have cars. Besides these four points, Chairman Mao also pointed out that these cadres have become arrogant and put on airs, with the result that they fail to consult the masses when problems

arise, are fond of scolding people, and fail to treat their subordinates and the masses with equality.

Chairman Mao also said that our company commanders and political instructors are in regular contact with the rank and file, but once they become battalion commanders they estrange themselves from them. From our point of view, the position of a battalion commander is not high, but it is very high in the eyes of the man in the street. The Chairman is very concerned about and pays serious attention to this problem. If this problem is not solved, we may still estrange ourselves from the masses in the future. If we have no chance in ordinary times to do so, now we should grasp this opportunity to tackle this problem. The good traditions of the PLA should be carried on. Chairman Mao said that while there is enough severity and tenseness, there is insufficient unity and flexibility. But we have frequently noted that some cadres have not cultivated their style of work according to the 3-8 criterion.

Naturally, Chairman Mao has not confirmed himself to these three questions. But today we have discussed only these.

(Speech by Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao at a reception given on Sept. 26 by Chairman Mao to army cadres who were receiving training and attending a meeting in Peking. The speech is the version taken down at the meeting and is intended for reference.)