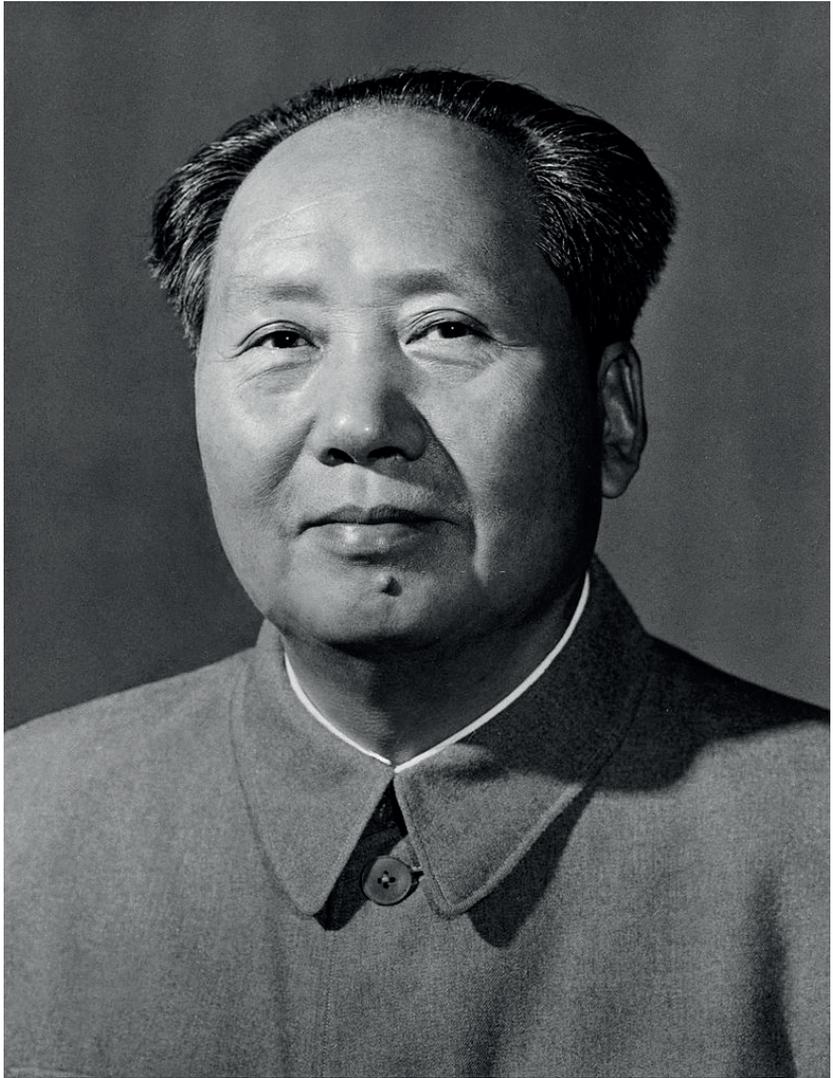


WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!



毛泽东

SELECTED WORKS
OF
MAO TSE-TUNG

Volume IX

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Note from Foreign Languages Press

It is with great pleasure that Foreign Languages Press is releasing this 2nd Edition of the Volume IX of Mao Zedong's Selected Works. It is the last volume of the original volumes VI to IX published by Indian comrades from Kranti Publications and Sramikavarga Prachuranalu from 1990 to 1994. It covers the time period of 1963 to 1968, with a few texts from 1969 to 1971.

This period documents a critical time in China: the Socialist Education Movement and the first years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). For most Maoists, the practices and lessons learned from the Cultural Revolution are the cornerstone of the development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to Maoism. But the texts from the Socialist Education Movement, the last Party-led mass movement, are essential to understanding why Mao saw it necessary to launch the Cultural Revolution. The sharp line struggle that emerged from it brought into clear focus that there was the emergence of a new bureaucratic capitalist class in the Party under socialism, and that this line struggle could not be combated by mass movements led by the Party itself.

The GPCR was the manifestation of Mao's realization that the only way to win the struggle for socialism was the elevated consciousness of the masses and their ability to rectify the Party: to target the real enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat within the highest levels of party leadership. In the end, the masses were unable to accomplish this, in spite of—as you can read in the many documents in this volume—all of his efforts to enable them to do so. The question of why the capitalist-roaders in China were victorious in the end has many answers in the fierce struggles during all of the mass movements, from the Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957-1959) to the Socialist Education Movement, culminating in the GPCR.

This volume is far from complete in terms of the investigation and study still necessary for Maoists around the world to learn the critical lessons from these times. But we release it in the spirit of trying to arm the people with questions, insight and understanding in order to continue the struggle for socialism.

Some Technical Points

The first edition of Volume IX contained 87 documents, which came mostly from the compilations of Jerome Chen, Stuart Schram and the Joint Publications Research Service. For many documents (in particular those from the GPCR), we were able to find the “official” translation published in the *Beijing*

Review, with which we systematically replaced the translation. We also decided to split the 23-page long “Instructions” text into smaller articles that were placed chronologically. In addition, the dates of about a quarter of the documents were either incorrect or incomplete. Through a careful search of both the original Chinese documents (published in the *People’s Daily* or the *Red Flag*), as well as the compilations (such as *Wansui*, or *Wengao*), we were able to correct them. All the sources of the original documents and the English translations are now indicated below each document.

As with earlier volumes that we republished, we changed the Chinese names from Wade-Giles to pinyin. In some documents, names of classical literature were written in their Chinese form: we replaced them with their commonly used English names, leaving the Chinese names in brackets in the footnotes. Also, quotations from those classics—from poetry or folk sayings—were oftentimes translated literally, and we did our best to replace them with published English translations instead, adding footnotes to explain their meaning and context.

We had to remove one text from this volume: “Dialogues During Inspection of North, Central-South and East China.” This document is possibly one of the most important texts from the early stages of the GPCR, as it contains dialogues between Mao and workers and Red Guards in many parts of the country during the summer of 1967 and shows how much importance Mao gave to the struggle against factionalism and the struggle for Great Unity. The Chinese version of this document is 12 pages long in the *Wansui*; the one published in 1st edition is only six page long and is missing some of the most important parts. This document will be published in a new translation in the upcoming Volume X that will complete the entire period of the GPCR.

We are grateful, as always, to comrades from Kranti Publications and Sramikavarga Prachuranalu for their tremendous work on Volumes VI-IX, and we are thankful for the support they have shown for our work to improve these volumes.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS

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1963

Note on *The Seven Well-Written Documents of Zhejiang Province Concerning Cadres' Participation in Physical Labor*

May 9, 1963

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 45-46.

Translation: Beijing Review, July 17, 1964, Vol. VII, No. 29, page 26.

Foreign Languages Press, Paris, 2020.

These seven documents from Zhejiang Province are all very good. They aren't difficult to read, and I recommended sending them to all central bureaus, provinces, prefectures, counties, and communities for the cadres to read. You can choose two or three of them to read and explain to cadres with little literacy, so as to attract their attention and gradually deepen the understanding of the vast number of cadres, especially the four-level cadres of the county, community, brigade, and production team, of the great revolutionary significance of participating in productive labor. Reduce the resistance and resistance of many cadres with backward thinking. On March 23 this year, the central government issued a model case of four-level cadres in Xiyang County, Shanxi Province participating in production without exception, and issued a commentary. Some comrades paid attention to this major issue, such as in Zhejiang, and at the provincial party congress, the discussion focused on it and specific arrangements were made, but in other places, the response has been limited. I recommend that leading comrades at all levels make use of suitable opportunities to hold discussions multiple times this year on the extremely important issue of cadre participation in labor and to generalize reading the document from Xiyang County, Shanxi. All provinces, cities, and autonomous regions certainly have their own good examples, and some (not too many) should be selected so cadres can learn from them. We hope that within three years, all rural branch secretaries across the country can earnestly participate in productive labor, and in the first year, one-third of the branch secretaries can participate in labor. That would be a big victory. The secretary of the city factory branch should also be an expert in production.

Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist coun-

try. These movements are a sure guarantee that communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will forever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship. If in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and monsters of all kinds were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and were corrupted, divided and demoralized by him, if our cadres were thus pulled out or the enemy were able to sneak in, and if many of our workers, peasants and intellectuals were left defenseless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or fascist party, and the whole of China would change its color. Comrades, please think it over. What a dangerous situation this would be!

Is it difficult to solve this problem? It's not very difficult. We just have to see the seriousness of the problem. After investigation and research, if we have collected reliable data, understood the situation, made up our minds, the policies and methods are correct, and there are several strong political comrades who are core leaders, then, as far as a commune is concerned, a few weeks is enough. For a county, a few months is enough. As far as a province is concerned, it will take about a year or two or a little more time to do a good job in different stages. Because this socialist education movement is a great revolutionary movement, it includes not only the problem of class struggle, but also the problem of cadres participating in labor. It also includes the work of using a strict scientific attitude through experiments and learning to solve the many problems in enterprises and plants. It seems difficult, but in fact it is not difficult to solve as long as it is faced earnestly. This struggle is a struggle to re-educate people, to reorganize the revolutionary class ranks, to fight sharply tit-for-tat against the capitalist and feudal forces that are rampantly attacking us, to suppress their counter-revolutionary bluster and bring these forces down. It is a great movement to transform the vast majority of the middle forces into "new" men. It is also for the participation of cadres and the masses in productive labor and scientific experiments, to make our party a greater and more honorable and correct party, and to make our cadres understand both politics and their

vocation: to be red and expert—not just floating on the top as an official or a master or separated from the masses, but truly good cadres who integrate with and are supported by the masses.

With the completion of this educational movement, a flourishing prospect will emerge throughout the country. With such a situation among a people making up almost a quarter of humanity, our internationalist contribution will be still greater.

Speech at the Hangzhou Conference

May 11, 1963

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 42-44.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

First of all read the 20 reports in order to inspire discussion by everybody; first of all read these for three days. The various central bureaus and the provincial meetings should also be like this. You should not transmit central committee documents having only a framework. Don't be hasty. In any case prepare to handle it for a year, two years, and if in two years it hasn't been handled to completion then handle it for three years. This kind of big movement needs time, don't be hasty.

This revolutionary movement is the first great struggle since land reform.¹ There has not been this sort of scope, breadth, or pervasiveness for several years. This time it is from within the Party to the outside, from the top to the bottom. The Three-Antis and Five-Antis campaigns were handled in the cities², the Anti-Rightists Movement in 1957 was carried out on the ideolog-

¹ A reference to the land reform movement that was conducted during the period from October 1947 to the last quarter of 1952.

² The Three-Antis Campaign refers to the struggle against corruption, waste and bureaucracy unfolded in the government, army, schools and state-owned enterprises. The Five-Antis Campaign was waged in the private industrial and commercial units to oppose those capitalists who violated the law by bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information. The former began towards the end of 1951 and the latter, early the next year, both coming to a close in October 1952. As a revolutionary mass movement, this struggle repulsed the attack against the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, strengthened the ties between the People's Government and the people, improved the style of work and brought a change in social customs and habits. It also created favorable conditions for the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and

ical line, and the anti-Gao³, anti-Rao campaign⁴ was waged within the Party.⁵ This kind of class struggle involving all, both within the Party and outside the Party, has not been waged for over ten years. This time it is from within the party to outside the Party, from top to bottom, and from the cadres to the masses. This kind of understanding is beneficial. This is the first great struggle since land reform. First of all we must train the cadres at the county level and above, retrain the cadres at the production brigade level and above, and train the cadres in production teams⁶ and the positive elements among the poor and lower-middle peasants.

In areas where there are no ants we must not insist on going to find ants. For example, there was one category of communes and brigades which in the past advanced class struggle and advanced socialist education by initiating a movement to “by all means you must go and find landlords and rich peasants, there must be no exceptions” this is also bad.

Among the people there are many contradictions of practically every kind, big and small. The Henan materials speak of a party branch which is very good; other material states that after a certain commune party branch underwent cleansing, there were only two persons who truly had not been reformed. You cannot say that this branch is bad, it was still better than 95 percent. Looking at our cadre today there are those who have not reformed, but we cannot say

commerce and contributed much to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

³ Gao Gang (1905-1954) was one of the earliest CPC members in Shaanxi Province and played a key role in developing the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, which served as a base of operations after the Long March in 1935. Gao became the senior CPC of official in Manchuria in the late 1940s and early 1950s. In 1952 he was a Politburo member and the chairman of the State Planning commission.

⁴ Rao Shushi (1903-1975) was the political commissar of the New Fourth Army in 1943; the first party secretary of the CPC East China Bureau and the Shanghai Municipal Committee in 1951 and, in 1952, the director of the CPC's Organizational Department.

⁵ Gao and Rao formed an anti-Party clique at the National Conference on Finance and Economic Work in the summer of 1953 and at the Conference on Organizational Work of the Central Committee in September 1953. This clique inflated the role of Gao Gang in the Northeast, advocated the appointment of Guo Feng, a protegee of Gao Gang, to the directorship of the Organization Department of the CC, and circulated a membership list of the Politburo, secretly made up by An Ziwen, in an attempt to take it control. Furthermore, they were lobbying for Gao to become first party secretary, vice-chairman of the PRC, and premier of the State Council when Mao was on inspection tours outside the capital. The two had instigated a group of people to write a joint letter asking Mao to relinquish power. Both were expelled from the Party in 1955.

⁶ There were three levels of collective ownership in the Chinese countryside. The smallest unit was the production team, usually consists of between fifteen and thirty-five families.

the number is very large. There are a few who are not at all tainted with extravagance and waste, with the idea of eating more and enjoying more benefits; the majority is imbued with this. The cleansing method of handling is very good! During this Four Clean-ups and Five-Antis campaign⁷ everybody sweated a little and took a steam bath. Only when you are relaxed and happy can you lightly make ready for the front and unite against the enemy. Why can you unite against the enemy when you are relaxed and happy? When our bodies are dirty we have no strength, but after we become clean, we are able to unite against the enemy. There are some cadres who eat more and take more advantages, and there are some who illicitly cohabit with the daughters of landlords and rich peasants. If you are not clean, you are unable to face the enemy. There are some persons who are very energetic in struggling against the enemy, but who are not very positive and are hesitant about confronting contradictions among the people.

In resolving contradictions among the people, eating more and taking more advantages may be resolved by merely running out yourself and returning the bribes; having done this, you will no longer be considered a corrupt element. In the future, organizations, factories, and enterprises can also handle things in this manner. Announce on the spot that they will not be considered corrupt elements and that their names will not be publicized. In the Northeast Bureau there were several who were corrupted by 100 or 200 yuan. They spoke out themselves. A meeting was convened and they were not regarded as corrupt. In handling cases where the corruption is great, meaning over 10,000 yuan, if the person himself handles the matter and returns the money, the punishment may be mild. There must be both strictness and a policy. There must certainly be the Four Clean-ups and the Five-Antis; without the antis it won't do. We certainly must handle the matter clearly. Not returning the bribes and the plunder won't

The team is the basic ownership and production unit, owning the land it works, a number of draught animals, and small agricultural tools such as threshers and crushers. The next unit, the production brigade, is made up of from five to fifteen teams. The brigade owns larger means of production too expensive for the team to buy and too large for them to use effectively, such as tractors and irrigation equipment. The brigade also takes care of tasks, such as hill terracing, for which the team is too small. The commune, with a population from several thousand to some fifty thousand is composed of ten to thirty brigades. In addition to providing overall coordination among the brigades, the communes own and run large industrial enterprises and projects too large for the brigade to handle, such as large water conservancy projects.

⁷ The Socialist Education Movement launched by Mao after the Tenth Plenum in the autumn of 1962, was known as the Four Clean-ups (*si qing*) in the countryside, and as the Five-Antis (*wu fan*) in the cities. The Four Clean-ups were: socialist rectification in the fields of politics, ideology, organization, and economy.

do. But we must return in accord with the situation and in accord with reason. When there is a case of eating more and enjoying more benefits, we don't want to refund with excessive humiliation; it would be bad to make it impossible for the cadre to continue to make a living. There are those who have already eaten or used what they took. In such cases educate them to undergo examination by the masses and return a portion and participate in labor. In this way the masses will not be able to demand again that there be a return and there will be a return by stages and by groups so that it will be possible to continue to make a living. It is also possible to adopt the method of self-assessment and public discussion, but this policy is complicated. One perceives himself as good.

In the course of this campaign those requiring criticism and those requiring removal from positions constitute a minority. Those requiring punishment are also a minority. Those cadres needing punishment possibly do not constitute even one percent. We don't want too many. We must instead do more education work and strengthen leadership over the campaign. Sometimes we need to rely on the broad masses of cadres of the communes and brigades of various regions. Those who have gone to the top should not monopolize all undertakings but should mobilize the broad masses of cadres and should rely on the broad masses of cadres to handle it. When we use this sort of method—the method of self-education and the method of mobilizing the broad masses of cadres—the resulting strength is great.

One resolutely grasps the campaign, and one is afraid of stirring up trouble.

[*Comrade XX says:* I understand the Chairman's mood—first of all handle, and second handle well. When we regularly reflect the situation to the Chairman and receive instructions from the Chairman, we must not create trouble.]

In the three great revolutionary struggles, it won't do if we don't grasp well; we must grasp well.

Pay attention to summing up experience. Return to the central bureaus and hold ten days of meetings, handle a month of work. In July hold a central bureau meetings to sum up experience, handle the situation for a whole, and then at the end of July and in August the central committee will convene a meeting. Besides this, you must still handle other things.

Only with strong leadership is it possible to mobilize a campaign, by stages and by groups, to criticize and handle without being considered backward. This campaign must raise high the self-awareness of various regions. The central bureau, province, municipality, and country persons must go down and campaign together.

The Four Clean-ups campaign has been waged, but class struggle is still unpolished. We must enhance self-awareness; we must loyally and sincerely help the communes and brigades handle work well, help the cadres bathe in warm water, and help handle well the Four Clean-ups. Except for those cases where it would be impractical, in cases which are rotten, which are degenerate and cannot be helped, or which are too decayed, we must send a work team to handle it in their stead; otherwise we must honestly and sincerely help them to handle their work.

I am not clear as to how you have been approaching cadres. Now it seems that you must educate cadres by persuasion, and you must especially employ concrete evidence to educate by persuasion. You can speak according to reason and say that something is so or you can take concrete evidence and speak; there is concrete evidence of class struggle. The concrete evidence of Xiyang County, Zhejiang's participation in labor, and the four good documents are concrete evidence. Examine for a while whether or not we have spoken more according to reason and spoken comparatively less according to evidence.

Have you had an opportunity to go to a region and handle affairs for ten days or so? [We said no.] Have you gone down to see whether or not the cadres are very anxious? Once familiar one is not so anxious. Respect people more, don't find fault; the "three don't" are correct. We must link up with the cadres, we must wash our hands and bathe, and we must grasp for a while.

This campaign must manifest killing without leaving any traces.

Mobilizing the masses to handle the Four Clean-ups is a serious matter. The Hebei experience shows that some public security organs were perplexed in handling the mobilization of the masses in the Four Clean-ups. Some people said that the public security department handles class struggle while the control commission handles problems among the people. Of course we must handle, but besides this we still must thoroughly mobilize the masses and rely on the masses.

Once the program is grasped this campaign is easy to manage. Handle it by groups and by stages, handle the second and the third groups and don't think that there is no honor; there is still honor.

[*The mass opinion*: there are places where we have gone on the spot and the rain has moistened our skin.] After going on the spot then handle some more, just don't harm people, don't act as though it is enemy against enemy, no...

[*Everybody's opinion*: If the rascals don't come out, it won't do. Does the Chairman agree with our viewpoint? On the 19th there were people murdered

at the big building. In Heilongjiang a landlord-rich peasant element killed 38 people and last year 13 counter-revolutionaries were executed and buried. In Shanghai a man was killed, he was hanged in a lavatory. But he had been long absent from home, a “transient gentleman.” Speaking correctly, he wanted to redress a grievance; there was basically no question of struggling against him, so he died.]

We must resolutely conduct education by persuasion, undertake experiments on-the-spot by groups and by stages, draw a clear line of demarcation, and unite more than 95 percent of the masses and cadres. When there is a strong leadership, it is only necessary to handle things well and few trouble-makers will emerge.

Don't fight an unprepared war. If materials haven't been prepared and the troops haven't been trained well, don't go and handle it. This war is a nationwide revolutionary movement and we must make war as we did during the War of Liberation, during the Liao-Shen campaign⁸, and during the Jinzhou, Huaihai⁹, and crossing the Yangtze campaigns.¹⁰ We don't want to fight a great battle of 100 regiments;¹¹ we don't want to use the method of fighting employed during the southern Anhui Incident.¹²

Secondly, during the War of Liberation several campaigns achieved a nationwide victory. In this war if we fight it well there will be a nationwide

⁸ The Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign was a gigantic campaign fought by the Northeast PLA in the western part of Liaoning province and in the Shenyang-Changchun area between September 12 and November 2, 1948.

⁹ The Huaihai campaign (November 1948-January 1949) was a campaign of decisive importance fought by the PLA over a large territory in Jiangsu, Shandong, Anhui and Henan Provinces, centering on Xuzhou, and extending as far as Haizhou in the east, Shangqiu in the west, Lincheng (now renamed Xuecheng) in the north and the Huai River in the South.

¹⁰ For Mao's directives for these campaigns see “The Concept of Operations for the Liaoxi-Shenyang Campaign,” “The Concept of Operations for the Huaihai Campaign” “Order to the Army for the Country-wide Advance,” *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. IV, pp. 261-266, 279-282, 387-396.

¹¹ The “Hundred Regiments Offensive” launched by Peng Dehuai in August 1940 inflicted very extensive damage on the Japanese forces, but provoked a reaction which ultimately inflicted very heavy damages on the PLA. Peng launched this campaign without consulting Mao.

¹² In January 1941, as demanded by Chiang Kai-shek, the Headquarters of the New Fourth Army led by the CPC and the units under the direct command of this headquarters moved north from southern Anhui Province to cross the Yangtze River. While on the march they were encircled and ambushed by Chiang Kai-shek's troops and lost more than 9,000, killed, wounded and captured. Subsequently Chiang Kai-shek's announced the cancellation of the designation of the New Fourth Army and ordered attacks against its other units. The event was called the Southern Anhui Incident.

revolutionary victory, and there will be an even greater contribution to world revolution.

Summary of the Discussions at the Hangzhou Conference

May 7-11, 1963

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 51-54.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

[Based on discussions held on May 7, 8, and 11; the following is a condensed summation of the four great problems.]

1. The problem of the state of affairs.

The condition of production is better and better each year. The state of class struggle is grave and sharp. (Following are examples of the situation of class struggle in the countryside.) Why has such a grave situation appeared in the countryside? There are three reasons: a class reason, a historical reason, and the reason of understanding.

The class reason. The main reason is that the socialist society still is a class society with classes and class struggle existing. Correctly understanding and handling class contradictions and class struggle, correctly handling the contradictions between the enemy and us and the contradictions among the people are the guarantees of leading and uniting the whole Party, leading and uniting all the masses, and smoothly advancing socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The historical reason. On one hand there are regions where the task of democratic revolution has still not been completed. There are areas where feudal landlords have not been overturned. This is a problem of renewed revolution. On the other hand there is the reason of the history of work. After land reform we did not handle class struggle again. We handled for a while the Three-Antis, the Five-Antis, and the Anti-Rightist Movement of 1957, but we didn't use this sort of method. After 1932 the Soviet Union waged two purges in 1937 and 1938. Following these 16 years passed in which there was no class strug-

gle. Their collectivization relied upon whom? If class struggle is not waged, the dictatorship of the proletariat has no reliable social foundation.

The North China Bureau organs handled the Five-Antis Campaign well. One can say that it is a clean water yamen,¹³ but after purging, it purged again and many special cases arose.

The reason of understanding class struggle objectively exists, but it is not understood. How should class struggle be led?

2. The problem of understanding

After the Tenth Plenum¹⁴, [they] ran to 11 provinces, and only Zihou and Yanchun talked fluently and unceasingly about socialist education while the others did not speak. After the February meeting the situation again changed. For five months Henan had not grasped class struggle, but after the February meeting it grasped it very well. There was a change, but it was not an all-encompassing one. There were some regional committee secretaries who after the February meeting did not understand thoroughly, and only after going down to conduct on the spot experiments did they understand thoroughly.

I looked at Hunan's second material. Only now do I understand a little, and that is that there is a two-road struggle between planning and production management.

I have asked a good many people where thought comes from. All were unable to respond. It is a common phenomenon of life that the material changes the mental and the mental changes the material. Illiterate peasants even understand this point. For example, you ask a peasant if he knows that Chang San is a landlord who oppresses us. Once you have the concept of "Chang San" and "landlord," one can reason out a landlord is a person who oppresses people. The peasants' understanding is derived from life, and an illiterate can also understand philosophy. Genghis Khan was an illiterate.

A single word may rejuvenate a country, a single word may bring disaster to country. This is the mental changing the material. Marx is one word which says there must be proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship; isn't this a case of a single word rejuvenating? Khrushchev is also one word, one which does not want class struggle and does not want revolution. Isn't this a case of a single word bringing disaster?

¹³ A "clean water yamen" (*qingshui yamen*) is an expression to describe an administrative office that's clean of corruption.

¹⁴ The tenth plenum of the CC of the CPC was held during June 1962 in Beijing.

Philosophy must be discussed in the course of practical work, it must be discussed at meetings. You must tell your comrade by your side that philosophy is not at all difficult. Military studies are also not difficult. Among the marshals and generals of our people's Liberation Army only a few like Lin Biao and Liu Bocheng arose from military academies.¹⁵ Turning the pages of a book on military studies and reading the history of European wars are not relevant to the Chinese situation. It wasn't the Whampoa Academy "foreigners" who defeated the "locals," but rather the "locals" who defeated the "foreigners." Comrade Lin Biao was enrolled at the Whampoa Academy for half a year... when he was sent out to command a company he was basically unable to fight. He had to listen to his squad leaders and fight according to how they said to fight. Military affairs are learned from practice. Therefore we must not look at Marxism as something so mysterious, nor must we regard philosophy as so mysterious. I looked at a portion of Xuefeng's diary and this person understood little philosophy.

If university students study for five years, can they learn philosophy well? I don't believe it. A good many philosophers did not study in universities. Of China's philosophers, including Wang Chong, Fan Zhen, Xuan, Liu Zongyuan, Wang Chuanshan, Li Zhi, Dai Dongyuan, and Wei Yuan, none were specialists in philosophy. Hegel also was not a specialist in philosophy and his learning was very profound. Kant was an astronomer, and his theory of heavenly bodies is still valuable today. Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin also were not specialists in philosophy.

Philosophy comes out of the mounts and valleys. A report as good as Lingling's did not emerge in Xiangtan nor did it emerge in Changde, it emerged in Lingling. Philosophy is only able to emerge amidst adversity and struggle. Philosophy arises from an adverse situation. Is philosophy able to arise from a propitious situation? Huang Gaixiong of the Three Kingdoms was a man of Lingling, Cheng Yi and Cheng Hao's teacher Zhou Lianxi, a great legalist of the Song dynasty and of the same school as Zhu Xi, were also men of Lingling—from Taoxian of the Lingling special district Zhangcai was from

¹⁵ The academy referred to here is the Whampoa Military academy. It was located at Whampoa near Guangdong and was established by Sun Yat-sen in 1924 after the reorganization of the Kuomintang with the help of the CPC and the Soviet Union. Before Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the revolution in 1927, the academy was run jointly by the Kuomintang and the CPC. Zhou Enlai, Ye Jianying, Yun Taiying, Xiao Zhunu and others held responsible posts in the academy at one time or another. Many of the cadets were members of the CPC or the Communist Youth League, and they formed the revolutionary core of the academy.

age 30 to age 40 in Lingling. At that time it was named Yongzhou. His article on landscapes and his article on debates with Han Yu were written there.

Therefore we must smash superstition. However, we must pay attention so that we don't act as we did during the past few years, smashing even that which shouldn't be smashed.

A thing has both an appearance and an essence; we must penetrate the superficial to see the essence. The superficial and the essence are the unity of opposites. The essence cannot be seen so we must generate the superficial and grasp the essence. For example, if cadres do not participate in labor this will certainly give rise to revisionism. To cite another example, when we ordinarily walk along the road we do not see the ants and when we take great strides, we see even less. We must squat down, and only then can we see many things. Otherwise it is not only the fresh sprouting things which we cannot see, it is also the majority of ordinary, existing things which we don't see. For example, class struggle and cadres not participating in labor exist in large quantities, but there are people who nonetheless cannot see this. We must employ the scientific method and advance investigation and study. Some people subjectively and boldly hypothesize, subjectively and cautiously seek evidence. In Hebei various regional party committees went down to investigate and study; only the Baoding area party committee was scientific; the others were all subjective. At first the Baoding area party committee did not go down to handle the Four Clean-ups; it went down to handle distribution. The masses did not agree and raised the handling of the Four Clean-ups. When the Baoding area party committee heard the opinion of the masses, it changed its plan and handled the Four Clean-ups. This then is genuine investigation and study.

In discussing philosophy we shouldn't exceed one hour. Finish discussing it within one-half hour, if we discuss more we become muddled.

At the Moscow Conference I discussed philosophy and the Moscow Declaration¹⁶ incorporated it, but within the country no one discussed it.

3. Main points

What are the main points of the campaign? There are ten problems. Among these a portion are problems of understanding which require resolution by high-ranking leading cadres and by leading cadres. There are also some problems which can be resolved in ordinary work. In the course of ordinary work there are the following five main points:

¹⁶ Moscow conference: A reference to the meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties of the Socialist Countries held in Moscow, November 14-16, 1957.

(a) *Class and class struggle.*

What methods should be employed to advance class struggle? We certainly must use the class viewpoint to analyze problems. The first to write the four great families was Cao Xueqin (*Dream of the Red Chamber*),¹⁷ who wrote the four great families of Jia, Shi, Wang, and Bi. They were slavelords numbering 32 persons. Writing of slaves like Yuanyang, Qingsha, Xiaohong, and so on is very good; these were the persons who were harmed. Lin Daiyu did not belong to the four great families.

(b) *Socialist education.*

There are two great methods of socialist education: the first is to take the spirit of the central committee and meet with the cadres and masses, discuss and understand clearly, link up with the concrete actions, concrete work, and concrete actuality of the region, and allow the masses to open the lid.

The second is to urge the older generation to recollect again the history of oppression and exploitation, inspire a class sentiment, urge the younger generation to recognize that the fruits of the revolutionary struggle were not easy to acquire, and made them read the family history of the proletarian class.

(c) *Rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants.*

For 10,000 years there has been the question of whom to rely on. In the future there will still be idealism and materialism, the advanced and the backward, and contradictions between the left, the center, and the right. Who should we rely on today? There must always be a class. Rely on the whole people? To say rely on the whole people actually is to rely on a minority of the people. Some people say the landlords and rich peasants are obedient, the middle peasants are troublesome, and the poor peasants are muddled. How can the landlords and rich peasants not be obedient? After giving presents and giving women, they want you to listen to them.

What is "peace of mind?" When the poor and lower-middle peasants suffered oppression and were unable to lift up their heads how could there be peace of mind? If the poor and lower-middle peasants cannot be at ease, how can the cadres be at ease?

¹⁷ Cao Xueqin (1715-1763) is the author of the *Dream of Red Chamber* (*Hongloumeng*), a novel that is considered as one of the Four Great Classical Novels of Chinese literature. It describes the lives of four families. Mao likes to quote examples from this book and advised it reading, but from a critical standpoint. See "Excerpts From Conversations With Wang Hairong" pp. 101-106, and "Letter Concerning the Study of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. V, pp. 150-151.

The bourgeoisie say that they will have no successors. How can they say that they will have no successors? The successor of Hegel was Marx, and the successor of the bourgeoisie is the proletariat. The bourgeoisie grasped “three freedoms and one contract”¹⁸ and thought about rolling up land again. We must attack them in this aspect, strike them down at their foundation, don’t allow them to have successors like them.

(d) The Four Clean-ups.

What is corruption? 50 *yuan*? 100 *yuan*? 200 *yuan*? It is necessary only to return the plunder forthrightly, and it will not be considered corruption.

Plunder must be returned, and it must be in accord with the situation and with reason. It must be returned so that the hands and feet are clean, but the cadres also must be able to live after it is returned. To handle it in this manner requires the return of how much? Should the method of self-assessment and public discussion be adopted or not?

Those punished must be limited to one percent.

This year we will not prohibit killing, but next year we will discuss it some more. When the crime is extremely great proceed slowly. Handle counter-revolutionaries according to regulations. If the masses demand nothing less than death, and it is reasonable, your leadership can wait a bit.

(e) Cadre participation in collective productive labor.

The problems of corruption and enjoying more benefits can be resolved only when there is participation in labor. Hence it is possible to understand the situation of production, not simply float on the surface. If cadres do not participate in labor they inevitably must become divorced from the laboring masses and revisionism must inevitably arise.

The cadres of Xiyang have labored very well. Xiyang is on a mountain and is very poor, very poor, so there was a revolution.

We must take the basic-level organizations of the Party in the countryside and place them in the hands of the advanced workers and the positive elements among the workers. (Some people say that there are labor models who do not participate in labor.)

¹⁸ Three freedoms and one contract mean: “the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of free enterprises with sole responsibility for their profits or losses, the fixing of output quota [in communes] based on households [individual enterprise].” Its implications tended towards adoption of “economism” and revisionism, and directly contradicted the Socialist Education Movement.

If labor models do not participate in labor, what kind of models are they? Do away with them. There are some who because of too many meetings are too busy to make inquiries. This problem must be resolved. You can go down to the fields to make inquiries!

County cadres also must participate in labor.

If basic-level cadres do not participate in labor, aren't they indistinguishable from the Kuomintang's *baojia* leaders.¹⁹ There are big officials and little officials among you. Even the authority of a little official is great. In the past an organization leader received a good deal of pay for his work. Now as for our basic-level cadres, one is participating in labor and one in the Four Clean-ups; if you are unwilling to do this, return home and become one of the common folk.

Cadres participating in labor who are corrupt, steal, and speculate are few. There has always been corruption, theft, and speculation; for 10,000 years this has been so. Otherwise dialectics would be extinguished and there would be no opposites to unify.

The more corruption is exposed the happier I will be. Have you caught lice or not? When there are many on your body, the more that you catch the happier you are.

4. Method

We must adopt a positive attitude.

- (a) We must pay attention to training and educating cadres.
- (b) Don't be anxious. If we don't finish this year, then next year, if we don't finish next year, then the year after that. Wasn't land reform handled for three or four years? Some people do not believe. Don't admonish them. As soon as you surround them, they become anxious and confusion results. You must slowly persuade. Why should you be anxious? Wasn't our revolutionary victory more than 30 years later than the Soviet Union's?

¹⁹ *Baojia* was the administrative system by which the Kuomintang reactionary clique enforced its fascist rule at the primary level. On August 1, 1932, Chiang Kai-shek promulgated the *Regulations for the Organization of Pao and Chia and for a Population Census in the Counties* covering the provinces of Henan, Hubei and Anhui. The *Regulations* provided that "the *bao* and *jia* are to be organized on the basis of households; there is to be a head of each household, of each *jia*," which is made up of ten households, and of each *bao*, which is made up of ten *jia*. Neighbors were required to watch and report each other's activities to the authorities, and all were punishable when one was found guilty; various counter-revolutionary measures for exacting compulsory labor were also laid down. On November 7, 1934 the Kuomintang government officially announced that this system of fascist rule was to be established in all the provinces and municipalities under its rule.

- (c) We must have on-the-spot experience, grasp deeply and grasp penetratingly while striding firmly and securely, we must guard against acting in a perfunctory manner while carrying out work, and we certainly must grasp on-the-spot experience.
- (d) We must distinguish between dissimilar situation, we must not handle national minority regions and border regions in the same manner. [Told the story of Chen Bing of the *Western Han Dynasty*.] [To XX:] Your Sichuan is such a large province, can you handle it all at once?
- (e) Simplification. We must simplify and have some cadre go down to be tempered in labor, to be tempered in class struggle. I originally had by my side 20 or 30 people, while now there remain only some ten-odd persons. I said to Jiang Weiqing that Jiangsu has a population of more than 40 million, and the 5,000 workers of the provincial party organs can be reduced to 1,500 or 2,000 persons. This is an old problem which for a long period of time has not been resolved.
- (f) We must grasp the key point. Don't sing of heaven and don't sing of earth, just sing the book *Xiangshan Qi*. The book *Xiangshan Qi* tells the story of the return of the daughter of King Zhuang [namely Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva, or Guanyin]. There are seven characters to a line, and the first two lines are these. Heaven and earth can be parted, don't sing of heaven and earth, only sing the *Xiangshan Qi*. This is grasping class struggle.

Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?²⁰

May 20, 1963

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao (B)*, 1964, page 249-252.

Translation: *Four Essays on Philosophy, FLP, Beijing*, 1966, page 134-136.

Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for produc-

²⁰ This passage is from the *Decision of the CC of the CPC on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work (Draft)*, which was drawn up under the direction of Mao Zedong. The passage was written by Mao Zedong himself.

tion, the class struggle and scientific experiment. It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world. In their social practice, men engage in various kinds of struggle and gain rich experience, both from their successes and from their failures. Countless phenomena of the objective external world are reflected in a man's brain through his five sense organs—the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch. At first, knowledge is perceptual. The leap to conceptual knowledge, i.e., to ideas, occurs when sufficient perceptual knowledge is accumulated. This is one process in cognition. It is the first stage in the whole process of cognition; the stage leading from objective matter to subjective consciousness, from existence to ideas. Whether or not one's consciousness or ideas (including theories, policies, plans or measures) do correctly reflect the laws of the objective external world is not yet proved at this stage, in which it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they are correct or not. Then comes the second stage in the process of cognition, the stage leading from consciousness back to matter, from ideas back to existence, in which the knowledge gained in the first stage is applied in social practice to ascertain whether the theories, policies, plans or measures meet with the anticipated success. Generally speaking, those that succeed are correct and those that fail are incorrect, and this is especially true of man's struggle with nature. In social struggle, the forces representing the advanced class sometimes suffer defeat not because their ideas are incorrect but because, in the balance of forces engaged in struggle, they are not as powerful for the time being as the forces of reaction; they are therefore temporarily defeated, but they are bound to triumph sooner or later. Man's knowledge makes another leap through the test of practice. This leap is more important than the previous one. For it is this leap alone that can prove the correctness or incorrectness of the first leap in cognition, i.e., of the ideas, theories, policies, plans or measures formulated in the course of reflecting the objective external world. There is no other way of testing truth. Furthermore, the one and only purpose of the proletariat in knowing the world is to change it. Often, correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge, the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. Among our comrades there are many who do not yet understand this theory of knowledge. When asked the sources of their ideas, opinions, policies, meth-

ods, plans and conclusions, eloquent speeches and long articles, they consider the questions strange and cannot answer it. Nor do they comprehend that matter, can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter, although such leaps are phenomena of everyday life. It is therefore necessary to educate our comrades in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, so that they can orientate their thinking correctly, become good at investigation and study and at summing up experience, overcome difficulties, commit fewer mistakes, do their work better, and struggle hard so as to build China into a great and powerful socialist country and help the broad masses of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world in fulfillment of our great internationalist duty.

Statement Supporting the American Negroes in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by US Imperialism

August 8, 1963

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1963, No. 16 page 1-2.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 59-60.

Translation: Beijing Review, August 16, 1963, Vol. VI, No. 33, page 6-7

An American Negro leader now taking refuge in Cuba, Mr. Robert Williams, the former President of the Monroe, North Carolina, Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has twice this year asked me for a statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination. I wish to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Chinese people, to express our resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

There are more than nineteen million Negroes in the United States, or about eleven percent of the total population. Their position in society is one of enslavement, oppression and discrimination. The overwhelming majority of the Negroes are deprived of their right to vote. On the whole it is only the most back-breaking and most despised jobs that are open to them. Their average wages are only from a third to a half of those of the white people. The ratio of unemployment among them is the highest. In many states they cannot go

to the same school, eat at the same table, or travel in the same section of a bus or train with the white people. Negroes are frequently and arbitrarily arrested, beaten up and murdered by US authorities at various levels and members of the Ku Klux Klan and other racists. About half of the American Negroes are concentrated in eleven states in the south of the United States. There, the discrimination and prosecution they suffer are especially startling.

The American Negroes are awakening, and their resistance is growing ever stronger. In recent years the mass struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights has been constantly developing.

In 1957 the Negro people in Little Rock, Arkansas, waged a fierce struggle against the barring of their children from public schools. The authorities used armed force against them and there resulted the Little Rock Incident which shocked the world.

In 1960 Negroes in more than twenty states held "sit in" demonstrations in protest against racial segregation in local restaurants, shops and other public places.

In 1961 the Negroes launched a campaign of "freedom riders" to oppose racial segregation in transport, a campaign which rapidly extended to many states.

In 1962 the Negroes in Mississippi fought for the equal right to enroll in colleges and were greeted by the authorities with repression which culminated in a bloodbath.

This year, the struggle of the American Negroes started in early April in Birmingham, Alabama. Unarmed, bare-handed Negro masses were subjected to wholesale arrests and the most barbarous repression merely because they were holding meetings and parades against racial discrimination. On June 12, an extreme was reached with the cruel murder of Mr. Medgar Evers, a leader of the Negro people in Mississippi. These Negro masses, aroused to indignation and undaunted by ruthless violence, carried on their struggles even more courageously and quickly won the support of Negroes and all strata of the people throughout the United States. A gigantic and vigorous nationwide struggle is going on in nearly every state and city in the United States, and the struggle keeps mounting. American Negro organizations have decided to start a "freedom march" on Washington on August 28, in which 250,000 people will take part.

The speedy development of the struggle of the American Negroes is a manifestation of the constant sharpening of class struggle and national struggle within the United States; it has been causing increasingly grave anxiety to the US ruling clique. The Kennedy Administration has resorted to cunning two-faced tactics. On the one hand, it continues to connive at and take part in the discrimination against and persecution of Negroes; it even sends troops to repress them. On the other hand, it is parading as an advocate the "defense of human rights" and the "protection of the civil rights of Negroes," is calling upon the Negro people to exercise "restraint," and is proposing to Congress so-called "civil rights legislation" in an attempt to numb the fighting will of the Negro people and deceive the masses throughout the country. However, these tactics of the Kennedy Administration are being seen through by more and more of the Negroes. The fascist atrocities committed by the US imperialists against the Negro people have laid bare the true nature of the so-called democracy and freedom in the United States and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the US Government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.

I call upon the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie, and other enlightened personages of all colors in the world, white, black, yellow, brown, etc., to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practiced by US imperialism and to support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle. In the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling clique among the whites which is oppressing the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals, and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists, headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are carrying out oppression, aggression and intimidation against the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. They are the minority, and we are the majority. At most they make up less than ten percent of the 3,000 million people of the world. I am deeply convinced that, with the support of more than ninety percent of the people of the world, the just struggle of the American Negroes will certainly be victorious. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew on along with the enslavement of the Negroes and the trade in Negroes; it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people.

Chairman Mao Receives African Guests

August 8, 1963

Source: People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), August 9, 1963, page 1.

Translation: Beijing Review, August 16, 1963, Vol. VI, No. 33.

Chairman Mao Zedong received a large group of visitors from Africa on August 8 in Beijing. They were: the delegation of the Basutoland Congress Party led by G.M. Kolisang, the Party's General Secretary; Ali Mohamed Shamy, President of the National-Liberation Movement of Comoro; the delegation of the Federation of Students of Black Africa studying in France led by Gedeon Dasoundo, Foreign Affairs Secretary of the Federation; Trynos Makombe, representative in Cairo of the Zimbabwe African People's Union of Southern Rhodesia; and G. Kahengeri a writer from Kenya.

At this reception, Chairman Mao made a statement, expressing on behalf of the Chinese people resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights and calling on the people of the world to unite in resistance to racial discrimination by US imperialism and to support the American Negroes in their just struggle against racial discrimination.

Chairman Mao and these many friends from Africa had a most cordial and friendly talk. He condemned racial discrimination in the United States, in South Africa and in every other part of the world.

Racial discrimination [he said,] is found in Africa, in Asia and in other parts of the world. The racial question is in essence a class question. Our unity is not one of race; it is the unity of comrades and friends. We should strengthen our unity and wage a common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and their lackeys, and for complete and thorough national independence and liberation.

After recalling how China's revolutionary struggle had won through to victory, Chairman Mao said:

This proves that a revolution by the people can triumph and that imperialism and its lackeys can be defeated. The tide of anti-imperialism and anticolonialism is sweeping through all Africa. All coun-

tries, whether they have attained or have still to attain independence, will sooner or later, win complete and thorough independence and liberation. All the Chinese people support you. The people of Africa are awakening with each passing day; so are the people of the world as a whole. The workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and all other revolutionary people, who constitute over 90 percent of the world population, can be united in the fight for the victory of the revolution.

In the fight for thorough emancipation [Chairman Mao continued,] the oppressed peoples rely first of all on their own struggle and then, and only then, on international assistance. The people who have triumphed in their revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty.

Chairman Mao's African guests then told of their own struggles for national independence and liberation. They expressed their thanks to the Chinese people for giving them sympathy and support. All expressed full support for Chairman Mao's statement against racial discrimination by US imperialism and in support of the American Negroes' struggle against it.

Statement Opposing Aggression Against Southern Vietnam and Slaughter of its People by the US—Ngo Dinh Diem Clique

August 29, 1963

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1963, No. 17, page 2-3.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 60-61.

Translation: Beijing Review, September 6, 1963, Vol. VI, No. 36, page 6.

Recently, the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem clique in south Vietnam has been intensifying its sanguinary suppression of Buddhists, students, intellectuals and the masses of the people. The Chinese people are deeply indignant at the monstrous crimes of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique and strongly condemn them. President Ho Chi Minh has issued a statement strongly protesting

against the crimes of US imperialism and the Diem clique. We the Chinese people whole-heartedly support President Ho Chi Minh's statement.

US imperialism and its lackey Ngo Dinh Diem have been following the policy of turning southern Vietnam into a US colony, unleashing counter-revolutionary war and reinforcing their fascist dictatorship. This has compelled the people of various strata in southern Vietnam to unite on a broad scale and wage a resolute struggle against them.

US imperialism and the Diem clique now find themselves besieged by all the people of southern Vietnam against whom they have set themselves. No matter what inhuman weapons US imperialism may use or what ruthless means of suppression the Diem clique may employ, that regime cannot escape its fate of total isolation and collapse, and US imperialism will finally have to get out of southern Vietnam.

Ngo Dinh Diem is a faithful lackey of US imperialism. However, once a lackey has outlived his usefulness and becomes an encumbrance to the US imperialist policy of aggression, the US imperialists do not hesitate to replace him with another. The fate of Syngman Rhee in South Korea provides a precedent. A flunkey who allows himself to be led by the nose by US imperialism will only end up in the same grave as his master.

US imperialism has violated the agreements reached at the first Geneva Conference by obstructing the reunification of Vietnam, conducting open armed aggression against southern Vietnam and engaging in so-called special warfare over a period of years. It has also violated the agreements of the second Geneva Conference by its flagrant intervention in Laos in an attempt to rekindle the civil war there. Apart from those who are deliberately deceiving the people and those who are utterly naïve, no one will assert that a treaty can make US imperialism lay down its butcher's knife and suddenly become a Buddha, or for that matter behave itself even a little better.

The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the "sensibleness" of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle. This is what the people of southern Vietnam are doing.

In their just patriotic struggle against US imperialism and the Diem clique the people of southern Vietnam have won major victories both politically and militarily. We the Chinese people firmly support their just struggle.

I am convinced that through struggle they will attain the goal of liberating the southern part of Vietnam and contribute to the peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

It is my hope that the working class, the revolutionary people and progressives throughout the world will all stand by the people of southern Vietnam and, in response to President Ho Chi Minh's call, support the just struggle of the heroic people of southern Vietnam and oppose aggression and oppression by the counter-revolutionary US-Diem clique, and thus help the people there save themselves from slaughter and achieve complete liberation.

Instructions for Literature and Art at the Central Working Conference

September 1963

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 61.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 85.

Operas should develop what is new from what is old, rather than what is old from what is old. They must not sing only of emperors, kings, generals, ministers, talented young gentlemen, pretty ladies, and their maids and escorts.

Comments on Comrade Ke Qingshi's Report²¹

December 12, 1963

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 70.

Translation: Beijing Review, June 2, 1967, Vol. X, No. 23, page 8.

Problems abound in all forms of art such as the drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature, and the people involved are numerous; in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The "dead" still dominate in many departments. What

²¹ Ke's report entitled, *Write Prolifically on the Thirteen Years*, January 1, 1963.

has been achieved in the cinema, new poetry, folk songs, the fine arts and the novel should not be underestimated, but there, too, quite a few problems exist. As for such departments as the drama, the problems are even more serious. The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should proceed with investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest.

Isn't it absurd that many communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art?

Strive to Learn From Each Other and Don't Stick to the Beaten Track and Be Complacent

December 13, 1963

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 70-71

Translation: Beijing Review, September 13, 1977, Vol. XX, No. 37-38, page 5-6.

Here is a report prepared by Comrades Li Ruishan and Hua Guofeng of the Hunan Provincial Party Committee, on November 6, 1963, on their visit to Guangdong to look at the progress of its agricultural production. Attached to the report are instructions written by the Hunan provincial party committee dated December 7, 1963. You are requested to study them. The Central Committee considers that this attitude and method of learning modestly from the good experience of other provinces, municipalities and districts is fine and constitutes an important way of promoting our economic, political, ideological, cultural, military and party work. Some comrades stick to the beaten track, are conceited and complacent, do not take an analytical approach towards the work in their own area in accordance with Marxist dialectics (i.e., one dividing into two, into shortcomings and mistakes as well as achievements), but notice only achievements and not shortcomings and mistakes. They welcome praise but not criticism. They take little interest in arranging for competent high and middle-ranking cadres to study modestly and earnestly what is being done in other provinces, municipalities, districts or units in order to introduce improvements by applying the findings to their own province, municipality, district or unit. They confine their vision always to the small world of their own area or unit, but fail to see beyond it and to notice any world other than

their own, which is sheer parochial arrogance. They show to foreign visitors, comrades from other parts of the country or comrades sent by the central authorities to their area only what is good and not what is bad. They tell these visitors only the achievements, and not the shortcomings and mistakes which, if taken up at all, will not be gone into at any great length but dismissed perfunctorily in a few words. The Central Committee has called our comrades' attention to this problem time and again, maintaining that a Communist must acquire the Marxist dialectical concept of one dividing into two with regard to achievements and shortcomings, truth and falsehood. Without exception everything (economy, politics, ideology, culture, military and party work, etc.) develops as a process. And every process develops through the interconnection and mutual struggle of its two contradictory aspects. This should be A B C for a Marxist. However, many comrades at the central and local levels seldom think and work conscientiously in accordance with this viewpoint. They find it difficult to shake off their customary metaphysical way of thinking. By metaphysics is meant the denial of the unity of opposites and the struggle of opposites in things (the method of one dividing into two), the denial of the truth that under given conditions two contradictory things that stand in opposition transform themselves into each other and turn into their opposite. Metaphysics also finds expression in the following—to stick to the beaten track, to be conceited and complacent, to notice only achievements and not shortcomings, to welcome praise and not criticism; to be unwilling to criticize oneself (to apply the method of one dividing into two to oneself) and, worse still, to be afraid of being criticized by others. Among the dozens of ministries under the Central Government there are obviously several which have done better and have a better style of work, for instance, the Ministry of Petroleum Industry. Yet other ministries simply pay no attention and have never bothered to visit them, study their experience and learn from them. Of the various units under a ministry, there are obviously many factories and mines, enterprises, undertakings and scientific research institutions, together with their personnel, that have done well. Yet its leadership, through its ignorance, is in no position to encourage people to learn from them. Comrades, when the Central Committee here speaks about comrades committing errors in succumbing to metaphysics, this refers only to some comrades, not to all. Nevertheless it must be pointed out that large numbers of fine comrades are frustrated by those comrades who are highly placed with fat emoluments and live in style, who are conceited and complacent and are only too glad to stick to the beaten track,

and who are addicted to bourgeois metaphysics; in other words, these fine comrades are frustrated by the bureaucrats. This situation must be changed right now. To any comrade who rejects the dialectical and analytical method of Marxism and doesn't modestly and conscientiously analyze either his own locality, his own unit and himself or other localities, other units and other people, we must give comradely advice and criticism, so as to bring about a change in this undesirable state of affairs. We must make it a practice to learn from the good experience, good style and good methods of other ministries, provinces, municipalities, districts and units. This is an important question and you are requested to discuss it. Later on, the Central Committee will also take it up at its working conferences and plenary sessions. For quite some time the Hunan Provincial Party Committee made no attempt at investigation and study and issued a spate of subjectivist directives to the lower levels, ramming many things down their throats while getting little factual information in return, and thus alienating itself from the masses and bringing tremendous difficulties upon itself. From 1961 onwards, a change came over its work and things rapidly looked up. Nevertheless it felt that it was still lagging far behind Guangdong and Shanghai. Therefore, it organized two survey teams composed of large numbers of cadres at the provincial, prefectural and county levels, and sent them on study tours to Guangdong and Shanghai. Please try to see if you can do the same. The Central Committee holds that it can and must be done. If you think otherwise, please transmit your views.

Modesty—Guard Against Arrogance

December 13, 1963

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 71-75.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 86-92.

To be complacent and conceited, to refuse to apply Marxist dialectical, analytical method, i.e. the method of splitting one into two (both achievements and shortcomings); to work in one's own field, studying only the achievement but not the shortcomings and mistakes, to like flattering but dislike critical words; to have no interest in organizing competent high and middle cadres to learn and investigate the work of other provinces, cities, regions, or departments

so as to link the result with one's own circumstances and improve the work of one's own province, city, region, or department; to be blindly conceited, i.e. to limit oneself to one's own district, the small world of one's department, the inability to widen one's scope, and the ignorance of other spheres of work; to show and talk to foreigners, visitors from other places, and people sent by the Center only about the achievements, not the weaknesses; in one's own area of work; to talk only superficially and perfunctorily [these are the faults common to all our comrades]. The Center has more than once raised this problem to our comrades: a communist must have at his disposal the Marxist dialectical method of "splitting one into two": achievements and shortcomings, truth and mistakes. All matters (economic, political, ideological, cultural, military, party, and etc.) are always in a process of development; this is common sense to a Marxist. However, many of our comrades in the Center and regions do not use this method of thinking and working. There is a formal logic deeply planted in their minds which they cannot uproot. Formal logic denies the unification of the opposites of things, the contradiction of opposites ("splitting one into two"), and under given conditions the transformation of one pair of opposites into another. Therefore, these comrades become complacent, conceited, observant of achievements only, blind to weaknesses, capable of hearing only favorable words but not criticisms, unwilling to criticize themselves (i.e. splitting into two), and afraid of other people's criticism. The old saying, "Conceit courts harm while modesty is beneficial" still holds good from the point of view of the proletariat and the interest of the people.

1. Conceit grows under all circumstances and in all forms. Generally, it is likely to grow with success and victory. This is because under adverse condition one can easily see one's own weaknesses and is comparatively more cautious. Under the pressure of difficulties, modesty and caution are the only attitudes to adopt. But with success comes the gratitude of other people. Even onetime enemies may turn round and pay tribute [to one's prowess]. One can therefore easily lose one's head in favorable circumstances following success and feel light enough to fly. "From now on the empire will be at peace," one believes. We are fully aware that the Party is more vulnerable to attack by the virus of conceit at a time of victory and success.
2. Conceit grows under conditions of victory—i.e., the conceit of swollen-headedness and an inflated ego. This is one kind of conceit. Another kind grows under normal conditions with neither spectacular victory

nor ignominious defeat, when people intoxicate themselves with such thoughts as “Not as good as the better but better than the worse” and “To have served as a daughter-in-law for twenty years automatically makes one a mother-in-law.”

There is a third kind which flourishes in backward conditions. Some people take pride in being backward, because they think “Our work is not all that good, but it is better than in the past,” or “So and so are even XX worse than us.” Whenever they want to show off their history, they make a quick switch from any other subject, their faces light up, and they begin thus: “Once upon a time...”

3. We become conceited as soon as we overlook the strength of the masses; as soon as our subjective understanding lags behind the development of the objective reality; as soon as we overrate our own achievement.
4. Essentially, conceit is derived from individualism and nurses the growth of individualism. It is individualistic.
5. Speaking from a class analytical point of view, conceit comes first from the ideology of the exploiting class and then from that of small producers.
6. As workers, small producers have many good qualities. They are industrious, thrifty, not afraid of hardships, cautious, and realistic. But as small owners, they are individualistic and what is more important, limited by their working conditions and methods and their use of outdated means of production, they are scattered, narrow-minded, and ill-informed. They are often blind to the strength of the collective; they see only that of the individual. Furthermore, they are easily satisfied. A small achievement may induce them to think: “That’s not bad at all,” “This is super,” “Ah, let’s enjoy a bit,” and “Not as good as the better but better than the worse.”
7. Conceit is based on the bourgeois, idealist world view. It can lead people to XX, to a way of dealing with reality which is against the laws of the development of reality and eventually to failure. The materialist historical view provides that the history of social development is not the history of big men, but of the laboring masses. None the less, conceited people always exaggerated the role of the individual, take [undue] credit, and become proud of themselves. They underestimate or completely overlook the strength of the masses.
8. Hence, conceit is against Marxism-Leninism, against the dialectical and historical materialist worldview of our Party.

9. Conceited people cannot forget their merits. They hide their own shortcomings and disregard other people's strong points. They often compare their own merits with other people's demerits, thereby drawing satisfaction. When they see the strong points of others, they say: "Not much," or "Nothing to make a song and dance about."
10. In fact, the more one overrates oneself, the worse the result is likely to be. Leo Tolstoy, the great Russian writer, put it humorously:
"A man is like a mathematical fraction, whose actual talent can be compared to a numerator and his own estimate of it to a denominator. The bigger the denominator, the smaller the fraction."
11. Modesty is a necessary virtue for every revolutionary. It benefits the people's cause whereas conceit leads the people's cause to defeat. Therefore modesty is an expression of one's responsibility to the people's cause.
12. A revolutionary in name and practice must be able to: First, respect the creativeness of the masses, listen to their views, and regard himself as one of the masses. He must not have a single grain of selfishness or exaggerate his own role, and must work honestly for the masses. This is the spirit which Lu Xun describes as "Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children."²² This is modesty.
13. Second, he must have an indefatigable progressive spirit and must be forever alert and clear-minded. He must be observant of new things and consider them well. He must therefore have modesty so that he does not accredit himself with undeserved merits; nor be satisfied with his own achievements. This is a realistic attitude, the noble virtue of modesty.
14. If a man can learn seriously from work, life and actual struggles, if he can regularly sum up his thought and action in an effort to find out his deficiencies, shortcomings, and errors, if he can ruthlessly and resolutely fight against his conceit and self-satisfaction and unreservedly overcome them, it is absolutely within his powers to train himself to be a man of humility.
15. A truly modest man is also a man who enthusiastically, unconditionally, loyally, and actively works for the cause of the party, the people, and the collective. He works not to show off or for awards and fame, not for any selfish desire, but whole-heartedly for the happiness and interests of the people. Therefore, he is always buried in hard work for the benefit of the

²² This couplet is from Lu Xun's "In Mockery of Myself" in *The Collection Outside the Collection, Complete Works*, Vol. VII.

party and people, never giving a thought to his own distinction, status, reputation, or salary. He does not brag about his achievements to other people; he does not ever entertain such thoughts in his mind. He considers nothing more than how to serve the people better.

16. Why must a true collectivist demand humility from himself?

First, because he understands that although he plays a part in the achievements of knowledge or other results, the part the masses play is far greater. Without the help and support of the masses, he would not be able to have knowledge; nor would his work be successful. As a collectivist, he must not discount the merits of the masses, or “rob other people of their merits.” He knows that it is shameful to be conceited.

Second, he understands that what he has learnt and done forms only a tiny drop in the ocean of revolutionary knowledge and work: it is infinitesimal. Moreover, revolutionary knowledge and work are incessantly developing. As a collectivist, he must do his utmost to acquire the knowledge which is useful to the people and to devote his ability to the revolution. Therefore, he must feel that there is no room for complacency, for becoming stagnant.

Third, he knows that work is constructed like a huge machine with its wheels, screws, steel frames, and other parts of different sizes and shapes, each being indispensable. As a collectivist, he should respect each man's work and each man's achievement. For the perfection of the revolutionary work, he must co-ordinate his own work with that of others. He must feel that he cannot bear to be left out of the collective, and that he passionately loves his colleagues. Because of this, he must treat people with modesty, never with pride or conceit.

Fourth, he understands that the scope of an individual view is narrow and limited, whereas the scope of revolutionary work and knowledge is broad and their contents extremely rich and complex. Thus he understands that it is inevitable for an individual to have faults and be likely to commit mistakes. These faults and mistakes often escape his full attention. Since he is a collectivist, he would demand of himself a deeper and wider vision to detect his own faults and mistakes in time and to correct them quickly, so that he can do revolutionary work well and be responsible to the people. Because of this, he is modest, humbly learns from others, and sincerely welcomes other people's criticism.

From these points [we] may see a true collectivist possesses humility, a fact that reflects his progressive spirit and realistic attitude.

17. Another method of overcoming one's conceit and nurturing one's humility is to heighten one's communist consciousness. This requires more intensive study of Marxism-Leninism. Why?
18. Because the theories of Marxism-Leninism can help us to understand scientifically the world and the relationships between individuals and the masses, individuals and collectives, individuals and organization, and individuals and the party.

[They also help us to] understand correctly the roles of the masses and individuals in revolutionary struggles. Marxism-Leninism tells us that the working people are the creators of social wealth and the mainstay in a revolutionary struggle. In order to build socialism and communism in China, we must depend on the creative power of the working class and the millions of laboring people under the leadership of their vanguard. As for an individual, he is no more than a small screw in the revolutionary works. Marxism-Leninism tells us: all achievement is the result of the strength of the collective, no individual can detach himself from a collective, and an individual, without the party to lead him or an organization and the masses to support him, cannot accomplish anything. If we do really understand the part played by the masses and the individual in history and their mutual relationship, we automatically become modest. Marxism-Leninism can raise our understanding of the future and the destination we are going to, can widen our scope, and can free our thought from parochialism. When people see only what is under their feet, not what lies above the mountains and beyond the seas, they are likely to be as boastful as "the frog at the bottom of a well." But when they raise their heads to see the immensity of the world, the kaleidoscope of man's affairs, the splendor and magnificence of the cause of humanity, the richness of man's talents, and the breadth of knowledge, they become modest. What we are dedicated to is a world-shaking task. We must focus not just on the work and happiness in front of our eyes, but also on the work and happiness of all of us in the distant future. Marxism-Leninism helps us to overcome self-satisfaction of a small producer due to a small success or a small achievement. It arouses our desire for ceaseless progress. At the same time, it helps us to eliminate our idealistic, subjective way of thinking.

19. Modesty and self-abasement are not synonymous. Modesty does not mean belittling oneself; it is an expression of a realistic attitude and the progressive spirit which enables one to see facts objectively, whereas self-abasement is an expression of unrealism, a lack of self-confidence, and a fear of difficulty.

Self-abasement and self-advertisement or a feeling of superiority are based on subjectivism and wrong. They represent two extreme and erroneous subjective estimates of oneself. The boastful person detaches himself from reality and overestimates himself, exaggerates his actual ability and role. He feels superior, out of the ordinary, and therefore stops making progress or learning new things. Inevitably, he must make mistakes. The self-abasing person is apparently the opposite of the boastful, but he is just as unrealistic. He underestimates himself, forgets that he can be improved and disciplined in his work, and belittles the part he has played and will play in the revolution. Consequently, he loses his courage and confidence in making progress and relaxes his fighting spirit.

In short, both self-abasement and conceit are wrong, because both represent an erroneous assessment of one's part in the revolution, and an unrealistic and unscientific attitude. Both can do harm to the revolution. That is why we must resolutely oppose conceit and boastfulness, and also strictly distinguish modesty from self-abasement. In this way we may avoid drifting from one extreme to another.

On Opposing Bureaucracy²³

1963

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 76-77.

Translation: Foreign Languages Press, Paris, 2020.

With our administrative offices so out of touch with reality, bureaucratism is an easy illness to catch. Bureaucratism inevitably lead to separatism. We

²³ There is much confusion around this document: some sources say that it was written by Zhou Enlai, others says by Mao. It is also oftentimes incorrectly dated as February 1970, the date on which the Joint Publications Research Services released its translation, or 1967, the date it was released in the *Wansui*. However, the original document in the *Wansui* is dated 1963 and cites Mao as the author.

discovered a clear example of this with the “Yuejin” incident.²⁴ There is also regionalism below. The roots are all in bureaucratism. The year before last, many cadres were sent down [into production]. I drafted the document that resulted in them being sent down. Some people say they want to oppose it—that they can’t stand it. The problem is bureaucratism.

Bureaucratism is a legacy left over by the exploiting class. We and the external party minister hope to rely on your advice.

Bureaucratism as a way of thinking manifests a combination of individualism, decentralism, selfish departmentalism, liberalism, commandism, routinism and organizational sectarianism. Therefore, bureaucratism is bound to be linked to these “isms.” In short, we must concentrate on opposing the ideological style of the exploiting class. On March 1st, the Five-Antis directives of the Central Committee said: “Bureaucratism is on the rise.” I think it is universal.

I’ll try to summarize 20 manifestations of bureaucracy:

1. At the highest level there is very little knowledge; they do not understand the opinion of the masses; they do not investigate and study; they do not grasp specific policies; they do not conduct political and ideological work; they are divorced from reality, from the masses, and from the leadership of the Party; they always issue orders, and the orders are usually wrong, they certainly mislead the country and the people; at the least they obstruct the consistent adherence to the party line and policies; and they cannot meet with the people. The bureaucratism is divorced from leadership and from the masses.
2. They are conceited, complacent, and they aimlessly discuss politics. They do not grasp their work, they are subjective and one-sided; they are careless; they do not listen to people; they are truculent and arbitrary; they impose orders; they do not care about reality; they maintain blind control. This is authoritarian bureaucratism.
3. They are very busy from morning until evening, they labor bitterly the whole year long. But they work without investigation, they don’t study people, they do not prepare before speaking and they don’t do any planning for their work. This is a headless, brainless, bureaucratism without direction.

²⁴ The Yuejin was a freighter that sank in May 1963 after hitting rocks. Investigations led by Zhou Enlai showed that three reports on the danger of the route of the Yuejin were filed and ignored because of the complicated bureaucracy of the Ministry of Transport.

4. They operate as an officialdom, where they are the only ones who count. No one can get close; they are intimidating and arrogant to cadres and curse at will. This is the bureaucratism of lordship.
5. They don't learn and are useless, ashamed to ask others; they exaggerate and lie and make a fool of themselves; they deceive the top and hide things from others; they write off their own wrongs, and take all the credit, blaming others for mistakes. This is dishonest bureaucratism.
6. They don't study politics, don't engage in their work, push work off onto others and in case of trouble they fear taking responsibility; they procrastinate and have long-term indecision; they engage in haggling in their work and are politically insensitive. This is irresponsible bureaucratism.
7. They work in a perfunctory manner just to subsist, muddling along, stirring up discord with others and make many mistakes; they flatter those above and pull down those below, are two-faced and smooth and slick. This is the bureaucratism of working just to feed yourself.
8. They can't grasp politics, they can't master their work, they say what they think people want to hear and talk to everyone in the same tone; they take their pay without doing work; they make up things for the sake of appearances and are indiscriminate in their leadership. This bureaucratism that is satisfied with incompetence.
9. They are confused and chaotic, and don't have a mind of their own; they muddle through, they are idle all day wasting time. This is confused and useless bureaucratism.
10. They submit approval for documents without reading them; if their approval is wrong, they don't admit it; They read by letting others do the reading, and when others are reading, they are asleep. They have countless thoughts but don't discuss things with others, pushing everything off onto others so that they don't have to take responsibility. They pretend to understand those below them, even if they don't by criticizing and giving orders summarily; they go along to get along with those on the same level. This is lazy bureaucratism.
11. Government offices grow bigger and bigger, personnel is enormously complex, there's redundancy in the hierarchy, assets are wasted, there's a lot of people, they have many trouble, and they are running around in circles frantically while neglecting their proper duties. There are too many people for too little work and the level of efficiency is low. This is institutional bureaucratism.

12. They don't read instructions and don't approve reports; they don't circulate meetings or use reports that have been submitted and they don't communicate or discuss. This is bureaucratism of formalism.
13. They want to enjoy themselves and engage in back door deals. They're afraid of hardships. If one person is promoted, then all his cronies will also ascend. If one person is made an official, the whole family will enjoy the benefits. Internally and externally everyone is being treated to meals and given gifts. This is bureaucratism of special favors.
14. The bigger the official gets, the worse his temperament, the bigger his house, the better the furnishings, the higher his living requirements. The more the supplies they receive, the more they dispense and the lower the price. This is the bureaucratism of putting on official airs.
15. They do everything for self and selfish profit; they use their public office for private interests; they embezzle from the public, knowingly breaking the law; they eat a lot and earn a lot and don't give anything back. This is selfish, individualist bureaucratism.
16. They compete for acclaim and power while reaching out to the Party; they haggle over every penny, find fault in all of the work, they are cozy when it comes to their comrades, and are indifferent to the masses. This is the bureaucratism for power struggles.
17. These are leaders of many different minds who can't unite with each other; they have multiple political lines and their work disorganized; the top and the bottom are divorced from each other, and they try to push each other out; there is no centralization, nor is there any democracy. This is disunited bureaucratism.
18. They don't heed any organization and appoint personal friends; they form cliques to further their own private interests and protect each other, individual and factional interests stand above all else; they harm the larger public for the sake of small individual interests. This is sectarian bureaucratism.
19. Their revolutionary will has deteriorated and their political life has degenerated. They relying on old accomplishments to "eat," putting on official airs. They love leisure and hate work, taking scenic tours. They don't use their brains nor their hands; they don't care about the interests of the country or the people. This is degenerate bureaucratism.
20. They encourage harmful tendencies, indulge bad people and bad things, retaliate, suppress democracy, oppress the masses, protect bad people;

they don't differentiate between the enemy and ourselves and flout the law. This is bureaucratism that encourages harmful tendencies.

In short, cadres divorced from reality, divorced from the masses, and ignoring the interests of the masses will harm the party's line and policy. To not work as ordinary workers, to not be with the masses and share their joys and hardships; to give politically empty talk, be dishonest, irresponsible, incapable, useless, immersed in transactionism, special favors, selfishness, disunity, sectarianism—will finally end in degeneration.

The ideological, social, historical, and ideological roots of bureaucratism are the ideological ways of the exploiting class, including bourgeois individualism and pragmatism, as well as feudal patriarchy. (The four major families in the *Dream of the Red Chamber* included forty serf owners, two-thirds of whom were bureaucrats.)

The roots of class society: the new bourgeoisie, the old bourgeoisie, and urban and rural feudal forces. There is capitalist siege internationally, and imperialism and revisionism are united.

Historical roots: Our revolution smashed the old state apparatus and established a new state apparatus, but the old ruling power, traditional influence, and the old personnel were retained. The policy was correct, but it brought side effects. In 1951, the focus of the "Three Antis" was against corruption. In 1957, the focus was against Rightism. Last year, was mainly criticizing decentralism, so bureaucratism has not been the focus for many years. The soil for breeding bureaucratism is fertile, which is also the soil for revisionism and dogmatism.

1964

Chinese People Firmly Support the Panamanian People's Just, Patriotic Struggle

January 12, 1964

Source: People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), January 13, 1964, page 1.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 80.

Translation: Beijing Review, January 17, 1964, Vol. VII, No. 3, page 5.

The heroic struggle now being waged by the people of Panama against US aggression and in defense of their national sovereignty is a great patriotic struggle. The Chinese people stand firmly on the side of the Panamanian people and fully support their just action in opposing the US aggressors and seeking to regain sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone.

US imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the people of the entire world.

It has not only committed the grave crime of aggression against the Panamanian people, and painstakingly and stubbornly plotted against socialist Cuba, but has continuously been plundering and oppressing the people of the Latin American countries and suppressing the national-democratic revolutionary struggles there.

In Asia, US imperialism has forcibly occupied China's Taiwan, turned the southern part of Korea and the southern part of Vietnam into its colonies, kept Japan under its control and semi-military occupation, sabotaged the peace, neutrality and independence of Laos, plotted to subvert the Royal Government of Cambodia, and committed intervention and aggression against other Asian countries. More recently, it has decided to send a US fleet to the Indian Ocean, menacing the security of all the countries of South-east Asia.

In Africa, US imperialism is feverishly pursuing its neocolonialist policies, seeking vigorously to take the place of the old colonialists, to plunder and enslave the peoples of Africa, and to undermine and stamp out the national liberation movements.

The policies of aggression and war of US imperialism also seriously threaten the Soviet Union, China, and the other socialist countries. Moreover, it is vigorously seeking to push its policy of peaceful evolution in the socialist countries, in order to bring about the restoration of capitalism there and disintegrate the socialist camp.

Even toward its allies in Western Europe, North America and Oceania, US imperialism is pursuing a policy of the “law of the jungle,” trying hard to trample them underfoot.

The aggressive plans of US imperialism to dominate the whole world run in a continuous line from Truman through Eisenhower and Kennedy to Johnson.

The people of the countries in the socialist camp should unite, the people of all the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America should unite, the people of all the continents of the world should unite, all peace-loving countries and all countries that are subject to US aggression, control, interference and bullying should unite, and so form the broadest united front to oppose the US imperialist policies of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace.

Riding roughshod everywhere, US imperialism has placed itself in the position of the enemy of the people the world over, and has increasingly isolated itself. The atom bombs and hydrogen bombs in the hands of the US imperialists can never cow people not willing to be enslaved. The raging tide of the people of the world in opposition to the US aggressors is irresistible. The struggle of the people the world over against US imperialism and its running dogs will assuredly win still greater victories.

Statement Expressing the Chinese People’s Support for the Japanese People’s Great Patriotic Struggle

January 27, 1964

Source: People’s Daily (Renmin Ribao), January 28, 1966, page 1.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 81-82.

Translation: Beijing Review, January 31, 1964, Vol. VII, No. 5, page 5.

The Massive anti-US demonstration by the Japanese people on January 26 is a great patriotic movement. On behalf of the Chinese people, I wish to express deep respect for the heroic Japanese people.

Recently, a large-scale mass movement has started throughout Japan to oppose the entry and stationing in Japan of US F-105D aircraft carrying nuclear weapons and nuclear submarines and to demand the dismantling of all US military bases, the withdrawal of US armed forces, the return of Japan’s territory of Okinawa, the abrogation of the Japan-US “Security Treaty,” etc. All

this reflects the will and aspiration of the entire Japanese people. The Chinese people wholeheartedly support the just struggle of the Japanese People.

Ever since the end of World War II, Japan has been subjected to US imperialist political, economic and military oppression. The US imperialists have not only oppressed the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, urban petit bourgeoisie, religious circles, and medium and small entrepreneurs of Japan; they have also brought many big Japanese entrepreneurs under their control, interfered in Japan's foreign policy, and treated Japan as a dependency. US imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the Japanese nation.

Japan is a great nation. It will certainly not allow US imperialism to ride roughshod over it for long. The last few years have seen the constant broadening of the patriotic united front of all strata of the Japanese people against US imperialist aggression, oppression, and control. This is the surest guarantee of victory in their patriotic, anti-US struggle. The Chinese people are convinced beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Japanese people will be able to drive the US imperialists from their soil and realize their aspirations for independence, democracy, peace, and neutrality.

The Chinese and Japanese peoples should unite, the people of various Asian countries should unite, all oppressed people and nations of the world should unite, all peace-loving countries should unite, all countries and individuals subjected to US imperialist aggression, control, interference, and bullying should unite and form a broad united front against US imperialism to frustrate its plans for aggression and war and to safeguard world peace.

US imperialism, get out of Japan, get out of the Western Pacific, get out of Asia, get out of Africa and Latin America, get out of Europe and Oceania, get out of the countries and places subjected to US aggression, control, interference, and bullying!

Remarks at the Spring Festival (Summary Record)

February 13, 1964

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui)*, 1968, Vol. 5, page 91-96.

Translation: *Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People*, page 197-211.

Mao Zedong: Today is the Spring Festival²⁵, and we are holding a forum to discuss both foreign and domestic problems... Do you think our state is likely to collapse or not? Imperialism and revisionism, in concert, have struck right up to our borders—do [you] democratic personages²⁶ fear the atom bomb? If the atom bomb should explode, we would simply find ourselves back in Yanan. The whole Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Area had a population of 1.5 millions, and in the city of Yanan there were 30,000.²⁷ People cannot reply publicly unless they are first attacked. There was a time when the Kuomintang was cleverer than usual and did not denounce us publicly. They put out a document using the method of restraining “alien” parties, of restraining the Communist Party.²⁸ Do you know about that?

²⁵ Spring Festival is new year’s day in the Chinese Lunar Calendar.

²⁶ The term “democratic parties” often referred to in CPC literature, especially in united front work, refers specially to a small group of political parties that were made up largely of members of the national bourgeoisie, the petit bourgeoisie, and patriotic “democratic personages.” (These were distinguished from “democratic personages with no party affiliations.”) These political parties were not considered to be proletarian in class identity or inherently inclined toward the socialist revolution. However, they had been developed in the period of the New Democratic Revolution, and to varying degrees of intensity, were aligned with the CPC in the struggle to bring about the socialist transformation of China, and to consolidate China’s interests vis-à-vis imperialist encroachment. The institutions of 1949 and 1954 provided for the participation of “democratic personages,” not affiliated with any party, in the political life of the country. The most famous of these was Song Qingling, Sun Yat-sen’s widow. Some of the non-communists present at the forum of February 1964 belonged to this category, others were representatives of the minor parties.

²⁷ The Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region was a revolutionary base area which was gradually built up after 1931 through revolutionary guerrilla war in northern Shaanxi. When the Central Red Army arrived in northern Shaanxi after the Long March, it became the central base area of the revolution and the seat of the CC of the CPC. It was named the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region after the formation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front in 1937, and it included twenty-three counties along the common borders of the three provinces.

²⁸ The *Measures for Restricting the Activities of Alien Parties* were secretly issued by the central authorities of the Kuomintang in 1939. They imposed severe restrictions on communist and all other progressive ideas, speech and action with the aim of disrupting all the anti-Japanese organizations of the people. They also stipulated that in places where in the opinion

Zhang Shizhao:²⁹ I don't know about it.

Mao Zedong: You people aren't very well informed. In January 1941, the Kuomintang launched the South Anhui Incident, in which we lost more than 17,000 men. After this, they staged several more anti-communist high tides, and thus taught [our] Party a lesson. Chiang Kai-shek is no good, every time he had a chance he tried to regiment us. After the end of the anti-Japanese war, Chiang talked about peace, and invited me to go to Chongqing for negotiations, but he also gave underhand orders. During the negotiations, he carried out a campaign against our Party and annihilated the three divisions of Gao Shuxun.³⁰

XX: Gao has already joined the Party. People can change.

Kang Sheng: The Xuanton emperor has come to present his New Year's greetings [at the Political Consultative Conference].

Mao Zedong: We must unite very well with the Xuanton emperor. Both Guangxu and Xuanton used to be our bosses.³¹ Xuanton's monthly salary of a little over a hundred *yuan* is too small—this man is an emperor.

Zhang Shizhao: Xuanton's uncle, Zaitao,³² is in wretched straits.

of the Kuomintang, "Communists were most active," the "Law of collective responsibility and collective punishment" was to be enforced and an "information network," or counter-revolutionary secret service, was to be generally established within the *Baojia* organizations. *Baojia* administrative system, see footnote 19, page 15.

²⁹ Zhang Shizhao (1881-1973) had been active in the revolutionary movement as a journalist from the early years of the twentieth century. He was evidently one of the non-party "democratic personages" Mao was addressing in his opening remarks.

³⁰ On October 30, 1945 Gao Shuxun, Deputy Commander of the Kuomintang's 11th War Zone, revolted at the civil war front in Hantan, southern Hebei Province, and went over to the communists' side with one corps and one column. This had a great influence throughout the country. In order to intensify the work of dividing and disintegrating the Kuomintang troops and arousing them to revolt, the CC of the CPC decided to start a propaganda campaign calling upon other Kuomintang officers and men to follow the example of Gao Shuxun and his troops, refuse to attack the Liberated Areas, sabotage the civil war at the front, fraternize with the PLA, rise in revolt and come over to the side of the people. This was known as the Gao Shuxun movement. The Kuomintang thereupon turned on Gao and smashed his forces.

³¹ Both the Guangxu emperor (reigned 1875-1908) and his successor the Xuanton emperor occupied the throne during Mao's lifetime.

³² Zaitao was in control of the imperial guards at the time of the 1911 revolution. He was regarded, during the last years of the dynasty, as one of the more liberal minded among the imperial clansmen.

Mao Zedong: This fellow Zaitao is a high military official. He was a student in France. I know him, though not intimately. Would it be all right to aid him through you, so that he can eat a bit better? After all, he is our guest. We should improve his standard of living.

It's no fun being a running dog. Nehru is in bad shape, imperialism and revisionism have robbed him blind. Revisionism is being rebuffed everywhere. It was rebuffed in Romania, it is not listened to in Poland. In Cuba they listen to half and reject half; they listen to half because they can't do otherwise, since they don't produce oil or weapons. Imperialism is having a hard time, too. Japan is opposing the United States, and it's not only the Japanese Communist Party and the Japanese People that are opposing the United States—the big capitalists are doing so too. Not long ago, the Kita-iron works rejected an American inspection. De Gaulle's opposition to the United States is also in response to the demands of the capitalists. They are also behind his establishment of diplomatic relations with China. China opposes the United States; formerly in Beijing there was Shen Chong,³³ the whole country opposed US imperialism. The Khrushchevite revisionists abuse us as dogmatists, pseudo-revolutionaries—they really curse us. Not long ago, a letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party put forward four points: (1) An end to open polemics; (2) The return of the [Soviet] experts [to China]; (3) Talks on the Sino-Soviet border; (4) The expansion of commerce. We can have talks about the border; they will begin on February 25. We can do a little business, but we can't do too much, for Soviet products are heavy, crude, high-priced, and they always keep something back.

Kang Sheng: The quality is inferior.

Mao Zedong: They are first crude, second expensive, third inferior, and fourth they keep something back, so it's not so good to deal with them as with the French bourgeoisie, who still have some notion of business ethics.

In the past there have been mistakes in our work. The first was issuing blind commands, the second was excessive requisitioning; these have now been corrected. Now we have gone to the opposite extreme; we have gone from issuing blind commands to no commands, and as a result we are not doing our

³³ On December 24, 1946, Shen Chong, a girl student at Beijing University, was raped by an American Marine. This incident led to widespread anti-American demonstrations by students in many Chinese cities, and to demands for the immediate withdrawal of all US Military forces.

utmost. So we must emulate the Liberation Army, we must emulate the Petroleum Ministry's Daqing.³⁴ In the Daqing oilfields they have invested more than X and in the space of three years they have built up an oilfield producing X tons, and a processing plant for X tons of oil. The investment has been small, the time has been short, the successes have been great, and the many writings on this subject are worth having a look at. All ministries should learn from the Petroleum Ministry, learn from the Liberation Army, and get some good experience so as to be a combat brigade in relation to the enemy, and a work brigade in relation to ourselves. University students should also learn from the Liberation Army. They should make full use of their successes, set up models for emulation, praise them extensively, and at the same time criticize mistakes. Praise should be the main thing, and criticism should be supplementary. Among those working for our cause, there are many good people, and many good models, which should be praised.

Last year in Hebei there were great natural disasters. In the south there was a drought; originally the harvest was good, but there were heavy rains causing the loss of 20,000 million chin [approximately 12 million metric tons] of grain; nevertheless, last year the total production rose by more than 10,000 million chin, and this year we want to do even better. At present we are learning from the Liberation Army, we are learning from the Petroleum Ministry, we are learning from models in the cities, the villages, the factories and the schools, we are overcoming mistakes in our work, and endeavoring to do our work somewhat better this year.

At this forum today, we have discussed international problems, but our basic concern is with internal problems. If we don't deal effectively with our internal problems, there's no good talking about international affairs. At present, there are some countries that want to establish relations with our country, such as the Congo. The Congo of Lumumba launched a guerrilla war, but they have no modern weapons at all—only things like Guan Gong's Black Dragon Crescent Sword, and Zhang Fei's eighteen-foot spear.³⁵

³⁴ In 1964, Mao was to launch the slogan, "In industry learn from Daqing, in agriculture learn from Dazhai," and since that time both of these have generally been regarded as "Maoist" models. Here Mao credits the Petroleum Ministry with the achievements of the Daqing oil-fields in Heilongjiang Province.

³⁵ Guan Yu (also known as Guan Gong, the God of War) and Zhang Fei were the two principal companions-in-arms of Liu Bei, the founder of the Shu Han Dynasty, during the period of the Three Kingdoms in the third century A.D. In the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, the celebrated novel they are described as wielding the weapons referred to here. Huang Zhong, Zhao [Yun], and Ma [Chao] were the remaining three of Liu Bei's "five tiger

XX: There are also Huang Zhong's arrows.

Mao Zedong: It is nothing but the weapons of Guan, Zhang, Zhao, Ma and Huang—they have no modern weapons. In the past we didn't have any either. After the Nanchang Uprising,³⁶ we lost two divisions; then Zhu De, Chen Yi, and Lin Biao led the remnant up the Jinggangshan. I didn't know how to fight myself. In 1918 I worked in the library of Beijing University; I was paid eight dollars a month, and got along without worrying about clothing, food, or lodging. Zhang Shizhao didn't want to be an official for Yuan Shikai,³⁷ so he let him be President of Beijing University, he went to Beijing University to run a journal. Old Huang,³⁸ are you a constitutionalist?

Huang Yanpei: I am a revolutionary, not a constitutionalist, I participated in the Tongmenghui.³⁹

generals.” Although Liu Bei, like his two rivals, claimed to be the rightful ruler of the whole empire, the territory actually controlled by him was primarily that of the Kingdom of Shu, centering on present-day Sichuan, where Mao and his comrades were meeting.

³⁶ Nanchang, capital of Jiangxi Province, was the scene of the famous uprising on August 1, 1927 led by the CPC in order to combat the counter-revolution of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei and to continue the revolution of 1924-27. More than thirty thousand troops took part in the uprising which was led by comrades Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, He Long and Ye Ting. The insurrectionary army withdrew from Nanchang on August 5 as planned, but suffered a defeat when approaching Chaozhou and Shantou in Guangdong Province. Led by Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi, part of the troops later fought their way to the Jinggang Mountains and joined forces with the First Division of the First Workers' and Peasants Revolutionary Army under Mao Zedong.

³⁷ Yuan Shikai was the head of the Northern warlords in the last years of the Qing Dynasty. After the Qing Dynasty was overthrown by the Revolution of 1911, he usurped the presidency of the Republic and organized the first government of the Northern Warlords, which represented the big landlord and big comprador classes. He did this by relying on counter-revolutionary armed force and on the support of the imperialists and by taking advantage of the conciliationist character of the bourgeoisie, which was then leading the revolution. In 1915 he wanted to make himself emperor and, to gain the support of the Japanese imperialists, accepted the Twenty-One demands with which Japan aimed at obtaining exclusive control of all China. In December of the same year an uprising against his assumption of the throne took place in Yunnan Province and promptly won nation-wide response and support. Yuan Shikai died in Beijing in June 1916.

³⁸ Huang Yanpei, an advocate of American-style vocational education, had been a leading figure in the Democratic League during the civil war of 1944-1949, and was Minister of Light Industry from 1949 to 1954. In 1964, he was Chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association, as well as being a member of the Standing Committee of the Democratic League.

³⁹ The Chinese Revolutionary League (*Tongmenghui*) (a united front organization of the bourgeoisie, the petit bourgeoisie, and a section of the landed gentry opposed to the Ching government), was formed in 1905 through the merging of the Xingzhonghui and two other groups, the Huaxinghui (Society for China's Regeneration) and the Guangfuhuai (Restoration Society). It put forward a program of bourgeois revolution advocating “the expulsion

Zhang Shizhao: He's a revolutionary.

Mao Zedong: Old Chen,⁴⁰ you belonged to the Research Clique; Zhang Shizhao participated in the Second Revolution,⁴¹ and in 1925 he was a minister. Now all of you are marching together with us, participating in socialist construction in the new China. When I say we hope to do our work somewhat better this year, this is not merely the Central Committee's hope, it is also your hope. Xu Deheng, are you in charge of an industrial ministry?⁴²

XX: There is great hope for his ministry.

Mao Zedong: Old Huang, your family seems to include every possible party and faction—the Democratic League, the Association for Promoting Democracy,⁴³ the Communist Youth League. The poem by your son Huang Wanli, entitled “Greetings to the Bridegroom,” is very well written. I admire it. There is a member of the September Third Society who also writes good poems. I admire him too. You don't know your ten-odd children very well, you are like Guo Ziyi.⁴⁴

All Ministries should learn from the Liberation Army, set up a political department, and strengthen their political work. They must encourage achieve-

of the Tartars (Manzhous), the recovery of China, the establishment of a republic and the equalization of land ownership.”

⁴⁰ “Old Chen” is apparently Chen Shutong, Chairman of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce since 1953. Both “Old Huang” and “Old Chen” were thus “democratic personages,” who had worked with the new regime since 1949.

⁴¹ The “Second Revolution,” was the attempt, in 1913, by forces under the leadership of Cai E, to overthrow Yuan Shikai and halt the movement away from genuine republicanism towards a restoration of the monarchy. On the other hand, the government of which Zhang Shizhao was minister in 1925 was that of the warlord-dominated regime in Beijing, Mao deliberately mentions these two contrasting episodes in Zhang Shizhao's life in order to evoke the wide variety of experience through which his generation has passed in its search for an answer to China's problems.

⁴² Xu Deheng (1890-1990) was a student leader during the May Fourth Movement. He has been Chairman of the Jiu-San (September Third) Society, referred to below by Mao, since its foundation in 1945. (The Society, named for the date of Japanese surrender, is one of the minor parties participating in the united front). The “industrial ministry” about which Mao asks here in the Ministry of Aquatic Products, which Xu had headed since 1956.

⁴³ The Association for Promoting Democracy was another of the minor parties, founded originally in Shanghai in 1945, which included mainly intellectuals in its ranks.

⁴⁴ Guo Ziyi (697-781), a celebrated general of the Tang Dynasty, had eight sons and seven sons-in-law; his grandchildren and great-grandchildren are reported to have been so numerous that he could not recognize them, and had to be content with bowing when they came to pay their respects.

ment, set up model workers for emulation, praise them extensively, and at the same time criticize mistakes. Praise should be the main thing, and criticism should be supplementary. Among those working for our cause, there are many good people and good things, there are many good models which we must praise.

Today I want to talk to you about the problem of education. Progress has been made in industry, and I think that there should be same changes in education too. The present state of affairs won't do. In my opinion the line and orientation [*fangxiang*] in education are correct, but the methods are wrong, and must be changed. Present here today are comrades from the Central Committee, comrades from within the Party, comrades from outside the Party, comrades from the Academy of Sciences. Comrade XX will now give a talk.

XX: At present, an urgent problem in the domain of education is that of the educational system, i.e., the fact that the prescribed length of studies is excessive. At present, children begin school at the age of seven, and spend six years in primary school, six years in middle school, and in some cases six years at university, generally five, thus making in all seventeen or eighteen years. They graduate from university only at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five, and afterwards they engage in manual labor for a year, and then undergo a further period of one year's on-the-job training, so that they finally emerge [from the whole process] when they are already twenty-six or twenty-seven. This is two or three years longer than it takes in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union, primary and middle school last for ten years, and the university for four or five, so that at twenty-three or twenty-four they take up a post and begin work. In the study of the humanities, there is no great problem about students growing too old. In the case of the natural sciences, they manifestly [remain at their studies] too long. This is particularly the case with the science of atomic energy, with the most advanced sciences, the students are too old when they graduate. On the basis of the experience of all countries of the world, it is possible to make a contribution to the natural sciences by the time one reaches the age of twenty-four or twenty-five. For example, in the United States and in the Soviet Union, those who have some achievements to their credit in the natural sciences, in the field of atomic energy, are commonly all twenty-four or twenty-five. At that age, the brain functions most effectively, but at that age our students are still at university, and have not taken up a post and begun work. They start working only at twenty-six or twenty-seven; this is not advantageous to the

development of the sciences. The prescribed course length is exceedingly great, we must give some thought to the system of education.

Mao Zedong: The period of schooling should be shortened somewhat.

XX: Recently Comrade XX had an idea: there should be five years of primary school and four years of middle school, so that students would graduate from middle school at sixteen. If there were six years of primary school, they would graduate from middle school at seventeen. The problem is that the facilities for higher education are inadequate; each year, the universities take only 120,000 or 130,000 students, or 150,000 at the outside. The others could begin work at sixteen. They could receive two years of vocational training after graduating from middle school, and then at eighteen they could go to work in the factories or the villages; in this way, they would be more in touch [with reality]. Or they could attend two years of preparatory courses, thus establishing links with the university, and begin work at twenty-four or twenty-five. In a word, studies must be shortened somewhat. At present, the Central Committee has set up a small group [*xiaozu*] under the leadership of Comrade XX, especially to study the question of the educational system.

If we adopt this suggestion for improving our national education, then students could graduate in general at fifteen or sixteen. There is, however, one problem—that of military service. They would be too young for this, but they could undergo preliminary training.

Mao Zedong: That's not important; those who are not old enough for military service can also experience military life. Not only male students but also female students can undergo military service. We can form a red women's detachment. Girls of sixteen or seventeen can also experience six months to a year of military life, and at seventeen they can also serve as soldiers.

XX: Thus, the problem of schools teaching literary subjects is not so great. The problems with faculties of science and engineering are somewhat greater. The universities have preparatory courses of one or two years; after graduating from middle school, students can either go on to the university preparatory courses, or enter a vocational school, and after two years' training they can go on to work in a factory or in the countryside at eighteen, thus they will be relatively in touch [with reality]. If they study engineering, they will also be relatively in touch, when they graduate at twenty-three or twenty-four they can take up a post and begin work.

Mao Zedong: At present, there is too much studying going on, and this is exceedingly harmful. There are too many subjects at present, and the burden is too heavy; it puts middle school and university students in a constant state of tension. Cases of nearsightedness are constantly multiplying among primary and middle-school students. This can't be allowed to go on unchanged.

XX: The subjects covered by the syllabus are too many and too complicated. Many old teachers have remained at their posts. The students are not able to bear it; they are tense in the extreme, and they have no extra-curricular activities, and no time for extra-curricular reading.

Mao Zedong: The syllabus should be chopped in half. The students should have time for recreation, swimming, playing ball, and reading freely outside their course work. Confucius only professed the six arts—rites, music, archery, chariot-driving, poetry and history—but he produced four sages: Yan Hui, Zengzi, Zilu and Mencius. It won't do for students just to read books all day, and not to go in for cultural pursuits, physical education, and swimming, not to be able to run around, or to read things outside their courses, etc.

XX: The students are extremely tense. When I'm at home the children say, what's the point in getting top marks in everything?

Mao Zedong: Throughout history, very few of those who came first in the imperial examination have achieved great fame. The celebrated Tang dynasty poets Li Bo and Du Fu were neither *jinshi* nor *hanlin*.⁴⁵ Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan⁴⁶ were only *jinshi* of the second rank. Wang Shifu, Guan Hanqing,⁴⁷ Luo

⁴⁵ *Jinshi*, a successful candidate at the highest ("metropolitan," followed by "palace") examinations, according to the system of examinations adopted by China's autocratic dynasties. It was a method used by the feudal ruling class for selecting personnel to govern the people and also for enticing the intellectuals. The system, dating from the 7th century, persisted into the early 20th century. Hanlin, a member of the Hanlin Academy, which became from Ming times the preserve of those who had achieved special distinction in the palace examinations.

⁴⁶ Han Yu (768-824) and Liu Zongyuan (773-819) were friends as well as contemporaries, distinguished poets and essayists who both experienced periods of banishment in the course of their official careers. Han Yu especially is regarded as one of the greatest prose writers in the history of China; as a student in Changsha, Mao was taught to take him as a model in writing essays.

⁴⁷ Wang Shifu and Guan Hanqing were celebrated dramatists of the Yuan dynasty, who flourished towards the end of the thirteenth century. Wang is the author of the *Romance of the Western Chamber*.

Guanzhong,⁴⁸ Pu Songling, Cao Xueqin were none of them *jinshi* or *hanlin*. Pu Songling was a *xiucai* who had received promotion, he wanted to rise to the next higher rank, but he was not a *zhuren*.⁴⁹ None of those who became *jinshi* or *hanlin* were successful. Only two of the emperors of the Ming dynasty did well, Taizu and Chengzu. One was illiterate, and the other only knew a few characters. Afterwards, in contrast, in the Jiajing reign, when the intellectuals had power, things were in a bad state, the country was in disorder.⁵⁰ Han Wudi⁵¹ and Li Houzhu were highly cultivated and ruined the country. It is evident that to read too many books is harmful. Liu Xiu was an academician, whereas Liu Bang was a country bumpkin.⁵²

XX: There is too much on the syllabus, and there are too many exercises to hand in, the students cannot reflect independently. The present method of examination...

Mao Zedong: Our present method of conducting examinations is a method for dealing with the enemy, not a method for dealing with the people. It is a method of surprise attack, asking oblique or strange questions. This is still the same method as the old eight-legged essay. I do not approve of this. It should be changed completely. I am in favor of publishing the questions in advance and letting the students study them and answer them with the aid of books. For instance, if one sets twenty questions on the Dream of the Red Chamber, and some students answer half of them and answer them well, and some of the answers are very good and contain creative ideas, then one can give them 100 percent. If some other students answer all twenty questions and answer them correctly, but answer them simply by reciting from their textbooks and

⁴⁸ Luo Guanzhong (14th century A.D.), was the author of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, the historical novel. Pu Songling (1640-1715) is known for a celebrated collection of tales of the supernatural.

⁴⁹ *Xiucai*, literally “cultivated talent,” popular name for a successful candidate at the lowest or prefectural examinations, more correctly known as a *shenyuan* or “licentiate.” Though he “received promotion” by imperial favor to the rank of senior licentiate, he failed to pass the next higher stage in the examination system proper, the provincial examination, and therefore did not obtain the corresponding title of *zhuren* (“selected man”), or the opportunity to sit the metropolitan examination.

⁵⁰ Ming Taizu, the founder of the dynasty, reigned from 1368 to 1399; Chengzu, the third emperor of the dynasty, reigned from 1403 to 1425. The Jiajing reign extended from 1522 to 1567.

⁵¹ Han Wudi, the “Martial Emperor” of the Han dynasty, reigned 140-86 B.C.

⁵² Liu Xiu (4 B.C.-A.D. 57) overthrew the usurper Wang Mang in A.D. 25 and founded the Later Han (or Eastern Han) dynasty. Liu Bang (247-195 B.C.), founded the original Han dynasty in 206 B.C.

lectures, without any creative ideas, they should be given 50 or 60 percent. At examinations whispering into each other's ears and taking other people's places ought to be allowed. If your answer is good and I copy it, then mine should be counted as good. Whispering in other people's ears and taking examinations in other people's names used to be done secretly. Let it now be done openly. If I can't do something and you write down the answer, which I then copy, this is all right. Let's give it a try. We must do things in a lively fashion, not in a lifeless fashion. There are teachers who ramble on and on when they lecture; they should let their students doze off. If your lecture is no good, why insist on others listening to you? Rather than keeping your eyes open and listening to boring lectures, it is better to get some refreshing sleep. You don't have to listen to nonsense, you can rest your brain instead.

XX: If we shorten the period of schooling, there will be time for engaging in labor, or for military service. We can also consider having the outstanding students skip a grade, we don't have to keep them eternally in the same place. In the same grade as my child, there is a classmate who was originally an outstanding student; afterwards, he skipped a grade, and he is still an outstanding student. Thus we see that it is possible to skip grades. Ask Comrade XX to organize a small group to conduct a thorough study of this problem of the school system.

Mao Zedong: Let both XX and XX participate in this small group. At present we are doing things in too lifeless a manner. There is too much on the syllabus, and examinations are conducted in too rigid a manner. I cannot approve this. The present method of education ruins talent and ruins youth. I do not approve of reading so many books. The method of examination is a method for dealing with the enemy, it is most harmful, and should be stopped.

XX: At present, the head of the Department of Education has just called a meeting, at which two questions are being considered: one is that the students' burden is too heavy, and there is homework in every subject: the second is that there are three pedagogical systems, those of Confucius, the Soviets, and Dewey.

Mao Zedong: Confucius wasn't really like that. We have cast aside the mainstream of Confucianism. He had only the six subjects: rites, music, archery,

chariot-driving, *shu* and mathematics. [Chairman Mao asked XX whether *shu* meant calligraphy or history.]⁵³

XX: It means calligraphy.

Mao Zedong: It means history. As in the *Shujing* or the *Han Shu*.⁵⁴

XX: At present, middle-school students take continuing their studies as their sole aim. After graduating, they are not willing to engage in labor; this is a very big question, and we must solve it. We must put into practice the union of education and productive labor; in addition, we must also walk on two legs.⁵⁵ Last year there was flooding in Hebei, and the Department of Education was under great strain. Many buildings collapsed, and they had to set up simple schools as best they could. As a result, the number of primary and middle-school pupils actually increased.

Mao Zedong: The flood engulfed dogmatism. We must get rid of dogmas, both foreign and indigenous.

XX: Other places have carried out a regularization, and introduced teaching all in one class, rather than separately according to subject. The number of students has declined, and the number of poor and lower-middle peasants has declined, and very many poor and lower-middle peasants do not continue their schooling. In Hebei Province they have some good experience. In Xinhui *xian* in Guangdong Province, they have investigated ten-odd agricultural middle schools and ordinary middle schools. In an ordinary middle school, the state spends 120 *yuan* per year on each student, whereas in an agricultural middle school they spend only 6.80 *yuan* a year on each student. There is no problem at all about the graduates of an agricultural middle school filling a job, whereas if a graduate of an ordinary middle school does not succeed in the university entrance examinations, there is a great deal of difficulty about

⁵³ The character read *shu* may be either a noun, meaning book or written document (in this case, a book of history) or a verb meaning to write, especially in the sense of writing out in a fine hand. Normally, in Confucius' list of six subjects or arts, it is taken to mean calligraphy.

⁵⁴ The *Historical Classic (Shujing)* is one of the *Thirteen Classics*, together with the *Confucian Analects*, the *Book of Odes*, etc. The *Book of Han (Han Shu)* is the standard history of the Han dynasty.

⁵⁵ "Walking on two legs" was one of the primary slogans of the Great Leap Forward of 1958-1959. It was used mainly with reference to economic development, to characterize a policy combining large-scale modern technology and the use of small-scale, indigenous methods. Here it is used to suggest a similar approach to education, combining schools (mainly in the cities) with modern equipment and an elaborate curriculum, with simpler and more basic schools adapted to the needs and possibilities in the countryside.

placing him in employment. Thus, primary and middle schools should all walk on two legs. At the same time, we must pay attention to improving quality. Previously, everything was done according to Soviet methods, but in 1958 we struck a blow at this, and more provision was made for labor, but then study was neglected in turn, but now that things have been further altered it is all right. It is the same with literature and art, the level is relatively high now, but if there had not been 1958, we would not have attained our present level.⁵⁶

Mao Zedong: We must drive actors, poets, dramatists and writers out of the cities, and pack them all off to the countryside. They should all periodically go down in batches to the villages and to the factories. We must not let writers stay in the government offices; they will never get anything written if they do not go down. Whoever does not go down will get no dinner; only when they go down will they be fed.

XX: At present, there are a little over two percent bad elements among the primary and middle-school teachers, and there are also notoriously bad elements among the primary and middle-school students.

Mao Zedong: That doesn't matter, they can change jobs.

XX: At present, the worst students go to normal school, the good students go into engineering. Henceforth, we might think about not taking graduates of higher middle school directly into normal school or faculties of letters, but accepting only higher middle-school graduates who have engaged in labor for a year or two. The students of the natural sciences should also go down. They have some experience at the XX School in Harbin; they send the teachers down for a year or two. Those who were not so good originally are all pretty good when they come back from labor, they become part of the core.

Mao Zedong: They must go down. At present, there are some people who do not attach much importance to going to work in the countryside. In the Ming dynasty, Li Shizhen⁵⁷ went hither and thither, and climbed the mountains to gather herbs. Zhu Congzhi⁵⁸ never went to middle school or university. Con-

⁵⁶ XX, whoever he is, offers only a rather half-hearted defense of the "Great Leap" policies: the downgrading of expertise, he argues, though useful as a corrective to the Soviet-style technocratic attitudes prevalent earlier, went much too far, and would have led to unfortunate results if the pendulum had not swung back again. His emphasis contrasts sharply with that of Mao Zedong in the next paragraph.

⁵⁷ Li Shizhen (1518-98) was the author of the *Compendium of Materia Medica* (*Bencao Gangmu*), a treatise listing more than 1,000 plants useful for medicinal purposes.

⁵⁸ Zhu Congzhi (429-500) was a mathematician and astronomer.

fucius was from a poor peasant family, he herded sheep, and never attended middle school or university either. He was a musician, he did all sorts of things. When someone had a death in the family, he would be invited to play at the funeral. He may also have been an accountant. He could play the *qin*⁵⁹ and drive a chariot, ride a horse and shoot with bow and arrow. *Yu* means to drive a chariot; it is like being the chauffeur of an automobile. He produced seventy-two sages, such as Yan Hui and Zengzi, and he had 3,000 disciples. In his youth, he came from the masses, and understood something of the suffering of the masses. Later he became an official in the state of Lu, though not a terribly high official. The population of Lu was over a million, and for a long time people looked down on him. When he traveled around to different countries, people cursed him. This person liked to talk frankly, and said he had not experienced misery, and could not bear insults. Later, Zilu acted as Confucius' bodyguard, and did not allow people to speak ill of Confucius, but would beat anyone who opened his mouth. From this time forward, no more unpleasant sounds entered his ears, and the masses did not dare approach him. We must not cast aside the tradition of Confucius. Our general policy is correct, but our methods are wrong. There are quite a few problems regarding the present school system, curriculum, methods of teaching, and examination methods, and all this must be changed. They are all exceedingly destructive of people.

XX: We can get by with five years of primary school.

Mao Zedong: Primary school teaching should not go on too long, either. Gorki had only two years of primary school; his learning was all self-taught. Franklin of America was originally a newspaper seller, yet he discovered electricity. Watt was a worker, yet he invented the steam-engine. Both in ancient and modern times, in China and abroad, many scientists trained themselves in the course of practice.

XX: When the school system has been reformed in the future, students will be able to take up a post when they reach the age of twenty-three or twenty-four. Seven is a rather late age for beginning school, we can bring it forward to six. There is a problem with buildings, but if primary school is changed to five years, we can dispense with some. Then four years of middle school, and one or two years of a preparatory course at university. In view of the different nature

⁵⁹ Short for *huqin*, a family of stringed instruments similar to a lute; skill in playing it was part of the general culture expected of the literati.

of the various courses at university, we can diversify, and take in 140,000 or 150,000 students each year for a one or two-year preparatory course.

XX: Before entering university, they can take off a period and go to work in a factory or in a village.

Mao Zedong: They can also go to the army for training.

XX: This is all right as regards literary subjects, but in physics there is the problem of the use of mathematics, and if they work for two years, they might forget it.

XX: In the Soviet Union they work for two years after graduating from middle school, and then enter the faculties of physics and chemistry, they don't take them directly.

XX: Except for some special schools, the universities are divided into three course-lengths: six years, especially for medicine, five years for engineering, and four years for literary subjects. In most cases of university courses, four years is sufficient. In the future, the system should be diversified, there should be different course-lengths. In the cities, there should be two kinds of middle schools, one leading to university, and the other where students graduate in two years, after which they enter specialized training.

Mao Zedong: That's right, we must diversify.

XX: The main problem with the curriculum is a lack of centralization, and there are also those problems we studied in the past, many subjects are studied several times, every semester there are eight or nine subjects to study, there are many examinations, and this creates great tension.

Mao Zedong: Nowadays, first, there are too many classes; second, there are too many books. The pressure is too great. There are some subjects which it is not necessary to examine. For example, it is not necessary to examine the little logic and grammar which is learned in middle school. Real understanding must be acquired gradually through experience at work. It is enough to know what logic and grammar are.

XX: At present it's all cramming, mechanical memorizing and reciting.

XX: There are two schools of thought nowadays. One school advocates teaching subjects thoroughly, while the other advocates teaching them in outline, teaching how to go about mastering subjects, though teaching somewhat less.

At present many schools follow the first pattern, but isn't it true that this won't work. By advocating doing things in this way, they petrify thought.

Mao Zedong: This is scholasticism. The annotations to the *Four Books and Five Classics* are exceedingly scholastic, and nowadays they have all become completely indigestible. Scholasticism must inevitably die out. For example, in the study of the classics very many commentaries were written, but now they have disappeared. I think that students trained by this method, no matter whether it be in China, in America or in the Soviet Union, will all disappear, will all move towards their opposites. The same applies to the Buddhist classics, of which there are so many. The version of the *Diamond Sutra* edited by Xuanzang⁶⁰ of the Tang dynasty was comparatively simplified, only a thousand-odd words, and it still exists. Another version, edited by Kumarajiva,⁶¹ was too long, and has died out. Won't the *Five Classics* and the *Thirteen Classics* also come to the end of the road? They have been very copiously annotated, and as a result nobody reads them. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they indulged in scholastic philosophy; only in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did [the world] enter the age of enlightenment and the Renaissance take place. We shouldn't read too many books. We should read Marxist books, but not too many of them either. It will be enough to read a dozen or so. If we read too many, we can move towards our opposites, become bookworms, dogmatists, revisionists. In the writings of Confucius, there is nothing about agriculture. Because of this, the limbs of his students were not accustomed to toil, and they could not distinguish between the five grains. We must do something about this.

XX: There is another question, which is a political question, that of the students' nourishment, which must be improved. Each student eats food costing 12.5 *yuan* every month. We should spend another 40 million *yuan*.

Mao Zedong: It is all right to spend another 40 million *yuan*.

⁶⁰ On his return to China in 645, after a pilgrimage of sixteen years to India, whence he brought back a quantity of Buddhist scriptures, the monk Xuanzang (602-664) presided over the translation of no less than 1,338 chapters in the course of the remaining years of his life.

⁶¹ Kumarajiva (350-413), a Buddhist scholar who had studied in Kashmir, was brought to the imperial capital of Changan in 401, and placed in charge of the translation of Buddhist scriptures. These versions, the best of their time, were later superseded by the "new translations" of Xuanzang and his successors, not because of their length but because they were insufficiently precise.

XX: We should increase it by 2 to 4 *yuan*.⁶²

Mao Zedong: If you read too many books, they petrify your mind in the end. Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty did pretty well in his early years, but afterwards he read many books, and didn't make out so well anymore. He died of hunger in Taiqing.⁶³

Talk with Mao Yuanxin (1)⁶⁴

February, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 96.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 251-252.

Formerly, I was principal of a primary school, and a teacher in a middle school. I am also a member of the Central Committee and was once a department chief for the Kuomintang.⁶⁵ But when I went to the rural areas and spent some time with the peasants, I was deeply struck by how many things they knew. I realized their knowledge was wide, and I was no match for them, but should learn from them. To say the least, you are not a member of the Central Committee, are you? How can you know more than the peasants? When you

⁶² Obviously the figure of 40 million *yuan* refers to the total annual bill for subsistence, while the figure of 2 to 4 *yuan* indicates the corresponding increase in the monthly amount per student. According to the best available estimates, there were, at this time, approximately three quarters of a million students in Chinese institutions of higher education. Thus the two figures are roughly consistent.

⁶³ Xiao Yan (464-549) occupied Nanjing in 501 and was proclaimed the first emperor of the Liang dynasty in the following year. A student of Buddhism and lover of books, he was unable to implement his good intentions by reforming the administration. When Taiqing fell to a rebellious ally in 549, he was allowed to die of hunger and despair in a monastery to which he had retired.

⁶⁴ Mao Yuanxin (b. 1941) was a Red Guard leader at the Institute in Harbin during the early stages of the Cultural Revolution. In January 1967, when a Revolutionary Committee was set up in Heilongjiang Province, he became director of the Propaganda Department. In the spring of 1967, he moved to Liaoning Province, and became Vice-Chairman of the Liaoning Revolutionary Committee in May 1968. At the Tenth Congress in August 1973, he was a member of the presidium.

⁶⁵ Mao was acting head of the Propaganda Department of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee in 1925-1926.

return, tell your political commissar that I said from now on you should go to the countryside once each year. There are great advantages in this!

You don't understand dialectics; you don't understand that one divides into two. Formerly, you thought you were something extraordinary, and now you do not think you are worth a tinker's damn. Both views are wrong.

Those who are guilty of errors should be encouraged. When someone who has made errors sees his mistakes, you should point out his good points. Actually, he will still have many good points. Those who have made errors should be washed clean in warm water. If it is too hot they can't stand it; warm water is most suitable. Young people who make mistakes should not be dismissed. Dismissal harms them, and there cannot be any confrontations. People like Puyi and Kang Ze⁶⁶ were transformed. Among the young people who have not been transformed are some party members and some [Youth] League members. To dismiss them would be to simplify matters to excess.

At the Institute are you a leftist? I saw an article praising you. To have people flatter you is no good at all. Young people like you should be told off. If they tell you off too little it won't do. Everything is subject to this kind of compulsion. When I wrote XX, I was compelled to do it. If I had to write it now, I could not do it.

What do we mean by advanced? To be advanced is to do the work of the backward, to analyze those who are around us, to be intent on making inquiries and making friends wherever we go. Our young people must study dialectics, and master the use of dialectics in analyzing problems. Take me, for example. I am not at all more intelligent than others, but I understand dialectics and I know how to use it in analyzing problems. If we use dialectics to analyze an unclear problem, the problem becomes clear in a trice. You must diligently study dialectics, its efficacy is very great.

⁶⁶ Kang Ze (1904-1967) was one of the leaders of Chiang Kai-shek's Blue Shirts, with particular responsibility for the Special Task Force which was engaged in the 1930s in propaganda, security, and combat support activities in areas where the Kuomintang was fighting the communists.

**Excerpt from the *Instructions on School Courses,
Teaching, and Examination Methods (instructions
for survey materials in Beijing Railway No. 2 Middle
School)***

March 10, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 97.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 97.

There are too many courses offered at schools [and universities] which place a heavy burden on students. They are not often properly taught. The examination system treats students like enemies; it pounces on them suddenly. These are detrimental to the development, in a lively and spontaneous manner, of the moral, intellectual, and physical capabilities of the young people.

Talk at the Handan Forum on Four Clean-ups Work

March 28, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 99.

1. Forty or fifty years ago I read a book, *Record of Xiangshan (Xiangshan Ji)*. The two opening lines were “I do not sing of heavens nor of earth, I only sing of the book *Record of Xiangshan*.” When you sing of this, you can sing of no other.
2. We have not had a class struggle for 10 years. We had one in ‘52 and one in ‘57,⁶⁷ but those were just in the administration organs and in the schools. This time we must do the socialist education campaign in the countryside well, for at least three or four years. I say at least three or four years; otherwise, five or six years. Some places plan to complete 60 percent this year. We must not hurry. Haste makes waste. Of course this

⁶⁷ The struggle in 1952 refers to the campaign against the Three-Antis and Five-Antis (see note 2 on page 3 of this volume). The struggle in 1957 refers to the Anti-Rightist Movement.

is not to say that we can nibble away at it slowly. The problem is that the campaign has already begun. Henan is in too much of a hurry. It would be reasonable to say this is a second land reform.

3. [Some people report that the work teams use contracts to claim the blue skies as theirs.]
Does not contracting for the public assist the local despots and evil gentry?
[Some people report that some work teams strike at people.]
Contracting for the public is to strike at people.
4. It is not strange that the test points [experiments] failed. We must still have them even though they failed. We must pay special attention to summing up the lessons of failure.
5. [Some people say that some people advocate replacing the Four Clean-ups with a study of Daqing and the Liberation Army.]
This represents the faction which does not carry out class struggle. Is it possible that Daqing does not oppose corruption and waste? That it does not oppose thievery?
6. The Five-Antis directives of the Central Committee did not speak of class struggle.
7. We should let the monsters and freaks come out. Halfway will not do; if they are halfway out, they can still slip back in.
8. With regard to the downward transfer of the four rights of authority, it proves that the opinion of the deputy director of the Rural Work Department of the Shandong Provincial Committee is correct. Zhou Xing did not agree with him and said that we could not transfer downward to the team. In actuality it was a minority opinion representing the opinion of the majority.
9. [Some say that university professors who have gone to the countryside for the Four Clean-ups say they do not understand anything themselves.]
Intellectuals are really the most ignorant. Now they have acknowledged defeat. The professors are not like the students and the students are not like the peasants.
10. They have turned over all the machineguns and do not want to arrest him again. Arrest is to hand contradictions to those above. The higher levels in turn do not understand the situation, but would do well to transfer the supervision to the masses.

11. Everyone must read documents, except for those who are old and ill, whose cultural level is so low they cannot read documents, and those whose political prestige is very low, such as Peng Dehuai.
12. *On the Present Situation and Our Tasks* was spoken by me in 1947.⁶⁸ Someone transcribed it and it was revised by me. At that time I had contracted a disease whereby I could not write. Now when I want something written, it is all done by a secretary, not by my hand. Of course, some things may be written for me by other people. For instance, the speeches delivered by the premier when he leaves the country are done by Huang Zhen and Qiao Guanhua. When you are ill, you may have someone write down what you say. But if you never take the initiative and rely on a secretary, it is just like having a secretary assume your responsibility for leadership work.
13. My 1933 investigation at Gutian reflected the opinions of the peasants and was the opinions of the peasants issuing from my lips. Opinions do not come from Beijing. If a factory has no materials to work with, it does not produce anything. We rely on your raw materials to do our processing.

Remarks at a Briefing

March 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 100-103.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

I have read your letter asking to have a talk with me. Recently I have been occupied with the struggle against revisionism and the like, so it has taken me some time to come and talk with you.

As you can see, we are struggling against Khrushchev. Can we win? We have struggled against enemies for a generation. We dared to struggle against imperialism and defeated it. Who says we cannot defeat Khrushchev?!

We are now principally in a struggle against imperialism and revisionism. As for reactionaries like Nehru, they don't amount to too much!

⁶⁸ For this article see *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Volume V, pp. 157-176.

On the high targets for grain production proposed by some at the 1960 Shanghai meeting

Truth, all truth, is ever in the hand of minority in the beginning. They will always have some compulsion exerted on them by the majority. Four hundred years ago Copernicus, a great Polish astronomer, discovered that the earth moves. The theory that heavens revolve about the earth had ruled astronomy for over 1,000 years. The greatest achievement of Copernicus in his lifetime was to replace this theory with the scientific theory that the earth revolves about the sun. The religious circles of that time rallied together to attack him, to oppose him and accuse him of heresy. He was oppressed on all sides. His *De Revolutionibus* was not published until he was on his deathbed (1543). He rejoiced in it. In Italy during that period the brilliant physicist and astronomer Galileo (1564-1642) subscribed to Copernicus' "heliocentric theory." Beginning in 1609, he observed the heavens with a homemade telescope to see whether the stars moved, but he was persecuted by the religious circles of that time and convicted by the reactionary Roman court. Another person was burned to death. Burning an individual is nothing! Truth does not lie in his hands! Burn someone to death and the earth still moves. A German invented sleeping potions. He was an apothecary in a druggist's shop. The several men did their experiments in the shop. At first their aim was to alleviate the pain of women during childbirth. They carried out several experiments. Once eight people were poisoned and almost died, but finally they discovered a sleeping potion. But the Germans did not allow them to manufacture it or promote its sale. The French purchased their patent rights and invited the apothecary to France and held a meeting to welcome him. Only then was it disseminated. And most curiously, it did not thrive in one place, but did elsewhere. This kind of thing happens very frequently. For instance, Buddhism was born in India, but it was not so tolerated in India; however, it thrived when it reached China and other places. As another example, at present Marxism-Leninism is not thriving in Europe or the Soviet Union, but it is in China. Darwin personally believed in religion. When his *Origin of Species* was published, he was persecuted by religious circles which opposed him.

On socialist education

Recently we held a discussion to ratify two documents from the members of the Central Committee to the members of county committees. These documents are being read to the masses. It will take one or two years to finish this

reading. I have recommended that whoever is not old and infirm (such as Xu or Wu), whoever is not illiterate, and whoever has prestige among the masses (of course this does not mean rightists; for instance, Peng Dehuai⁶⁹ must not go) should take part in this reading. The generals have all gone among the troops to read—they say it can be done! Why don't others do it?

In actuality, reading documents to the masses means to learn from the masses. If you want to go to a region to read, you first carry out investigation and study.

The Four Clean-ups and Five-Antis were taught to us by the masses. Nothing was engendered in our brains. The Four Clean-ups was proposed by the Baoting Special District Party Committee. Of the eight special district committees in Hebei Province, only Baoting presented it. At the beginning even the Baoting Special District Party Committee did not understand how to carry out the Four Clean-ups. Afterwards the masses submitted to them that it would not do to leave out the Four Clean-ups, so they accepted it. Cadre participation in labor was taught to us by Xiyang County, Shanxi. Later there were also some materials on this from Zhejiang Province.

On the current nationwide launching of a high tide in studying the works of Chairman Mao

The *Selected Works of Mao*, how much of it is mine! It is a work of blood. The struggle in the soviets was very acute. Because of the errors of the Wang Ming line, we had to embark on the 25,000 *li* Long March.⁷⁰ These things in *Selected Works of Mao* were taught to us by the masses and paid for with blood sacrifices.

⁶⁹ Peng Dehuai (1818-1974) was up to 1959 the minister of defense. In July 1959, at the Lushan Conference, a group of party leaders headed by him criticized the Great Leap Forward and its leadership as "Petit bourgeois fanaticism." They argued that it had created far more damage than good. After a major struggle at the plenum conference, Peng and other rightists were removed from their positions of responsibility in the party and the government.

⁷⁰ The Long March of 25,000 *li* (12,500 kilometers) was made by Red Army from Jiangxi Province to northern Shaanxi Province. In October 1934 the First, Third and Fifth Army Groups of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army set out from Changting and Ninghua in Western Fujian and from Ruijin, Yudu and other places in southern Jiangxi and started a major strategic movement. Traversing eleven provinces, crossing perpetually snow-capped mountains and trackless grasslands, sustaining untold hardships and frustrating the enemy's repeated encirclements, pursuits, obstructions and interceptions, the Red Army covered 25,000 *li* (12,500 kilometers) on this march and finally arrived triumphantly at the revolutionary base area in northern Shaanxi in October 1935.

Some articles should be rewritten, with new things included. The “Two On’s” [*On Contradiction & On Practice*] were written several decades ago. By now everything has developed and the contents have become richer. They should be revised.

On the lessons of experience during the three years of great development from 1958 to 1960

It was most beneficial. We could not have escaped the experience, for we would not have been able to learn how to engage in construction. We had no experience in nationwide construction. During the revolution we gained some experience in economic construction in the base areas. At that time the problems most urgently requiring solution were three: we needed food, we needed clothing, and we needed salt. Thus we had to develop production. These were the reasons for our engaging in economic construction at that time.⁷¹

I spent 10 years before and after the land reform program (documents of 1933). I could not have done it without the 10 years. During the great revolution I held two lectures and study sessions on the peasant movement, one in Guangdong and one in Wuhan, and did some investigation and study, but still did not have a solution. Only later when I carried out eight investigations in Xingguo and other regions and investigated Changgang Township and Caiji Township, could I solve the problem. The masses taught it to me; they told me how to do it.

We spent 25 years studying revolution, from 1921 to the Seventh Party Congress in 1945.⁷² During the Yanan rectification,⁷³ we had come to know

⁷¹ In this connection see Comrade Mao’s report entitled “Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War”, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, pp. 241-405.

⁷² The Seventh Party Congress of the CPC was held in Yanan between April 23 and June 11, 1945. The congress laid down the Party line: go all out, mobilize the masses, expand the people’s forces and under the leadership of our Party, defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the Chinese people and build a new-democratic China. It adopted a Party Constitution designating Mao Zedong Thought, which integrates the ML theories with the practice of the Chinese revolution, as the guideline for all party work. This congress witnessed unprecedented party unity ideologically, politically and organizationally.

⁷³ This refers to the movement for rectifying the style of work conducted by the CPC in 1942-43 throughout the Party; its content was the combating of subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped writing. Under the leadership of Mao Zedong, this rectification movement adopted the principles of “learning from the past mistakes to avoid their repetition, curing the sickness to save the patient” and “clearing up wrong thinking while uniting with comrades.” Through the method of criticism and self-criticism, the movement corrected the “Left” and Right errors which had occurred on various occasions in the history of the Party by getting down to their ideological roots, greatly raised the ideological level of the broad

the rightist opportunism of Chen Duxiu⁷⁴ and the three “left” deviationist lines, especially that of Wang Ming.⁷⁵ We summed up these experiences. We were thereby able to develop into an army of 1.2 million, not counting the militia, by the close of the war of Resistance against Japan. The Seventh Congress was excellent; it unified our thoughts and united the entire Party. Of course, there were still some problems, such as Gao, Gang and Peng Dehuai, but we still had faith in them. Peng Dehuai later served as commander of the Northwest Field Army. In 1946 he had skirmishes with the Kuomintang, in July 1947 he began to counterattack—every month he exterminated eight brigades. What bravado! By 1948 he had successively taken Shijiazhuang and Jinan and later waged three great battles.

It took me 15 years to learn how to fight a war. In the beginning I did not know how to fight and did not even consider fighting. When the great revolution was defeated, we had 50,000 party members divided into several groups, one of which was killed, another capitulated, and still another did not venture to do anything and ran away. Only 1,000-2,000 people were left. According to statistics, there were still 800 at the time of the Seventh Congress. In the

ranks of party cadres, helped immensely to unify thinking within the Party on the basis of ML and thus brought about a high degree of unity in the whole party.

⁷⁴ Chen Duxiu was one of the founders of CPC. Owing to his reputation at the time of the May 4th Movement and owing to the Party’s immaturity in its initial period, he became General Secretary of the Party. In the last period of the revolution of 1924-27, the Rightist thinking in the Party represented by Chen Duxiu developed into a line of capitulationism. In *The Present Situation and Our Tasks* Mao Zedong said that the capitulationists at that time “voluntarily gave up the party’s leadership of the peasant masses, urban petit bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, and in particular gave up the party’s leadership of the armed force, thus causing the defeat of the revolution.” After the defeat in 1927 Chen Duxiu and a handful of other capitulationists lost faith in the future of the revolution and became liquidationists. They took the reactionary Trotskyist stand and together with the Trotskyites formed a small anti-party group. Consequently Chen Duxiu was expelled from the Party in November 1929. He died in 1942. With references to Chen Duxiu’s Right opportunism, see the introductory notes to “Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society” and to “Report on the Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan.” in *Selected Works*, Vol. I and “Introducing the Communist,” in *Selected Works*, Vol. II.

⁷⁵ Refers to Li Lisan and Wang Ming’s lines. The “Li Lisan line,” refers to the “Left” opportunist line which existed in the Party for about four months beginning from June 1930 and which was represented by Li Lisan, then the most influential leader of the CC of the CPC. Li Lisan drew up an adventurist plan for organizing immediate armed insurrections in the key cities throughout the country. Mao Zedong opposed this erroneous line, and the broad masses of cadres and members in the Party also demanded its rectification. At the Third Plenary Session of the Party’s Sixth CC in September 1930 Li Lisan admitted the mistakes that had been pointed out and then relinquished his leading position in the CC. Li Lisan corrected his wrong views, and so he was re-elected to the CC at the Seventh National Congress of the Party.

several years since, some have died of age, so that only 600 are left, only 30 of them from Jinggangshan. At that time we had our backs to the wall and were compelled to pick up guns and learn to wage war. We had not entered any military academy. Only a minority had been to a military academy. The study of waging war was mainly taught to us by “teacher” Chiang Kai-shek. He smashed the soviets and caused us to undertake the 25,000 *li* Long March, 300,000 troops, of whom there remained only 20,000 when we reached north Shaanxi. And not all of these 20,000 people came on the Long March. They advanced through Yunyang and Tongcheng in Qingyang and Guanzhong in the Shaanxi-Gansu border areas. At that time I said that the 20,000 people were as strong as 300,000, not weaker. They traveled 25,000 *li*, their legs did the “talking,” made their speeches. In this way our brains had to think a bit. Only after the Zunyi Conferences⁷⁶ did we change our ways and learn how to fight. Everything was forced upon us.

On the necessity to learn their revolutionary spirit in learning from the Liberation Army and the Ministry of Petroleum, and to fight a war of annihilation

We cannot be hasty. The socialist education campaign in the countryside must fight a war of annihilation. It is not enough time without these X or X years. At least four years: last year, this year, next year, the year after that are needed. We cannot be hasty. It will probably take X or X years or X or X years to completely master learning from the Liberation Army and the Ministry of Petroleum. We cannot be hasty with that either. Some provinces want to finish

The Third Plenary Session of the Sixth CC of the Party held in September 1930, and the subsequent central leading body adopted many positive measures to put an end to the Li Lisan line. But later a number of party comrades came out against in the CC's measures. They put forward a new political program which continued, revived or developed the Li Lisan line and other “Left” ideas and policies in a new guise, and set themselves against the correct line of Mao Zedong. It was mainly to criticize the military mistakes of this new “Left” opportunist line that Mao Zedong wrote the article “Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War.” This line was dominant in the Party from the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth CC in January 1931 to the meeting of the Politburo convened by the CC at Zunyi, Guizhou Province, in January 1935, which ended the dominance of this erroneous line and established the new central leadership headed by Mao Zedong. The erroneous “Left” line dominated the Party for a particularly long time (four years) and brought extremely heavy losses, with disastrous consequences, to the Party and the revolution. A loss of 90 percent was inflicted on the CPC, the Chinese Red Army and its base areas, tens of millions of people in the revolutionary base areas were made to suffer the cruel oppression of the Kuomintang, and the progress of the Chinese revolution was retarded.

⁷⁶ The Zunyi Conferences were enlarged meetings of the Political Bureau called by the CC of the CPC at Zunyi, Guizhou Province, in January 1935.

socialist education this year. That's too fast. It is a construction of X years or X years (indicates that a coal mine producing over XX tens of thousands metric tons per year in the past required X years to construct). To speed this up or hurry it too much will not do. If you press it excessively it will be done in a phony manner.

On what it means to support the General line, the Great Leap Forward, and the peoples' communes

Class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experimentation must be linked up. Only carrying out the struggle for production and scientific experimentation but not grasping class struggle cannot kindle the spirit and enthusiasm of the people, nor can the struggle for production or scientific experimentation be done well. Will it do to only carry out the struggle for production and not scientific experimentation? To only carry out class struggle but not the struggle for the production or scientific experimentation, and to say "support the General line," are meaningless. I say that the Ministry of Petroleum has made great achievements; it kindled the revolutionary spirit of the people and also built a XX tens of thousands metric ton oil field. Moreover, it is not just a XX tens of thousands ton oil field, but also a XX ton refinery, of very high quality and up to international standards. This is the only way to convince people!

On the decline in revolutionary will of some comrades and the necessity to promote young cadres

In the final analysis, are some people ill or is their revolutionary will declining? Or did they go dancing six times a week? Or is it love of beauty but not country? Some say they are so sick that they cannot do their work. Can an illness be that bad?! ...Like certain comrades, in the final analysis, do they love beauty or country? In my view, when we ask them to do XX, they may not necessarily be able to do it well. We should give them a "prime minister."

For many years we have advocated going out to do investigation and study. But they did not go out. They have been engaging in industry for so many years yet they do not know what industry is. They do not understand machinery or equipment: what can they do?!

At present we must promote young cadres. At the time of the Chibi War and the Qun Ying Hui, Zhuge Liang was 27 years old, as was Sun Quan. Sun Zi was doing things when he was only 17 or 18 years old. When Zhou Yu died, he was not over 36 years old; at that time he was about 30. Cao Cao was 53.

In fact, young people beat the old. “The wave behind the Yangtze River pushes the wave forward, and the new generation replaces the old ones.”

On Chen Yonggui of Dazhai Production Team

But we should not look down on the under-educated. During the National People’s Congress, XX, a comrade of mine who is now a lieutenant governor of Hubei Province, asked to speak with me. He said that he has now come to understand that intellectuals have the least knowledge. Throughout history, many emperors were intellectuals but were unsuccessful: Sui Yangdi could write essays and poetry; Chen Houzhu and Li Houzhu could write poetry and were good at narrative verse; Song Huizong could write poetry and paint. Some of the under-educated can do great things: Genghis Khan was an illiterate. Liu Bang too could not read a dozen characters and was under-educated. Zhu Yuanzhang was also illiterate, a cattle herder. In our military ranks there are many under-educated, but only a few intellectuals. Xu Shiyou⁷⁷ studied for a few days! XX has never had any formal education, nor have Han Xianchu or Chen Xilian. XX went to senior primary school, as did Liu Yalou.⁷⁸ Of course, we cannot do without several intellectuals. We consider Lin Biao, Xu Xiangqian, XX, XX... to be middle grade intellectuals. My conclusion is that the under-educated can defeat the students of Whampoa.

On how current practices are all right, wherein everyone wants to engage in criticism and self-criticism and to learn from others

Everything is one divided into two. I personally am also one divided into two. I was a primary school teacher, and when I was young, I also believed in the spirits. I went with my mother to distant temples to burn incense. Before the October Revolution, I did not even know there was a Marx, or anything which occurred after Marx.

Is there anyone who has not committed a mistake? Some of our comrades enjoy metaphysics. What is metaphysics? It is one-sidedness, allowing only the good to be said and not the bad and being fond of only hearing good and not the bad. Like XX, a good comrade, but he does not want to let people see

⁷⁷ Xu Shiyou (1906-1985) was at this time Commander of the Nanjing Military Region, and Vice-Minister of National Defense. (He had been appointed to this latter post in 1959, when Lin Biao took over the Ministry from Peng Dehuai). At the Ninth Congress in April 1969, he had become a member of the Politburo.

⁷⁸ Liu Yalou (1910-1965), a commander of the PLA Air Force.

their bad points, only their good; they are mortally afraid they will touch a sore point.

Marx was also one divided into two. Marx's philosophy was learned from Hegel and Feuerbach, his economics from England's Ricardo and others, and from France he studied utopian socialism. All this was bourgeois. From this, one divided into two and produced Marxism. Let me ask you, when Marx was young, did he ever read Marx's works?

This Party of ours is also one divided into two.

Before opposing an encirclement and suppression, some people said that one could not run an army without beating people; how could one lead the troops without beatings? At that time warlordism was really vicious! The soldiers said, "Cherish the soldiers, cherish the soldiers, the company commander rides the horse." This phase was incorrect, the company commander should ride the horse.

Peng has always carried out splittism. During the time of the central soviet-controlled areas, Li Lisan's line emerged. They were so "left!" They wanted to strike against the large cities, against Jiujiang, Wuhan, and Changsha. I said it would not work; they said we had to strike. At that time there was a Xian area party committee secretary, Li Wenlin, who wrote a letter to the Central Committee stating emphatically that it was the consciousness of the peasants to divide the land and develop and consolidate the land reform and that to first attack Xian then Jiujiang would definitely throw away the revolution. That is to say that we had to attack Jiujiang was quite "left!" We have had 10 years of civil war. The intraparty struggle is very serious.

The Fifth Plenum elected Zhang Wentian⁷⁹ to the Political Bureau when he was not even a member of the Central Committee. If we now investigate whether or not Chang was a party member, when he entered the Party, or who introduced him, we will not be able to find the answer. Nonetheless he was elected to the Political Bureau, while I, a member of the Political Bureau, was not allowed to participate in the congress.

⁷⁹ Zhang Wentian (1899-1976), pseudonym Luo Fu, a member of the "Returned Student Faction," succeeded Qin Bangxian (Bo Gu) as Secretary-General at the Zunyi Conference of January 1935. He was Chinese Ambassador to Moscow from 1951 to 1955, and thereafter a vice minister of Foreign Affairs until 1959. He was a member of the Peng anti-party clique. For some more details see comrade Mao's "Letter to Zhang Wentian" (*Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, pp. 225-226) and "Comment on Zhang Wentian's Letter" (*Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 236).

By the Zunyi Conference on the Long March, the situation had some changes. There should be a differentiation made in the Wang Ming line. It was different before and after the Zunyi conference.

In parleying with the Fourth Front Army, we spoke honestly and told Zhang Guotao⁸⁰ that we began with 80,000 men, but then only had 30,000 left. We did speak honestly! At that time the Fourth Front Army still had 80,000 men. Zhang Guotao demanded the power of leadership from us, but we did not give it. Zhang Guotao's errors were errors of line.

Afterwards we arrived in north Shaanxi. The War of Resistance was also not without problems. There was the Wang Ming line and things like Peng Dehuai's Hundred Regiments Battle. Before the Seventh Party Congress, we held a conference to struggle against Peng Dehuai. Did he not say at the Lushan Conference.⁸¹ "You curse me for 40 days, so I curse you for 20 days." You participated at the Yanan struggle meeting! He did not disperse (indicating the Hundred Regiments Battle); he insisted on concentrating his forces. In actuality, at that time a platoon could have developed into a regiment or a division.

Was it still one divides into two after liberation? The Gao-Rao anti-party clique in 1953 was a great revelation. At the finance conference they said XX and XX were sectarians. I said that the Chinese revolution has scaled many peaks. Without peaks, where is the revolution? At that time we also did not have a common program.

Peng and Gao Gang united together in north Shaanxi. I had not thought that Deng Hua would also work with them. Deng Hua told me that he felt that Jinggangshan had no peak and was very unattractive. Afterward he sought out Peng. The late Chen Guang also felt there were no peaks and was dissatisfied.

⁸⁰ Zhang Guotao was a renegade from the Chinese revolution. In the Party he made many mistakes resulting in serious crimes. The most notorious of these was his opposition in 1935, to the Red Army's northward march and his defeatism and liquidationism in advocating withdrawal by the Red Army to the minority nationality areas on the Sichuan-Xikang borders; what is more, he openly carried out traitorous activities against the Party and Central Committee, established his own bogus central committee, disrupted the unity of the Party and the Red Army, and caused heavy losses to the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army. But thanks to patient education by Mao Zedong and the CC, the Fourth Front Army and its numerous cadres soon returned to the correct leadership of the CC of the Party and played a glorious role in subsequent struggles. Zhang Guotao, however, proved incorrigible and in the spring of 1938 he slipped out of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and joined the Kuomintang secret police.

⁸¹ The Lushan Conference was held in July 1959.

In 1962 they were again unable to speak of classes and class struggle—how unsteady would each department be! Deng Zihui⁸² wanted to “contract to the households.” In the past Wang Jiayang⁸³ had always been ill. For that half a year he was healthy and wanted to have “three reconciliations and one reduction,” with such activism! What we must now do is “three struggles and one increase.” The United Front Department wants the political parties of the bourgeoisie to become socialist political parties and drew up a five-year plan. They softly, softly fell; it was a surrender to the bourgeoisie. At that time they wanted to carry out “three reconciliations and one reduction” internationally and “three freedoms and one contract” domestically. Peng Dehuai’s letter of attack also came out at that time as did Xi Zhongxun’s⁸⁴ book *Liu Zhidan*.

On reading

There is some truth in the foolish old man who removed the mountains.⁸⁵ Within one or several million years a mountain may flatten. The foolish old man put it correctly: after his death would come his sons, and after them more sons. The grandsons would have sons, and sons and grandsons will continue to be produced. But the mountain will not increase in height. There must eventually come a day when it is levelled.

To talk about philosophy for half an hour is enough: if you talk longer you would not talk clearly. We also do not want to read too many books. Reading several dozen will do. The more you read, the more unclear things become.

On grain levies, purchases and transfers in the countryside

Some districts do not have basic food rations. I do not approve. They should have basic food rations.

⁸² Deng Zihui (1895-1972) had been head of the Rural Work Department since 1952. See also notes 16, 17 on p. 143 of this volume.

⁸³ Wang Jiayang (1907-1974) was a member of the “Returned Student” faction. He was China’s first ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1949-51, and participated in the Chinese delegation to the Moscow meeting of November 1957, led by Mao Zedong, but he faded from the scene in early 1960s. He was, however, re-elected to the CC at the Tenth Congress in 1973.

⁸⁴ Xi Zhongxun, a member of the Peng anti-party clique.

⁸⁵ See *Selected Works*, Volume III pp. 271-274.

Instructions on Comrade Xie Fuzhi's Report on Labor Reform Work

April 28, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 110.

Xie Fuzhi: Last year we paid close attention to grasping [labor] reform; yet it was one of the best years in production in recent years. However, the problem of the relationship between reform and production in our labor reform work has not been solved even now.

Mao Zedong: What is the key to reform, reform of men or labor reform in production, or put stress on both? Should we attach more importance to men, to things, or to both? Some comrades think only things, not men, are important. In fact, if we do our work on men well, we shall have things as well.

Xie Fuzhi: I read the double-ten articles to the prisoners of the Shoushi production team of the First Prison of Zhejiang Province. They were also read by other comrades of the working group to the Qiaoshi Farm 5th Brigade. Afterward the overwhelming majority of the prisoners who had not confessed before now admitted their guilt and many recalcitrant prisoners also changed for the better.

Mao Zedong: In general, those people are still useful. Why do they feel interested in the double-ten articles?

Xie Fuzhi: Once they understood the Party's policy, they felt that they themselves, in particular their family and children, had a future in their life.

Mao Zedong: So it is! If they have a future, they have confidence in reforming themselves. Otherwise all they see is darkness so they cannot confidently reform themselves.

Xie Fuzhi: At first, many cadres had objected to reading the double-ten articles to the prisoners. However, having heard them read, the prisoners became more amenable. So the attitude of the cadres also changed.

Mao Zedong: Many cadres objected to reading the double-ten articles because they were afraid that this would make their way of things ineffectual. They don't believe they are capable of turning the overwhelming majority of the pris-

oners into new men. In the past, officers of the Red Army had relied on beating, scolding, detaining, shooting, and so forth to lead their troops. A company commander or a platoon leader could not lead his men without beating or scolding them, or showing them an air of his importance. This state of affairs had gone on for many years. Later after summing up experiences it changed gradually with the result that the soldiers became more easily led. To do work on men well is not to press them into submission but to convince them by persuasion. At present, your way of doing things has begun to take effect, but even a beginning takes so many years to take effect.

The original level of labor reform cadres has not changed.

Xie Fuzhi: The quality of these cadres is weak, but their tasks are heavy. Their work runs the gamut of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment.

Mao Zedong: So it is! If you are not good at anything, how can you reform anybody?

Xie Fuzhi: Through study at selected basic units we proposed labor reform's "four first," "two predominant factors," and "two leniencies and two stringencies." For handling prisoners who had served their sentence and became employed, we brought out "four retain and four do not retain," and labor reform cadres were required to have "four knows" regarding their prisoners.

Mao Zedong: This is quite good. What are you doing in other areas?

Xie Fuzhi: We are ready to carry out these measures at certain test points and extend them step by step. We have done our work well in reforming Japanese and Chinese war criminals. After their release, except in some individual cases, the overwhelming majority of them have given a good account of themselves.

Mao Zedong: Under certain conditions, when the enemies have laid down their arms and surrendered themselves, the overwhelming majority of them can be reformed, but there must be a good policy and a good method to make them consciously reform themselves without relying exclusively on submission by compulsion.

Some Interjections at the Leading Group of the Planning Commission's Report on the Third Five-Year Plan

May 11, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 111.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

1. In formulating the plan it is necessary to include certain needs of North Korea and North Vietnam. I hear North Vietnam is in need of XX thousand tons of oil.
2. It is not certain that we shall have a population of 720 millions in 1965. There will be 800 millions in 1970? This is serious.
3. Intellectuals are quite important; [we] cannot do without them. They are needed in the realm of theory; theory cannot do without them. However, they still need to sum up the things indicated below.
4. There are two fists and one rear end in the national economy. Basic industry is one fist, national defense industry is the other, and agriculture is the rear end.
5. The Soviet Union today is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the grand bourgeoisie, a fascist German dictatorship, and a Hitlerite dictatorship. They are a bunch of rascals worse than De Gaulle.
6. Class identifications should be drawn in all units, factories, streets, schools, and official organs.
7. The wage question. It is difficult to further reduce wages at the upper levels. From now on, we will stabilize wages at the upper levels and raise them gradually at the lower levels.
8. Whom is industry to serve? It should be made to serve agriculture. Of course, there is the question of interrelationship between sectors of heavy industry, but the whole spectrum of industry should be made to serve agriculture.
9. Stable-yield output and high-yield output are relative. Last year Hebei Province had torrential rains. This downpour was willed by the Lord in Heaven! It couldn't be helped! It is hard to be Lord in Heaven. Too much rain isn't good; too little isn't good either.

10. Do as much as one's strength allows. Don't let any individual decide on this. "I am old and about to die, but before I die, I want to accomplish..." This isn't right.
11. I want to finish reading *The Twenty-Four Histories*. The *Old Book of Tang History* is better than the *New Book of Tang History*. The *Southern History* and the *Northern History* are still better than *The Old Book of Tang History*. The most unsatisfactory is the *History of Ming Dynasty*.
12. The purpose of drawing class identifications in factories is to expose the 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 percent of the workers. Among the workers, 8 to 15 percent do not have a working-class origin.

Interjections at a Briefing by Four Vice-Premiers

May 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 115.

1. Close attention must be paid to class struggle. The Four Clean-ups in the rural areas is a class struggle; the Five-Antis in the cities is likewise a class struggle. Cities must not brag about themselves. The Five-Antis work cannot be concluded either this winter or next spring. It must be continued for a period of 3 to 5 years before it can be finished. Class identifications must also be drawn in the cities. As to how they should be drawn, certain criteria should be formulated when we come to do this work in the future. We should not take account of the class origin alone. Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, none of them had their origin from the working class.
2. On the Third Five-Year Plan. We must go all out and put forth the utmost effort to set aside all reserve. We cannot formulate any plan based on our age. Planning must have an objective basis. I am over 70 years old, older than you people, but we cannot rely on what we see of communism shortly before we die as the basis for planning. In the present Third Five-Year Plan, I feel we must pay attention to increasing quantity without losing sight of improving quality.
The plan must not be based on subjective expectations; it must have an objective basis. It must be practical and dependable.

3. On self-reliance. Self-reliance is very important. It should be practiced not only by a state but also by a factory, a people's commune, and a production team. In managing people's communes, those which practiced self-reliance showed real achievements, whereas those communes and production teams which were supported by loans did not fare so well. At present, we have three truly self-reliant communes in the whole country: one is the Chen Yongkang commune in Jiangsu Province; another is the Chen Yonggui's commune in Shanxi Province; and still another is the Chen XX commune in Qufu, Shandong Province. These three communes have never asked for a penny from the state as they were built up completely on the strength of their own effort.
4. On the question of cadres participating in labor. Cadres must take part in labor. At present, this question has not yet been satisfactorily resolved. Leading cadres should go and stay in selected primary units and should not solely listen to briefings and reports. Even ministers should go and stay in some primary units. Otherwise no meetings would be held.
5. This year's wheat output is estimated to have an increase of 5 billion catties over last year. It appears that there is an abundance of rain this spring. This will do more good than harm.
6. The Third Five-Year Plan calls for moving such a large number of people from the rural areas to the cities to be workers. This is not good.

Speech on the Third Five-Year Plan at the Central Work Conference

June 6, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 115-117.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

In the past, the method of planning was essentially learned from the Soviet Union and comparatively easy to do. First you determine how much steel is needed, then on this basis estimate how much coal, electricity, transport force, and so on are needed; and then based on these assumptions estimate the expected increase in urban population and the livelihood benefits. This is the method of using the calculator. Once the output of steel is reduced, all

other items are correspondingly reduced. This kind of method is impractical and unworkable. This type of calculation cannot take into account what the Lord in Heaven will do to the plan. Suppose a natural disaster comes and you just won't have such a quantity of food-grains. Support to the urban population cannot increase to the extent desired, and then everything else comes to naught. Besides, you cannot figure in what war will do. We are not the chief of staff of the US, so we don't know when they will strike against us. Furthermore, revolutions in various countries cannot be figured into the plan. Suppose in some countries the people's revolutions have succeeded and they need our economic assistance. How can this be foretold?

It is necessary to change the method of planning. This is a revolution. After we learned the Soviet method, it has become a force of habit with us and it seems hard to change.

In the last few years we have been groping our way and found some other method. Our policy is to take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. Pursuant to this policy, when we map out a plan we first see what quantity of food-grains can be produced, then estimate how much fertilizer, pesticides, machinery, iron and steel, and so on are needed.

How do we plan for an annual harvest? It will be determined by the assumption that in 5 years there will be 1 year of good harvest, 2 years of ordinary harvest, and 2 years of poor harvest. This is more practical and dependable. It should first be ascertained what quantity of food-grains, cotton and other economic crops can be produced under such conditions and then how much industry can be planned for on this foundation. If the harvest of the year is better, so much the better.

Moreover, we should consider war and make strategic plans. Party committees in various localities should not manage civil affairs alone and ignore the military, should not manage money alone and ignore guns. As long as imperialism exists, there is always the danger of war. We must build up the strategic rear... This does not mean that we no longer care about the sea coast, which must also be well-guarded so that it can play the role of supporting the construction of new bases.

Two fists and one rear end. Agriculture is one fist, and national defense is another fist. To make the fist strong, the rear end must be seated securely. The rear end is basic industry.

At present, the main problem of basic industry is one of variety and quality which must be solved. Last year although the output of steel was less, it had

more variety and better quality and consequently more uses than in the past. The key does not lie in the quantity of output. The Soviet Union takes quantity as the criterion. If they fail to fulfill the quantity target of steel output, it looks as if their total socialist construction is lost. They have kept on raising their quantity target every year, and they have been making empty boasts every year. As a matter of fact, a state will not collapse simply because a planned quantity target has not been fulfilled. Given a definite quantity of output, variety will increase, and thus the foundation will be strengthened.

In agriculture we must mainly rely on the spirit of Dazhai and self-reliance. This is not to say that it does not need the support of industry. Water conservancy, chemical fertilizer, and pesticides all need the support of basic industry.

We should take hold of the objective relationship of proportions in mapping out any plan.

Planning should not be done merely by adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing. As soon as calculations have been completed, all departments and all localities will be fighting four figures, personnel, and money and engaged in litigation... We must let politics take command, entertain an over-all viewpoint, and formulate a plan not in accordance with the desire of any particular locality but with the laws governing the objective existence of the things themselves.

Don't fight for money all the time. Don't spend money wastefully as soon as it comes into hand. Zhou Xinfang earns 1,700 *yuan* in wages every month, and regardless of the number of performances, still deposits money in Hong Kong. Some young actors already have their "10-year plan," hoping to surpass Zhou Xinfang... Bourgeois intellectuals may be bought if necessary according to our policy. But why should we buy proletarian intellectuals? He who has plenty of money is bound to corrupt himself, his family and those around him... In the Soviet Union the high-salaried class first came from the literature and art circles.

Strive for several years so that we no longer have to import foodgrains and use the foreign exchange thus saved to buy more technological equipment and materials...

We must not waste money. As soon as situation gets better, don't try to "do it in a big way" again freely. "Make some allowances;" I have said this so many times in the past and no one acted accordingly. However, you have so acted in the past 2 years; don't go back again when the situation turns better.

The majority of workers in official organs can work and participate in manual labor half of the time, respectively. This is worth promoting. Laziness is one of the root causes of revisionism.

Why are there so many literature and art associations in Beijing? They have nothing to do. Maybe they are doing some disorderly things. At the literature and art festivals, the performance of the army ranks first, the localities second, and Beijing (Central) the worst. This association, that association, this sort of thing is also transplanted from the Soviet Union. The central literature and art organizations are still ruled by foreigners and dead men... We must go deeply into the life of the living. If we keep on playing with dead men and foreigners, our nation will be doomed. We must serve the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. Physical exercise and sports should also be beneficial to revolutionary struggle and construction.

Among cadres in general, many are "three door" cadres (leaving family door, entering school door, and entering office door). Cadres cannot be reared and trained well through the "three doors." It is dangerous to rely on this type of cadres to take hold of the future of the state. Nor will it do to depend on those cadres who have entered the "primary school door, middle school door, and college door." It will not do to not read books, nor will it do to read too many books. Ability does not depend on books alone; it must depend on practice. Our state will chiefly rely on those cadres who have read books through practice to take hold of its future.

All provinces should manage military defense industry. We should squeeze some money from industry, agriculture, and culture and education. We don't need to establish so many regular schools. Qinghua University has over 10,000 students and 40,000 professors, staff and family members. The spirit of leadership is going to be greatly wasted in this way.

We don't really have to make academicians and PhD's.

Talk on Putting Military Affairs Work Into Full Effect and Cultivating Successors to the Revolution

June 16, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 119-120.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

I shall talk about two problems. The first is the question of local party committees paying attention to military affairs, and the second is the question of dealing with successors... it will not do to merely observe demonstrations. It is necessary to pay attention to troops, it is necessary to operate armament plants... the provinces must inquire into the matter of troop units and the militia. You first secretaries of provincial committees are also political commissars. You have not carried out your duties for a number of years, you have been political commissars in name only and have not paid attention to military affairs. When a problem arises, you become confused without help. Regardless of which direction the enemy may come, it is necessary that you be ready, then our country shall not perish. The various levels of party committees must all pay attention to military affairs work and to militia work... How can only we rely on the several millions of Liberation Army troops of the central government in a country such as ours and on such a large battle front? We cannot depend on them. You must make up your own minds. The local authorities have the responsibility... needless to say, they will want to fight an atomic war! We shall run away when they drop the atom bombs. When they enter the city, we shall also enter the city and the enemy will not dare to use the atom bomb. We shall engage in street fighting. At any rate, we shall fight them.

It is necessary that the militia be organized a little better organizationally, politically, and militarily. Organizational improvement is to have some sort of an established organization of cadre-militiamen and ordinary militiamen, to have fighters, squad and platoon leaders, and company, battalion, regiment, and division commanders, and to become really functional. It is also necessary that political work personnel be organized so that in case something happens, they may take up their arms and go. Some people have said that their psychological outlook improved greatly after three months of service in the militia. The militia must have organization, it must have soldiers, it must have officers, and it must be put into full effect. At present, many localities have not put

it into full effect. It is necessary to carry out political work and the work of the people. To put politics into full effect, it is necessary to have a political structure, political commissars, political officers, and political instructors. To do political work is to perform the work of the people. It is necessary to distinguish between the good and the bad people in the militia and eliminate the bad ones. It is necessary to clearly explain to the militiamen that regardless of whatever important matter which may occur, they must not become flustered, for how can one win battles if one is flustered? One must not become flustered in fighting with rifles, guns, or atom bombs. One will not become flustered if one is well prepared politically. When the atom bomb is dropped, there is nothing else but to see Marx; since the days of old there has always been death. Without a belief, one cannot establish oneself. Those who are doomed to die shall die, and those who do not die shall go on. To kill all the Chinese people. I cannot see that, the imperialists will not do that, for who will they have to exploit! ...In 20 years of war, have we not lost many people? Huang Gonglue, Liu Hulan, and Huang Jiguang... we did not die, we are the remaining dregs. When the burden is too heavy, death is the way out. Indeed, death called on Comrade XX, but he did not go, so he is still alive. It is necessary to be prepared militarily. It is necessary to be prepared with rifles during peacetime, it will be too late when war starts... if one only cares about dealing with civil and not military affairs, if one only wants people and not rifles. When war begins, it will be necessary to depend upon China to hold on, it will not do to depend on the revisionists. When the enemy fight their way in, we will be able to fight our way out. In general, we must be ready to fight, we must not become flustered when the fighting starts, we also must not be flustered in fighting the atom bomb. Do not be afraid. It is nothing but a big disorder throughout the world. It is nothing but people dying. Man eventually must die, he may die standing up or lying down. Those who do not die will go on with their work, if one-half meets with death, there is still another half... Do not be afraid of imperialism. It will not do to be afraid, the more one is afraid, the less enthusiasm one will have. Being prepared and unafraid, one will have the enthusiasm.

The second problem is to prepare for the future and to bring up successors.

The imperialists have said that our first generation presented no problem, the second generation did not unchange, and that there is hope for the third and fourth generations. Will this hope of the imperialists be realized? Will these words of the imperialists come true? I hope that it will not come true; however, it can also come true. In the Soviet Union, it was the third genera-

tion that produced the Soviet Khrushchev Revisionism. We can also possibly produce revisionism. How can we guard against revisionism? How can we cultivate successors to the revolution? As I see it, there are five requirements.

1. It is necessary to regularly observe and educate our cadres, they must have some knowledge of Marxism-Leninism; it would be best if they have a bit more knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. They must practice Marxism-Leninism, not revisionism.
2. They must serve the majority of the people and not the minority. They must serve the majority of the people of China. They must serve the majority of the people of the world and not the minority, or the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists. Without this prerequisite, one cannot serve as a party branch secretary. Moreover, one cannot serve as the central (committee) secretary or the central chairman, Khrushchev was for the minority, we are for the majority of the people.
3. They must be able to unite the majority of the people. What is meant by uniting the majority of the people includes those people who had previously and erroneously opposed ourselves. Regardless of which mountain peak they belong to, we must not seek revenge, we cannot have a new group of officials for each emperor. Our experiences have proven that we would not have been victorious in our revolution if it had not been for the correct guidelines of the 7th National Congress. As for those people who engage in intrigues, they must take note that more than 10 persons, such as Gao-Rao, Peng Huang, Zhang, Zhou, Tan and Jia had emerged from the [party] central.⁸⁶ Everything is one divided into two. If some people wish to engage in intrigues, what can be done about it? Even now there are still those who wish to engage in intrigues! For example, we have Wu Zili, the Baiyin Factory, and also the small station mentioned by Chen Boda. The various departments and the various localities all have people who engage in intrigues. There are officials in the imperial palace and the masses under them. Without such people, it cannot be called a society. I had mentioned the last time that I was not pleased that there were such people. It was an objective existence. Otherwise, there would have been no confrontation, only metaphysics. All things are a unity of

⁸⁶ Gao-Rao, see note 5 on p. 4 of this volume. Peng-Huang, Zhang, Zhou, i.e. Peng Dehuai, Huang Guozheng, Zhang Wentian, Zhou Zhaozhou—members of the anti-party group that was purged at the Lushan conference of 1959. The link between this group and that of Gao-Rao group came much more into light during the GPCR

opposites. Of the five fingers of a hand, four face one direction while the thumb faces another direction. In this way, one can pick up and grasp things. If they all faced in the same direction, they would have been useless. There are no pure substances and no true vacuum in the world, this is only 99.9 percent purity. Then there is the other 0.1 percent. Many people have failed to comprehend this theory. There is no complete purity. There has to be some impurity before there can be a society, matters, and nature. If it is pure, it does not conform with the rules. Impurity is absolute. Purity is relative. This is the unity of opposites. In sweeping the floor, dust still exists even if the floor was swept 24 hours a day, morning until night. Look, in which year have we been pure? The history of our Party shows five dynasties of leadership. The first dynasty was Chen Duxiu. The second dynasty was Qu Qiubai. The third dynasty was Xiang Zhongfa, [actually, it was Lisan]. The fourth dynasty was Wang Ming and Bo Gu. The fifth dynasty was Luo Fu [Zhang Wentian].⁸⁷ The leadership of the five dynasties all failed to bring us down. To bring us down is not so easy. This is a historical experience. Whether it was done by the imperialists or by ourselves, they all failed to bring us down. After liberation, there came forth Gao Gang, Rao Shushi, and Peng Dehuai. Did they bring us down? They did not. Peng Dehuai held the post of Minister of National Defense for seven years and he failed to bring down the Liberation Army. Several ranking officials were hopeless as soon as they emerged. We must let others have their say. We must not practice “what I say counts.” We must unite the majority of the people. A decision was reached by democratic process. But still they said they did not approve it. XX said: China must preserve the use of reasoning, the People’s Liberation Army must preserve the use of reasoning. Because we have these qualities, Peng Dehuai was unsuccessful.

4. They must have a democratic style of work. When something comes up, they must consult with the comrades, give full deliberation to matters,

⁸⁷ For Chen Duxiu, see note 74 on p. 68. For Li Lisan and Wang Ming, see note 75 on p. 68. For Bo Gu and Zhang Wentian, see note 79 on p. 72. Qu Qiubai (1899-1935), a member of the CC of the CPC from 1923 until his death, became secretary of the party in August 1927 and was responsible for the “first leftist line” of late 1927 and early 1928. He nevertheless remained influential in the Party, and also made a name for himself as a translator of Gorky and other Russian and Soviet writers. Left behind in Jiangxi at the time of the Long March, he was captured by the Kuomintang, and executed in June 1935. While in prison, he wrote an autobiographical work entitled *Superfluous Words*. During the Cultural Revolution he was denounced as a big traitor, and his book was quoted to substantiate the charge, especially by the Red Guards.

and absolutely listen to the various views. Opposite views must be presented. Do not practice “what I say counts.” People can change. Didn’t old X change? Oxen can be trained to plow the fields, so why can’t people change? There are a few people who cannot be changed. People like Yu Xuezhong, Zhang Bojun,⁸⁸ Liu Liming, and XX and XX in the Party can never be changed. They do nothing but curse at people. There is also Zheng Rensan who has not changed. The various provinces have an extremely few who have not changed. Let them remain unchanged, let them curse away. It is necessary to unite the majority of the people. The way I see it, it is not necessary to expel Wu Zili from the Party, we must urge them to repent. We must unite 95 percent [of both groups]. We must practice democracy. We must not consider it as being enough merely because I said that it is so; we must not reverse a decision at meetings which had been passed. This is democracy in practice. To personally speak for several hours at a meeting as if all the truth is in my hands... When I was young, I showed bad temper towards Mao Zetan,⁸⁹ and threatened him with a stick because he said that the Communist Party was not the ancestral temple of the Mao family. The way I see it, those words of his make sense. The Communist Party must deal with democratic style of work, it cannot deal with patriarchal behavior.

5. When one has committed errors, one must conduct self-criticism. One must not consider oneself as being always correct. One must have relatively less mistaken ideas. It is better to do a little less of saying the wrong things and expressing wrong ideas. It is relatively good for a commander, in fighting three battles, to lose one and win two because he can go on being a commander... do not go too far in waging struggles. One must help others to rectify their mistakes, it is only necessary that they conscientiously correct their errors. One must not always criticize them without end.

Successors must be Marxist-Leninists, they must serve the interest of the majority of the people, they must unite the majority, they must display the democratic style, and they must conduct self criticism. What I have in mind

⁸⁸ Zhang Bojun (1895-1969), Minister of Communications and rightist leader of the China Democratic League, criticized the CPC severely in the spring of 1957, and then recanted in July. He was removed as minister in early 1958. He was also the director of *Wenhui Bao*, a major newspaper of the Hundred Flowers Campaign.

⁸⁹ Mao Zetan (1905-1935), was Mao’s younger brother. He became a martyr for the cause of revolution in Hunan.

is not complete, you must make further study on your own and do a little planning. You must also bring up some successors. You must not always think that you alone will do and that everything done by others is no good, as if without you in the world, the earth would not turn and there would be no party. Do you think that with the death of the butcher Chang, one would have to eat pork with bristles on it? There is no need to fear for the death of anyone. Whose death would be a great loss? Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, are they all not dead? The revolution must still go on. How can the death of a single person be such a tremendous loss? There is no such a thing. Man always must die, there are various ways of dying. Some were killed by the enemy, some died in airplane crashes, some drowned while swimming, some died from bacteria, and some died of old age. We must include those who may be killed by an atomic bomb. We must be prepared at all times to leave our work posts and we must be ready with successors at all times. Each person must be ready with successors. One must have three lines of successors. One must have one, two, and three pairs of hands, and one must not be fearful of heavy storms...

Conversation With Zanzibar Expert Miraji Mpatani Ali and his Wife

June 18, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 121-127.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

Mao Zedong: Let us first pose for a photograph! [*Picture was taken and everyone was seated*]

Mao Zedong: You have come from Africa, from Zanzibar?

Ali: Yes.

Mao Zedong: [to Jiang XX] What language are you speaking?

Jiang XX: English.

Mao Zedong: [to Ali] I heard that you have been in China several years.

Ali: Yes, some 4 years.

Mao Zedong: You have done much work for us; you have helped the Chinese people with broadcasting work.

Jiang XX: He has helped us with the Swahili language broadcasts, and he helped us train cadres in Swahili.

Mao Zedong: Good!

Ali: Radio Beijing has also helped our people, helping them to understand the world situation.

Mao Zedong: Are they able to hear us?

Ali: They are able to hear very well, not only in Zanzibar, but it is also clearly received in the entire Swahili-speaking region.

Mao Zedong: How many countries?

Ali: There are Tanganyika, Kenya, a part of Uganda, and also the Congo.

Mao Zedong: Which Congo? Greater Congo?

Ali: In both of the Congos.

Mao Zedong: Thank you! [Spoken in English]. Why must you go home?

Ali: My country requested it.

Mao Zedong: Your country has asked you to return home. One of your ministers was in the delegation of your united republic which came this time. Did you meet him?

Ali: That was Babu. I met him.

Mao Zedong: I saw him for the first time, he is very tall.

Ali: Yes

Mao Zedong: Is he now working in the capital of Tanganyika?

Ali: No, he is not. Maybe he will go there in the future.

Mao Zedong: You were friends in the past?

Ali: Yes. As a matter of fact, he was the one who suggested that I come to China.

Mao Zedong: When you leave, there will be no one else here.

Ali: There will, there are still six people from Zanzibar who are working here.

Mao Zedong: After you two leave, there will still be four?

Ali: No, I am saying that there still will be six. One at the radio station, four at the Diplomatic Publications Bureau, and one in the Foreign Language Institute.

Mao Zedong: They are all from Zanzibar, none from Tanganyika?

Ali: There is one; he is working at the China Map Publishing House, translating Swahili.

Mao Zedong: Is the climate in your country different from the climate here?

Ali: Yes, but we have become acclimated. We do not have snow in our country.

Mao Zedong: Several winters already!

Ali: But we have become acclimated.

Mao Zedong: Is your country in the southern or northern hemisphere, the southern or northern latitudes?

Ali: It is actually on the equator.

Mao Zedong: Isn't it very hot along the equator?

Ali: Yes, but our country is merely a small island, and it isn't too hot.

Mao Zedong: Maritime climate.

Ali: Yes.

Mao Zedong: Do you have any Chinese friends?

Ali: A great many, a great many.

Mao Zedong: Have you toured and visited other places?

Ali: We have. In 1961, we went to Harbin, Guangdong, Shanghai, Hangzhou, as well as other localities. Recently, we were fortunate enough to go to Jinggangshan once.

Mao Zedong: Ah, you climbed the mountain.

Ali: We have also been to Ruijin.

Mao Zedong: Ah.

Ali: We saw the site of the first soviet administration. We chatted with the people of Jinggangshan, we chatted with the old cadres and the people in the old area. They provided us much information on the situation.

Mao Zedong: We were there from 1927 to 1928, that is 37 years ago! We later shifted to Ruijin. The district of Ruijin was relatively large, it had a population of several million—not only the one county of Ruijin, there were several tens of counties, and we won many victories in battles there.

Later, we made the Long March to the north. From 1934 to 1935, I went to the northern part of Shaanxi. I have also been to Gansu. I have also been to Shanxi. We crossed the Yellow River in the vicinity of Taiyuan. Shanxi is next to Hebei. Later on, we fought the Japanese mainly in the various provinces north of the Yangtze River, with Yanan as the Center. Afterwards, the fighting spread to Manchuria. After the Japanese had gone, Chiang Kai-shek came again. Chiang Kai-shek fought us, so we fought against him; we fought for 3.5 years and defeated most of Chiang Kai-shek's troops, 90 percent of his troops. The remainder all fled to Taiwan. He has always depended on the US for protection, and he is still depending on their (the US) Seventh Fleet. That is why the US is still not at peace with us. US imperialism is a very ferocious imperialism. It is also the greatest of imperialism. It has an influence on your people, too.

Ali: Yes, the US is devising all ways and means to infiltrate into Zanzibar.

Mao Zedong: Were Tanganyika and Zanzibar formerly colonies or semi-colonies of Britain?

Ali: Britain colonized Zanzibar and called it a “protectorate.”

Mao Zedong: There was a king, called a sultan.

Ali: It was because there was a sultan that it was called a “protectorate.”

Mao Zedong: What about Tanganyika?

Ali: It was called a “territory.”

Mao Zedong: Then it didn't have any king? Was it under the direct control of the British?

Ali: Yes.

Mao Zedong: There are also Kenya and Uganda?

Ali: Kenya is a colony, Uganda still has kings and is also called a “protectorate.”

Mao Zedong: How about Northern and Southern Rhodesia?

Ali: There are no kings, they are colonies.

Mao Zedong: Are there still quite a number of white people there?

Ali: Yes, there are immigrants in Tanganyika and Kenya. Because of the relatively cooler climate in Kenya, there are many settlers.

Mao Zedong: How many are there? It is said that there are several hundreds of thousands.

Ali: Yes, there are several hundreds of thousands.

Mao Zedong: It is said that there are 300,000.

Ali: Yes.

Mao Zedong: What is the population of Kenya? Three million?

Ali: Eight and one-half million.

Mao Zedong: It has that many people?

Ali: Yes, and the population of Tanganyika is larger, with some 9 million people.

Mao Zedong: There are 10 million.

Ali: That is possible. My figures came from a census taken a long time ago.

Mao Zedong: Have you ever been in Tanganyika?

Ali: I only passed through it.

Mao Zedong: Have you ever been in Kenya?

Ali: I passed through it when I went to Uganda.

Mao Zedong: Which route will you be taking when you return home?

Ali: I shall pass through Pakistan and Kenya, and maybe through Tanganyika and then to Zanzibar. There are two routes, one is a direct route from Kenya to Zanzibar, and the other is from Kenya to Zanzibar via Tanganyika.

Mao Zedong: It seems to me that your skin complexion is slightly different from that of the people of Tanganyika.

Ali: Yes, the people of Tanganyika are a bit darker.

Mao Zedong: There is also Madagascar. The skin of the people there is also different from the other localities in Africa.

Ali: Ahem.

Mao Zedong: I hope you will have the opportunity to come back to China again sometime.

Ali: China has already become our home.

Mao Zedong: Come for a trip, tour country. Shall we end our chat here? Do you still have any questions?

Ali: I have; I would like to ask you several questions. The struggle of the peoples of Africa at the present time is developing by leaps and bounds, and as the struggle develops, our blows against imperialism become heavier. However, this struggle still has a long way to go. Although I have read quite a number of documents, I still would like to have you digress on whatever views you may have regarding the outlook of the struggle of the peoples of Africa.

Mao Zedong: I am not very familiar with the situation in Africa. However, according to the way I see it, in the past 10 or 11 years, starting with 1952 when Egypt overthrew the regime of King Farouk, the changes in Africa have been tremendous. The British and the French were unwilling to admit their defeat and carried out attacks against the Suez movement. Another place is Algeria, where war was waged for 8 years. Algeria resisted several hundreds of thousands of French troops with a few troops. As a result, French imperialism was defeated and Algeria was victorious. Recently, there were changes in your country; your country merely has a population of 3,00,000, and dared to overthrow the lackey of imperialism, and the imperialists did not dare to do anything. Tanganyika also became independent and the British troops have gone. What about Kenya?

Ali: Kenya has become independent, but after the military coup, the British troops are still there.

Mao Zedong: They are? I heard the troops in the African countries had left.

Ali: That was in Tanganyika.

Mao Zedong: Oh, in Tanganyika.

Ali: In Kenya, the situation is a bit different. Kenya has an agreement with Britain; the British have bases in Kenya. The British troops will be withdrawn by the end of the year.

Mao Zedong: Eventually, they will leave.

Ali: Correct!

Mao Zedong: In the Congo, I speak of Greater Congo, there was a Lumumba, a national hero, who was put to death, but the struggle is still developing. In the recent greater part of the year, there has been development in the struggle. In Southwest Africa and Angola, the Portuguese colony, struggle is still underway. Although I am not familiar with Africa, as I see it, according to the circumstances of the past 10 years, it can be said that there will be still greater changes in the next 10 years. Maybe you also see it that way. We must look at it from the standpoint of history and development! South Africa is a bit more difficult. That area has more than 3 million white people, and they are unwilling to leave. That place must be liberated, but I'm afraid that it will take a little longer.

Asia, Africa, and Latin America, these three continents all have the conditions for revolution at the present time, and these three continents make up the vast majority of the world's population. This is a fact. They constitute the vast majority of the world; Europe, New Zealand, Australia, and North America the minority.

[Ali offers a cigarette to the chairman]

Ali: Africa does not have a communist party at present. Do you believe that the time is ripe for the establishment of a communist party in Africa? Do you have any views regarding a united front in Africa?

Mao Zedong: The question of establishing a communist party must rest on whether there are any industrial workers. I see that there are industries in Africa. Many of the countries have industries, some have been established by the imperialists and some have been established by the Africans themselves; there are mines, railroads, highways, and other industries. Although there is no communist party at present, there will be one of these days. It isn't that there is no communist party at present time, because there are communist parties in Algeria, Morocco, and South Africa. The Communist Party of Algeria is not a revolutionary party, it is a revisionist party. Revisionist parties, such as the party in Algeria, are not like a national liberation front which conducts a war

for national liberation; the communist party in Algeria is against a war for liberation, it follows the dictates of the French Communist Party. The communist party in Algeria is against us, it opposes China; the Algerian Government and the Algerian National Liberation Front cooperate with us. I do not know why they oppose us. They might be opposing us for some reason that we don't understand.

There is still another example. The Iraqi communist party in Asia also opposes China. It only pays attention to opposing the Communist Party of China and does not pay any attention to the dangers of coups which it faces. Even during the past year a coup took place and Kassem was executed and the secretary general of the Party was also killed. Do you know of this incident?

Ali: I know about it. I read about it in the newspapers.

Mao Zedong: Many in the communist Party were killed, many of the revisionists were killed, and many progressive persons were killed. You tell me, why does the Communist Party of Iraq oppose us?

Ali: They follow the conductor's baton.

Mao Zedong: Follow the conductor's baton and carry on peaceful transition.

Then there is Brazil, which is also not in favor of us because we do not agree with peaceful transition. Several months ago, a coup took place and its president was kicked out. The leader of the revisionist party was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment. The leader of this party had been to China. His name is [Luis Carlos] Prestes. He was a noted member of the communist party who later became a revisionist. The US imperialists and their lackey did not care whether one was a revisionist or not. Nine Chinese were arrested, of which six were traders and three were newsmen.

This is to say that revisionists do not oppose imperialists; they compromise with the imperialists and reactionaries. The working class of Africa will learn their lesson. It is possible that some revisionist parties will make their appearance, and it is also possible that some Marxist parties will make their appearance.

The question of a united front is a question of opposing imperialism or not opposing imperialism. Those who oppose imperialism must unite. Speaking of the categories of bourgeois democratic revolution, they determine whether one opposes imperialism or does not oppose imperialism. As for establishing a genuine socialist state (not one in name only), establishing an economy with systems of ownership by all the people and collective ownership under proletarian

leadership, that is another thing. This not only stimulates the interests of the imperialists, but it will stimulate the interests of the bourgeoisie. Let us say, for example, that at the present time, it is possible for Algeria to go socialist. The older group of people will not be able to keep pace, including premier [Ferhat] Abbas of the provisional government and Belkacem. They will be unable to keep pace with the others.

Class struggle. Genuine Marxist-Leninists preach class struggle; there is class struggle in society. On two occasions we had a united front with the Kuomintang. One was the Northern Expedition in 1927.⁹⁰ The second was during the war against Japan. During the first united front, the Northern Expedition fought to the Yangtze River Valley, and when the Kuomintang held the power and opposed us, we could only fight with them. We went up to Jinggangshan, and later came to Ruijin.

After that, the Japanese fought their way in. Chiang Kai-shek felt that it would not do to continue his fight with us. The second united front was then established. This united front lasted for a period of 8 years. On the one hand, the Kuomintang united with the Communist Party to oppose Japan; on the other hand, the Kuomintang also opposed us each day. What could we do? On one side, there was Japan; on the other side, there was also the Kuomintang, so we adopted the policy of uniting while waging struggle, with unity as the main factor. In this way, we endured with the Kuomintang for 8 years. With the surrender of Japan, the Kuomintang fought against us, and the united front disintegrated. We did not have any large cities. We did not have the assistance of foreign powers, our troops were few in numbers, we had no air force, we had no navy, we had no airplanes, and we had no artillery. We only had light weapons. They were not made by us; they had been seized by us.

Thus, it is not so that there is no united front? We drove them to Taiwan, but there still is a united front. In reality our united front is more widespread. Our China has eight democratic parties.⁹¹ When the Kuomintang existed, the

⁹⁰ The Northern Expedition was the punitive war against the Northern warlords launched by the revolutionary army which marched north from Guangdong Province in May-July 1926. The Northern Expeditionary Army, with the Communist Party of China taking part in its leadership and under the Party's influence (the political work in the army was at the time mostly under the charge of Communist Party members), gained the warm support of the broad masses of workers and peasants. In the second half of 1926 and the first half of 1927 it occupied most of the provinces along the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers and defeated the Northern warlords. In April 1927 this revolutionary war failed as a result of betrayal by the reactionary clique under Chiang Kai-shek within the revolutionary army.

⁹¹ These are: the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang, the Chinese Democratic League, the Chinese Democratic Association for National Construction, the

contacts between the intellectuals, university professors, middle and primary school teachers, and us were not very extensive. After liberation, they did not run away. We united with them. The university professors in Beijing, such as the professors at Beijing and Qinghua universities, and the university professors in Shanghai and Guangdong did not all run away. They felt that there was no future in following the Kuomintang.

The fundamental united front is the united front with the workers and the peasants. It was also after liberation that the Workers' and Peasants' Alliance was realized on a national scale.

The Kuomintang represents the big bourgeoisie, the comprador class, and the feudalist landlord class. I am talking about its later period. The Kuomintang had represented the national bourgeoisie and the broad masses of people. At that time, with Mr. Sun Yat-sen as its representative, it was China's only and most progressive political party. There was no Communist Party at that time. The Communist Party only came into being afterwards; it was 1921 before there was a Communist Party. Afterwards, the Communist Party and the Kuomintang set up the first united front.

Later on, the Kuomintang opposed the Communist Party. They fought each other for 10 years. It turned into an agent of imperialism—US and British imperialism. Why were we still able to form the second united front with it when it turned into an agent of big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class? It was because Japan was fighting its way into our country.

When Japan invaded the Northeast, the Kuomintang was still battling us. It was when the Japanese had fought their way down through the pass and were advancing toward the mainland that it felt it would have to make peace with the Communist Party. It was then that the second united front of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang was formed.

Chiang Kai-shek stood on the side of the US Britain, and France in opposing Japan, Hitler, and Mussolini; it was one faction of imperialism fighting another faction of imperialism. The three countries of Germany, Italy, and Japan became vanquished nations. It is necessary to look at certain conditions; at the time, the US, Britain, France, and we were also able to cooperate with them. Changes took place after the war; the US wanted to dominate the world.

Chinese Association for the Advance of Democracy, the Chinese Peasant-Worker Democratic Party, the Chinese Zhigong Party, the September Third Study Society, the League for Democracy and Autonomy for Taiwan, the Chinese People's Association for National Salvation, the Association of Comrades of the Three People's Principles, and the Association of the Chinese Kuomintang to Promote Democracy.

Japan had been defeated; Italy and Germany had been defeated; Britain and France had been weakened. Why did Africa rise up? It was because imperialism had been weakened. Britain and France had been weakened.

In general, Africa... as far as the broad masses of people are concerned, none have any good feelings toward Britain, the US, Belgium, Portugal, or Spain. Why is it that we are on speaking terms with you Africans and the black people? We have things in common.

Ali: We people of Africa carried on a protracted struggle with imperialism. We saw that China had been liberated and the struggle of the Chinese people greatly inspired us. After the Liberation of China, we had a much better understanding of China.

Our struggle continued to develop because China provided us with a great deal of experience; China provided the people of Africa with a tremendous amount of support and encouragement for which we are extremely grateful. China issued many statements expressing support for us. In recent years, we have been able to come to China and visit many places, and this has been a great help to us.

The Soviet revisionists told us that we must coexist peacefully and carry out disarmament; they told us that this was our main task and said that they would use the money saved through disarmament to give us aid. However, our struggle must depend on our own efforts.

Mao Zedong: Right!

Ali: In this aspect, the revisionists are colluding more and more with the imperialists. According to your way of thinking, how far will their collusion go?

Mao Zedong: They might carry their collusion a step further. The imperialists and the revisionists have their collusions, and they also have contradictions. Revisionists and revisionists also have contradictions. The revisionists have several tens of parties, but they are not very united. The imperialists are also not very united among themselves. You see, France and Britain are not very united either. The Japanese monopolistic capitalists and the Japanese Government first struck the US at Pearl Harbor; afterwards, they occupied the Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaya, and Indonesia; they fought on to the eastern part of India and occupied the greater part of China. As for Korea, it goes without saying that it was originally its colony. Now these places have all gained their independence, and some are still under US control. Among those controlled by the US are: South Korea, South Vietnam, and the Philippines. Japan is also

partially controlled by the US You can say that Japan, but you must not say the people, is big bourgeoisie. Can they feel comfortable? I don't think so. I do not believe that there are no contradictions between the US imperialists and the Japanese monopolistic capitalists.

We have said that there are two buffer zones. Asia, Africa, and Latin America are the first buffer zone. Europe, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan are the second buffer zone. The Japanese monopolistic capitalists were deceived [on this] by the US, and we oppose [this] deception. There are other people who subscribe to [this] interpretation of going into the buffer zone.

This is not the first time I am saying this; I said it in 1946.⁹² At the time I said nothing about a first and second zone, but only one buffer zone, the buffer zone between the Soviet Union and the US, which included China. 1946, 1956, 1964... that's 18 years ago. At that time, we were in Yanan; I said it to the American correspondent, her name is Strong.

Ali: I know who she is.

Mao Zedong: She is already more than 70 years old!

At that time, the US had taken the place of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and it wanted to dominate the world; its objective was to invade the buffer zone and not to fight the Soviet Union. The anti-Soviet slogan was a smoke-screen. Like the anti-China characteristics, its objective was to manipulate the buffer zone with an anti-China slogan.

Ali: I deeply appreciate the time the chairman has given me. May I be permitted to express my feelings to you? Ever since my arrival in China, I have looked forward to this day. There are no words which can express my feelings.

Mao Zedong: Have you read any Marxism-Leninism works?

Ali: I have, and I have also read your works.

Mao Zedong: I have learned from Marx and Lenin.

Ali: You have developed Marxism-Leninism. Your works are much easier to understand than those of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

Mao Zedong: They are somewhat easier to understand.

Ali: That is my feeling. Your works are very readable.

⁹² See "Talk with The American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. IV, pp. 97-101.

Mao Zedong: I do not have many writings.

Ali: No, you have a great many.

Mao Zedong: Good, let us end our conversation here!

Ali and Mrs. Ali: Till we meet again!

Mao Zedong: Till we meet again!

A Conversation with Foreign Guests About Health Care

June 24, 1964⁹³

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 133.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

China's health service emulates that of the Soviet Union, and I cannot completely accept what health doctors say. I have a gentlemen's agreement with my doctor. When I have a fever I will call you, and when I do not have one I will not bother you and you will not bother me. I said that if I did not have to call on him for an entire year, that would be testimony of his great merit. If I had to bother him every month, this would be proof that he had failed in his work. I only follow half of what the doctor says and expect him to follow me in the other-half. If we abide by everything the doctor says sickness will multiply and life will be impossible. I have never before heard of so much high blood pressure and liver infections. If a person doesn't exercise but only eats well, dresses well, lives comfortably, and drives wherever he goes, he will be beset with a lot of illnesses. Excessive attention to food, clothing, housing, and means of transportation are the four underlying causes of illness among high-level cadres. Our health service emulates the Soviet Union. It makes specialists out of general practitioners. They must treat all types of illnesses and improve themselves.

⁹³ The *Wansui* dates this comment as June 24, but the June 26, 1964 *Beijing Review* does not indicate that Mao met anyone that day. However, it does say that on June 21, Mao met with Dr. Hewlett Johnson, former Dean of Canterbury and had a cordial conversation.

Excerpts from Conversations with Wang Hairong⁹⁴

June 24, 1964⁹⁵

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui)*, 1968, Vol. 5, page 133-136.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 52029.

Hairong: Class struggle is very acute in our school. I hear that reactionary slogans have been found, some written in English on the blackboard of our English Department.

Mao Zedong: What reactionary slogans have been written?

Hairong: I know only one. It is, “Chiang wan sui.”

Mao Zedong: How does it read in English?

Hairong: “Long live Chiang.”

Mao Zedong: What else has been written?

Hairong: I don’t know any others. I know only that one.

Mao Zedong: Well, let this person write more and post them outdoors for all people to see. Does he kill people?

Hairong: I don’t know if he kills people or not. If we find out who he is, we should dismiss him from school and send him away for labor reform.

Mao Zedong: Well, so long as he doesn’t kill people, we should not dismiss him, nor should we send him away for labor reform. Let him stay in school and continue to study. You people should hold a meeting and ask him to explain in what way Chiang Kai-shek is good and what good things he has done. On our part, you may tell why Chiang Kai-shek is not good.

Mao Zedong: How many people are there in your school?

Hairong: About 3,000, including faculty and staff members.

Mao Zedong: Among the 3,000 let us say there are seven or eight counter-revolutionaries.

⁹⁴ Wang Hairong (1938-2017) is Mao’s niece.

⁹⁵ This document is oftentimes incorrectly dated as 1970, the date on which the US Joint Publications Research Services released its translation.

Hairong: Even one would be bad. How could we tolerate seven or eight?

Mao Zedong: You shouldn't be all stirred up by one slogan.

Hairong: Why should there be seven or eight counter-revolutionaries?

Mao Zedong: When there are many, you can set up opposition. There can be teachers in opposition. Only they should not kill.

Hairong: Our school has realized the class line. Among the new students, 70 percent are workers and sons and daughters of poor and lower-middle farmers. Others are sons and daughters of cadres and heroic officers and men.

Mao Zedong: How many sons and daughters of cadres are there in your class?

Hairong: In addition to myself, there are two, while others are the sons and daughters of workers and poor and lower-middle farmers. They do well. I learn much from them.

Mao Zedong: Are they on good terms with you? Do they like you?

Hairong: I think our relationship is good. I find it easy to associate with them and they find the same with me.

Mao Zedong: That's good.

Hairong: But there is the son of a cadre who doesn't do well. In class he doesn't listen attentively to the teacher's lecture and after class, he doesn't do homework. He likes to read fiction. Sometimes he dozes off in the dormitory and sometimes he doesn't attend the Saturday afternoon meeting. On Sunday he doesn't return to school on time. Sometimes on Sunday when our class and section hold a meeting, he doesn't show up. All of us have a bad impression of him.

Mao Zedong: Do your teachers allow the students to take a nap or read fiction in class?

We should let the students read fiction and take a nap in class, and we should look after their health. Teachers should lecture less and make the students read more. I believe the student you referred to will be very capable in the future since he had the courage to be absent from the Saturday meeting and not to return to school on time on Sunday. When you return to school, you may tell him that it is too early to return to school even at eight or nine in the evening; he may delay it until eleven or twelve. Whose fault is it that you should hold a meeting Sunday night?

Hairong: When I studied at the normal School, we usually had no meeting Sunday night. We were allowed to do whatever we liked that night. One day several cadres of the branch headquarters of the League (I was then a committee member of the branch headquarters) agreed to lead an organized life on Sunday night but many other League members did not favor the idea. Some of them even said to the political counsellor that Sunday was a free day and if any meeting was called at night, it would be inconvenient for us to go home. The political counsellor eventually bowed to their opinion and told us to change the date for the meeting.

Mao Zedong: This political counsellor did the right thing.

Hairong: But now our school spends the whole Sunday night holding meetings—class meetings, branch headquarters committee meetings or meetings of study groups for party lessons. According to my calculation, from the beginning of the current semester to date, there has not been one Sunday or Sunday night without any meetings.

Mao Zedong: When you return to school, you should take the lead to rebel. Don't return to school on Sunday and don't attend any meetings on that day.

Hairong: But I won't dare. This is the school system. All students are required to return to school on time. If I don't people will say that I violate the school system.

Mao Zedong: Don't care about the system. Just don't return to school. Just say you want to violate the school system.

Hairong: I cannot do that. If I do, I will be criticized.

Mao Zedong: I don't think you will be very capable in the future. You are afraid of being accused of violating the school system, of criticism, of a bad record, of being expelled from school, of failing to get party membership. Why should you be afraid of so many things? The worst that can come to you is expulsion from school. The school should allow the students to rebel. Rebel when you return to school.

Hairong: People will say that as the Chairman's relative, I fail to follow his instructions and play a leading role in upsetting the school system. They will accuse me of arrogance and self-content, and of lack of organization and discipline.

Mao Zedong: Look at you! You are afraid of being criticized for arrogance and self-content, and for lack of organization and discipline. Why should you be afraid? You can say that just because you are Chairman Mao's relative, you should follow his instructions to rebel. I think the student you mentioned will be more capable than you for he dared to violate the school system. I think you people are too metaphysical.

On One Occasion Chairman Mao Discussed the Problem of Study.

Hairong: People now are against reading classical works. But the son of a cadre in our class devotes all his time to reading them. All of us are busy practicing speaking English, but he is reading the *Dream of the Red Chamber*. We are all critical of his reading this novel.

Mao Zedong: Have you ever read the *Dream of the Red Chamber*?

Hairong: Yes, I have.

Mao Zedong: Which character do you like in this novel?

Hairong: None.

Mao Zedong: The *Dream of the Red Chamber* is worth reading. It is a good book. We should read it not for its story but as history. It is a historical novel. Its language is the best in classical fiction. The author, Cao Xueqin, had made a lively portrayal of Sister Feng⁹⁶. The characterization of Sister Feng is excellent. You won't be able to do the same. If you don't read *Dream of the Red Chamber*, how could you know about feudal society? Before you read *Dream of the Red Chamber*, you should know these four sayings: "The "Jia" family is not "jia," a myth; white jade form the Halls; gold compose their horses! The "A Fang" Palace is three hundred *li* in extent, but is no fit residence for a "Shi" of Jinling. The eastern seas lack white jade beds, and the "Long Wang," king of the Dragons, has come to ask for one of the Jinling Wang, (Mr. Wang of Jinling.) In a plenteous year, snow, (*Xue*), is very plentiful; their pearls and gems are like sand, their gold like iron."⁹⁷ These four saying summarize the story of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*.

⁹⁶ Feng Zi, or Sister Feng, is one of the main character in the *Dream of the Red Chamber*. She is depicted as a strong and beautiful woman with a lot of self-confidence, without falling into the cliché of the tomboy. It's a portrait that doesn't fit the role that women played in the feudal society when the book was written (18th century).

⁹⁷ *Dream of the Red Chamber*, Chapter 4. Each of those sentences refers to the public opinion of the four important families (Jia, Shi, Wang and Xue) who are the portrayed in the book.

Mao Zedong: Have you read Du Fu's long poem *The Northward March* ?

Hairong: No, It is not in *Three Hundred Tang Poems (Tangshi Sanbai Shou)*.

Mao Zedong: It is in *Collection of Tang Poems (Tang Shi Bie Cai Ji)*.

[*The Chairman took out the book, turned to that poem and told me to read it over and over again.*]

Hairong: What problems should I pay attention to when I read this poem? What precaution should I take against its influence?

Mao Zedong: You are always metaphysical. Why should you take precaution? No, you should receive some influence. You should go deep in it and then emerge from it. Read it over and over again but not necessarily memorize it.

Mao Zedong: Are you required to study the Holy Bible and Buddhist sutras?

Hairong: No, why should we read them?

Mao Zedong: How can you do translations or handle foreign affairs if you do not study the Holy Bible and Buddhist sutras?

Have you read the *Stories from the Strange Studio (Liaozhai)*?

Hairong: No.

Mao Zedong: The *Stories from the Strange Studio* are worth reading. They are well-written. The fox spirits in the *Stories from the Strange Studio* are kind-hearted. They voluntarily help mankind.

How do you say *zhishi fenzi* [intellectual] in English?

Hairong: I don't know.

Mao Zedong: You have studied English for half a year. You are a *zhishi fenzi* yourself and yet you don't know how to say it in English.

Hairong: Let me look it up in the Chinese-English Dictionary.

Mao Zedong: Look it up. Is there such a term?

Hairong: [*After leafing through the pages of the dictionary*] Too bad. There is no such term in your Chinese-English Dictionary. It has only the term *zhishi* [knowledge], but no *zhishi fenzi*.

Mao Zedong: Let me take a look. [*I handed the dictionary to the Chairman.*] You found *zhishi*, but no *zhishi fenzi*. This dictionary is useless. It is short of many words. When you return to school, ask them to compile a better Chi-

nese-English Dictionary. It should have all political terms and there should be sentences to illustrate the use of each word.

Hairong: How can our school compile a dictionary? We have neither time nor personnel to do it.

Mao Zedong: There are many teachers and students in your school. Why should you doubt their ability to compile a dictionary? Let this dictionary be compiled by your school.

Hairong: All right. I will transmit your order to our leadership when I return to school. I think we can perform this task.

Instructions to the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and its Affiliated Associations

June 27, 1964

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1967, No. 1, page 14-15.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 136.

Translation: Five Documents on Literature and Art, 1967, page 10-11.

In the last fifteen years these associations,⁹⁸ most of their publications (it is said that a few are good) and *by and large* the people in them (that is, not everybody) have not carried out the policies of the Party. They have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and have not reflected the socialist revolution and socialist construction. *In recent years*, they skid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remold themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.

⁹⁸ These are mass organizations in the field of literature and art.

Instructions to Troops on Swimming

July 2, 1964

Source: People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), July 26, 1966, page 1.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 137.

Translation: Beijing Review, July 29, 1966, Vol. IX, No. 31, page 7-8.

The troops must learn to swim, all troops must learn. There are laws governing swimming. It is easier to learn to swim if one masters them.

Talk with Members of the Japan Socialist Party

July 10, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 138-144.

Translation: Chinese Law & Government, 1968, Vol. II, No. 3, page 33-37.

[On July 10, 1964, a group of Japanese socialists (JSP) held an interview with Mao Zedong in which he further clarified his theory of intermediate zones. An account of the interview was published in Sekai Shuho on August 11, 1964, and republished in abridged form by Pravda on September 2. What follows is an unabridged version of the Japanese article, taken mostly from the English translation of the Pravda version, which appeared in The Current Digest of the Soviet Press, September 16, 1964.]

A group of members of the Diet from the anti-main group of the Socialist Party of Japan, consisting of five people headed by Kozo Sasaki, had a long talk with Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Communist Party of China, in Beijing on July 10. During this talk Mao Zedong declared that he "supports Japan's position on the question of the return of the Kuriles." Arriving in Hong Kong on July 12, the group told this to Japanese correspondents accredited there. The content of the talk deserves special attention.

Akio Kasahara, secretary of the JSP headquarters, who accompanied the Sasaki group, explained the content of Mao Zedong's talk with the Socialists,

basing himself on the notes taken by Kozo Sasaki, Sitiro Matsumoto and Sigeo Oshiba. These explanations may be characterized as valuable material revealing Chairman Mao's views.

The talk, which was held in the People's Congress Hall,

lasted two hours and 40 minutes, an unusually long time. Present at the talk on the Japanese side, in addition to the five members of the Sasaki group and Mr. Kasahara, were the Hisao Kuroda group of three persons who arrived in Peking separately from the Sasaki group: the Kanemitsu Hososako group of five persons; the Tetsuo Ara group of four; the Suketsugu Sogra group of 11; Karuo Okada and Minoru Ono, as well as Kinkazu Saionji, who lives in Beijing—in all, 32 persons. Present on the Chinese side, in addition to Mao, were Liao Ch'eng-chih, Chao An-pa and other influential leaders in the field of relations with Japan.

Below we give the content of Chairman Mao's statements.

Concerning the Theory of the Intermediate Zone

At the beginning Chairman Mao raised the following theme: "Japan and China should act in unity, cooperate with each other. Japan is industrially a relatively developed country. Therefore she can help us in many ways. We should support each other in the political respect also. Is it possible to oppose each other, as was the case a few years ago?" After exchanging Kozo Sasaki's and other leaders' comments on Japan's aggression against China in the past, Chairman Mao touched upon the question of American imperialism, of intermediate zones, and developed the following idea.

As a result of the war Japan came under the domination of American imperialism. In exactly the same way American imperialism dominates in South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, etc. The United States' hands have stretched into the western Pacific and Southeast Asia. These outstretched hands are too long.

The U.S.A. dominates over Europe, it dominates in Canada, it dominates in all of Latin America except Cuba. Its hands are stretched all the way to Africa.

All the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America oppose imperialism, and Europe, Canada and other countries also oppose imperialism. Imperialists, too, oppose imperialists. Is not de Gaulle acting in this way?

There are now two intermediate zones in the world, Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute the first intermediate zone, Europe, North America, Oceania the second, Japanese monopoly capital belongs to the second intermediate zone. Even it is displeased with the U.S.A., and some of its representatives

openly oppose the United States. Although Japanese monopoly capital is now dependent upon the U.S.A., time will pass and it will cast off the American yoke.

The Japanese nation is a great nation. It waged war against the U.S.A. It fought with Britain and France. It made the attack on Pearl Harbor, occupied Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia. Its offensive reached the eastern part of India.

Of course this by no means signifies that I agree to a repetition of the aggression of Japanese imperialism.

However, I do not think that the monopoly capital of Japan will allow the U.S.A. to sit on its neck forever. Nothing would be better than if Japan, having become completely independent, established contact with and entered into cooperation with the forces in Asia striving for national independence.

On the Sino-Soviet Dispute

Dwelling on the so-called Sino-Soviet dispute, Mao mentioned Soviet military aid to India, the recall of Soviet specialists and technicians from China, etc. Pointing out that “the relations between us and the Soviet Union have been worsening since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1956,” he went on to say:

“We were challenged to this, and we are giving a rebuff. It was proposed to us to cease open discussion for at least three months. We declared that we would not even cease it for three days. We waged war for 25 years. Twenty-two of these years were the civil war and the war against Japan, three years were the war in Korea. Before that I was a teacher. I did not know what war was like. Three teachers taught me war. The first was Chiang Kai-shek, the second was Japanese imperialism, the third American imperialism. Everyone knows what war is; when it is waged, people die. In these 25 years of war the losses of the Chinese people came to several tens of millions of killed and wounded.

“As for war on paper, no people are killed in such a war. We have been waging it for several years now, and not a single man has died. And we are prepared to continue this war 25 years more.”

[The following paragraph was omitted in Pravda's version. We have translated it from Sekai Shuho, August 11, 1964—Editor, Chinese Law and Government.]

The Rumanian Delegation came for the purpose of bringing about a suspension of the dispute. However, after its delegation returned home, Rumania

began hostilities with the Soviet Union. Where does the problem lie? It lies in the fact that a certain large country attempts to control several small countries. If one side attempts to control, the other side necessarily opposes it. At present, the world's two large countries, America and the Soviet Union, are on good terms with one another and are attempting to control the entire world. Can we approve of such actions?

On the Territorial Question

Tetsuo Ara, head of the delegation from the headquarters of the Socialist Party on the island of Hokkaido, asked: "While we remained unaware, the Kurile Islands were taken from us under the Yalta agreement and the Potsdam declaration. We demand their return and would like to hear the opinion of Chairman Mao in this connection."

The following was said in reply.

The places occupied by the Soviet Union are too numerous. In accordance with the Yalta agreement, the Soviet Union, under the pretext of guaranteeing the independence of Mongolia, actually placed this country under its domination. Mongolia occupies a far larger area than the Kurile Islands. In 1951, when Khrushchev and Bulganin came to China, we raised this question, but they refused to discuss it. They have appropriated part of Rumania. Having detached part of East Germany, they drove the local inhabitants into the western part. Having detached part of Poland, they incorporated it in Russia, and as compensation gave Poland part of East Germany. The same thing happened in Finland. They detached everything that could be detached. Some people said that the province of Xinjiang and the territories north of the Amur should be incorporated in the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. is concentrating troops on its frontier.

The Soviet Union occupies an area of 22,000,000 square kilometers while its population is only 200,000,000. It is time it stopped recarving. Japan occupies 370,000 square kilometers, while its population is 100,000,000. The region east of Baikal became the territory of Russia approximately 100 years ago, and since then Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Kamchatka and other points have been the territory of the Soviet Union. We have not yet presented the bill for this roll call. As for the Kurile Islands, this question is clear for us. They must be returned to Japan.

Comment on Report by Comrade Wang Dongxing

July 1964

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui)*, 1968, Vol. 5, page 146-147.

Decorations of potted flowers are things which have been handed down from the old society. This is a plaything of the feudalist official class, the bourgeoisie, and those young gentlemen who carry cages with roosting birds. Those people who have nothing to do after eating a meal have the ability to cultivate and dabble in flowers.

It has already been more than 10 years since the liberation of the country. But growing flowers has not been reduced. Instead, it has become more developed than ever before. Now it must be changed. I do not like the display of flowers in the room; during the day, there seems to be some good points. But at night, there are bad points. Long ago, I had them remove the flowers from my room. Henceforth, let them also dispose of the flowers in the courtyard. Wouldn't it be satisfying and fine if you were to plant some trees in the courtyard? They can still be planted. Your flower cellars must be abolished. The majority of the flowers must be reduced and taken away; it is only necessary that a few people take charge of the yards and gardens. Henceforth, more trees must be planted in the yards and gardens, and more fruit trees must be planted; some food-grains, vegetables, and oil-bearing crops may also be planted. The public parks and *xiangshan* in the metropolitan area of the city of Beijing must gradually change to planting some fruit trees and oil-bearing crops; thus, while they are pleasant to look at, they will also be practical and beneficial and will be advantageous to the future generations.

Talk on Questions of Philosophy

August 18, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 148-154.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 212-230.

It is only when there is class struggle that there can be philosophy. It is a waste of time to discuss epistemology apart from practice. The comrades who study philosophy should go down to the countryside. They should go down this winter or next spring to participate in the class struggle. Those whose health is not good should go too. Going down won't kill people. All they'll do is catch a cold, and if they just put on a few extra suits of clothes it'll be all right.

The way they go about it in the universities at present is no good, going from book to book, from concept to concept. How can philosophy come from books? The three basic constituents of Marxism are scientific socialism, philosophy, and political economy.⁹⁹ The foundation is social science, class struggle. There is a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Marx and the others saw this. Utopian socialists are always trying to persuade the bourgeoisie to be charitable. This won't work, it is necessary to rely on the class struggle of the proletariat. At that time, there had already been many strikes. The English parliamentary inquiry recognized that the twelve-hour day was less favorable than the eight-hour day to the interests of the capitalists. It is only starting from this viewpoint that Marxism appeared. The foundation is class struggle. The study of philosophy can only come afterwards. Whose philosophy? Bourgeois philosophy, or proletarian philosophy? Proletarian philosophy is Marxist philosophy. There is also proletarian economics, which has transformed classical economics. Those who engage in philosophy believe that philosophy comes first. The oppressors oppress the oppressed, while the oppressed need to fight back and seek a way out before they start looking for philosophy. It is only

⁹⁹ I.e. 1) Marxist philosophy, that is, dialectical materialism and historical materialism, which deals with the general law of development of the contradictions existing in nature, human society and man's thought; 2) Marxist political economy which elucidates the law governing the development of society's economy and exposes how the capitalist class exploits the working class (the theory of surplus value); and 3) scientific socialism which shows that the capitalist society is bound to develop to a higher stage of society and that the proletariat is the grave-digger of the capitalist system. (For details see Lenin's *The Three Sources and the Three Component Parts of Marxism*.)

when people took this as their starting-point that there was Marxism-Leninism, and that they discovered philosophy. We have all been through this. Others wanted to kill me; Chiang Kai-shek wanted to kill me. Thus we came to engage in class struggle, to engage in philosophizing.

University students should start going down this winter—I am referring to the humanities. Students of natural science should not be moved now, though we can move them for a spell or two. All those studying the humanities—history, political economy, literature, law—must every one of them go. Professors, assistant professors, administrative workers, and student should all of them go down, for a limited period of five months. If they go to the countryside for five months, or to the factories for five months, they will acquire some perceptual knowledge. Horses, cows, sheep, chickens, dogs, pigs, rice, sorghum, beans, wheat, varieties of millet they can have a look at all these things. If they go in the winter, they will not see the harvest, but at least they can still see the land and the people. To get some experience of class struggle—that’s what I call a university. They argue about which university is better, Beijing University or People’s University.¹⁰⁰ For my part I am a graduate of the university of the greenwoods, I learned a bit there. In the past I studied Confucius and spent six years on the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics*.¹⁰¹ I learned to recite them from memory, but I did not understand them. At that time, I believed deeply in Confucius, and even wrote essays [expounding his ideas]. Later I went to a bourgeois school for seven years. Seven plus six makes thirteen years. I studied all the usual bourgeois stuff—natural science and social science. They also taught some pedagogy. This includes five years of normal school, two years of middle school, and also the time I spent in the library.¹⁰² At that time I believed in Kant’s dualism, especially in his idealism. Originally I was a feudalist and an advocate of bourgeois democracy. Society impelled me to participate in the revolution. I spent a few years as a primary school teacher and principal of a four-year school. I also taught history and Chinese language in a six-year

¹⁰⁰ Beijing University, jointly descended from the old Beijing University which launched the May Fourth Movement in 1919, and from the American-endowed Yanjing University, has continued since 1949 to enjoy the highest prestige in China for general intellectual excellence. People’s University (Renmin Daxue), also located in Beijing, was specially set up to provide courses more accessible to students from worker and peasant backgrounds.

¹⁰¹ Among the Confucian classics, the *Four Books* represent the core studied by beginners, the *Five Classics* a somewhat larger corpus.

¹⁰² Among his varied educational experiences, Mao Zedong has long singled out the six months he spent reading in the Hunan Provincial Library, in the winter of 1912-13, as one of the most valuable.

school. I also taught for a short period in a middle school, but I did not understand a thing. When I joined the Communist Party I knew that we must make revolution, but against what? And how would we go about it? Of course we had to make revolution against imperialism and the old society. I did not quite understand what sort of thing imperialism was, still less did I understand how we could make revolution against it. None of the stuff I had learned in thirteen years was any good for making revolution. I used only the instrument—language. Writing essays is an instrument. As for the content of my studies, I didn't use it at all. Confucius said: "Benevolence is the characteristic element of humanity." "The benevolent man loves others."¹⁰³ Whom did he love? All men? Nothing of the kind. Did he love the exploiters? It wasn't exactly that, either. He loved only a part of the exploiters. Otherwise, why wasn't Confucius able to be a high official? People didn't want him. He loved them and wanted them to unite. But when it came to starving, and to [the precept] "The superior man can endure poverty," he almost lost his life, the people of Kuang wanted to kill him.¹⁰⁴ There were those who criticized him for not visiting Qin in his journey to the West. In reality, the poem "In the Seventh Month the Fire Star Passes the Meridian" in the *Book of Odes* refers to events in Shaanxi. There is also "The Yellow Bird," which talks about the affair in which three high officials of Duke Mu of Qin were killed and buried with him on his death.¹⁰⁵ Sima Qian¹⁰⁶ had a very high opinion of the *Book of Odes*. He said the 300 poems it contains were all written by sages and worthies of ancient times when they were aroused. A large part of the poems in the *Book of Odes* are in the manner of the various states, they are the folk songs of the common people, the sages and worthies are none other than the common people. "Written when they were aroused" means that when a man's heart was filled with anger, he wrote a poem!

You sow not nor reap;

How do you get the paddy for your three hundred round bins?

¹⁰³ The first sentence is from the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the second is from Mencius, *Book IV*.

¹⁰⁴ The quotation is from the Confucian *Analects*. The incident in which the people of Kuang detained Confucius and wanted to kill him is referred to in the *Analects*.

¹⁰⁵ Mao's reasoning is apparently that, whether or not he went there, Confucius had nothing against Qin (a state which existed in the first millennium B.C. in present-day Shaanxi, whose ruler ultimately conquered the whole of China and founded the Qin dynasty in 221 B.C.), since he included in the *Book of Odes*, which he is supposed to have edited, a number of poems from that area, including the two mentioned by Mao.

¹⁰⁶ Sima Qian (145-90 B.C.) was China's first great historian, who compiled the *Historical Records (Shiji)* relating the history of China from the origins to his own day.

You do not follow the chase;
 How do we see the quails hanging in your courtyards?
 O that superior man!
 He would not eat the bread of idleness.¹⁰⁷

The expression “to neglect the duties of an office while taking the pay” comes from here. This is a poem which accuses heaven and opposes the rulers. Confucius, too, was rather democratic. He included [in the *Book of Odes*] poems about the love between man and woman. In his commentaries, Zhu Xi characterized them as poems about clandestine love affairs.¹⁰⁸ In reality, some of them are and some of them aren't; the latter borrow the imagery of man and woman to write about the relations between prince and subject. In Shu [present-day Sichuan] at the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period, there was a poem entitled the *Ballad of the Lady Qin* by Wei Zhuang.¹⁰⁹ He wrote it in his youth, and it is about his longing for his prince.

To return to this matter of going down, people should go beginning this winter and spring, in groups and in rotation, to participate in the class struggle. Only in this way can they learn something, learn about revolution. You intellectuals sit every day in your government offices, eating well, dressing well, and not even doing any walking. That's why you fall ill. Clothing, food, housing and exercise are the four great factors causing disease. If, from enjoying good living conditions, you change to somewhat worse conditions, if you go into the midst of the Four Clean-ups and the Five-Antis, and undergo a spell of toughening, then you intellectuals will have a new look about you.

If you don't engage in class struggle, then what is this philosophy you're engaged in?

Why not go down and try it? If your illness gets too severe, you should come back—you have to draw the line at dying. When you are so ill that you are on the verge of dying, then you should come back. As soon as you go down, you will have some spirit. [*Kang Sheng interjects*: “The research institutes in

¹⁰⁷ The translation of the above poem, and of the titles of the two mentioned previously, are taken from Legge's version of the *Book of Odes*.

¹⁰⁸ Love poems have traditionally been interpreted by Chinese critics as an allegory for the relations between an official and his prince; Zhu Xi (see below, note 42) held that they should be taken at face value. Mao puts the commonsense view that they should sometimes be taken literally, and sometimes not.

¹⁰⁹ Wei Zhuang (858-910) was an eminent poet of the late Tang and early Five Dynasties period (907-979). Mao is arguing that the same principles of interpretation should be applied to the *Book of Odes* and to all classical poetry.

the Departments of Philosophy and Social Science of the Academy of Science should all go down too. At present, they are on the verge of turning into institutes for the study of antiquities, of turning into a fairyland nourishing itself by inhaling offerings of incense. None of the people in the Institute of Philosophy read the *Guangming Ribao*.”] I read only the *Guangming Ribao* and the *Wenhui Bao*,¹¹⁰ I don’t read the *People’s Daily*, because the *People’s Daily* doesn’t publish theoretical articles; after we adopt a resolution, then they publish it. The *Liberation Army Daily* is lively, it’s readable. [*Kang Sheng*: “The Institute of Literature pays no attention to Zhou Gucheng,¹¹¹ and the Economics Institute pays no attention to Sun Yefang¹¹² and to his going in for Libermanism, going in for capitalism.”]

Let them go in for capitalism. Society is very complex. If one only goes in for socialism and not for capitalism, isn’t that too simple? Wouldn’t we then lack the unity of opposites and be merely one-sided? Let them do it. Let them attack us madly, demonstrate in the streets, take up arms to rebel—I approve all of these things. Society is very complex, there is not a single commune, a single *xian*, a single department of the Central Committee, in which one cannot divide into two. Just look, hasn’t the Department of Rural Work been disbanded?¹¹³ It devoted itself exclusively to accounting on the basis of the individual household, and to propagating the “four great freedoms”—freedom to lend money, to engage in commerce, to hire labor, and to buy and sell land. In the past, they put out a proclamation [to this effect]. Deng Zihui had a

¹¹⁰ *Guangming Ribao* organ of the China Democratic League, took the lead in criticisms of the Party in April 1957, when the “blooming and contending” was in full flood. The *Wenhui Bao*, published in Shanghai, was a non-party organ which had been criticized by Mao for its bourgeois tendencies in 1957. In November 1965, it was to serve as the channel for the opening shot in the Cultural Revolution.

¹¹¹ Zhou Gucheng (1898-1996) was the author of numerous works on Chinese and world history. Since 1950 he had been a professor at Fudan University in Shanghai. In 1962 he published an article on history and art, in which he expressed ideas on the “Zeitgeist” which were said to be an expression in the realm of esthetics of Yang Xianzhen’s philosophical theories (see below, note 19 to this text).

¹¹² Sun Yefang (1908-1983) was at this time Director of the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Science; he was dismissed in 1966. As Kang Sheng’s remark indicates, he had adopted the ideas of some Soviet and Eastern European economists with whom he had been in professional contact about the role of the profit motive in a socialist economy.

¹¹³ In the summer of 1955, just before Mao’s speech of July 31 gave a new impetus to the formation of agricultural producers’ cooperatives, the Party’s Rural Work Department (at the instigation of Liu Shaoqi) had disbanded a number of cooperatives which were said to have been hastily and prematurely formed.

dispute with me. At a meeting of the Central Committee, he put forward the idea of implementing the four great freedoms.¹¹⁴

To consolidate New Democracy, and to go on consolidating it forever, is to engage in capitalism.¹¹⁵ New Democracy is a bourgeois-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. It touches only the landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie, it does not touch the national bourgeoisie at all. To divide up the land and give it to the peasants is to transform the property of the feudal landlords into the individual property of the peasants, and this still remains within the limits of the bourgeois revolution. To divide up the land is nothing remarkable—MacArthur did it in Japan. Napoleon divided up the land too. Land reform cannot abolish capitalism, nor can it lead to socialism.

In our state at present approximately one third of the power is in the hands of the enemy or of the enemy's sympathizers. We have been going for fifteen years and we now control two-thirds of the realm. At present, you can buy a [party] branch secretary for a few packs of cigarettes, not to mention marrying a daughter to him. There are some localities where land reform was carried out peacefully, and the land reform teams were very weak; now you can see that there are a lot of problems there.

I have received the materials on philosophy. [*This refers to the materials on the problem of contradictions—note by stenographer.*] I have had a look at the outline. [*This refers to the outline of an article criticizing "two combine into one"*¹¹⁶—*note by stenographer.*] I have not been able to read the rest. I have also looked at the materials on analysis and synthesis.

¹¹⁴ Deng Zihui (1895-1972) had been head of the Rural Work Department since 1952, though his influence had declined since the late 1950s, because of his share of responsibility for the "disbanding" or "weeding out" of cooperatives in 1955. It would appear, however that he still possessed sufficient status to put his views energetically in opposition to those of Mao when, in the early 1960s, the policies enumerated here by Mao were a subject of dispute within the Party. Both the Rural Work Department and Deng Zihui were severely criticized by comrade Mao during debate on cooperative transformation. For more details, see *Selected Works*, Vol. V, pp. 224-225.

¹¹⁵ A right opportunist view advocated by Liu Shao-chi and others. In this connection see comrade Mao's speech at the PB meeting of the CC of the CPC "Refute the Right Deviationist Views that Depart from General Line," *Selected Works*, Vol. V, pp. 93-94.

¹¹⁶ The view that "two combine into one" was put forward in the early 1960s by Yang Xianzhen (1896-1992), who had been, since 1955, President of the Higher Party School. Beginning in July 1964 this formulation was violently attacked in the press on the grounds that it minimized the importance of struggle and contradiction, and contrasted with Mao's view that "one divides into two," i.e. that struggle, and in particular class struggle, constantly re-emerges, even when particular contradictions have been resolved. The "outline of an article" referred to in the stenographer's note was presumably a summary of one of the forthcoming attacks on Yang, submitted to the Chairman in advance for his approval.

It is a good thing to collect materials like this on the law of the unity of opposites, what the bourgeoisie says about it, what Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin say about it, what the revisionists say about it. As for the bourgeoisie, Yang Xianzhen talks about it, and Hegel of old talked about it. Such people existed in the olden days. Now they are even worse. There were also Bogdanov and Lunacharsky, who used to talk about deism. I have read Bogdanov's economics. Lenin read it, and it seems he approved of the part on primitive accumulation. [*Kang Sheng*: "Bogdanov's economic doctrines were perhaps somewhat more enlightened than those of modern revisionism. Kautsky's economic doctrines were somewhat more enlightened than those of Khrushchev, and Yugoslavia is also somewhat more enlightened than the Soviet Union. After all, Djilas said a few good things about Stalin, he said that on Chinese problems Stalin made a self-criticism."]

Stalin felt that he had made mistakes in dealing with Chinese problems, and they were no small mistakes. We are a great country of several hundred millions, and he opposed our revolution, and our seizure of power. We prepared for many years in order to seize power in the whole country, the whole of the Anti-Japanese War constituted a preparation. This is quite clear if you look at the documents of the Central Committee for that period, including *On New Democracy*. That is to say that you cannot set up a bourgeois dictatorship, you can only establish New Democracy under the leadership of the proletariat, you can only set up a people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat. In our country, for eighty years, all the democratic revolutions led by the bourgeoisie failed. The democratic revolution led by us will certainly be victorious. There is only this way out, there is no other way out. This is the first step. The second step will be to build socialism. Thus, "On New Democracy" was a complete program. It discussed politics, economics, and culture as well; it failed to discuss only military affairs. [*Kang Sheng*: "'On New Democracy' is of great significance for the world communist movement. I asked Spanish comrades, and they said the problem for them was to establish bourgeois democracy, not to establish New Democracy. In their country, they did not concern themselves with the three points: army, countryside, political power. They wholly subordinated themselves to the exigencies of Soviet foreign policy, and achieved nothing at all."] These are the policies of Chen Duxiu! [*Kang Sheng*: "They say the Communist Party organized an army and then turned it over to others."] This is useless.

[*Kang Sheng*: “They also did not want political power, nor did they mobilize the peasantry. At that time, the Soviet Union said to them that if they imposed proletarian leadership, England and France might oppose it, and this would not be in the interests of the Soviet Union.”]

How about Cuba? In Cuba they concerned themselves precisely to set up political power and an army, and also mobilized the peasants, as [we did] in the past; therefore they succeeded.

[*Kang Sheng*: “Also, when they [the Spanish] fought, they waged regular war, in the manner of the bourgeoisie, they defended Madrid to the last.¹¹⁷ In all things, they subordinated themselves to Soviet foreign policy.”]

Even before the dissolution of the Third International, we did not obey the orders of the Third International. At the Zunyi Conference we didn't obey, and afterwards, for a period of ten years, including the Rectification Campaign and down to the Seventh Congress, when we finally adopted a resolution,¹¹⁸ and corrected [the errors of] “leftism,” we didn't obey them at all. Those dogmatists utterly failed to study China's peculiarities; ten-odd years after they had betaken themselves to the countryside, they utterly failed to study the land, property, and class relationships in the countryside. You can't understand the countryside just by going there, you must study the relations between all the classes and strata in the countryside. I devoted more than ten years to these problems before I finally clarified them for myself. You must make contact with all kinds of people, in teahouses and gambling dens, and investigate them. In 1925 I was active at the Peasant Movement Training Institute¹¹⁹ and carried out rural surveys. In my native village, I sought out poor peasants to investigate them. Their life was pitiable, they had nothing to eat. There was one peasant whom I sought out to play dominoes (the kind with heaven, earth, man, har-

¹¹⁷ The defense of Madrid, starting in October 1936, lasted for two years and five months. In 1936, fascist Germany and Italy made use of the Spanish fascist warlord Franco to launch a war of aggression against Spain. The Spanish people, led by the Popular Front Government, heroically defended democracy against aggression. The battle of Madrid, the Capital of Spain, was the bitterest in the whole war. Madrid fell in March 1939 because Britain, France and other imperialist countries assisted the aggressors by their hypocritical policy of “non-intervention” and because divisions arose within the Popular Front. The point of this criticism is obviously not that the Spanish republicans fought to the end, but that they failed to grasp the axiom that territorial strong points are not in themselves decisive.

¹¹⁸ See “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party” adopted on April 20, 1945, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 177-225. This text can only be found in the 1965 edition.

¹¹⁹ Mao began his activity at this institute in 1925, but it was in 1926 that he actually served as principal and made his main contribution. The quotation is from Mencius, *Book VI*, Part A, Ch. 15.

mony, plum flower, long threes and the bench), afterwards inviting him to have a meal. Before, after, and during the meal, I talked to him, and came to understand why the class struggle in the countryside was so acute. The reasons he was willing to talk to me were: first, that I looked on him as a human being; second, that I invited him to have a meal; and third, that he could make a bit of money. I kept losing; I lost one or two silver dollars, and as a result he was very well satisfied. There is a friend who still came to see me twice after Liberation. Once, in those days, he was really in a bad way, and he came looking for me to borrow a dollar. I gave him three as non-refundable assistance. In those days, such non-refundable assistance was hard to come by. My father took the view that if a man did not look after himself, heaven and earth would punish him. My mother opposed him. When my father died, very few people followed the funeral procession. When my mother died, a great many followed the procession. One time the Ko Lao Hui robbed our family. I said they were right to do so, for people had nothing. Even my mother could not accept this at all.

Once there broke out in Changsha rice riots in which the provincial governor was beaten up. There were some hawkers from Xiangxiang who had sold their broad beans and were straggling back home. I stopped them and asked them about the situation. The Red and Green Gangs in the countryside also held meetings and were “big eaters.”¹²⁰ This was reported in the Shanghai newspapers, and the troubles were only stamped out when troops were sent from Changsha. They did not maintain good discipline; they took the rice of the middle peasants, and so isolated themselves. One of their leaders fled hither and thither, finally taking refuge in the mountains, but he was caught there and executed. Afterwards, the village gentry held a meeting and killed a few more poor peasants. At that time, there was as yet no Communist Party; these were spontaneous class struggles.

Society pushed us on to the political stage. Who ever thought of indulging in Marxism previously? I hadn't even heard of it. What I had heard of, and also read of, was Confucius, Napoleon, Washington, Peter the Great, the Meiji Restoration, the three distinguished Italian [patriots]—in other words, all those [heroes] of capitalism. I had also read a biography of Franklin. He came from a poor family; afterwards, he became a writer, and also conducted experiments on electricity. [*Chen Boda*: “Franklin was the first to put forward the proposition that man is a tool-making animal.”]

¹²⁰ “Big eaters” meaning they did not rely on themselves and lived off of others.

He talked about man being a tool-making animal. Formerly, they used to say that man was a thinking animal, “the organ of the heart can think”¹²¹; they said that man was the soul of all creation. Who called a meeting and elected him [to that position]? He conferred this dignity on himself. This proposition existed in the feudal era. Afterwards, Marx put forward the view that man is a tool-maker, and that man is a social animal. In reality it is only after undergoing a million years [of evolution] that man developed a large brain and a pair of hands. In the future, animals will continue to develop. I don’t believe that men alone are capable of having two hands. Can’t horses, cows, sheep evolve? Can only monkeys evolve? And can it be, moreover, that of all the monkeys only one species can evolve, and all the others are incapable of evolving? In a million years, ten million years, will horses, cows and sheep still be the same as those today? I think they will continue to change. Horses, cows, sheep, and insects will all change. Animals have evolved from plants, they have evolved from seaweed. Taiyan knew all this. In the book in which he argued about revolution with Kang Youwei, he expounded these principles.¹²² The earth was originally dead; there were no plants, no water, no air. Only after I don’t know how many tens of millions of years was water formed; hydrogen and oxygen aren’t just transformed immediately in any old way into water. Water has its history too. Earlier still, even hydrogen and oxygen did not exist. Only after hydrogen and oxygen were produced was there the possibility that these two elements could combine to give water.

We must study the history of the natural sciences, it won’t do to neglect this subject. We must read a few books. There is a great difference between reading because of the necessities of our present struggles and reading aimlessly. Fu Ying¹²³ says that hydrogen and oxygen form water only after coming together hundreds and thousands of times; it is not at all a simple case of two combining into one. He was right about this, too; I want to look him up and

¹²¹ The quotation is from *Mencius, Book VI, Part A, Ch. 15*.

¹²² This is presumably a reference to Zhang Binglin’s celebrated article, published in 1903, entitled “A Refutation of Kang Youwei’s Letter on Revolution.” In this article, Zhang sharply attacked Kang not only on the issue of revolution versus gradual reform, but on the importance of racial differences between the Chinese and the Manchus, which Kang tended to minimize. The Manchus, Zhang argued, were an alien and decadent race, totally unfit to rule China. It was in this context that he discussed evolution, indicating that the existing racial differences were the product of history.

¹²³ Fu Ying is apparently a Chinese scientist who was alive in 1964, since Mao says he wants to look him up.

have a talk. [*Speaking to Lu Bing*.¹²⁴] You people should not oppose absolutely everything by Fu Ying.

Hitherto, analysis and synthesis have not been clearly defined. Analysis is clearer, but there hasn't been much said about synthesis. I had a talk with Ai Siqi.¹²⁵ He said that nowadays they only talk about conceptual synthesis and analysis, and do not talk about objective practical synthesis and analysis. How do we analyze and synthesize the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the landlords and the peasants, the Chinese and the imperialists? How do we do this, for example, in the case of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang? The analysis is simply a question of how strong we are, how much territory we have, how many members we have, how many troops, how many bases such as Yanan, what are our weaknesses? We do not hold any big cities, our army numbers only 1,200,000, we have no foreign aid, whereas the Kuomintang has a great amount of foreign aid. If you compare Yanan to Shanghai, Yanan has a population of only 7,000; adding to this the persons from the [Party and government] organs and from the troops [stationed in Yanan], the total comes to 20,000. There are only handicrafts and agriculture. How can this be compared with a big city? Our strong points are that we have the support of the people whereas the Kuomintang is divorced from the people. You have more territory, more troops, and more arms, but your soldiers have been obtained by impressment, and there is opposition between officers and soldiers. Naturally there is also a fairly large portion of their armies which has considerable fighting capacity, it is not at all the case that they will all just collapse at one blow. Their weak point lies here, the key is their divorce from the people. We unite with the popular masses; they are divorced from the popular masses.

They say in their propaganda that the Communist Party establishes community of property and community of wives, and they propagate these ideas right down to the primary schools. They composed a song: "When Zhu De and Mao Zedong appear, killing and burning and doing all kinds of things,

¹²⁴ Lu Bing (1927-2015) was the president of Beijing University at this time; he was removed and "struggled against" in June 1966.

¹²⁵ Ai Siqi (1910-1966) was, at the time of his death, Vice President of the Higher Party School. He was one of the Party's leading philosophical spokesmen, who had translated works on dialectical materialism from the Russian, and written many books and articles which aimed to make Marxism accessible to the masses. On November 1, 1964 he published an article in *People's Daily* attacking Yang Xianzhen, the "bourgeois" philosopher Mao refers to earlier in this talk in connection with the principle of "two combining into one."

what will you do?” They taught the primary school pupils to sing it, and as soon as they had sung it, the pupils went and asked their fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, thus producing the opposite effect of propaganda for us. There was a little child who heard [the song] and asked his daddy. His daddy replied: “You mustn’t ask; after you have grown up, you will see for yourself and then you’ll understand.” He was a middle-of-the-roader. Then the child also asked his uncle. The uncle scolded him and replied: “What is this about killing and burning? If you ask me again, I’ll beat you.” Formerly, his uncle was a member of the Communist Youth League. All the newspapers and radio stations attacked us. There were a lot of newspapers, several dozen in each city, every faction ran one, and all of them without exception were anti-communist. Did the common people all listen to them? Nothing of the kind! We have some experience of Chinese affairs, China is a “sparrow.”¹²⁶ In foreign countries, too, it’s nothing else but the rich and the poor, counter-revolution and revolution, Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. You mustn’t believe at all that everybody will take in anticommunist propaganda and join in opposing communism. Didn’t we read newspapers at the time? Yet we were not influenced by them.

I have read the *Dream of the Red Chamber* five times and have not been influenced by it. I read it as history. First I read it as a story, and then as history. When people read the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, they don’t read the fourth chapter carefully, but in fact this chapter contains the gist of the book. There is also Leng Zixing who describes the Rongguo mansion and composes songs and notes. The fourth chapter “The Hu Lu Bonze adjudicates the Hu Lu case,” talks about the “Office-philactery,” it introduces the four big families:

The “Jia” family is not “*jia*,” a myth; white jade form the Halls; gold compose their horses! The “A Fang” Palace is three hundred *li* in extent, but is no fit residence for a “Shi” of Jinling. The eastern seas lack white jade beds, and the “Long Wang,” king of the Dragons, has come to ask for one of the Jinling Wang, (Mr. Wang of Jinling.) In a plenteous year,

¹²⁶ The metaphor of “dissecting a sparrow” is an applied theory and a work method to acquire knowledge and sum up experiences. Instead of attempting to generalize about a vast number of repetitions of a phenomenon, this work method advocates the in-depth analysis, thorough study and investigation of a prototype, and a summing-up experience through such analysis. The slogan is derived from the common saying “while a sparrow is small, it contains all the vital organs” Here, Mao makes the point that, in the broader international context, China as a whole is a microcosm of the world today.

snow, (*Xue*,) is very plentiful; their pearls and gems are like sand, their gold like iron.¹²⁷

The *Dream of the Red Chamber* describes each of the four big families. It concerns a fierce class struggle, involving the fate of many dozens of people, though only twenty or thirty of these people are in the ruling class. (It has been calculated that there are thirty-three [in this category].) The others are all slaves, over three hundred of them, such as Yue Yang, Siqi, Second Sister Yu, Third Sister Yu, etc. In studying history, unless you take a class-struggle view as the starting-point, you will get confused. Things can only be analyzed clearly by the use of class analysis. More than 200 years have elapsed since the *Dream of the Red Chamber* was written, and research on the book has not clarified the issues, even down to the present day; from this we can see the difficulty of the problem. There are Yu Pingbo and Wang Kunlun, who are both of them specialists. He Qifang¹²⁸ also wrote a preface. A fellow called Wu Shichang¹²⁹ has also appeared on the scene. All this refers to recent research on the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, I won't even enumerate the older studies. Cao Yuanpei's view of the *Dream of the Red Chamber* was incorrect; Hu Shih's was somewhat more correct.¹³⁰

What is synthesis? You have all witnessed how the two opposites, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, were synthesized on the mainland. The synthesis took place like this: their armies came, and we devoured them, we ate them bite by bite. It was not a case of two combining into one as expounded by Yang Xianzhen, it was not the synthesis of two peacefully coexisting opposites. They didn't want to coexist peacefully; they wanted to devour you. Otherwise, why would they have attacked Yanan? Their army penetrated everywhere in North Shaanxi, except in three *xian* on the three borders. You have your freedom, and we have our freedom. There are 250,000 of you, and 25,000 of us.¹³¹

¹²⁷ See note 97 on p. 104.

¹²⁸ He Qifang (1912-1977), a lyric poet and powerful figure in the literary world, had defended Yu Pingbo up to a point at the time of the campaign against him in 1954, saying that Yu was wrong in his interpretation of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, but politically loyal. He himself came under attack at the time of the Great Leap Forward.

¹²⁹ Wu Shichang's work on this subject has been translated into English: *On "The Red Chamber Dream"*, Clarendon Press, 1961.

¹³⁰ Mao's statement here concords with the views of Lu Xun.

¹³¹ The figures Mao gives here, as he shifts to the historical present and calls to mind the final showdown with the Kuomintang, are rather those at the beginning of the Anti-Japanese War than those at the beginning of the renewed civil war in 1946, when the People's Liberation Army had grown to at least half a million men.

A few brigades, something over 20,000 men. Having analyzed, how do we synthesize? If you want to go somewhere, you go right ahead; we still swallow your army mouthful by mouthful. If we could fight victoriously, we fought; if we could not win, we retreated. From March 1947 to March 1948, one whole army [of the enemy] disappeared into the landscape, for we annihilated several tens of thousands of their troops. When we surrounded Yi Chuan, and Liu Kan came to relieve the city, the commander-in-chief Liu Kan was killed, two of his three divisional commanders were killed and the other taken prisoner, and the whole army ceased to exist. This was synthesis. All of their guns and artillery were synthesized over to our side, and the soldiers were synthesized too. Those who wanted to stay with us could stay, and to those who didn't want to stay we gave money for their traveling expenses. After we had annihilated Liu Kan, the brigade stationed in Yi Chuan surrendered without fighting. In the three great campaigns Liao-Shen, Huaihai, and Beijing-Tianjin—what was our method of synthesis? Fu Zuoyi was synthesized over to our side with his army of 400,000 men, without fighting, and they handed over all their rifles.¹³² One thing eating another, big fish eating little fish, this is synthesis. It has never been put like this in books. I have never put it this way in my books either. For his part, Yang Xianzhen believes that two combine into one, and that synthesis is the indissoluble tie between two opposites. What indissoluble ties are there in this world? Things may be tied, but in the end they must be severed. There is nothing which cannot be severed. In the twenty-odd years of our struggle, many of us have also been devoured by the enemy. When the 300,000-strong Red Army reached the Shaan-Gan-Ning area, there were only 25,000 left. Of the others, some had been devoured, some scattered, some killed or wounded.

We must take life as our starting-point in discussing the unity of opposites. [*Kang Sheng*: “It won't do merely to talk about concepts.”]

While analysis is going on, there is also synthesis, and while synthesis is going on, there is also analysis.

When people eat animals and plants, they also begin with analysis. Why don't we eat sand? When there's sand in rice, it's not good to eat. Why don't we eat grass, as do horses, cows and sheep, but only things like cabbage? We must analyze everything. Shennong tasted the hundred herbs¹³³ and originated

¹³² In January 1949, General Fu Zuoyi, commanding the nationalist garrison in Beijing (as it was then called), surrendered the city without a fight to avoid useless destruction. He subsequently became Minister of Water Conservancy in the Beijing government.

¹³³ The legendary Emperor Shennong is said to have taught the art of agriculture in the third millennium B.C., and in particular to have discovered the medicinal properties of

their use for medicine. After many tens of thousands of years, analysis finally revealed clearly what could be eaten, and what could not. Grasshoppers, snakes, and turtles can be eaten. Crabs, dogs, and aquatic creatures can be eaten. There are some foreigners who don't eat them. In North Shaanxi they don't eat aquatic creatures, they don't eat fish. They don't eat cat there either. One year there was a big flood of the Yellow River, which cast up on shore several tens of thousands of pounds of fish, and they used it all for fertilizer.

I am a native philosopher, you are foreign philosophers.

[*Kang Sheng*: "Could the Chairman say something about the problem of the three categories?"]

Engels talked about the three categories, but as for me, I don't believe in two of those categories. (The unity of opposites is the most basic law, the transformation of quality and quantity into one another is the unity of the opposites quality and quantity, and the negation of the negation does not exist at all.) The juxtaposition, on the same level, of the transformation of quality and quantity into one another, the negation of the negation, and the law of the unity of opposites is "triplism," not monism. The most basic thing is the unity of opposites. The transformation of quality and quantity into one another is the unity of the opposites quality and quantity. There is no such thing as the negation of the negation. Affirmation, negation, affirmation, negation... in the development of things, every link in the chain of events is both affirmation and negation. Slave-holding society negated primitive society, but with reference to feudal society it constituted, in turn, the affirmation. Feudal society constituted the negation in relation to slave-holding society, but it was in turn the affirmation with reference to capitalist society. Capitalist society was the negation in relation to feudal society, but it is, in turn, the affirmation in relation to socialist society.

What is the method of synthesis? Is it possible that primitive society can exist side-by-side with slave-holding society? They do exist side-by-side, but this is only a small part of the whole. The overall picture is that primitive society is going to be eliminated. The development of society, moreover, takes place by stages; primitive society, too, is divided into a great many stages. At that time, there was not yet the practice of burying women with their dead husbands, but they were obliged to subject themselves to men. First men were subject to women, and then things moved towards their opposite, and women were subject to men. This stage in history has not yet been clarified, although

plants.

it has been going on for a million years and more. Class society has not yet lasted 5,000 years, cultures such as that of Lung Shan and Yang Shao¹³⁴ at the end of the primitive era had colored pottery. In a word, one devours another, one overthrows another, one class is eliminated, another class rises, one society is eliminated, another society rises. Naturally, in the process of development, everything is not all that pure. When it gets to feudal society, there still remains something of the slaveholding system, though the greater part of the social edifice is characterized by the feudal system. There are still some serfs, and also some bond-workers, such as handicraftsmen. Capitalist society isn't all that pure either, and even in more advanced capitalist societies there is also a backward part. For example, there was the slave system in the Southern United States. Lincoln abolished the slave system, but there are still black slaves today, their struggle is very fierce. More than 20 million people are participating in it, and that's quite a few.

One thing destroys another, things emerge, develop, and are destroyed, everywhere is like this. If things are not destroyed by others, then they destroy themselves. Why should people die? Does the aristocracy die too? This is a natural law. Forests live longer than human beings, yet even they last only a few thousand years. If there were no such thing as death, that would be unbearable. If we could still see Confucius alive today, the earth wouldn't be able to hold so many people. I approve of Zhuangzi's approach.¹³⁵ When his wife died, he banged on a basin and sang. When people die there should be parties to celebrate the victory of dialectics, to celebrate the destruction of the old. Socialism, too, will be eliminated, it wouldn't do if it were not eliminated, for then there would be no communism. Communism will last for thousands and thousands of years. I don't believe that there will be no qualitative changes under communism, that it will not be divided into stages by qualitative changes! I don't believe it! Quantity changes into quality, and quality changes into quantity. I don't believe that it can remain qualitatively exactly the same, unchanging for millions of years! This is unthinkable in the light of dialectics. Then there is the principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Do you believe they can carry on for a million years with the same economics?

¹³⁴ The Long Shan and Yang Shao cultures, located respectively in north-eastern and north-western China, were the two most remarkable cultures of the Neolithic period. As Mao indicates, they are particularly noted for their pottery.

¹³⁵ The book called the *Zhuangzi*, which was probably composed only in part by the man of the same name who lived in the second half of the fourth century B.C., is not only one of the classic texts of Taoism (with the *Tao Te Ching* and the *Book of Changes*), but one of the greatest literary masterpieces in the history of China.

Have you thought about it? If that were so, we wouldn't need economists, or in any case we could get along with just one textbook, and dialectics would be dead.

The life of dialectics is the continuous movement toward opposites. Mankind will also finally meet its doom. When the theologians talk about doomsday, they are pessimistic and terrify people. We say the end of mankind is something which will produce something more advanced than mankind. Mankind is still in its infancy. Engels spoke of moving from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom and said that freedom is the understanding of necessity. This sentence is not complete, it only says one half and leaves the rest unsaid. Does merely understanding it make you free? Freedom is the understanding of necessity and the transformation of necessity—one has some work to do too. If you merely eat without having any work to do, if you merely understand, is that sufficient? When you discover a law, you must be able to apply it, you must create the world anew, you must break the ground and edify buildings, you must dig mines, industrialize. In the future there will be more people, and there won't be enough grain, so men will have to get food from minerals. Thus it is that only by transformation can freedom be obtained. Will it be possible in the future to be all that free? Lenin said that in the future, airplanes would be as numerous in the skies as flies, rushing hither and thither. Everywhere they will collide, and what will we do about it? How will we maneuver them? And if we do, will things be all that free? In Beijing at present there are 10,000 buses; in Tokyo there are 100,000 [vehicles] (or is it 800,000?), so there are more automobile accidents. We have fewer cars, and we also educate the drivers and the people, so there are few accidents. What will they do in Beijing 10,000 years hence? Will there still be 10,000 buses? They may invent something new, so that they can dispense with these means of transport, so that men can fly, using some simple mechanical device, and fly right to any place, and land wherever they like. It won't do just to understand necessity, we must also transform things.

I don't believe that communism will not be divided into stages, and that there will be no qualitative changes. Lenin said that all things can be divided. He gave the atom as an example, and said that not only can the atom be divided, but the electron, too, can be divided. Formerly, however, it was held that it could not be divided; the branch of science devoted to splitting the atomic nucleus is still very young, only twenty or thirty years old. In recent decades, the scientists have resolved the atomic nucleus into its constituents,

such as protons, anti-protons, neutrons, anti-neutrons, mesons and anti-mesons. These are the heavy ones; there are also the light ones. For the most part, these discoveries only got under way during and after the Second World War. As for the fact that one could separate the electrons from the atomic nucleus, that was discovered some time ago. An electric wire makes use of dissociated electrons from the outside of copper or aluminum. In the 300 *li* of the earth's atmosphere, it has also been discovered that there are layers of dissociated electrons. There, too, the electrons and the atomic nucleus are separated. As yet, the electron has not been split, but some day they will certainly be able to split it. It is said in the *Zhuangzi*: "Take a pole one foot long, cut away half of it every day, there will still be some left." (Chapter 33, "The World," quoting Gongsun Long.) This is the truth. If you don't believe it, just consider. If it could be reduced to zero, then there would be no such thing as science. The myriad things develop continuously and limitlessly, and they are infinite. Time and space are infinite. As regards space, looking at it both macroscopically and microscopically, it is infinite, it can be divided endlessly. So even after a million years, scientists will still have work to do. I very much appreciate the article on basic particles in the *Bulletin of Natural Science* by Sakata.¹³⁶ I have never seen this kind of article before. This is dialectical materialism. He quotes Lenin.

The weakness of philosophy is that it hasn't produced practical philosophy, but only bookish philosophy.

We should always be bringing forward new things. Otherwise what are we here for? What do we want descendants for? New things are to be found in reality, we must grasp reality. In the last analysis, is Ren Jiyu¹³⁷ Marxist or not? I greatly appreciate those articles of his on Buddhism. There is some research [behind them], he is a student of Tang Yongtong.¹³⁸ He discusses only the Buddhism of the Tang dynasty and does not touch directly on the Buddhism of later times. Song and Ming metaphysics developed from the Chan School

¹³⁶ Sakata Shoichi (1911-1970), a Japanese physicist from the University of Nagoya, holds that "elementary particles are a single, material, differentiated, and limitless category which make up the natural order." An article by him expounding these views was published in *Red Flag* in June 1965. (See also the succeeding articles in this volume.)

¹³⁷ Mao is apparently referring to a collection of essays published by Ren Jiyu in 1963, and reprinted in 1973: *Collected Essays on Buddhist Thought in the Han and Tang Dynasties* (*Han Tang fojiao sixiang lun ji*), Beijing, Renmin Chubanshe, pp. 348. In these studies, he quotes from Lenin at considerable length regarding dialectics.

¹³⁸ Tang Yongtong (1892-1964), whom Ren Jiyu acknowledges as his teacher, was the leading historian of Buddhism, who had written on Chinese Buddhism under the Han, Wei, Chin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties, on the history of Indian thought, etc. He was Dean of the Humanities at Beijing University from 1948 until he fell ill in 1954.

of the Tang dynasty, and it was a movement from subjective idealism to objective idealism.¹³⁹ There is both Buddhism and Taoism, and it is wrong not to distinguish between them. How can it be proper not to pay attention to them? Han Yu didn't talk sense. His slogan was "Learn from their ideas, but not from their mode of expression." His ideas were entirely copied from others, he changed the form, the mode of composition of the essays. He didn't talk sense, and the little bit he did talk was basically taken from the ancients. There is a little something new in writings like the *Discourse on Teachers*. Liu Zihou was different, he knew the ins and outs of Buddhist and Taoist materialism.¹⁴⁰ And yet, his *Heaven Answers* is too short, just that little bit. His *Heaven Answers* is a product of Qu Yuan's *Heaven Asks*.¹⁴¹ For several thousand years, only this one man has written a piece such as *Heaven Answers*. What are *Heaven Asks* and *Heaven Answers* all about? If there are no annotations to explain it clearly, you can't understand it if you read it, you'll only get the general idea. *Heaven Asks* is really fantastic, thousands of years ago it raised all kinds of questions, relating to the universe, to nature, and to history.

[Regarding the discussion on the problem of two combining into one:] Let *Hongqi* reprint a few good items and write a report.

¹³⁹ Under the influence of Chan Buddhism (better known under its Japanese name of Zen), Chinese philosophers of the Song and Ming dynasties, of whom Zhu Xi (1130-1200) is the most famous, developed a synthesis between Confucianism and Buddhism in which a central role is played by the notion of *li* (principle or ritual), commonly known as Neo-Confucianism.

¹⁴⁰ Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan. Han Yu sought to recreate the simplicity of the classical period, while avoiding excessive archaism. The slogan about "learning from their ideas" quoted by Mao refers to this aim of seeking inspiration from the ancient Confucian sages, while avoiding outmoded forms of expression. He adopted a critical attitude towards Buddhism, but none the less borrowed some ideas from it. Liu Zongyuan, whom Mao calls here by his literary name of Liu Zihou, was a close friend of Han Yu.

¹⁴¹ Liu Zongyuan's essay *Heaven Answers* [*Tian Dui*] undertook to answer the questions about the origin and nature of the universe raised by Qu Yuan in his poem *Heaven Asks* [*Tian Wen*]. The latter is translated under the title "The Riddles" in *Li Sao and Other Poems of Qu Yuan*, pp. 79-97. It is, as Mao says, suggestive but extremely obscure.

Talk on Sakata's Article

August 24, 1964

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui)*, 1968, Vol. 5, page 158-161.
Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

Mao Zedong: I have asked you to come here today because I want to look into the article by Sakata [Shoichi]. Sakata says that basic particles are indivisible while electrons are divisible. In saying this, he is taking the stand of dialectical materialism.

The world is infinite. In both time and space, the world is boundless and inexhaustible. Beyond our solar system are numerous stars which together form the Milky Way. Beyond this galaxy are numerous other galaxies. Regarded broadly the universe is infinite; regarded narrowly, the universe is also infinite. Not only is the atom divisible, but so too is the atomic nucleus and it can be split ad infinitum. It is said in the *Zhuangzi*: "Take a pole one foot long, cut away half of it every day, and at the end of ten thousand generations, there will still be some left." This is true. Thus, our cognition of the world is also infinite and inexhaustible. Otherwise, the science of physics would not develop any further. If our cognition were finite, we would already have recognized everything, and what would there be left for us to do?

Mao Zedong: Man's cognition of things must undergo a great many repetitions, and there must be a process of accumulation. A large amount of emotional data must be accumulated in order to induce the jump from emotional cognition to rational cognition. As to the reasons for the leaps from practice to emotion, and from emotion to reasoning, neither Marx nor Engels discussed it very clearly. Nor did Lenin discuss it very clearly. In his *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, Lenin elaborated only on materialism, without elaborating upon the theory of cognition. Recently, Ai Siqi discussed this point at the Higher Party School and he was correct in doing so. Even the men of the ancient past in China, including Laozi and Zhuangzi, did not explain it clearly. Mozi did discuss some things concerning the theory of cognition, but not very clearly. Others like Zhang Zai, Li Zhuowu, Wang Chuanshan and Tan Sitong also did not explain it clearly. What is philosophy? Philosophy is the theory of cognition, nothing else. I wrote the first ten articles of the *Double Ten Articles*

[*Shuangshi Tiao*], I discussed how substance changes into spirit and spirit into substance. I also said that the time devoted to teaching philosophy must not be too long, one hour at most. The more one talks about it, the more confused one becomes. I also said that philosophy ought to be liberated from classrooms and studies. My words touched the soft spots of some people who thereupon came out with “two unites into one” to oppose me.

Mao Zedong: At present our cognition of many things is still rather unclear. Cognition is always developing. With a large telescope, we will be able to see more stars. In regard to the solar system and the earth, we have not as yet overthrown Kant's nebular hypothesis that both the earth and the sun were formed by the contraction of extremely hot gases. Our earth is most probably still in its youth, and it is growing larger steadily because many things, such as meteorites and sunlight, are falling on it every day. The sun has most probably reached its middle age, and it is no longer as hot as before. If the sunshine on the earth's surface is so strong as to reach 100 degrees, how can human beings withstand it? The temperature of the sun's surface is 5,000 or 6,000 degrees, and there is a layer on the surface with a temperature of some 1,000-3,000 degrees. If we say that we do not understand the sun too well, it goes without saying that we also are none too clear about the enormous space between the sun and the earth. Now, with the satellites, our understanding in this field has been considerably enhanced. We are not too clear about climatic changes on the earth, and we must study them. In regard to the glacial problem, scientists are still arguing it out. Li Siguang maintains that there is a glacial period every one-million years. Whenever this happens, drastic changes occur in the biological world. Ancient dinosaurs became extinct because they could not withstand the frigid cold of the glacial age. Man was produced in between the two recent glacial periods. When it comes to a later glacial age, it would become a problem to mankind, and one must be prepared to cope with the advent of the next glacial period.

XX: Chairman just mentioned something about telescope which reminds me of a question: Can't we generally categorize such things as telescopes and satellites as being “tools of cognition?”

Mao Zedong: What you say about the concept of “tools of cognition” seems very plausible. The tools of cognition should comprise such things as the axe, machinery, etc. Man's cognition stems from practice. We use the axe and machinery to transform the world, and our cognition is thus deepened. Tools are extensions of human organs. The axe is an extension of our arms while the

telescope is an extension of our eyes. The human body and its organs can all be extended. Franklin said that man is the animal that creates tools. The Chinese say that the human being is the wisest of all creatures. Animals have their own pecking order, but the ape does not know how to fashion sticks to knock fruit off the trees. There are no concepts in the brains of animals.

XX: Philosophical works usually only take the individual as the subject of cognition, but in practical life, the subject of cognition is often not an individual, but a collective. Are we right to regard our Party as the subject of cognition?

Mao Zedong: A class is the subject of cognition. In the beginning, the working class was a class in and of itself, and it had no knowledge of capitalism. Later, it developed from a class in and of itself into a class that existed for itself, and by that time, it began to understand capitalism. This was a case of the development of cognition based on class as the subject.

Mao Zedong: There was no water on the earth in the beginning. In earliest times, the earth's temperature was so high that it was impossible to have water, for it would have exploded to become hydrogen and oxygen. There was an article two days ago in the *Guangming Daily* which says that it took millions of years for hydrogen and oxygen to combine and form water. Fu Ying said that it would take tens of millions of years. I don't know if the author of that article has discussed it with Fu Ying. Only after there was water was it possible for living things to emerge from the water. Man evolved from fish, and there was a developmental stage in which the human embryo resembled fish.

Mao Zedong: All individual and all specific things have their births, development, and deaths. Every person must die, because he was born. Man must die, and Zhang San being a man, Zhang San must die.¹⁴² None can see Confucius who lived 2,000 years ago, because he had to die. Mankind is born, and therefore mankind must also die. The earth was born, and so the earth must also die. Nonetheless, when we say that mankind will die and the earth will die, it is different from what Christians say about the end of the world. When we talk about the death of mankind and the death of the earth, we mean that something more advanced than mankind will come to replace it, and this is a higher stage in the development of things. I saw that Marxism also has its birth, its development and its death. This may seem to be absurd. But since Marx said that all things that happen have their death, how can we say that this is not applicable to Marxism itself? To say that it won't die is metaphysics. Naturally,

¹⁴² Zhang San is a placeholder name.

the death of Marxism means that something higher than Marxism will come to replace it.

Mao Zedong: Things are continually in motion. Concerning the theory that the earth revolves around the sun, thus forming a day by self-orbit and a year by complete orbit, there were only three persons in the time of Copernicus in Europe who believed it, namely Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler. There was not a single person in China. However, there was a Xin Qiji of the Song dynasty who said in his poem that when the moon went down from us here, it would be shining somewhere else.¹⁴³ Zhang Hua (courtesy name: Zhang Maoxian) of the Qin Dynasty wrote in one of his poems: “When Taiyi [a constellation] moves in its orbit, heaven will return and earth will travel.” That poem is found in the *Sources of Ancient Poems* [*Gushi Yuan*].

Mao Zedong: All things are both constant and inconstant. The universe was constant, but later, the Chinese scientists Li Zhengdao and Yang Zhenning who live in the United States said it is not constant. Does this also apply to the constancy of mass and energy? There is nothing in the world that absolutely does not change. Changing and unchanging, then changing and unchanging combine to form the universe. Constancy and inconstancy, this is both equilibrium and disequilibrium. There is also the case where the equilibrium is completely disrupted. A generator is a good example to illustrate movement and transformation. What kind of movement is there when the coal is burning?

XX: It is the energy emitted by the outer layer of electrons of the atoms of the compound when they change their orbit of motion.

Mao Zedong: The transformation of its form in which the water expands and becomes steam is what produces the movement.

XX: The movement of the molecules produces energy.

Mao Zedong: But this also causes the rotor of the generator to turn. This is mechanical movement which eventually generates electricity which flows into the copper and lead wires.

¹⁴³ A lyrical piece, written to the tune of the *Slow Magnolia* [*Mulan hua man*]: “At a party with the wine drinking close to dawn, some guest stated that among the poems written by men of old, there were some which spoke about waiting for the moon to arise, but none about bidding farewell to the moon. Thus, this poem is about the direction taken by the moon: Pity the moon of tonight, wither does it go, and will it be gone forever? Is there another world which will see it, with its bright shadow in the east? Out beyond the vastness of heaven are there long winds to send off the mid-autumn moon? Who can fasten the rootless mirror flying, and if the Moon Goddess never marries, who can tie her down?”

Everything in the world is changing, physics is changing, Newton's laws of physics are changing. The world has evolved from one in which there was no Newtonian theory to one in which there was, and thereafter, from Newton's theory to the theory of relatively. This is dialectics in itself.

Things are always happening in unexpected ways. Sun Yat-sen originally studied medicine, but he later became involved in politics. Guo Moruo also started out studying medicine, but he later became a historian. Lu Xun also studied medicine, but he later became a great writer. I myself have engaged in politics step by step. I studied the Confucian classics for six years, attended seven years of school, became a primary school teacher, and later taught middle school. I did not even know then what Marxism was; nor had I heard of Marx or Engels. I knew only about Napoleon and Washington. It was also like this when I found myself involved with military affairs. I served as director of the propaganda department in the Political Department of the National Revolutionary Army, and I also stressed the importance of fighting at the Institute of the Peasant [Movement], but I never thought that I myself would ever undertake military affairs and fight in battle. Later, I led my own men to fight and went to Jinggangshan. While at Jinggangshan, I had a small victory at first, but this was followed by two disastrous defeats. I then summed up my experiences and summarized them into a set of guerrilla war tactics:

“When the enemy advances we retreat; when the enemy rests we harass; when the enemy is tired we fight; when the enemy retreats we pursue.” Thanks to Generalissimo Chiang who gave us these lessons; thanks to some of those in the Party who said that I did not even have a modicum of Marxism and that they were 100 percent Bolsheviks.¹⁴⁴ Nonetheless, it was also these 100 percent Bolsheviks who caused the Party in the white area to suffer 100 percent losses, and the Party in the Soviet area to suffer 90 percent losses.

Mao Zedong: We produce neither food grains nor machinery, but what we produce are lines and policies. Line and policy are not produced from within a vacuum. For instance, we did not invent the Four Clean-ups or the Five-Antis, but it was the common people who told us about them. We must thank a counter-revolutionary in Guangdong for the emergence of the Four Clean-ups and the Five-Antis. He wrote to XX and XX to get me to abdicate political power and hand over the armed forces.

¹⁴⁴ A reference to the “leftists” under the leadership to Wang Ming, who claimed themselves to be 100 percent Bolsheviks, and who were firmly opposing comrade Mao's correct line during the period 1931-35; see note 75 on p. 68 of this volume.

The scientists should align themselves with the masses; it behooves them to form close links with the young workers and the veteran workers. Our brain is a processing factory. Factory equipment must be renovated, and so our brains must also be renovated. The various cells of our body are being renewed continuously. The cells in our skin are no longer those with which we were born, but have been changed innumerable times.

There are several types of Chinese intellectuals. Engineering and technical personnel have accepted socialism more satisfactorily. Next come those who study science, while those who study liberal arts are the worst. I can see that this Feng Ting of yours must be a revisionist, because what he wrote in his books is all Khrushchev's stuff.

Mao Zedong: Cao Xueqin's *Dream of the Red Chamber* was intended to patch up the heaven—the heaven of feudalism. Nonetheless, what Cao Xueqin wrote was about the decline of feudal families, and this may be regarded as a contradiction between Cao's world outlook and his creation. Cao Xueqin's family fortune declined during the reign of Emperor Yongzheng. Emperor Kangxi had a number of children among whom Yongzheng was one. Yongzheng used his secret service operation to oppress his adversaries, and dubbed two other sons of Kangxi, possibly it was the 9th and 10th, as pig and dog.

Mao Zedong: Anatomy is rather important. See "Cook Ding Cuts the Beef."¹⁴⁵ When Engels mentioned medicine, he paid special attention to anatomy. Medicine is built upon the foundation of anatomy.

We should study the origins of cells. The cell has its nucleus, a mass of protoplasm, and a membrane. The cell is organic, and so there must have been noncellular forms [cytodes] before there was the cell. What was there before the cell was formed? How was the noncellular form changed into the cell? There is a woman scientist in the Soviet Union who has been studying this problem, but no result has been reported.

XX: After China reported to the International Surgical Conference in Rome about the rejoining of a severed hand, Americans said that they could not assess the ability of China's science and technology, and they were a little scared of us.

Mao Zedong: It is good that they were scared; it would be bad if they were not. We are afraid of America because America is our enemy. When America is afraid of us, it means that we are her enemy, and also a formidable enemy. In

¹⁴⁵ A tale in the *Zhuangzi* (Chapter 3) that tells the story of a cook able to butcher an ox precisely because of his knowledge of its anatomy.

science and technology, we should pay attention to security so that they won't be able to assess our secret capability.

On Education— Excerpts From a Conversation with the Nepalese Delegation of Educators

August 29, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 169-174.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 21-23.

Our education is fraught with problems, the most prominent of which is dogmatism. We are in the process of reforming our educational system. The school years are too long, courses too many, and various methods of teaching unsatisfactory. The children learn textbooks and concepts which remain [merely] textbooks and concepts; they know nothing else. [They] do not use their four limbs; nor do [they] recognize the five kinds of grain.¹⁴⁶ Many children do not even know what cows, horses, chickens, dogs, and pigs are; nor can they tell the differences between rice, canary seeds, maize, wheat, millet, and sorghum.¹⁴⁷ When a student graduates from his university, he is already over twenty. The school years are too long, courses too many, and the method of teaching is by injection instead of through the imagination. The method of examination is to treat candidates as enemies and ambush them. [*laughter*] Therefore I advise you not to entertain any blind faith in the Chinese educational system. Do not regard it as a good system. Any drastic change is difficult, [as] many people would oppose it. At present a few may agree to the adoption of new methods, but many would disagree. I may be pouring cold water on you. You expect to see something good, but I only tell you what is bad. [*laughter*]

However, I am not saying that there is nothing good at all. Take industry and geology for instance. The old society left to us only 200 geologists and technicians; now we have more than 200,000.

Generally speaking, the intellectuals specializing in engineering are better, because they are in touch with reality. Scientists, pure scientists, are worse, but

¹⁴⁶ A quotation from the *Analects* by Confucius.

¹⁴⁷ A quotation from the children's classic, the *Three Character Classic* [*San Zi Jing*].

they are still better than those who specialize in art subjects. [Liberal] art subjects are completely detached from reality. Students of history, philosophy, and economics have no concern with studying reality; they are the most ignorant of things of this world.

As I have said before, we have nothing marvelous, only things we have learnt from ordinary people. Of course, we have learnt a little Marxism-Leninism, but Marxism-Leninism alone won't do. [We] must study Chinese problems, starting from the characteristics and facts of China. We Chinese, myself included, did not know much about China. We knew that we ought to fight against imperialism and its lackeys, but we did not know how to do it. So we had to study the conditions of China, just as you study the conditions of your country. We spent a long time, fully twenty-eight years from the foundation of the CPC to the liberation of the whole country, in forging step by step a set of policies suitable to Chinese conditions.

The source of [our] strength is the masses. If a thing does not represent the people's wish, it is no good. [We] must learn from the masses, formulate our policies, and then educate the masses. Therefore if we want to be teachers, we have to be pupils to begin with. No teacher begins [his career] as a teacher. Having become a teacher, he should continue to learn from the masses in order to understand how he himself learns. That is why there are courses on psychology and education in teachers' training. What [one] learns becomes useless if [one] does not understand the reality.

There is a factory attached to the science and engineering faculties at Qinghua University¹⁴⁸ because students must learn from [both] books and work. But [we] cannot set up factories for arts faculties such as a literature factory, a history factory, an economics factory, or a novel factory; these faculties should regard the whole of society as their factory. Their teachers and students should make contact with the peasants and urban workers as well as with agriculture and industries. How else can their graduates be of any use? Take students of law, for example. If they do not understand crimes in a society, they cannot be good students of law. It is out of the question to set up a law factory; so society is their factory.

Comparatively speaking, our arts faculties are the most backward owing to a lack of contact with reality. Students and teachers do only class work. Philosophy is book philosophy. What is the use of philosophy if it is not learnt from society, from the masses, and from nature? It can be composed only of vague

¹⁴⁸ On the western outskirts of Beijing.

ideas. Logic is the same. [One] does not understand much of it if one merely reads through the textbook once. But one understands it gradually through application. I did not understand much when I read logic. The understanding came to me when I used it.

I have been talking about logic. There is also grammar which one does not quite understand simply by reading it. But one grasps the use of sentence structure when one is actually writing. We write and speak according to the customary usages and it is not really necessary to study grammar. As to rhetoric, it is an optional subject. Great writers are not always rhetoricians. I studied rhetoric myself, but did not understand it at all. Do you study it before you write?

Talk with Mao Yuanxin (2)

August 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 161-163.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 242-250.

Mao Zedong: Have you made any progress in the course of the past half year? Have you raised [your level]?

Yuanxin: I'm a bit mixed up about it myself, I wouldn't venture to say that I have made any progress; if I have, it is merely superficial.

Mao Zedong: I think you have after all made some progress, your way of looking at problems is no longer so simple. Have you read the *Ninth Reply* or not?¹⁴⁹ Have you seen the five criteria for successors?

¹⁴⁹ At this time, Mao was intensely preoccupied with the problem of bringing up successors to the revolutionary cause to which he had devoted himself for half a century. The five requirements or criteria for such successors were first publicly stated in mid-July 1964, in the editorial entitled *On Khrushchev's Phony Communism and its Historical Lessons for the World*, translated in *Beijing Review*, 1964, No. 29, pp. 7-27. (The "five requirements" appear on pp. 26-27.) They must be "genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists"; they must be "revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the majority of the people of China and the whole world"; they must be "proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority"; they must be "models in applying the Party's democratic centralism," and must master the "mass line" method of leadership; they must be "modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity."

Yuanxin: I have seen them. [Following on from this, he talked for a while, setting forth the main content of the *Ninth Reply* as regards successors.]

Mao Zedong: You have talked about it, all right, but do you understand it? These five criteria are indissolubly linked to one another. The first is theory, or also orientation. The second is the aim—i.e. when you come right down to it, whom do you serve? This is the most important. When you have mastered this point, you can do anything. The third, fourth and fifth criteria relate to questions of methodology. You must unite with the majority, you must implement democratic centralism, you must not allow everything to be settled by the word of one man, you must carry out self-criticism, you must be modest and prudent. Isn't all this methodology?

Mao Zedong [*Talking about the first criterion for successors*]: Are you going to study Marxism-Leninism, or revisionism?

Yuanxin: Naturally, I'm studying Marxism-Leninism.

Mao Zedong: Don't be too sure, who knows what you're studying? Do you know what Marxism-Leninism is?

Yuanxin: Marxism-Leninism means that you must carry on the class struggle, that you must carry out revolution.

Mao Zedong: The basic idea of Marxism-Leninism is that you must carry out revolution. But what is revolution? Revolution is the proletariat overthrowing the capitalists, the peasants overthrowing the landlords, and then afterwards setting up a workers' and peasants' political power, and moreover continuing to consolidate it. At present, the task of the revolution has not yet been completed; it has not yet been finally determined who in the end will overthrow whom. In the Soviet Union, is not Khrushchev in power, is not the bourgeoisie in power? We too, have cases in which political power is in the grip of the bourgeoisie; there are production brigades, factories, and *xian* committees, as well as district and provincial committees, in which they have their people, there are deputy heads of public security departments who are their men. Who is leading the Ministry of Culture? The cinema and the theater are entirely in their service, and not in the service of the majority of the people.¹⁵⁰ Who do you say is exercising leadership? To study Marxism-Leninism is to study the class

¹⁵⁰ It was in 1964 that Jiang Qing began in earnest her efforts to remedy this situation by developing modern revolutionary Beijing opera to replace the old plays about emperors, generals and concubines.

struggle. The class struggle is everywhere; it is in your Institute, a counter-revolutionary has appeared in your Institute, are you aware of this or not? He wrote a reactionary diary filling a dozen or so notebooks, every day he cursed us, shouldn't he be considered a counter-revolutionary element? Are you people not completely insensitive to class struggle? Isn't it right there beside you? If there were no counter-revolution, then why would we still need revolution?

[Yuanxin reports on some circumstances regarding the Five-Antis in the factory where he had gone for practical training, from which he had learned a great deal.]

Mao Zedong: Everywhere there is counter-revolution, how could it be absent from the factories? Middle and low-ranking Kuomintang officers, secretaries of *xian* [Kuomintang] party offices, etc., have all crept in. No matter what guise they have been transformed into, we must now clean them all out. Everywhere there is class struggle, everywhere there are counter-revolutionary elements. Is not Chen Dongping sleeping right next to you? I have read all the various materials [of his] denounced by your Institute. You were sleeping together with a counterrevolutionary, and yet you did not know it!

[Mao Zedong next asked about political and ideological work in the Institute. Mao Yuanxin gave his views of this.]

Yuanxin: They call meetings and talk a lot; outwardly it's very stirring, but they don't solve many real problems.

Mao Zedong: The whole country is engaged in learning from the People's Liberation Army on a vast scale. You are members of the PLA; why aren't you learning from it? Does the Institute have a political department? What is it doing? Do you have political training or not?

[Yuanxin explains the way political training is carried out at the Institute.] All this is nothing but attending classes and discussing things—what is the use of it? You should go and study reality. You have not even applied the principle that ideology comes first, you have no real knowledge at all, so when people talk about those things, how can you understand them?

[Mao especially advocates swimming in great winds and waves and moreover urges Mao Yuanxin to practice it resolutely every day.] You have already come to know water, and have mastered it, that is excellent. Do you know how to ride horseback?

Yuanxin: I don't know how [to ride].

Mao Zedong: To be a soldier, and not to know how to ride this should not be.

[Mao Zedong calls on Mao Yuanxin to go and learn to ride; the Chairman himself constantly practices riding and has also made his secretary and staff go and learn.]

Have you done any rifle shooting or not?

Yuanxin: I haven't touched a gun for four years.

Mao Zedong: At present the militia all shoot very well, but you members of the PLA haven't done any shooting; you discuss this criticism of mine with XX, what kind of soldier is it that doesn't know how to shoot?

[Once when he was swimming, and the weather was relatively cold, so that it was warmer in the water than above it, Mao Yuanxin after he had come out and felt a bit cold, said:] It is after all a bit more comfortable in the water.

Mao Zedong [staring angrily at Mao Yuanxin]: In fact, you like comfort and fear difficulties.

[Mao Zedong discussing the second criterion for successors, said:] You know how to think about yourself, you spend all your time pondering your own problems. Your father [Comrade Mao Zemin] was dauntless and resolute in the face of the enemy—he never wavered in the slightest, because he served the majority of the people.¹⁵¹ If it had been you, wouldn't you have got down on both knees and begged for your life? Very many members of our family have given their lives, killed by the Kuomintang and the American imperialists. You grew up eating honey, and thus far you have never known suffering. In the future, if you do not become a rightist, but rather a centrist, I shall be satisfied. You have never suffered—how can you be a leftist?

Yuanxin: Is there still some hope for me?

Mao Zedong: Well, yes, there is hope, but if you surpass the criteria I have set, that will be even better.

[Mao Zedong also talked about the third criterion, saying:] When you people hold a meeting, how do you hold it? You are a squad leader; how does one go about being a squad leader? When everyone criticizes you, can you accept it? Can you accept their criticisms even if they are wrong? Can you accept a false

¹⁵¹ Mao's brother, Mao Zemin, served in Xinjiang from 1938 to 1942 as head of the finance department of the government controlled by the local warlord, General Sheng Shicai, who was then collaborating with the Soviet Union. When General Sheng shifted his allegiance from Moscow to the Kuomintang, Mao Zemin was arrested in September 1942 and executed in 1943.

and unjust charge? If you cannot accept it, then how can you unite people? You must especially learn to work with people who disagree with you. If you like to have people praise you, if you like to have honey on your lips, and songs to your glory in your ears, that is the most dangerous thing, and that is exactly what you do like.

[In talking about the fourth criterion, Mao Zedong said:] Do you unite with the masses or not? Is it not the case that you spend your time with the sons and daughters of cadres, and look down on other people? You must let people talk and not be satisfied with letting one person settle everything.

[In talking about the fifth criterion, Mao Zedong said:] In this respect you have already made some progress—you have engaged in a bit of self-criticism, but it's barely a beginning, you mustn't think everything is all right.

[Afterwards, Mao Zedong once again talked about the work at the Institute:] The most fundamental defect of your Institute is that you have not applied the "four firsts."¹⁵² Didn't you say you wanted to study Marxism-Leninism? What method of study do you employ? How much can you learn merely by relying on listening to lectures? The most important thing is to go and learn from practice.

Yuanxin: A faculty of science and engineering and faculty of letters are different; [the former] doesn't provide for so much time to go and enter into contact with society.

Mao Zedong: That is wrong; the class struggle is your most important subject, and it is a compulsory subject. I have already discussed this question with XX. Your Institute should go down to the countryside to carry out the Four Clean-ups, from the cadres to the students all of you should go, and not one should remain. You should go this winter, or in the spring of next year; it is better to go earlier than later, you must definitely go. As for you, you must not only spend five months participating in the Four Clean-ups, you must also go to a factory and spend half a year carrying out the Five-Antis. Isn't it true that you don't understand a thing about society? If you don't carry out the Four Clean-ups, you won't understand the peasants, and if you don't carry out the

¹⁵² In September 1960, Lin Biao presented to a meeting of the Party's Military Affairs Committee a report on what he called the "four relations," shortly to be reformulated and re-baptized as the "four firsts": priority of men over weapons, of political work over other work, of ideological work over routine political work, and of living ideology over ideas from books. These points were developed in a resolution revised by Mao himself before being adopted by the Military Affairs Committee.

Five-Antis, you won't understand the workers. Only when you have completed such a course of political training, can I consider you a university graduate. Otherwise, if the Military Engineering Institute lets you graduate, I won't recognize your diploma. If you don't even know about the class struggle, how can you be regarded as a university graduate? If you are to graduate, I will set you this additional subject. Your Institute has not carried out ideological work; so many counter-revolutionaries, and you were not aware of it; Chen Dongping was right next to you, and you didn't know it.

[Mao Yuanxin says that while Chen Dongping was at home during the holidays, he listened to the enemy's radio and was thus corrupted.]

Mao Zedong: How can you believe the enemy's radio if you listen to it? Have you listened to it or not? The enemy doesn't even have food to eat—can you believe what he says? Wei Lihuang¹⁵³ was in business in Hong Kong; having lost his money, he returned. Everybody looks down on people like Wei Lihuang; it's hard to imagine that the enemy doesn't despise him [Chen Dongping] too.

What are the four firsts? [Mao Yuanxin talks about this.] You know about this; why, then, do you not grasp living ideology? I hear there are a lot of political cadres in your Institute, but they do not grasp the essential, so naturally they do not grasp ideology. Naturally, your Institute has scored some successes; there's nothing so remarkable if it has a few problems. We've been engaged in military engineering for only a decade. Our army has no experience in running technical schools. It's like when we learned to fight in 1927: at first we didn't know how, and we kept being defeated, but afterwards we learned how.

Mao Zedong: How is it with the reform of teaching in your Institute?

Yuanxin: The last time we had examinations, our unit tried out a new method. Everyone thought it was good and gave a correct evaluation of the level [of

¹⁵³ Wei Lihuang (1896-1960) a former KMT general who was the deputy commander of Chiang Kai-shek's Northeast Military Headquarters ("Bandit Suppression Headquarters") during the Third Revolutionary Civil War period (i.e., August 1945-October 1949). He was relieved of his command after his defeat by PLA troops at the battle of Shenyang in November 1948. Wei fled to Hong Kong in 1949, and in March 1955 returned to the mainland. He was invited to be a special delegate to the National Committee of the CPPCC and held this position from 1956 to 1959. He was also a member of the Standing Committee of the KMT and a Vice-chairman of the National Defense Standing Committee of the KMT and a Vice-chairman of the National Defense Council. In many ways, therefore, he stood as an example of how progressive elements of the KMT could cooperate with the people's government.

each student]. It also had an influence on the method of study as a whole, making it possible to study in a lively fashion.

Mao Zedong: This should have been done long ago.

Yuanxin: In the past, the notion of marks prevailed, so that we did not study with initiative.

Mao Zedong: It's good that you are able to recognize this. I can't blame you for this either, for the whole educational system brazenly calls on you to strive for a mark of five. If you don't strive for such a perfect mark, they may block [your advancement] completely. Your elder sister, too, suffered from this kind of thing. There was a student at Beijing University who never took notes at ordinary times, and scored between three-and-a-half and four marks in examinations, yet at graduation time the dissertation he presented was of the highest level in the class. There are people who have seen through all this and have taken the initiative in study. There are some people like that who have seen through marks, and who study boldly, and with initiative. Your teachers teach by inculcation. Every day you attend lectures. Do they really have that much to say? The teachers should distribute their lecture notes to you. What are they afraid of? They should let the students study them by themselves. To keep the lecture notes secret from the students, allowing them only to take notes in class, hampers the students terribly. In the past, when I was teaching at Kang Da, I used to distribute lecture notes to my students in advance. I only talked for thirty minutes and let the students themselves do their own study; afterwards the students would ask questions and the teacher would answer. With university students, especially the senior students, the main thing is to let them study and work out problems. What is the point of talking so much?

In the past they openly called on everyone to strive for perfect marks. People were perfect in school, but they weren't necessarily perfect in their work. In Chinese history, none of the highest graduates of the Hanlin Academy had true talent or learning. These were found rather among those who failed even to pass as second-degree graduates. The two greatest poets of the Tang dynasty did not even obtain the degree of *zhuren*. Don't put too much emphasis on marks; you should concentrate your energies on fostering and training your ability to analyze and solve problems. Do not run along behind the teachers and be fettered by them. The problem of educational reform is primarily a problem of teachers. The teachers have so many books, and they can do nothing without their lecture notes. Why don't they distribute their lecture notes to you and

study problems together with you? When the students in the senior classes ask questions, the teachers will only answer half of them, and will know nothing about the rest, so they will study and discuss the problems together with the students. This is not bad either. They must not put on arrogant airs to frighten people off. Even the bourgeoisie has opposed the cramming method of teaching. Why shouldn't we oppose it? It will be all right so long as the students are not treated as targets of attack. Teachers are the key to educational reform.

[Once Mao Yuanxin had urged Mao Zedong to visit an exhibition of new scientific achievements; Mao Zedong had said:] I'm busy now, I can't go and look at it. I haven't time to look at it carefully and to look at flowers while riding by on horseback isn't worthwhile either.

How is it that you are interested in this, but not in Marxism-Leninism? In any case, I rarely hear you ask questions about this aspect of things most of the time. What newspaper do you usually read?

Yuanxin: I read the *People's Daily*.

Mao Zedong: There's nothing worth looking at in the *People's Daily*. You should read *Liberation Army Daily*, or *Chinese Youth Daily*.¹⁵⁴ The things the workers and soldiers write are real and lively, and they know how to explain problems. Have you read the discussion on "two combines into one"?

Yuanxin: I've read only very little, and I didn't understand much of what I did read.

Mao Zedong: Is that so? Have a look at this newspaper [the Chairman hands him a copy of *Chinese Youth Daily*], see how the workers analyze things, see how the cadres of the Youth League analyze things, they analyze things very well, it's easier to understand than *People's Daily*.

Mao Zedong: Your political study is nothing but talk. If you want to learn a lot of things, the most important point is to go and study in the midst of reality. Why are you interested in your professional specialty, but not in Marxism-Leninism?

When you study history, if you don't combine it with present reality, it's no good. If you study modern history and don't carry out work compiling village

¹⁵⁴ Mao's enthusiasm for this paper, which was the organ of the Communist Youth League, was natural enough at the time, for it was at the Ninth Congress of the League in June 1964 that the problem of "bringing up successors" for the revolutionary cause had just been extensively discussed for the first time (see *Beijing Review*, 1964, No. 28, pp. 6-22).

histories and family histories, it's a complete waste of time.¹⁵⁵ When you study ancient history, this too must be combined with present reality, and cannot be divorced from excavations and archaeology. Did Yao, Shun and Yu¹⁵⁶ exist or not? I don't believe it, you don't have any real evidence. There are oracle-bones to provide evidence regarding the Shang dynasty, we can believe in that. If you go and burrow into a pile of books, the more you study, the less knowledge you'll have.

**Instructions Following the *Report and Criticism of the
Central Propaganda Department Regarding the Request
for a Public Screening of the Films Southern Wind
Blowing North and Early Spring in February*¹⁵⁷**

August 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 147.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 97-98.

There may not be only these two films [of this kind]. Others should be criticized also, so that revisionist material is made known to the public.

¹⁵⁵ Such methods of teaching, involving field work to take down the reminiscences of old people, etc., were common in China at the time.

¹⁵⁶ Legendary rulers supposed to have ascended the throne respectively in 2356, 2255, and 2205 B.C. The first two especially are regarded as models of what a sage-king should be.

¹⁵⁷ Xie Tieli (1925-2015), the director of the *Early Spring in February*, has during the Cultural Revolution directed the films *Taking Tiger Mountains by Strategy* (1970) and the *Red Detachment of Women* (1971).

Interjections at an Anti-Revisionist Reports Meeting

September 4, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 175-176.

Is it easier to beat the snake by luring it to come out or by crawling into the dark snake hole? (We supported the release of Suslov's report. It was not released, but it came out after eight commentaries were made.)

Ever since 1956, the Soviet Union has denounced Stalin.¹⁵⁸ After we have published our first and second comments,¹⁵⁹ they lost their own initiatives.

Not only have our two families taken this stand, but Eastern Europe has also begun to follow suit. (The Soviet Union criticized Romania for its self-reliance. Romania fought back, using our own criticisms against the Soviet Union.) This is no longer an internal affair, but has become publicly announced in radio broadcasts.

China is not the first to be involved in the conflict between control and anti-control; it is the countries of Eastern Europe. (Romania has already made preparations to sever her economic relations with the Soviet Union. She cannot make her own armaments and has asked China to send someone to visit Romania. We won't have to talk to make people scared; we don't have to talk there. It would be very important if we only shake hands with them.)

We must get prepared, prepared for the break, and try to let the situation drag. If anything should happen, it must not catch us by surprise. What happens in the world is that after a long union, there will be division, and after a long division, there will be union (Sino-Soviet relations).

The Nanchang Uprising¹⁶⁰ was a tremendous event, and in the wake of it, there were left only a few persons, growing later into an outfit of 300,000 men. After the Long March, a few thousand troops were left, and they were developed later. A mountain does not have to go very high. (The old Communist

¹⁵⁸ I.e. From the 20th Congress to the CPSU.

¹⁵⁹ In the period 1956-64 the CPC conducted a great ideological struggle under the personnel guidance of Mao against modern revisionism and opportunism. During the course of this struggle which was conducted in the form of a great debate, and in which almost all the Communist parties in the world were involved, the CPC proposed a "General Line" for the International Communist Movement (June 14, 1963), and released 9 documents (9 comments). Here Mao is referring to the first two documents of the 9 comments.

¹⁶⁰ "Nanchang uprising," see note 36 on p. 48 of this volume.

Party of Brazil had 40,000 members, and a new party has been formed with only 6,000 members. Which is more reliable: 40,000 or 6,000 members?)

It is only with revisionism that there can be long live Leninism!

If one does not pay attention, there is bound to be revisionism. If one pays attention to it, it may appear or may not appear. When one is prepared for its appearance, it may not appear at all.

Statement Supporting the People of the Congo (Leopoldville) Against US Aggression

November 28, 1964

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1964, No. 23-24, page 1-2.

Translation: Beijing Review, December 4, 1964, Vol. VII, No. 49, page 5.

The US imperialist armed aggression against the Congo (Leopoldville) is a very grave matter.

The United States has all along attempted to control the Congo. It used the United Nations forces to carry out every sort of evil deed there. It murdered the Congolese national hero Lumumba; it subverted the lawful Congolese government. It imposed the puppet Tshombe on the Congolese people and dispatched mercenary troops to suppress the Congolese national liberation movement. And now, it is carrying out direct armed intervention in the Congo in collusion with Belgium and Britain. In so doing, the purpose of US imperialism is not only to control the Congo but also to enmesh the whole of Africa, particularly the newly independent African countries, in the toils of US neo-colonialism once again. US aggression has encountered heroic resistance from the Congolese people and aroused the indignation of the people of Africa and of the whole world.

US imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the whole world. It is engaged in aggression against South Vietnam; it is intervening in Laos, menacing Cambodia and blustering about extending the war in Indochina. It is trying everything to strangle the Cuban revolution. It wants to turn West Germany and Japan into two important nuclear bases of the United States. It ganged up with England in creating so-called Malaysia to menace Indonesia and other-south-east Asian countries. It is occupying South Korea and China's

Taiwan province. It is dominating all Latin America. It rides rough shod everywhere. US imperialism has over-extended its reach. It adds a new noose around its neck every time it commits aggression anywhere. It is closely surrounded by the people of the whole world.

In their just struggle, the Congolese people are not alone. All the Chinese people support you. All the People throughout the world who oppose imperialism support you. US imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries are paper tigers. The struggle of the Chinese people proved this. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is now proving it. The struggle of the Congolese people will certainly prove it too. Strengthening national unity and persevering in protracted struggle, the Congolese people will certainly be victorious, and US imperialism will certainly be defeated.

People of the world unite and defeat the US aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed.

China's Great Leap Forward¹⁶¹

December 13, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 202.

Translation: Beijing Review, January 1, 1965, Vol. VIII, No. 1, page 11.

We cannot just follow the beaten track traversed by other countries in the development of technology and trail behind them at a snail's pace. We must break away from conventions and do our utmost to adopt advanced techniques in order to make China a powerful modern socialist country in not too long a historical period. This is what we mean by a giant stride forward. Is this impossible of attainment? Is this boasting or bragging? Certainly not. It can be done. It is neither boasting nor bragging. We need only review our history to understand this. In our country haven't we fundamentally overthrown imperialism, feudalism and capitalism, which were seemingly so strong? Starting as we did from "poverty and blankness," haven't we scored considerable successes

¹⁶¹ This was a passage Mao Zedong added when he went over Premier Zhou Enlai's *Report on the Work of the Government to the First Session of the Third National People's Congress*.

in all fields of socialist revolution and socialist construction after 15 years of endeavor? Haven't we too exploded an atom bomb? Haven't we wiped out the stigma of "the sick man of the East" imposed on us by westerners? Why can't the proletariat of the East accomplish what the bourgeoisie of the west has been able to? Early this century Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the great Chinese revolutionary and our precursor, said that China would take a giant stride forward. His prediction will certainly come true in the coming decades. This is an inevitable trend no reactionary force can stop.

Discussions at the Central Work Symposium

December 20, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 189-198.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

Mao Zedong: The Premier reported that you did not even dare to mention the words of "catching up." I added for you, "not only catching up but also surpassing." I also added the passage that "Sun Yat-sen said in 1905 that it could be surpassed." Since I have said this, there is no need to publish it in the newspaper. You should read some modern history. Articles written by men like Wang Jingwei¹⁶², Hu Hanmin and Zhang Taiyan¹⁶³ are not included in the *Complete Works of Sun Yat-sen*. You should also read the *New People's Miscellaneous Journal*, Liang Qichao's *Collected Essays of Yinbing Shi*, and especially Sun Yat-sen's *Three People's Principles*. There is not much substance in the *Three Principles of the People*;¹⁶⁴ it has no substance. In his later years, Sun Yat-sen's

¹⁶² Wang Jingwei was a notorious Kuomintang leader and pro-Japanese traitor. He openly surrendered to the Japanese invaders in December 1938 when he was vice-chairman of the Kuomintang and chairman of its People's Political Council. In March 1949 he became president of the puppet central government then formed in Nanjing. He died in Japan in November 1944.

¹⁶³ Zhang Taiyan (also known as Zhang Binglin) was an influential intellectual of the early twentieth century, politically radical but conservative in cultural and literary matters.

¹⁶⁴ The *Three Principles of the People* were the principles and the program put forward by Sun Yat-sen on the questions of nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood in China's bourgeois-democratic revolution. In the manifesto adopted by the Kuomintang at its First National Congress in 1924 Sun Yat-sen restated the *Three Principles of the People*. Nationalism was interpreted as opposition to imperialism and active support was expressed for the movements of the workers and peasants. Thus the old Three People's Principles were

knowledge declined. He was an orator and an instigator, speaking very eloquently and earning huge applause. I had listened to his speeches and talked with him. He would not allow others to argue with him or to present their own views. In fact, his words were full of water, but had very little oil, and he was rather undemocratic. I think he could make himself a good emperor for 60 years, without any democracy. When he entered the hall, everybody was supposed to rise and say Mr. Sun. He was so undemocratic and so ignorant that when he was defining communism for the rightists, he would draw a Taiji diagram first, and then draw a smaller circle inside it, and write the word communism. On the outside, he would draw still another circle, which he would call socialism. Finally, he would draw a large circle, and write the words of people's livelihood. He would say that both socialism and communism are included in *Three Principles of the People*. Commander-in-Chief [Zhu De], you never thought highly of him.

Zhou Enlai: When Sukarno speaks of the *Pancasila*, he also includes socialism in his *Pancasila*.¹⁶⁵

Mao Zedong: Do you know a Hunanese by the name of Mian Yunshan? He said at first that Sun Yat-sen was unlearned, being dubbed Cannon [loudmouth] Sun. But Huang Kecheng¹⁶⁶ was better and more erudite because Huang was a *Xiucan* scholar [holding a degree] and could write in Su Dongpo's calligraphic style. Later, he went to Guangdong, met with Sun Yat-sen, and his attitude changed completely. He said: "Mr. Sun is really most remarkable!"

Why can't Yu Qiuli serve as deputy director of planning? Isn't he brave and enterprising? There is also planning work in the Ministry of Petroleum. He must bring with him some new working style.

Zhou Enlai: Go there to stir up a pool of stagnant water.

transformed into the new Three People's Principles characterized by the Three Great Policies, that is, alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party, and assistance to the peasants and workers. The new Three People's Principles provided the political basis for the co-operation between the CPC and the Kuomintang during the First Revolutionary Civil War period.

¹⁶⁵ Sukarno (1901-1970), then President of Indonesia. The Pancasila, or five principles, is the foundational philosophical theory he promoted. The fifth principle is "Social justice for the whole of the people of Indonesia," which Sukarno interpreted as socialism.

¹⁶⁶ Huang Kecheng (1902-1986), PLA Chief of Staff from October 1958 to September 1959, was regarded as Peng Dehuai's principal accomplice and dismissed from office at the same time.

Mao Zedong: Do you [*pointing toward He*] endorse it? We have now some people who would never do summing ups, and are concerned only with small matters, not big ones. Four letters are published in today's *People's Daily*.¹⁶⁷ Was this organized by Gu Mu?

XX: No. This was done by Hu Jiwei and others.

Mao Zedong: I have read all of them. Who wrote the remarks?

XX: The remarks were written by Hu Jiwei.

Mao Zedong: Not written by Gu Mu? Before I would never read the *People's Daily*. I learned this from Chiang Kai-shek who would not read the *Central Daily News* [*Zhongyang Ribao*]. There are now in the *People's Daily* fewer things like how cabbages are grown, and there are some discourses. Let Hu Jiwei consult *China Youth* [*Zhongguo Qingnian*] and the *People's Liberation Army Daily* [*Jiefangjun Bao*] where there are considerable materials of an ideological nature. Some youth read only the *People's Daily*. I asked them if they read *China Youth* and the *People's Liberation Army Daily* any more.

[*XX enters*]

Mao Zedong: You speak up first and be the commander. If you don't speak up, we will adjourn the meeting.

XX: We have had meetings for several days. Some comrades have talked about a number of problems. We raised many problems, and our basic concept is unanimous. We have all stationed at local points, which is a very good thing. Let's have some discussions.

Mao Zedong: Let us discuss what contradictions we have.

XX: We have all been stationed at selected basic units. Our understanding has been unified.

Mao Zedong: The time is short.

XX: It's still the preliminary stage and the first time. We haven't seen the mobilization of the masses, matured experience. We haven't seen what it's like after the masses have been mobilized and must wait until after the mobilization.

¹⁶⁷ This refers to the four letters published in page 2 of this column: "From where Comes Correct Planning?"

Mao Zedong: It will be possible only when the provinces, counties, communes, brigades and teams have mobilized the masses and formed poor peasants associations.

XX: I know something about the rural villages, but understand very little about the urban areas. I have seen more data on rural areas. I have been trying to read the data on urban factories. But this is still only a preliminary experience for me.

Mao Zedong: The experiences of the Silver Factory [Baiyin Chang] seem to be more mature.

XX: It has been two years since the Silver Factory was established. I have also seen Gao Yangwen's report, which seems to require some further explanation. He could write something more of a summary nature. In short, our experiences of stationing at basic units are still in their preliminary stage and consequently there are many problems which we cannot explain. After you have experienced this for the second and third times, you will have a better idea of where to start and some basis for comparison. After you have acquired some understanding of the rural areas, you will be able to make additional comparison and understand the situation. We have now seen the seriousness of rural problems. In some units, it would take two years to undertake this task, and the methods may vary. You will understand it when you engage in it later. In a county, it may take two years, but in the large factories of the urban areas, it may also take two years.

Mao Zedong: It should take two years! If it is extended, it may take even three years, since we must thoroughly resolve the problems. The time may also be shortened somewhat.

XX: This is true in Xiangtan and Shandong. Chen Zhengren¹⁶⁸ suggested that the Loyang Tractor Factory should also take two years to do it.

Mao Zedong: We must solve the problem.

XX: After one has become adept, it won't take such a long time. There is a problem, that is, what is the principal contradiction in the rural villages? *XX* said that a well-to-do stratum and a special stratum have formed in the rural areas. The main contradiction, he said, is that between the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and the well-to-do and special stratum. *XX* said that

¹⁶⁸ Chen Zhengren, a veteran revolutionary. He worked along with comrade Mao in the land reform in Jiangxi Soviet, 1930-31.

this is the contradiction between the masses and a coalition of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and bad cadres. Is this true?

XX: Yes, it is.

Mao Zedong: Landlords and rich peasants are the masters backstage. On the stage are the four unclean cadres. Power is held by the four unclean cadre.¹⁶⁹ The poor and lower-middle peasants won't be satisfied if you struggle against the landlords and rich peasants only. What is more urgent is what to do with the cadres. The landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements are not in power yet, and moreover, they have been struggled against before. The masses do not care too much for them, but the main thing is that these bad cadres have been riding over their head, and they are so dismally poor. These landlords and rich peasants have already engaged in the distribution of land, and have thus become odious. But the power holders haven't been struggled against and haven't become odious. He is a power holder; the upper echelons listen to him; he is also given fixed wage points; he is moreover a member of the Communist Party.

XX: This is the first round. In the back of the power holders are landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements, or elements of the four categories who have wormed their ways into our ranks. Some bad cadres do not have close relations with landlords and rich peasants. Among landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements who have wormed their ways into the organization are included landlords and rich peasants who have escaped class demarcation and become poor peasants and Communist Party members. They are also power holders, though not belonging to the former landlords and rich peasants. The latter have become odious, but not this group of people.

Mao Zedong: In the case of Huangzhong County, which was mentioned by *XX*, it was Ma Bufang's chief of staff.

XX: Such cases are in the minority, even in the Northwest.

Mao Zedong: They are in the minority in the Northwest and also throughout the country.

XX: We should hold discussions on how to draw a line of demarcation and how to unify our language. How should we discuss principal contradictions?

¹⁶⁹ Four unclean cadres; those who were not clear in their political, economic, ideological, and organizational stands.

Mao Zedong: Let's talk about power holders. They want to have more wage points: "The five great leaders?" Aren't the "five great leaders" power holders?

XX: Tao X has raised this question, and reactions have come from various quarters. Some endorsed him: others did not. I have heard that someone in the Central organs did not endorse him. There are three kinds of people: landlords who have escaped demarcation, the nascent bourgeoisie, and the rotten... The status of most of them is that they come from laboring people, and are not clean in their political, economic, ideological and organizational stands. They connive with landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements, and some of them have been manipulated by the latter. There are also some landlords and rich peasants who have escaped class demarcation and become power holders. Some landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements have rid themselves of these labels and become power holders.

Mao Zedong: Which is more in the latter two categories?

XX: Those who have escaped class demarcation are more numerous.

Mao Zedong: We need not concern ourselves with class or stratum, but with these power holders, Communist power holders, and the "five great leaders" who follow the power holders. Since you are the power holders now, the purpose of mobilizing the masses is to rectify our Party.

XX: Some of the production team¹⁷⁰ cadres have also become bad.

Mao Zedong: The majority of production team cadres aren't party members, which is unreasonable. There are several, a dozen or a score of party members in a brigade which is too few. This is a dead situation that has been going on for a long time and it seems to suit someone's taste. The crucial problem is party rectification; otherwise it would be impossible. There can be no hope if the party is not rectified.

Zhou Enlai: This is also true in government offices. Aren't you Liu Xiufeng of the Ministry of Building Industry, Li Weihai¹⁷¹ of the United Front Department and Zhang Zhiyi of the Political Consultative Conference, all party members who must be removed? We have announced it among the democratic personages, and they were very shocked.

¹⁷⁰ Production team, see note 6 on p. 4 of this volume.

¹⁷¹ Li Weihai (1897-1984), a Hunanese, played a leading role in the CPC from its foundation in 1921. From 1944 to 1964 he was Director of the Party's United Front Work Department.

Mao Zedong: The Communist Party is a prestigious party. Let's not mention strata which involve too many people who have been scared and offended. Let's discuss party committees only! The local committee is a party committee; so are county committees, commune committees, brigade committees, as well as party branches. They belong to the left, center or right. I believe the rightists are a minority, and those who are ultra-right constitute only a small portion. The left is also a minority. The middle-of-the-roaders are more numerous and they must be won over. You should single out these people. XX has said: Utilize contradictions, strive to secure the majority, oppose the minority, and break them up one by one. It is necessary to rally and to fight, to fight while rallying, and vice versa. We should develop progressive forces, strive to win over middle-of-the-road forces, and isolate the stubborn forces. We haven't discussed these tactics for many years.

XX: This is the tactic of the united front.

Mao Zedong: I think this is still useful; there is Nationalist-Communist coalition even in this Party now. There is also a united front.

XX: This is practically so, but we mustn't mention it outside.

Mao Zedong: A few have become rotten, and some provincial committees have also become rotten, such as your committee in Anhui, yours in Guizhou, yours in Tsinghai and yours in Gansu! (Some said Yunnan as well.) Yunnan is an "individual" case, and has not reached this point, yet. Wu Zhipu¹⁷² of Henan is so extremely "leftist!"

XX: We need not mention the rich class, but call them new exploitative and oppressive elements, or mention them only as the so-called corrupt and theft elements, or speculative and profiteering elements. If they should form into an entity, they may also be called a clique.

Mao Zedong: Don't mention strata; it suffices to call them elements or cliques. You should study them. Elements may also have cliques or clique elements.

XX: Their contradiction with the broad masses is that these few people oppressed and exploited the majority. It is the majority who are oppressed and who want to make revolution. This minority of oppressors in the world will be isolated as their oppression is intensified. Here lies our faith.

¹⁷² Wu Zhipu (1906-1967) at this time First Secretary of the CPC for Henan province, who had taken the lead in establishing communes in the summer of 1958.

Mao Zedong: Exploited and oppressed, many people are disaffected and so they want to make revolution.

XX: There are certain conditions which must be cleared up. One is that landlords and rich peasants are standing on the forefront. They should be overthrown. The other consists of landlord and rich peasant elements who have escaped class demarcation. This kind of people will never do anything good. After the data on them have been cleared up, it would be easy to deal with them. All landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, and bad elements who have wormed their ways into the Party should be dealt with like the four category elements. There are also some poor and lower-middle peasants who, during the land reform, engaged in revolution. Later, they were won over by landlords and rich peasants, and they have been riding over the heads of the masses to repress them. A severe struggle should be conducted against these people. They should be asked to thoroughly reimburse [the masses].

Mao Zedong: The third group is the principal one, and they form the majority.

XX: Since there were many areas where land reform was peaceful, many have escaped class demarcation.

XX: Landlords could change their personal status after undertaking five years of labor, and rich peasants could change their personal status after undertaking three years of labor. Some people who have rid themselves of their labels have later become bad. This stipulation is no longer practical, and it must be changed.

XX: That's easy, we can give them another label.

XX: During the land reform, we suggested the policy of neutralizing the rich peasants.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ The question of the rich peasants in China's land reform was a peculiar one arising from its specific historical and economic conditions. China's rich peasants differed from those in many capitalist countries in two respects: first, they generally and to a great degree had the character of feudal and semi-feudal exploiters and, second, this rich peasant economy did not occupy an important place in the country's agricultural economy. In the struggle against feudal exploitation by the landlord class in China, the broad masses of poor peasants and farm laborers also demanded the abolition of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation by rich peasants. During the War of Liberation, the CPC adopted the policy of requisitioning the surplus land and property of rich peasants for distribution among the peasants, and thus satisfied the demands of the masses of poor peasants and farm laborers and ensured victory in the People's War of Liberation. As the war progressed towards victory, the CC of the CPC in February 1948 laid down new policies for the land reform in the new Liberated Areas. The reform was to be divided into two stages: in the first stage neutralize the rich

Mao Zedong: We made some mistakes because of our lack of understanding. At that time, with a view to stabilizing middle peasants, we only took away from the rich peasants that portion of land they had gotten by feudal exploitation. No data were reflected on their infringement against middle peasants, and after the poor and lower middle peasants have been mobilized, they would invade the middle peasants. Are there cases where middle peasants were classified as rich peasants? You have waged struggles against middle peasants in northwestern Shanxi.

XX: In Northwest Shanxi, there was the mistake of checking the past three generations, and grain was confiscated for the purpose of tiding over the famine.

XX: One group has been given labels; one group has escaped class demarcation; there was another group which used to be poor and lower-middle peasants, but they have become powerful and bad. Among the original poor and lower-middle peasants [*Mao Zedong:* even middle peasants], most of them can be won over and can enhance their class consciousness. But you must not take away their property, watches, bicycles and new houses. The masses are disaffected. It is necessary to ask for reimbursement and compensation.

Mao Zedong: You may speak about the third group.

XX: If they do not reimburse or make compensation, it is also not conducive to educating the cadres.

XX: By taking away these things, it would educate the new cadres. It is no longer possible to serve as cadres. We must win over the majority, and give labels to the few, and this policy should be fixed.

Mao Zedong: As for a few of the vicious elements, we should give them the label of new bourgeoisie.

XX: In my view, these people, after all, are not Communists. However, the important thing is to rectify the Communist Party, regardless of whether you

peasants and concentrate the blows on the landlords, primarily the big landlords; in the second stage, while distributing the land of the landlords, also distribute the land rented out by rich peasants and their surplus land, but continue to treat the rich peasants differently from the landlords (see "Essential Points in Land Reform in the New Liberated Areas," *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 201-202). After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Central People's Government in June 1950 promulgated the Land Reform Law, which provided that in the land reform only the land rented out by the rich peasants should partly or wholly be requisitioned, while the rest of their land and property was to be protected. In the subsequent stage of socialist revolution, the rich peasant economy disappeared as the movement for agricultural co-operation deepened and the rural economy developed.

come from among the laboring people or are escaped landlords and rich peasants... In short, as a result of the struggle, the number of families given labels should not exceed 7 percent–8 percent, and the number of persons should not exceed 10 percent.

Xuefeng: Does this include those who are there now?

Mao Zedong: What do you think? Otherwise, too many people would be offended. You must know that they are not a sheet of iron and they change: some rich and some poor, some up and some down, some good and some bad, and some powerful and some not in power. On this question I am somewhat on the right. There are so many landlords and rich peasants, Kuomintang elements, and counter-revolutionaries that they might constitute 20 percent of the people in a peaceful evolution. How many people would there be if 20 percent were marked out in a population of 700 million? I am afraid there will be a tide towards the “left.”

Xuefeng: We must patiently win over those cadres that can be won over. Otherwise, the proportion of poor and lower-middle peasants will be diminished drastically.

Mao Zedong: If the masses should do the demarcating, it would affect your taking the mass line. The masses would demand that more should be demarcated, and the cadres also wanted the same. The result is that this would be inimical to the people as well as to the poor and lower-middle peasants. Among the four-unclean cadres, the majority are those who committed 40, 50 or 100 *yuan* of corruption or graft. When this batch is liberated first, we will then be the majority! After we have explained the reasons to them, those who have committed errors will continue to make revolution. The plant directors, work section chiefs, and group leaders mentioned in that report are all veteran workers. After they admitted their mistakes, they should be allowed to continue their work!

XX: There is a well-to-do class with the so-called “three big things.”¹⁷⁴

Mao Zedong: They have become well-to-do first and used the methods of deducting wage points. They bought bicycles and woolen clothes. There are also poor and lower-middle peasants who became prosperous afterwards.

¹⁷⁴ The “three big things” were bicycle, wristwatch and radio—having them all meant that someone was wealthy.

Mao Zedong: The original Four Clean-ups were called as the One Clean-up in economy, when it was started in Hebei.

[General discussion: The context of Four Clean-ups was positively presented in the First Ten Articles. It was added by Mao Zedong and has been reported by XX later. The Hebei Provincial Party Committee has also elaborated on it from the opposite viewpoint.]

XX: In North China they consider communes and educational institutions generally as Four Cleans.

Xuefeng: We spoke first about the four uncleanings of economic matters and the four uncleanings of politics. Later we added organizational uncleanings, and Comrade XX reported that coupled with ideology, there are four uncleanings.

Mao Zedong: I did not have this impression. I won't endorse your way of denigrating XX. The earliest I have seen this mention was XX's.

*Kang Sheng:*¹⁷⁵ XX's presentation of the four uncleanings is very good. I enjoyed his report.

XX: You attributed this to Hebei, but XX is also a native of Hebei Province. All landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements who have come into power are bad, and there won't be any good ones. The question is when the poor and lower-middle peasants come into power.

Mao Zedong: What we have to do is to liberate those who have committed grafts of 100 to 150 *yuan*.

XX: That may not be so. There are many with corruptions amounting to hundreds of *yuan*, and those who committed grafts and corruption involving several thousand *yuan* or 1,000 catties of grain are also numerous. Perhaps we should liberate those who have committed graft amounting to 1,000 *yuan* and ask them to pay back the money.

¹⁷⁵ Kang Sheng (1898-1975) was born in Zhucheng, Shandong. While studying at the middle school of Shanghai University, he joined the Communist Youth League (1920) and the later the CPC when he became a student at the university. He took part in the three uprisings in Shanghai just before the capture of the city by the National Revolutionary Army in 1927. Thereafter, he and Gu Shunzhang created the special service branch of the CPC. He was the head of the Organization Department of the party before his departure for Moscow in 1932, whence he went to Germany. In 1937 he went back to China with Wang Ming to become a member of the Politburo and helped Mao in the latter's Rectification Campaign of 1942-1944. After 1949, he worked in Shandong and in 1956 he was demoted to an alternate member of Politburo. In mid-1966 he was elected to the standing committee of the Politburo.

Mao Zedong: What can you do since you cannot squeeze out all the toothpaste? It may be possible to keep some. How can you squeeze it so clean? Let's be lenient!

XX: We must squeeze as much as possible. One exploits the masses, while the other exploits the state. They should pay it back, and the reimbursement must be stringent and thorough. Where it is especially vicious, and if one should stubbornly resist to the end, there must be confiscation.

Mao Zedong: The state also belongs to the people. We have nothing ourselves. It is correct to seriously exact repayment. And it should be proper and reasonable. We need not talk about "thoroughness."

XX: To what extent should this be carried out? It may be well to do it on a percentage basis. There are some honest persons among landlords and rich peasants whose labels could be removed, though the number is extremely small. Conditions of the children of landlords and rich peasants vary. There are some whose family properties have been divided, and some whose family properties have not been divided. Some have behaved well, and some haven't.

XX: What is that percentage? From the outset, it would be necessary to divide up the four unclean cadres. There are some landlords and rich peasants whose performance has been good, and they should not have labels. Among poor and lower-middle peasants, it may be advisable to put labels on a very few, such as the label of new despot elements. Nonetheless, in regard to the majority, we must divide them and win over them. They cannot serve as cadres or party members; they aren't targets to strike at, but are objects to win over.

XX: This is not yet the time, but in future the new exploitation elements will eat more and possess more.

Mao Zedong: Eat more and possess more, this is rather complex! It is primarily people like us who have cars, houses and steam heat, and chauffeurs. I have only 430 *yuan*. I can't afford to hire secretaries, but I must.

XX: How much should be returned and repaid?

XX: It will be all right after this has been carried out to some extent.

Mao Zedong: The masses know that when it gets to a certain extent, it'd be all right. The toothpaste can't be squeezed clean. There are only 18 families in some places, and how can you catch lice if there is none?

XX: It possible to set up one or two such elements in each brigade? Some must be given labels, and after the label of certain elements has been worn, it will be easy to handle them. The labels can be removed later.

Mao Zedong: Just call them elements and leave some way out for them! Don't involve their families, and the labels can be removed at some point. Among those whose labor is good, no label for corrupt elements should be given.

XX: Where the transformation is good and voluntary, they should not be made to wear any kind of label.

Mao Zedong: Chen Ping¹⁷⁶ was famous for his ability to cut meat evenly. When he became prime minister, he was corrupt. Zhou Pu and others charged that whoever bribed him more would get higher offices, and whoever gave him less money would be made a lesser bureaucrat... Liu Bang therefore asked Chen for a talk, telling him that people have charged him for corruption. He said: I have to support many people and I have no money myself! Liu Bang said, I will give you 40,000 ounces of gold to engage in the united front. With 40,000 ounces of gold, you would no longer have to commit corruption. This drama entitled *Banquet at Hongmen* is no longer performed. Ma XX used to play the role eloquently and exuberantly. People would refer to him (Chen Ping) in citing cases of corruption, especially Cao Cao's. This is in a crucial stage now, and I am afraid that I am pouring cold water!

XX: If the masses are fully mobilized, they will be understanding and reasonable.

Mao Zedong: Sometimes this isn't so. Once the masses are aroused, they become blind, and we have our own blindness too. In the past during the Wuhan epoch, the masses mobilized factory strikes and reduction of wages. There was unemployment and blindness.

XX: I had suspected it then.

Mao Zedong: Now what I fear is the pouring of cold water. It is still in the anti-rightist stage. Not counting December, during January, February and March next year... at least we must work for another five months. The first thing is that the area in which to hit at must not be too wide and secondly don't

¹⁷⁶ Chen Ping (d. 178 BC) was born in a poor peasant family and was known as someone just and fair, while he was the mayor of his village, advocating that meat should be distributed equally among people. Later, he participated in the rebellion against the Qin dynasty and became prime minister of the Emperor Gao.

pour cold water. Don't announce it to the lower echelons that the toothpaste shouldn't be squeezed too clean and that corrupt elements could also serve as prime ministers.

Xuefeng: Among antagonists should be included the serious four unclean cadres, nascent bourgeois elements, and the old bourgeois elements and landlords and rich peasants in the society. (The former) should be called corrupt elements and speculators.

XX: It's all right. In regard to the four unclean cadres, we must ask them to reimburse and make compensations. We have not yet clarified...

Mao Zedong: Where no Four Clean-ups have been undertaken, it may be possible to first lend some money to the state to relieve the poor. When the movement is launched later and when corruption and graft are found, no repayment would be needed.

XX: How much can be reimbursed in general? Can the repayment and reimbursement reach 70 or 80 percent? If it can only reach 50 percent, it won't pass the hurdle.

Mao Zedong: The question now is whether there are still real goods on hand. If there are no such things, then they cannot be squeezed, and if there are, they can be squeezed all right. They consist usually of the "four big items," gold and silver, houses, and what is buried underground.

Xuefeng: In serious four unclean cases, it is generally followed by speculation and profiteering.

XX: It is even more different in urban areas. In the "three original policies" of joint operation, the United Front Department has never attacked the bourgeoisie. Whenever there was a movement, it would first issue a notice to protect the capitalists and their representatives. The new and the old stay together. This is very serious at the top echelon and in factories and companies. Consequently, the first target should be clear, and we must concentrate our strength to rectify the department, the factory and the Party. For instance, in a department, members of the party group should be rectified first; in a factory, the secretary of the party committee and the factory director should be rectified first. It is necessary to make this stipulation clearly, for otherwise the cadres in power would slip away.

Mao Zedong: By catching wolves first and foxes later, we have found the problem. It'd be impossible if we don't start with the power holders.

[*Li*] *Xiannian*:¹⁷⁷ If we don't rectify the power holders, we will eventually rectify poor and lower-middle peasants.

Mao Zedong: The basic problem lies here.

XX: Strike at the wolf first and catch the fox later. We must not talk about strata. Otherwise, if you emphasize the bourgeois engineering and technical personnel, or the petty thieves and pickpockets, or students who come from uninfluential capitalist families, the cadres would be very enthusiastic. The consequence is that the cadres might slip away easily, and it will be impossible to strike at them. For instance, the root of the trouble of Baiyin Factory lies in the provincial committee and Ministry of Metallurgical Industry. Unless this is cleared up, it will be impossible to improve Baiyin Factory.

Mao Zedong: Who is the root of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry?

XX: I have not heard who is the root of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry.

XX: Wang Heshou.

XX: The principal contradictions at the present stage and the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat center around the four unclean, principally four unclean cadres and the power holders.

XX: If they are not cleared up now, they will recur later.

Mao Zedong: It will recur with the lapse of two or three years. This does not depend on the will of man. One will escape class demarcation, one will be born anew, and one will disintegrate. That's the power holders' group, and the principal target. Of Du Fu's¹⁷⁸ nine poems *Beyond the Frontier* [*Qian Chu Sai*], people remember only these four lines: "In picking bows / We prefer taut ones; In choosing arrows we take / The longest; in killing / The enemy we go first / For their horses; in taking / Prisoners we first capture / Commanders;" but not the other verses.¹⁷⁹ After catching the big ones, we can clear up the foxes later! In regard to the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, we also must catch the king before the thieves are caught, and catch Wang Heshou! He shouldn't

¹⁷⁷ Li Xiannian (1909-1992) Minister of Finance, Vice-Premier, Politburo member.

¹⁷⁸ A most famous poet of China's literary golden age, during the Tang dynasty.

¹⁷⁹ The end of the poem says "yet there comes / To be a limit to killing; A country must have boundaries / And hold them; useless to slaughter / Many people to make a victory."

be minister and should be demoted to a manager. We will reform him after we have caught him from his horse.

XX: The focal point is the Party.

Mao Zedong: The focal point is the Party. In the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry it is the party committee and so it is in the Silver Factory. It is also the party committee in provincial committees, local committees, *xian* committees, and commune committees. When one grasps them, it will then be possible to cope with the situation. When you, Gao Yang-wen first went to the Silver Factory, you also harbored him, but once you have stayed at the point, you changed. Have you Wang Heshou changed?

XX: When Lu Bing¹⁸⁰ was being rectified at Beijing University, bourgeois professors came out to protect him. Wasn't Comrade XX considered a rightist at Yanan? It was done well at Qinghua University, where the masses were mobilized.

Mao Zedong: You of the Lu family name. When XX was rectifying XX, I had stood on your side. Can XX still be the president of the university? Of course not, XX! It seems that Qinghua¹⁸¹ is better.

XX: Are the four cleans and four uncleanes the principal contradictions in rural villages?

Mao Zedong: No.

XX: What's the character of these affluent strata?

Mao Zedong: What character? Anti-socialist, capitalist character. Plus feudalism and imperialism?! This is because what we are undertaking is a democratic revolution which has opened the way for capitalism and also for socialism. By staying at a point, you are opening the way... Anyway, we cannot do everything, and we will leave something for the next generation. Don't take the ages of people like us as a criterion.

XX: Two kinds of contradictions interweave together, and that is where the complexity of the problem lies.

Mao Zedong: Others engage in corruption and theft. What socialism is there?

¹⁸⁰ See note 124 on p. 122 of this volume.

¹⁸¹ A reference to Qinghua University on the western outskirts of Beijing.

XX: Some of them have no lice, and some lice are very small. There is a tactical problem and bad cadres are responsible for it.

Mao Zedong: If you rectify him, will he still be responsible for it?

XX: The four-unclean cadres have created many rumors, alleging that “masses will be rectified first and cadres later.” It should be explained clearly that cadres will be rectified.

Mao Zedong: What does this matter? Cadres will be rectified first.

XX: Cadres who ate more and took more than their shares must make reimbursements. What belongs to the commune members need not be returned. It does not mean that only the poor and lower-middle peasants are exempted from this. In this way, the misgivings of the masses will be dispelled. Next, liberate those cadres who have taken more than their share. If the things were shared between cadres and commune members, only the excessive portion taken by cadres will be returned.

Mao Zedong: Divide one into two! One for the masses and one for the cadres.

XX: Then concentrate your efforts to deal with a few of the most serious cases.

Mao Zedong: There are so many steps. I won't endorse what has been done in Anyuan¹⁸² in beginning to make connections with small staff members. In Anyuan, you had Guan Zhiyuan, Zhu Jintang, and Zhu Shaojian. The latter had two wives, but we maintained contact with him. When a trade union of the Guangdong-Hankou Railway was being set up, we did not know a single person there. We found a foreman who also had two wives and was later executed.

XX: Strive to win over the majority and isolate the minority. We must not be deceived. What Comrade Xuefeng said about planting the roots in veteran bonafide poor peasants is correct. But what roots laid in the beginning might not be necessarily good, and we could utilize some of the brave elements.

Mao Zedong: Let's utilize some brave elements! When we started to fight battles, we depended on vagrants because they dared to die. There was a time when the army wanted to weed out the vagrant elements, but I opposed it.

¹⁸² See note 195 on p. 188 of this volume.

XX: It may not be easy to find honest roots as soon as the work team begins to operate. What roots we discover may not be necessarily good, and they will emerge only when the time is ripe. Don't tell a root that he is such.

Mao Zedong: Let's leave the question of roots alone, we are committed to socialism anyway.

XX: One batch of active elements follows another. After undergoing struggle, they would also have gained seniority, and how can you say they are not qualified?

Mao Zedong: Wasn't Li Lisan senior in qualification? It was only at the time of emergency when he could no longer cope with the situation that he invited our state chairman to go there.

XX: Not only Li Lisan, but Jiang Xianyun also ran away. There were more people who knew Li Lisan because he proclaimed the victory. At that time, nobody was allowed to kill, and if you should kill, we would strike.

Mao Zedong: When that mine suspends work, it will be filled with water in three days.

XX: People may not support us if we try to look into the history of exploitation. In seeking out active elements among the poor and lower-middle peasants, one may not get the right ones from the outset. In XX's place, they have changed some 30 percent of them! It seems better for us to discover them in the process of struggle.

Mao Zedong: You are engrossed with honest people, which shows you don't know how to work...

XX: It is better to work on both cadres and the poor and lower-middle peasants simultaneously. Back to back, he won't know it. When one cadres exposes another and the masses also expose him, the news will leak out.

Mao Zedong: Are these well-informed people? Why then did Zhao Ziyang live in a poor old peasant's house to feed dogs? He was afraid others might get him.

XX: First, they are back to back, and then they sit on the presidium. Let these poor peasants participate in a cadres' "bath" meeting first, they cannot be chairman at once.

Mao Zedong: He has not read Sun Yat-sen's *First Step Towards Democracy* [*Min-quan Chubu*]. Won't it be possible to get a brave element to the chairman? In short, we shouldn't describe that vagrant proletariat so badly.

XX: We still do not have sufficient experiences of the Five-Antis. The number of bad cores in factories may not be too small. There are problems in both the basic and middle strata. In order to rectify the leadership core, we must rectify both the basic-level cadres and middle-level cadres.

Mao Zedong: Has Wang Heshou changed?

XX: He has made progress.

Mao Zedong: I am glad that he has improved. This man has had some relation with me. I don't know whether he has emulated the Liberation Army and the Daqing oil fields.

XX: In short, once one becomes separated from physical labor, he will go astray. It is a must to take part in labor.

XX: Whether one can practice "three togethernesses" is the principal key to whether one can stay at the point and align himself with the masses. It's especially important to participate in labor. Once there is participation, any problems can be resolved. Ren Baige went to stay at the Chongqing Steel Mill where the "three fixes and one replacement" was implemented successfully. Some cadres there have learned only the skills of making steel.

XX: These people have technology and they should not be kept away from production. To do the work, it suffices to give them some time.

Mao Zedong: How many hours will be required each day?

XX: It's sufficient for a small group leader to have half an hour to an hour, and the plant director to have 1-2 hours.

Mao Zedong: All staff members of sections and offices have gone down. There are tens of thousands of people at Daqing and all kinds of public opinions, but they all labored under strict orders. XX scolded this time! He wanted everybody to stay at selected primary units. I scolded my mother in vain. After XX scolded them they went.

XX: The majority of cadres were veteran workers who should be criticized and won over.

Mao Zedong: This is why we must issue strict orders. There must be a Qin Shi Huang. Who is China's Qin Shi Huang?¹⁸³ It is XX. I am his aide.

[Xie] Fuzhi: There is the question of how to deal with so many people. There is also the question of how to handle bonuses which form a part of the workers' wages.

XX: There are many good people in the factory. The cadres there are not any weaker than those we have sent down. If we take them out for training, they won't be able to carry out their tasks! You recruit 20 percent from them and when you have gained some experience, we will reap the benefit. All cadres engaged in the Five-Antis should be recruited from the factory concerned. There are more people in the factory who can be trained into backbone elements. This is what Xie Fuzhi did, and Chen Zhengren has also trained 400 people.

Mao Zedong: It should be undertaken throughout the country. You [referring to Xie] will recruit half of the personnel from your factory to develop another factory. Thus, with one factory, we can have two.

XX: The technicians and engineers of the factory should also take part in class struggle, and pay attention to the movement before they can become both red and expert.

Mao Zedong: They are not that expert. They won't unite with the masses, or participate in labor. They won't listen for other people's views. Or they would look and see, but won't make any real effort... Yu Qiuli's method is to issue strict orders. There are 7,000 people like him among an outfit of 60,000. There were all kinds of opinions.

XX: There are all kinds and shades of opinions. "Participation in labor would affect research," "I have just been promoted and they want me to do labor work now..."

Mao Zedong: It would be better to issue a strict order to ask everybody to go down.

¹⁸³ Qin Shi Huangdi, the first emperor, was a king of the state of Qin who, between 230 and 221 B.C., conquered the neighboring states and unified China. Under his rule, a feudal system was established, weights and measures and coinage were standardized. The legalist philosophy was the philosophical basis of the Qin. The first emperor is remembered for his burning of all non-utilitarian, "subversive" literature in 213 B.C.

XX: We should set up revolutionary committees. There is so much corruption in the trade unions which won't work now.

XX: The Luoyang Tractor Factory is launching a Five-Antis representatives conference.

XX: It seems the trade union system is no longer feasible. We must reorganize it. Whenever there is a good one, it can be reorganized under whatever new name, but it must be revolutionary, and we should begin with organizing from 20 to 80 percent of the active elements.

Mao Zedong: It will be wonderful if we can have 30 percent.

XX: Moreover, how should we deal with the surplus personnel from factories and offices? What do we do when they come to us?

XX: They shouldn't be sent up. It should be, as Xuefeng said, handled by themselves with one lazybone sandwiched between three diligent persons.

Mao Zedong: It would be better to have three diligent workers mixed with one lazybone in the factory, as Comrade Li Xuefeng said! I didn't say it! It won't be good to use one's neighbor as a dumping ground. We can divide one into two in this factory, with three diligent ones and a lazy bone! Do not be afraid! Disperse them properly.

XX: We might just as well give some labels to these bad people and send them to the countryside to labor.

XX: If one has a home to go back to, can he do that?

Mao Zedong: Who has a home to return to? How many tens of thousands of you have gone to Jiangxi and have returned to it? The factory can be moved. To concentrate on a few thousand, it would take only a few tens of cadres to control them. How can you say there is no way to handle 40 percent of them? If everybody must be sent up, I want to see where to send them. Maybe we can send them to him (referring to the Premier).

XX: I also believe the future is very bright indeed. There are tens of thousands of people in each township, and in each factory... Regarding Comrade Li Xuefeng's talk yesterday on the theory of cognition, where do people get their correct ideology? If the leadership is good and Marxism-Leninism is truly practiced, with the enhancement of culture, of the theory of cognition, and of Mao Zedong thought, there will be both centralism and democracy, discipline and

freedom, a united will and a pleasant individual mood, as well as a vivid and active political situation. But if the methods of thinking and working in a large factory, a county or big city are not sound, then they will change their color. So many cadres have emerged from Xingguo and Shanghang in Jiangxi.

Mao Zedong: There is also Yongxin.

XX: There is the Kirov Factory in the Soviet Union which used to be known as the Hammer and Sickle Factory, and after the October Revolution, its cadres were found throughout the USSR. After setting up a large factory, a large *xian* or a large city will have cadres to transform the entire nation and even the entire world, thus bringing about a change in people's spiritual outlook. A large factory can influence an entire city, nation and world. If the present work teams continue their efforts, it will have an effect on our new type of personages...

Mao Zedong: Lenin paid great attention to the peasants and founded a worker-peasant alliance. *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* is afraid of the petit bourgeoisie; it over-emphasized their weaknesses. The petit bourgeoisie has a dual character, and it depends on which side you emphasize. How many petit bourgeoisie are there in China? There are even more vagrants and proletarians. He was even more harsh towards vagrant proletarians by stressing their negative aspect. But they also have their positive aspect and according to our experience, are also amenable to transformation.

XX: It is also true of the offices which are very bright. The basic problem is that there must be a strong leadership core, Marxism-Leninism, the proletarian ideological system, 3-8 work style, and the 4 firsts¹⁸⁴ which, when implemented and persisted in, will greatly change nature and man's outlook. After the passage of years, the world will also change. This will be a tremendous contribution to the world proletarian revolution. The October Revolution was brisk and lively. Stalin built socialism. Later, it became dismal with stagnation. Then Khrushchev tried something... The world has not had any experience in freely mobilizing the masses under socialism to engage in revolutionary struggles. A

¹⁸⁴ The "three-eight style" of the PLA: three phrases, correct political orientation; plain, hard-working style; flexible strategy and tactics. Eight characters: unity, alertness, earnestness, and liveliness. The "four firsts" are: in man's relationship with his weapons, man comes first; in all activities, political activities come first; in political work, ideological work comes first; in ideological work, creative study comes first.

Communist reporter of Iceland asked me what conditions would bring about a capitalist restoration.

Mao Zedong: Two probabilities: One is restoration, and the other is no restoration.

XX: My answer for them is that we should mobilize the masses to engage in the Four Clean-ups, Five-Antis. Wages should not be too high, and half work and half study should be introduced to gradually eliminate the gap between brain labor and manual labor. Chairman Mao has spoken about the three great revolutions, namely: class struggle, production struggle and scientific experiment, and urged us to avoid revisionism and insure the construction of a powerful socialist state. When we go into action, this will be our working style. As of now, China's population constitutes one-third of the entire world population. After this one-third has done the work, the other two-thirds will come over to us.

Mao Zedong: We hope we can develop and build a very respectable nation, which is one probability. The other probability is that we may not succeed. Then what do we do? It does not matter. Don't be impatient; don't hope that it will be consummated during our lifetime. If one third of a province does its work well, it may not have to work in the other two-thirds, because when this one-third moves, the other two-thirds will also move. You have in Hubei, 71 counties. One third of this is about 24 counties, which is just well.

XX: But it would be impossible to do well in one county and one factory... unless labor is provided and unless one has Marxism-Leninism and Chairman's Mao's theory of knowledge...

Mao Zedong: In teaching the theory of knowledge, it has been customary to neglect its link with practical work. But apart from practical work, what's the use of teaching theory of cognition and teaching philosophy!

XX: With it one can create...

Mao Zedong: It does not mean that everybody will feel fine; there is bound to be some who won't feel good. Landlords, rich peasants, bad elements and undesirable elements won't feel good. Otherwise why should they block it?

XX: Should it be necessary to kill people? I think it would be better to kill individually... mass killing would be harmful. Once there is killing, there would

be a panic. But this does not mean that no one will be killed, and what time to kill must also be considered.

Mao Zedong: It may be necessary to shock the people. Too many may be killed. What is the harm? First, if we try to use him later, there would not be any living material. Second, it would embitter his family—the vengeance of a father killed. We may incarcerate first the one who must be executed. It is impossible for us not to kill, but we must not kill too many. Kill a few to shock them. There is another aspect, that is, the one killed by mistake won't resurrect.

XX: In a case like Tianjin's Li Huiliang where no material is available, if she was not killed, it would antagonize the broad mass of people.

Mao Zedong: This has caused problems in the Beijing drama circles.

XX: How many children of the landlords and rich peasants should engage in labor?

Mao Zedong: If they are commune members, they of course are peasants! How can you not allow the people to participate in socialism and monopolize it for your family only?

Xuefeng: Poor and lower-middle peasants are also called commune members, and so this cannot resolve the problem.

Zhou Enlai: They are all peasants! Let's call them peasants.

Mao Zedong: You better argue some more!

Interjection at Comrade Chen Boda's speech at the Central Work Conference

December 27, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 199.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

Note: Remarks in brackets are from Comrade Chen Boda's speech¹⁸⁵

[What is the principal contradiction? The Chairman has summed up everyone's view. The principal contradiction is the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. Four cleans and four uncleans do not explain the nature of the problem. The feudal society is the problem of clean officials and corrupt officials. The drama The Four Scholars [Si Jinshi] is one which is opposed to corrupt officials!]

When the viceroy of the province made an inspection tour, the earth would shake and mountains would tremble. It was so formidable!

[Clean officials during the feudal era were fictitious in substance "Serving three years as a clean perfect official, one can earn 100,000 ounces of silver." The word clean has different class meaning in different societies. There are also so-called clean officials in capitalist society, but these clean officials are plutocrats.]

In Qing Dynasty's Liu E's *The Travels of Lao Can* [*Lao Can Youji*], it is stated that clean officials were even more pernicious than corrupt ones. Later, I

¹⁸⁵ Chen Boda (1904-1989) born in Huian in Fujian, studied at a teachers' training college in Amoy before he went to Shanghai to study at the Labor University where he joined the CPC. In 1927 he was a student at the Sun Yat-sen University, Moscow, and in 1935 he helped Liu Shaoqi organizing the December 9th Student Demonstration against Chiang Kai-shek's appeasement of Japan. He had worked in Yanan since 1937 and became an alternate member of the CC of the CPC in 1947. After 1949 he was a deputy head of the party's Propaganda Department and since 1955 the deputy head of the Academy of Sciences. Chen became an alternate member of the Politburo in 1956 and the editor of the party organ, *Red Flag*, in 1959. Since the Cultural Revolution, his political importance has been greatly enhanced, being the leader of the Cultural Revolution Group, a full member of the Politburo.

discovered that they held the same view in the *Records of Wei* [*Wei Zhi*] of the history of Southern and Northern dynasties.

[Which epoch had no internal contradictions? Contradictions intertwine both inside and outside the Party, and there are parties within the Party. The Kuomintang also has had this problem].

There are at least two factions in our Party: one is the socialist faction, and the other the capitalist faction.

[The Chairman has stressed that we must listen to the words of all quarters; Good words, bad words, especially words of opposition. We must listen patiently. This determines whether or not work is done well.]

What if one has talked too long? As Comrade Li Xuefeng¹⁸⁶ has said one will be given zero for a grade if one is long-winded. Let him ramble on, and anyway, nobody would listen to him!

[Many people have forgotten whence they have come. One should not forget one's origin! If I myself did not join the revolution, I'd be at best a primary school or a middle school teacher.]

Big officials came from small officials, and small officials came from the people. We have all come from the people, and are still common people! “Generalissimo Chiang” was not named Chiang, but his family name was Zheng, and was called Zheng Sanfazi. He was a native of Henan. He knows only his mother but not his father. Didn't he also come from the people?

[The Chairman has often said that one must not consider one's self as being right. When a village cadre reaches a position of authority, he'd consider his own opinion as the correct one.]

One must not consider that his own opinion is right when he gains power. When one believes he is always in the right, he would never believe he is. Why then should there be meetings? Because opinions are divided. If they are unanimous, why should they meet?

¹⁸⁶ Li Xuefeng (1907-2003), born in Yungji, Shanxi, became a member of the CPC when he studied at the National Teacher Training College, Taiyuan. During the Anti-Japanese war he was active in the Taihang region and in 1952 became the first deputy secretary of the central-south bureau of the party. After his visit to Moscow in 1959, he was appointed the first secretary of the North China Bureau in 1963; after his visit to Indonesia in 1965, he became the first secretary of the Beijing branch of the party in 1966.

[One isn't afraid of officials; one is afraid of control!]

Small officials are afraid of big officials; big officials are afraid of foreigners.

Speech at the Central Work Conference (1)

December 28, 1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 199-201.

I don't have much to say. Is this document (referring to the *Twenty-Three Articles*¹⁸⁷) all right?

Article one, regarding the nature of the problem, is such a provision feasible?

There are three kinds of presentation. Are the first two better or is the third one better?

I have discussed it with members of the Standing Committee and also with several local comrades, deeming that the third method of presentation is better.

This is because the name of the movement is the socialist education movement, not a four clean-up education movement, nor an educational movement on intertwining contradictions.

At the Beidahe conference in 1962, the 10th Plenary Session of the Central Committee issued a communiqué, stating that we should undertake socialism, not capitalism.

During the first half of 1962, there was blown the "wind of individual farming." There were also "three conciliations and one reduction" and "three freedoms and one contract" which blew with terrific force. Deng Zihui¹⁸⁸ was one of those in the "wind of individual farming," there being several others beside him. Some comrades were persuaded; others listened, but would not reply or answer questions.

We have undertaken socialism for so many years, yet some comrades would not respond or answer questions.

¹⁸⁷ *The Present Problems Arising from the Socialist Education Movement in the Countryside* commonly known as the *Twenty-Three Articles*, was issued as a directive of the CC. Extracts are included in the Appendix 1, pp. 425-427.

¹⁸⁸ See notes 82 on p. 74 of this volume.

In April and May there was not a single local comrade who said that situation was fine, and only army comrades said it was all right. I heard this directly from Xu Shiyu¹⁸⁹, XX, and indirectly from Yang Dezhi and Han Xianchu. It was then in May, and they would say only that the situation was bad, and that there was such a general atmosphere.

When I went to Jinan in June, several comrades told me that the situation was good. Why was there this change? They did not reap wheat in May, but in June they did.

Why should I talk about the situation at Beidaihe? It is because someone said then that if “production was not contracted to each household, it would take some eight to ten years to recover.” Should we undertake socialism, or capitalism? This was a kind of class struggle. Consequently, it was asked “whether class and class contradiction exist?”

Thus, it was felt by the standing members of the Political Bureau and through public discussions that the third method of presentation was more appropriate because it envisages the nature of the problem.

The focus was to rectify the power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. Comrade Chen Yi¹⁹⁰ said that he was also a power holder, and if you wouldn't take the capitalist road, you could still be the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Article 16, regarding working attitude; this means that democracy must be stressed.

When you say every day there must be democracy, this is undemocratic. When you ask others to be democratic, you are not democratic yourself.

There have always been three great democracies in the army. When you cannot capture a fortress, you will summon the soldiers, fighters and squad leaders to hold a meeting and discuss strategy. You will then find the way. This is military democracy.

Political democracy—the three great disciplines.

Economic democracy—the mess should be managed by fighters. Do they still manage it now? This cannot be left entirely to the care of the quartermaster. There are two officers in each company: a sergeant clerk and a quartermaster. The sergeant clerk is in charge of copying work, which is to write reports. It seems terrific, because he knows a few characters.

¹⁸⁹ See note 77 on p. 71 of this volume.

¹⁹⁰ A reference to comrade Chen Yi, the late foreign minister.

One should listen to both good words and bad. There is no problem if you prefer to hear good words. The problems is with bad works. I once spoke at a rally of some 7,000 people, saying “You think that people really won’t dare to touch the backsides of tigers like you? They bloody well will!”¹⁹¹ Later, I realized that expression was uncouth and changed it. In this case the I denotes the laboring people and lower echelon cadres, and people like us aren’t too good to touch. If you wish to expose his scar or blister, it won’t be too easy!

One should listen to both correct words and incorrect words. You should listen to what is right, but even though it’s wrong, continue to listen. If others should criticize you wrongly, what does it matter? You are correct, and when someone makes a wrong criticism, the responsibility is his. What does it matter if you listen to him? But if you won’t listen, it is no good. When it is correct, and when the criticism is apt, you must listen. If the criticism is wrong, it behooves you all the more to listen. Moreover, especially when they say something against you, you must listen patiently. That is rather difficult to do.

You must allow the other person to finish his talk, which is also somewhat difficult to do. He may talk quite long, and there may be too much water and too little rice, resembling a bowl of congee; I have suffered from such ordeals many times. There was someone who talked for two hours, but still didn’t get to the point. I asked him if I could help him, and then he got to the point. When at Yanan, XX once came to visit me. He rambled on for two hours without getting anywhere. I asked him what he wanted from me, and then he mentioned his purpose. There was then another comrade who would only lecture and would refuse to answer my questions. I could only listen to his lecturing. There are many such people in the world whose purpose is to lecture others. They want to lecture people like me, copiously and ramblingly.

There is a distinction between propaganda and incitement. In propaganda many concepts are linked together; in incitement, there is only one concept or one slogan. For instance, when you conduct a strike, you present a slogan which is very simple. This is called incitement. When you write articles, make reports, and engage in lengthy discourses, this is propaganda. When you hang up posters, this is incitement (mobilization for a specific event.)

XX discovered this, and he talked about it twice, taking 50 minutes one time, and zero minutes another time because nobody wanted to listen to him! I have always advocated that in listening to speeches, one must not clap hands.

¹⁹¹ See “Talk at the Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the CC of the CPC,” *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Volume VIII, pp. 413-436.

If you don't like to listen, you may take a nap. When your talk is boring, it'd be better for him to take a nap to maintain his health. It is better to maintain one's health against such ordeals. Another way is to read a novel. I did this when I was attending school, and in this way I kicked out the teacher. [*He related his story as a student.*] This could have been my fault, or perhaps it was because what the teacher lectured on was uninteresting that I began to read novels, and later I invented napping. Don't say that I have had no inventions, because I also invented [*laughter*]. I used this method to punish those who, instead of engaging in some form of dialogue would merely lecture, and to harass those teachers who were prone to giving lecture, but would not allow their students to ask questions or question their students as a way of stimulation. If there is a teaching syllabus in a class, the teacher won't have to lecture. All he has to do is to let the students read it and raise some questions for student discussions. When the government work report was presented this time, I suggested that it need not be read. But they said there might be some illiterates, so I conceded, and it was read. I also clapped. In this kind of meeting, I am also for clapping hands.

Among comrades, you must not make others afraid of you. But in the case of the enemy, you must make him afraid. One must by no means make others afraid of you among comrades! If you do so, there must be some trouble with you, for otherwise, why would you want others to be afraid of you? When you make others afraid of you, it must be because you are weak in reasoning.

In army units in old days, the squad leader would train his soldiers with these methods: beating, scolding, and detention, and nothing else. He was undemocratic. Later, we said that beating and scolding should not be permitted, and now detention has also been abolished. Soldiers desert, and if they desert, let them go, and why apprehend them? To capture the deserter and shoot him, why! Why would others desert? It is most probably because they could not live in your place. Let them run away. If you want to get the deserter back, you will have to admit your errors to him and invite him to eat rice and pork. You should tell him that if he still wants to run away, he could do so, but if not, he could stay. You can't use the method of beating and scolding and incarceration to deal with deserters. Let the deserter run away, because such a soldier has a rather low positiveness, and what is the use of keeping him? He could flee to some foreign country, and what does that matter? China has so many people. They might denounce us, but then so many people have denounced us, including Khrushchev and Kennedy, who are not Chinese. The

musician Fu Cong has fled to England. I say this is good. What's the use of keeping this kind of person in the country?

I have spoken only on these two points: the nature of the problem, and the working attitude.

Why can the *Former Ten Articles*¹⁹² and *Sixty Articles*¹⁹³ Mobilize People's Power?

1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 205.

It is because they have resolved contradictions among the people, the relationship between leaders and those who are led, and has organized strength. Man is the foremost factor among such factors as productive forces. Man, means of labor (including animal labor, farm implements, fertilizers), and objects of labor constitute the three great elements of productive forces. By implementing the *Sixty Articles* and *Double Ten Articles*, it is possible to bring about vastly different results with the same manpower, animals, farm implements, land, and so forth.

After talking about rural socialist education, “if the poor and lower-middle peasants are righteous, landlords and rich peasants will be convinced”

This may not be necessarily so. If poor and lower-middle peasants are righteous, there may be such a possibility later, and they must also not be righteous. When you say that landlords and rich peasants will be convinced, it does not imply that they will all be convinced.

¹⁹² The *Decision on Certain Problems in the Present Rural Work (Draft)*, known as the *Former Ten Articles*, were instructions drawn under the leadership of Mao and published in May 1963 that raised the Four Clean-ups issue. In September 1963, another document drawn under the leadership of Liu Shaoqi and known as the *Latter Ten Articles* was released to complete it. While adopted, it was criticized by Mao for paying too little attention on the danger of the capitalist road. Those two documents are together called the *Double Ten Articles* and became the main guideline to the Socialist Education Movement.

¹⁹³ The *Sixty Articles on the Work of the People's Communes* were regulations proclaimed in September 1962 regarding the size of communes, production brigades and team and improving their management.

On a spurious labor model at Xiaozhan who did not work, but earned 15,000 wage points in a year, worth 2,000 yuan

That makes him an exploiter, and we must dismiss him. The accounts must be cleared, and he must be made to return what he has earned.

There are also some little despots who should also be rectified.

In cases of corruption and violation of laws, there are both bourgeoisie and proletariat. Things are so complex that it would be strange if there were no such cases. It is better to have some opposite sides.

On Chen Yumei of Chenjiazhuang, Qufu, whose per *mu* production dropped from 500 catties to 300 catties after she was struggled against but last year, her per *mu* yield recovered from 300 catties to 600 catties

One must still rely on self-help. Things can always change. To strike down good people is like striking down Molotov, from 500 catties to 300 catties. When Molotov rises, it increases from 300 to 600 catties. It is possible for people like Chen Yumei, who never attended primary school, not to mention college, to do remarkable things.

The advent of revisionism, marks the ascent of the bourgeoisie onto the [political] stage. That is the dismal truth. It is like what has happened to Chenjiazhuang where they chopped the trees and destroyed the vineyards. They even took away tables and chairs from the house. But good people regained power, everything changed. Khrushchev would also change the Soviet Union into such a dismal place where trees would be chopped down and the vineyards would be destroyed. Were it profitable, he would even borrow money from the devil. We won't take such a road. The devil won't give us loans, and even if he did we wouldn't accept them. We will rely on Chenjiazhuang's Chen Yumei and Dazhai's Chen Yonggui.

Don't just look at the dark side. Anything can be divided from one into two. Ten percent of the models can mobilize the majority and rectify some 10 to 20 percent of bad elements.

Some of the party branches have been usurped by wayward veteran party members. They have a way of harassing the county committee members. They ask you how many Central Committee members you know and what are their names. If you cannot answer, they say your problems are insoluble. People at the upper echelons basically won't go down; they don't understand the situation.

Notes on the Directive of Strengthening Political Work by Learning from the PLA

1964

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 208.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 98.

Now the whole country is learning from the PLA and the Daqing [oilfield] and schools too should learn from the PLA. What the PLA excels in is the field of political ideology. It is also necessary to learn from the advanced units in the cities, agriculture, industries, commerce, and education throughout the country.

There are people who suggest that the industrial departments at all levels (from the Departments to the factories and communes) throughout the country should learn from the PLA by setting up political departments and political bureau and appointing political commissars and by adopting the “four firsts” and the “three-eight style”¹⁹⁴ It seems that this is the only way to arouse the revolutionary spirit of millions of cadres and workers in the industrial (as well as agricultural and commercial) departments.

¹⁹⁴ For “four firsts” and “three-eight style” see note 184 on p. 172 of this volume.

1965

Speech at the Central Work Conference (2)

January 3, 1965

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui)*, 1968, Vol. 5, page 209-212.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

I won't visit your honorable place if there is no business, and when there is, we will hold a meeting. Some comrades ask me, "how do you fight a war of annihilation?" In a county of 280,000 people, 18,000 were assembled together, and after two months, the battle still had not been fought. It took 40 days to study the documents, and why should they be studied so long? I think this amounts to some sort of scholasticism. I don't advocate this kind of study. It's no use merely to read documents. [*Liu XX*: Several ten thousand people in Henan were concentrated in a few places, and they devoted some 40 days to it, which was to oppose the rightist trend. They have clarified some problems.] [*Liu Zihou*: We also concentrated on anti-rightism and relieving ourselves of our burdens.] Was there any result? One could study the documents in a day and discuss them on the ensuing day. It might take a week to discuss and then go down to the countryside. The main thing is to study in the rural areas and learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants. One of my security guards, 21 years old, has written me saying, "After studying the documents for some 40 days, I basically did not understand them, and only began to understand something after I came down to the countryside." This means one should only study documents for one week and then go down to the countryside in order to learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants! He said that he was afraid of a number of things: being afraid people might die, and the wrong roots would be planted. He was afraid of this and that, and how could it be possible if one was so timid? Although there are 18,000 cadres in a county of 280,000 people, they will still say it is not enough. Why should there be so many? I think it is definitely too many. Since the work teams have so many people, and you must rely on the work teams, then why don't you rely on the 280,000 people of that county? When you rely on the good people there, even though there may be a bad one in 28, you will still have 27 good people. Even though there may be two bad persons, you will still have 26 good ones. Why don't you rely on these people? Even with some 10,000-20,000 people, you still could not finish it after one or two months. You say you will take root and make contacts, but

what roots and what contacts? It was all so dreary which means that you did not rely correctly. If you had relied on the right people, it would be sufficient to have a dozen or more people for each county. In short, we did not make revolution like this before. Some 10,000-20,000 people were mobilized to undertake the movement in a small county like a torrential rain, and after several months the work still was not launched. When a trade union was launched at the Anyuan Colliery before, we did not know a single person among Anyuan's workers. As soon as we arrived there, we made speeches. We asked who would like to enroll in night school and found out who the foreman was. He had several wives. Did we organize a club? [XX: We didn't.] After three months, a strike was launched there.¹⁹⁵

I think that after entering a village and meeting the masses, we must first of all announce several things:

First, we should announce to commune members that we have not come for the purpose of rectifying them. Maybe we could also announce to some of the honest landlords and rich peasants that we would not rectify them. With the exception of some landlords and rich peasants that have escaped [class] determination and some of the counter-revolutionary elements and speculators with serious problems, all petty thieves and pickpockets could be exempt. We should announce openly that what we would rectify is the inside of the Party, not the commune members. We should announce that our purpose is not to rectify you. If you have done something wrong, you should discuss it

¹⁹⁵ The Anyuan Colliery was an enterprise owned by bureaucrat capitalists under the control of Japanese imperialism. The successive directors were all corrupt bureaucrats, real power concerning the mining projects being in the hands of foreign supervisors. The entire enterprise was run on the feudal gangmaster system. The workers groaned under the treble oppression of imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism and feudalism. Therefore the Anyuan Colliery contained immense revolutionary possibilities. After 1921, the Party at first ran spare-time schools for the workers at the mine to carry on Marxist education; then it organized a trade union, which was formally founded on May 1, 1922. Meanwhile, a branch of the Socialist Youth League was formed among the workers, the best members of which were later absorbed into the Party. The big strike of the Anyuan coal-miners, which had repercussions throughout the country, broke out on September 10, 1922. Owing to the solidarity of the workers and their vigorous struggle, the authorities were forced to accept the workers' demands on the fifth day of the strike and thus the strike was victoriously concluded. After the victory of the strike the trade union was organized along new lines. The Anyuan trade union was at that time one of the strongest in the country. It alone stood firm when nearly all the unions in the other big enterprises were destroyed during the low ebb of the working-class movement which followed the massacre of the Beijing-Hankou Railway workers on February 7, 1923. In the course of the Northern Expedition in 1926 the Anyuan workers gave strong support to the Expeditionary Army. They also took part in the armed struggle during the Autumn Harvest Uprising in 1927. From 1928 onwards, Anyuan was the liaison center of the Jinggang Mountains revolutionary base.

among yourselves. If there are serious cases among some members, we could discuss them individually, but this number is extremely small.

Second, we should also announce the purpose of our visit to the cadres. Cadres of teams, brigades and communes generally fall into these categories: large, medium, small, and nothing. There are some who eat more and own more, others who eat more but own very little, and still others who have nothing whatsoever. Where it involves a few tens of dollars, 100 dollars or 200 dollars, you can admit to it yourself. If you can return it, good, but if not, it can be canceled with the approval of the masses, since that is all you have done! After you have confessed, there will be no trouble, but there will be trouble if you don't.

Where the reimbursement has been made satisfactorily in the cases of corruption and theft and speculation and hoarding, no labels will be given. Where the performance is good, one can continue to serve as cadre with the approval of the masses.

After entering the village, a rally should be held within a month or so. The rally should be held with the county as the unit; each team being represented by its leader and two poor and lower-middle peasants; and each brigade being represented by the branch party secretary and brigade leader; and each commune being represented by the party secretary and commune leader. Several rallies should be held, each lasting one day. First, we should tell them the purpose of the visit. It should not be long. A half-hour speech should be sufficient, for if one should talk for an hour, they would be bored listening to it. Let them convey the message to lower echelons. In a county with a population of 280,000, there are about 3,000-odd teams. With three persons from each team, there would be some 10,000 people. It would be impossible to assemble everyone at one rally and so it should be divided into two or three rallies, each lasting one day. Then a rally of 10,000 people could be held and the people would feel pacified. What you have been doing seems so insipid. So many work teams have been set up, and after several months of endeavor, the movement still has not developed. They lack experience, and the majority consists of people who don't know how to work. Some 20,000 people went to Tongxiang, and after one year, the work there was not completed. Some of them did not work well, and others were bureaucratic. I think if we make revolution this way, the revolution will take 100 years. Some professors were in the work teams, and they weren't as good as their assistants, while some of the assistants weren't as good as the

students. The more books one reads, the more stupid one becomes, knowing almost nothing. That is all.

You won't annihilate the enemy if you fight the battle of annihilation this way. It behooves you to rely on the masses and to mobilize them. You are lackadaisical in taking root and making contacts, and this atmosphere is too thick. This method is different from the method we used before. In order to annihilate the enemy in a matter of months, I think you must change the method. If you don't rely on the masses, the movement cannot be launched in a few months. Please think up some methods!

Your (*referring to Liu Zihou and Zhang Chengxian*) local committee's secretary, Li Yuenong, is the team leader, and he has not launched the movement after several months. Try to think up some remedy! Why couldn't he get the work done? [*Liu: he has been too slow in stressing taking root and making contacts, and while I was in Ren xian, big rallies and small meetings were held simultaneously.*] Cadre meetings and meetings of poor and lower-middle peasants may be held in the brigade or in the county. Last year, an all-province poor and lower-middle peasants representative conference was held in Hunan with salutary results. Hunan's grain production this year has increased some two billion catties, and so it has yielded results. If you are so afraid that you will plant the wrong roots, then where can you hide yourself? A rally must be held as soon as we enter the village, and it should be attended by all poor and lower-middle peasants, including landlords and rich peasants that have escaped [class] determination. We must promulgate a few articles, but not read the *Double Ten Articles* one by one.

Genuine leaders and good people stand out only in a struggle, but you can't see them by visiting and interviewing the poor and impoverished people. First they aren't relatives, and secondly, they aren't friends. Thus, I don't believe in visiting and interviewing them. I was in Changsha when a strike was being organized by the Hankou-Guangdong railway. Although we didn't recognize a single person there, we looked for the two foremen. One of them was Zhu Shao-lian who had two wives. He also wanted to make revolution because, as foreman, he was oppressed and his wage was too meager. This man was heroically sacrificed later. Where did we get a method to take root and make contacts like this? When you go out to develop and engage in mass movement, or to lead a mass struggle, the masses will do what they want to do in the struggle, and they will then create their own leaders in the struggle. [*Liu Zihou spoke about his own methods of holding struggle meetings when he was stationed at Ren xian.*]

In these struggle meetings one should also discuss last year's distribution and wage points, and pay attention to production. What they have in the south, they don't have in the north. Relieve famine where there is famine; where there is no famine, settle wage points, and engage in distribution for the current year as well as winter production. The Four Clean-ups can be deferred to a later stage. Four Clean-ups means cleaning up cadres and cleaning up a few people. Where there is something unclean, clean it up; where it is clean, no cleaning up will be necessary. There must be some clean people! When there are no lice on a person, how can you find lice? [*Liu XX*: One high tide follows another, and we must not procrastinate]. One cannot be thorough by procrastinating. There was a time when it took 40 days to study documents, to engage in scholasticism. My personal security guard wrote to tell me that after studying documents for 40 days, he still did not understand them. After he had gone to the countryside to stay at a selected primary unity, he began to understand. I have always opposed reading documents in this manner. It is a superstition that it takes 40 days to study documents. You should hold rallies, engage in struggle—three levels of area and county struggle rallies.

Xie Fuzhi's method deserves adoption. Recruit 20 percent of the people for training. In a factory of 6,000 people, there must be 5,000 that are reliable. Why won't you rely on these 5,000 people instead of relying on your work team's 500 people? I think it is sufficient to have you alone. How could a minister fail to launch a movement with some 5,000 people to depend on? Don't be engrossed in documents and don't take so long to train. Go and get the struggle under way. When we fought wars before, we fought from the outset. We won some and lost some and never read any books. Some people say that I brought *Romance of Three Kingdoms* in the fight, but who would fight a battle in accordance with the book. Commander Lin was a professional in fighting before, and XX was also a professional before. XX is also a professional. Whether one is a professional or an amateur, you can only learn it by fighting. If you don't fight and merely learn, how can it be possible? [*Asking Xie Fuzhi*:] Were you also studying the *Double Ten Articles* when you launched a training class of some 1,000 people or more? How did you study and for how long? [*Answer*: We studied some, and very soon we went to take up the struggle.] Why cannot training classes be held with the brigade or with the commune as the center? The so-called training class is tantamount to a struggle meeting whose purpose is to understand conditions and understand diverse personalities in order to engage in investigation and study. After most of the people have

been struggled against, then someone can be designated to make a summing up. In short, what I mean is we must rely on the worker-peasant masses. Zhang Chengxian and Li Yuenong, who have served as cadres in Xincheng County, Hebei, and still do not understand how to launch a mass movement. With so many people [you] still failed to develop it. Li XX was the secretary of the local committee of Baoting. He first suggested the Four Clean-ups, but when he went to the countryside, he engaged in something else. Yet when the masses insisted that Four Clean-ups be undertaken, he listened to them... This is the Li XX, secretary of Baoting local committee, who in 1962 launched the Four Clean-ups campaign. That was because at that time we were confronted with oppressions. Whether we were fighting, or engaging in a peasant movement, or launching a labor movement, there were capitalists in the factories and landlords and gentry in the countryside. The Kuomintang oppressed us both politically and militarily, and we had no alternative but to rely on the masses. We had then very few cadres who were party members. There was not a single party member in a factory of 1,000 or 10,000 people. If there were one, we could make revolution or stage a strike. There was not a single party member in the Guangdong-Hankou Railway, yet it launched a mammoth strike. Now that you have founded a party, entered cities, and become bureaucrats, you are no longer adept at launching mass movements.

Why is it that those who attended military academies would not consult books when they were fighting? During five months at the Whampoa Military Academy, cadets became regular officers for four months. The cadets underwent some training, did some drill, and then graduated. Comrade Lin Biao said that when he came out to be a company commander, he did not know how to fight. A squad leader was experienced, and so he listened to him. After fighting a few battles, one becomes adept. I won't believe that one will be able to fight after studying. Can an intellectual fight after a few years of reading? Not being able to fight is reasonable, and one will know how after a few years of fighting. Haven't our work teams also offered some ideas? [*Liu XX*: The poor and lower-middle peasants have plenty of ideas, and though we also offered some, primarily they are their ideas.] It is necessary to listen to them, to the masses, and to the poor and lower-middle peasants. What we must do is mobilize the masses to revolt against the corrupt and speculative elements. It is important to get the arch wrongdoers, the lesser ones should be left alone. [*Liu*: One is to mobilize the masses; the other is that after the masses have been mobilized to a certain degree, the work team should control the temperature, and be adept

at observing the situation, deciding when to attack and when to retreat.] It is like in a strike: when to strike and when to resume work. The same is true in battle. You must decide whether to attack or to retreat. Won't you retreat if the situation becomes impossible? Sometimes, both sides have to retreat. When we were attacking Gao-Xing-Yu, Chiang and Cai retreated towards Ganzhou while we retreated into the mountainous ravines, each on his own.

[*Asking Chen Boda:*] How big a rally was held at Tianjin? [*Chen's answer deleted.*] Impossible. Terrible! Such a waste of time. Better not to have held it! [*Chen's rejoinder omitted*] So many work teams for 1,000 odd households, and the work could not be developed because there were too many people. It is impossible to engage in a human sea tactic. Where there are some 1,000 households, you can develop the movement by relying on 700 or 800 of them, and one Chen Boda would be enough. If you feel that there aren't enough men, you can bring another fellow. What you do is nothing more than to announce: My name is Chen Boda and I won't visit your honorable place if there is no business. If there is, a meeting should be held. Most of the people are innocent, and only a few are guilty. Let's rely on the majority!

[*The Premier interjected:* Chen Yi just said that Zhang Xi studied for two months before she went into the city]. The more she studied, the more stupid she became. Strongly anti-rightist, in the end she leaned towards the right. In what county was Zhang Xi? [XX: In Zhurong County]. I have always opposed the study of documents. It takes only a few hours to read a document. You should bring it down with you to study. When going down to the countryside, the first thing is that you must not study documents; secondly, don't bring too many people; thirdly, don't take root and make contacts in isolation. Meetings should not be too long, longer when there are things to say, and shorter when there is not much to talk about. It is necessary to give the masses a free hand. It is no good if you trust only work teams, but not the masses. One of my own boys spent 40 days studying documents and still was ignorant about their contents, but he began to understand them as soon as he went to the countryside. There was another one at Dongxian who said that the professors did not understand, though assistants were better, and the students understood even more. I told my boys: You have studied for 10 or more years, and have become all the more ignorant knowing almost nothing. Tell everybody that for 20-odd years I grew up by eating honeydew, being ignorant about everything. Ask your uncles and aunts for guidance. It seems that students proved to be better than assistants, and assistants better than professors. The professors have read too

many books. Otherwise how could they become professors? When these people go down, they obstruct the Four Clean-ups. Their purpose is not to engage in the Four Clean-ups movement.

One is Xie Fuzhi's experience, in which struggle was launched through training classes. The other is the experience of Henan in which "triple alliance" struggle meetings were held. They undertook struggle for one month to 40 days. They did not read documents; rather they engaged in struggle, mobilized the masses, and understood the conditions. In short, they waged struggle. [XX: In the brigade where I was stationed, we worked for two months, and succeeded in surfacing some 20,000 dollars [of illicit money] and 100,000 catties of grain.] There is still some oil to squeeze; we can borrow some money from them since they have plenty of money. The masses can still be hopeful, whether it is looking after the five-guarantee households or undertaking production. The meeting should not be too small. Some teams have only a dozen or more households, with a dozen or more members. It would be difficult to talk with them straightforwardly. In a brigade there are usually a dozen or more teams, and when a rally is held, a few hundred people will attend it at the most!

I could never see that so many people would be needed, and with that many people, I believe it cannot be handled well.

In short, we must rely on the masses, not the work teams. The work team either does not understand the situation or is ignorant. Some of them have become bureaucrats and obstruct the movement. Some of the persons on the work teams are not dependable. Now, a front such as this has been formed: one is Dongxian, and the other is Xincheng county. If someone says there aren't enough men, we will cut it down by one-half, and if someone still is not satisfied, we can cut the other half. One-half of Dongxian's 20,000 people have been sent to other areas. Is it still impossible if a county has 5,000 people? [*Kang Sheng interjected*: Taking root and making contacts was discovered by Old Deng...] True, these were invented by Old Deng! Mystifying! Don't announce the purpose of our visit. It is necessary to announce what we wish to do: production, distribution and wage points, and devote ourselves to these matters. We may talk a little about the Four Clean-ups. Whether to clean-up or not must be discussed by the masses. If there is something to be cleared up, we will clean it up, but if not, let it go. What belongs to the masses won't be liquidated. There must be several hundred people to hold a rally, which should be based on the brigade as the unit. The team, with its dozen or more households, is too small. When they say that a rally is to be held in the county,

news will travel fast. County committee secretaries who have serious problems should go to some other county to serve on work teams. I think the present method of doing it is too erratic. There were some 1,000 households in the area assigned to you—Chen Boda, and at the beginning, a few persons launched the movement successfully. The number was increased to some 500 later. Why should you have so many people? [*Deng XX interjects: Let us set a longer time and oppose rashness.*] Wouldn't it be better if it were accomplished in five or six years, three or four years, or two or three years? Methodology is very important. It is too much to concentrate 10,000 or more people in one county. It was developed by the peasants themselves, with only a few cadres. There were then seven or eight departments: agriculture department, finance department, militia department... They were all brave elements at the beginning. It was these elements who besieged the county government. Their demands were too excessive; in reality they could not be that excessive. A few of the power holders wormed their way in, which constituted a serious problem, but the majority could be won over and utilized. If it is excessive, the masses may not approve of it. We can be more liberal, and it may be faster, but not too excessive. [*Liu interjects: Reliable workers must constitute a majority in factories.*]

The work team is not all that clean. Won't it be necessary to dismiss all questionable persons? Not necessarily. There might be in the work team some corrupt people and speculators. They must confess.

People like us have neither knowledge of nor experience with corruption and speculation, but they have, and so they are indispensable. When concentrating forces to fight a battle of annihilation, how can we fight if the problem of direction is not resolved? So many people, and yet we cannot develop the movement. It would be better to adopt Chen Boda's method. It is not possible to rely on the human sea tactic, which is bound to cause problems.

Wang X raised the question of switching cadres from one county to another and from one commune to another. When there is a newcomer whose background is unknown, the masses will dare to speak out. With a new commune leader and new party secretary, they will dare to talk about their predecessors. The movement can be developed very quickly. Why should it take so long?

For now the work team should not be so pure. Taking root and making contacts is dreary without any mass movement. With some 10-20,000 people concentrated in one county, they still complain it is not enough. [*Liu XX, Deng XX...*]

It behooves the poor and lower-middle peasant associations to clarify the problems and talk with Tao [and] X.

***From South of the Mountains to North of the Seas –
Interview with the American Journalist Edgar Snow***

January 9, 1965

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 212-225.

Translation: The New Republic, February 27, 1965, page 17-23.¹⁹⁶

In a rare interview which lasted about four hours, Mao Zedong conversed with me on topics ranging over what he himself called *shan nan hai bei*, or “from south of the mountains to north of the seas.” With China’s bountiful 200-million-ton 1964 grain harvest taxing winter storage capacities, with shops everywhere offering inexpensive foods and consumer goods necessities, and with technological and scientific advances climaxed by an atomic bang that saluted Khrushchev’s political demise, Chairman Mao might well have claimed a few creative achievements. I found him reflecting on man’s rendezvous with death and ready to leave the assessment of his political legacy to future generations.

The 72-year-old warrior greeted me in one of the spacious Beijing-décor rooms of the Great Hall of the People, across the wide square facing Tiananmen, the Heavenly Peace Gate of the former Forbidden City. During our conversation he repeatedly thanked foreign invaders for speeding up the Chinese revolution and for bestowing similar favors in Southeast Asia today. He asserted that China has no troops outside her own frontiers and has no intention of fighting anybody unless her own territory is attacked. He observed that the more American weapons and troops brought into Saigon, the faster the South Vietnamese liberation forces would become armed and educated to win victory. By now they did not need the help of Chinese troops.

¹⁹⁶ The *Wansui* contains a different version of this conversation that was published by the Japanese magazine *Asahi Shimbun*, with excerpts of in the first edition of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. IX. For this second edition we chose to include the article that Edgar Snow published in *The New Republic*.

At the start of our conversation Chairman Mao agreed to be photographed informally in a film I believe to be the first ever made of him for foreign television. From this film political clinicians may make their own diagnosis of his condition, lately rumored to be much deteriorated. On January 9, coming at the end of strenuous weeks of daily and nightly conferences with many regional leaders drawn to the capital for the annual National People's Congress, his talk with me might have been more speedily terminated by a sick man. He seemed wholly relaxed throughout our conversation, which began before six, continued during dinner and went on for about two hours after.

One of the chairman's doctors informed me that Mao has no organic troubles and suffers from nothing beyond the normal fatigue of his age. He ate moderately of a peppery Hunanese meal shared with me and drank a glass or two of wine, rather perfunctorily.

It was reported abroad that other "government officials" were present during my interview. These officials were two friends from pre-revolutionary days in China: Mme. Gong Peng, now an assistant to the Chinese Foreign Minister, and her husband, Qiao Guanhua, an assistant minister in the same department. I submitted no written questions and took no notes during the interview. Fortunately I was able to refresh my memory by reviewing the conversation with one of those present who had kept a written record. It was agreed that I might publish, without direct quotation, some of the chairman's comment as is given below.

"Some American commentators in Saigon have compared the strength of the Viet Cong there with the 1947 period in China, when the People's Liberation Army began to engage in large-scale annihilations of Nationalist forces. Are the conditions comparable?"

The chairman thought not. By 1947 the People's Liberation Army already had more than a million men, against several million troops on Chiang Kai-shek's side. The PLA had then used divisional and group army strength, whereas the Vietnamese liberation forces were now operating at battalion or at most regimental strength. American forces in Vietnam were still relatively small. Of course, if they increased they could help speed up the arming of the people against them. But if he should tell that to United States leaders they would not listen. Had they listened to Diem? Both Ho Chi Minh and he (Mao Zedong) thought that Ngo Dinh Diem was not so bad. They had expected the Americans to maintain him for several more years. But impatient American generals

became disgusted with Diem and got rid of him. After all, following his assassination, was everything between heaven and earth more peaceful?

“Can Viet Cong forces now win victory by their own efforts alone?” Yes, he thought that they could. Their position was relatively better than that of the Communists during the first civil war (1927-37) in China. At that time there was no direct foreign intervention, but now already the Viet Cong had the American intervention to help arm and educate the rank and file and the army officers. Those opposed to the United States were no longer confined to the liberation army. Diem had not wanted to take orders. Now this independence had spread to the generals. The American teachers were succeeding. Asked whether some of these generals would soon join the liberation army, Mao said yes, some would follow the example of Kuomintang generals who had turned to the Communists.

The “Third World”

“United States intervention in Vietnam, the Congo and other former colonial battlefields, suggests a question of some theoretical interest as seen within Marxist concepts. The question is whether the contradiction between neo-colonialism and the revolutionary forces in what the French like to call the ‘third world’—the so-called underdeveloped or ex-colonial or still colonial nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America—is today the principal political contradiction in the world? Or do you consider that the basic contradiction is still one between the capitalist countries themselves?”

Mao Zedong said that he had not reached an opinion about that but he recalled something that President Kennedy had said. Had Kennedy not declared that as far as the United States, Canada and Western Europe were concerned, there was not much real and basic difference? The President had said that the problem was in the Southern Hemisphere. In advocating “special forces warfare” training for “local [countersubversive?] warfare” the late President may have had my question in mind.

On the other hand, contradictions between imperialists were what had caused two world wars in the past, and their struggles against colonial revolutions had not changed their character. If one looked at France one saw two reasons for de Gaulle’s policies. The first was to assert independence from American domination. The second was to attempt to adjust French policies to changes occurring in the Asian-African countries and Latin America. The result was intensified contradiction between the capitalist nations, but was France part of its so-called “third world”? Recently he had asked some French visitors

about that and they had told him no, that France was a developed country and could not be a member of the “third world” of undeveloped countries. The matter was not so simple.

“Perhaps it could be said that France is in the third world but not of it?”

Perhaps. This question which had engaged the interest of President Kennedy had led Kennedy, Mao had read, to study Mao’s own essays on military operations. Mao had also learned from Algerian friends during their struggle against France that the French were reading his works and using his information against them. But he had told the Algerian Prime Minister, Abbas, at that time, that his own books were based on Chinese experience and would not work in reverse. They could be adapted only to the waging of people’s wars of liberation and were rather useless in an anti-people’s war. They did not save the French from defeat in Algeria. Chiang Kai-shek had also studied the Communists’ materials but he had not been saved either.

Mao remarked that the Chinese also study American books. For instance, he had read *The Uncertain Trumpet* by General Taylor, the United States Ambassador in Saigon. General Taylor’s view was that nuclear weapons probably would not be used, therefore non-nuclear arms would decide. Taylor wanted priority given to the Army. Now he had his chance to test out his theories of special warfare. In Vietnam he was gaining some valuable experience.

The chairman had also read some articles issued by US authorities to their troops on how to handle guerrillas. These instructions dealt with the shortcomings and military weaknesses of the guerrillas and held out hopes for American victory. They ignored the decisive political fact that whether it was Diem or somebody else, governments cut off from the masses could not win against wars of liberations.

Since the Americans would not listen to Chairman Mao, his advice would do nobody any harm.

“In Southeast Asia as well as in India and certain countries of Africa and even Latin America, there exist some social conditions comparable to those that brought on the Chinese revolution. Each country has its own problems, and solutions will vary widely, yet I wonder if you agree that social revolutions will occur which may borrow much from the Chinese?”

Anti-feudal and anti-capitalist sentiments combined with opposition to imperialism and neo-colonialism, he replied, grew out of oppression and wrongs of the past. Wherever the latter existed there would be revolutions, but in most of the countries I was talking about, the people were merely seeking

national independence, not socialism—quite another matter. European countries had also had anti-feudal revolutions. Though the United States had had no real feudal period, still it had fought a progressive war of independence from British colonialism, and then a civil war to establish a free labor market. Washington and Lincoln had been great men of the time.

“Among the roughly three-fifths of the earth which belongs in the third world category, very acute problems exist, as we know. The gap between the ratio of population growth and growth of production is growing more disadvantageous. The gap between their every-falling standard of living and that of the affluent countries is rapidly widening. Under such conditions, will time wait for the Soviet Union to demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system—and then wait a century for parliamentarianism to arise in the underdeveloped areas and peacefully establish socialism?”

Mao thought it would not wait so long.

I asked whether the question did not perhaps touch upon the nexus of China's ideological dispute with the Soviet Union. He agreed that it did.

“Do you think it would be possible to complete not only the national liberation of emerging nations of the third world, but also their modernization, without another world war?”

Use of the word “complete” must give one pause, he said. Most of the countries concerned were still very far from socialist revolutions. In some there were no Communist Parties at all, while in others there were only revisionists. It was said that Latin America had 20 Communist Parties and of these 18 had issued resolutions against China. One thing was certain. Where severe oppression existed there would be revolution.

China and the Bomb

“Do you still believe that the bomb is a paper tiger?”

That had just been a way of talking, he said, a kind of figure of speech. Of course the bomb could kill people. But in the end the people would destroy the bomb. Then it would truly become a paper tiger.

“You have been quoted as saying that China had less fear of the bomb than other nations because of her vast population. Other peoples might be totally wiped out, but China would still have a few hundred millions left to begin anew. Was there ever any factual basis to such reports?”

He answered that he had no recollection of saying anything like that but he might have said it. He did recall a conversation he had had with Jawaharlal Nehru, when the latter visited China (in 1954). As he remembered it, he had

said China did not want a war. They didn't have atom bombs, but if other countries wanted to fight there would be a catastrophe in the whole world, meaning that many people would die. As for how many, nobody could know. He was not speaking only of China. He did not believe an atom bomb would destroy all mankind, so that you would not be able to find a government to negotiate peace. He mentioned this to Nehru during their conversation. Nehru said that he was chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission of India and he knew about the destructiveness of atomic power. He was sure that no one could survive. Mao replied that it would probably not be as Nehru said. Existing governments might disappear but others would arise to replace them.

Not so long ago, Khrushchev said that he had a deadly weapon capable of killing all living beings. But then he immediately retracted his statement—not only once but many times. Mao would not deny anything he had said, nor did he wish me to deny for him this so-called rumor (about China's millions' power of survival in a nuclear war).

Americans also had said very much about the destructiveness of the atom bomb and Khrushchev had made a big noise about that. They had all surpassed him in this respect, so that he was more backward than they, was not that so? Yet recently he had read reports of an investigation by Americans who visited the Bikini Islands six years after nuclear tests had been conducted there. From 1959 onward research workers had been in Bikini. When they first entered the island they had had to cut open paths through the undergrowth. They found mice scampering about and fish swimming in the streams as usual. The well water was potable, plantation foliage was flourishing, and birds were twittering in the trees. Probably there had been two bad years after the tests, but nature had gone on. In the eyes of nature and the birds, the mice and the trees, the atom bomb was a paper tiger. Possibly man has less stamina than they?

“Nevertheless, you would not exactly consider nuclear war to be a good thing?”

Certainly not, he replied. If one must fight one should confine oneself to conventional weapons.

Indonesia had withdrawn from the United Nations, I observed, accompanied by applause from China.¹⁹⁷ Did Mao Zedong think the move would set a precedent and that other withdrawals would follow?

¹⁹⁷ Indonesia returned to the U.N. in 1966, after the army overthrew Sukarno and destroyed the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI).

Mao said that it was the United States which had first set the precedent, by excluding China from the United Nations. Now that a majority of nations might favor restoring China's seat despite US opposition, there was a new scheme to require a two-thirds majority instead of a simple majority. But the question was, did China gain or lose by being outside the U.N. during the past 15 years? Indonesia had left because she felt that there was not much advantage to remaining in the U.N. As for China, was it not in itself a United Nations? Any one of several of China's minority nationalities was larger in population and territory than some states in the U.N. whose votes had helped deprive China of her seat there. China was a large country with plenty of work to keep her busy outside the U.N.

"Is it now practicable to consider forming a union of nations excluding the United States?"

Mao pointed out that such forums already existed. One example was the Afro-Asian conference. Another was GANEFO—Games of the New Emerging Forces—organized after the United States excluded China from the Olympics.

(Preparations for the Afro-Asian conference scheduled to open in Algiers in March had been plagued by many problems. These included the Indonesia-Malaysia dispute, and insistence on the part of pro-China Bandung powers that the USSR must be excluded from the conference, as a strictly European power. There is reason to believe that China regards the Afro-Asian organization as the potential center of planned development of a third world largely independent of neo-colonial or Western capital. Following Chinese principles of "self-reliance" in internal development, and of mutual help between the Afro-Asian states, the process of modernization might be so speeded up as to bypass the slow and painful method of capital accumulation by traditional bourgeois means. Such a theoretical alternative would of course imply more rapid and radical political evolution and an earlier arrival at pre-socialist conditions in the capital-poor Afro-Asian states. Outside the context of this interview, it may be added that it has been obvious for some time that the Afro-Asian conference is also viewed as a potential permanent assembly of the have-not nations, to exist independently from the American-dominated United Nations from which China and her closest allies have long been excluded and which Indonesia has recently left.)

"In fact, Mr. Chairman, how many people are there inside China's own 'United Nations'?" I asked. "Can you give me a population figure resulting from the recent census?"

The chairman replied that he really did not know. Some said that there were 680 to 690 million, but he did not believe it. How could there be so many? When I suggested that it ought not to be difficult to calculate, on the basis of ration coupons (cotton and rice) alone, he indicated that the peasants had sometimes confused the picture. Before liberation they had hidden births and kept some off the register out of fear of having them conscripted. Since liberation there had been a tendency to report greater numbers and less land, and to minimize output returns while exaggerating the effects of calamities. Nowadays a new birth is reported at once, but if someone dies it may not be reported for months. (His implication seemed to be that extra ration coupons could be accumulated in that way.) No doubt there had been a real decline in the birth rate but the decline in the death rate was even greater. Longevity had increased from about 30 years of age to a life expectancy of around 50.

That was the kind of answer, I said, which was calculated to give foreign professors lots of work to do. What kind of professors were those, Mao asked?

He was interested to hear that I had attended a conference where professors had debated whether he had or had not made any original contributions to Marxism. I told him that I had asked one professor, at the close of such a conference, whether it would make any difference in their controversy if it could be shown that Mao himself had never claimed to have made any creative contribution. The professor said, "No."

Mao was amused. More than 2,000 years ago, he remarked, Zhuang Zhou wrote his immortal essay on Laozi (called the *Zhuangzi*). A hundred schools of thought then arose to dispute the meaning.

Mao's Writings

In 1960, when I had last seen Mao Zedong, I asked him whether he had ever written or had any intention of writing an "autobiography." He had replied in the negative. Nevertheless, learned professors had discovered "autobiographies" written by Mao. The fact that they were fraudulent did not in the last affect their documentary terminology.

A question currently exercising the professors was whether Mao had in fact written his celebrated philosophical essays *On Contradictions* and *On Practice* in the summer of 1937, as asserted in his collected works, or whether they had really been composed later.

He replied that he had indeed written them in the summer of 1937. During the weeks preceding and immediately following the Luguoqiao Incident¹⁹⁸, there had been a lull in his life in Yanan. The army had left for the front and Mao had found time in which to collect materials for some lectures on basic philosophy for use in the anti-Japanese academy. Some simple and yet fundamental text was needed for the young students being prepared, in brief, three-month courses, for political guidance during the years immediately ahead. At the insistence of the Party Mao prepared *On Contradiction* and *On Practice* to sum up the experiences of the Chinese revolution, by combining the essentials of Marxism with concrete and everyday Chinese examples. Mao wrote most of the night and slept during the day. What he had written over a period of weeks he delivered in lecture form in a matter of two hours. Mao added that he himself considered *On Practice* a more important essay than *On Contradiction*. As for a treatise entitled *On Dialectical Materialism*, which has been attributed to Mao's authorship by foreign Sinologists, he said that he had no recollection of having written any such work and he thought he would not have forgotten it had he done so.¹⁹⁹

"Youths who heard you lecture at Yanan later learned about revolution in practice but what could be the substitute for youths in China today?"

Mao said that of course those in China now under the age of 20 had never fought a war and never seen an imperialist or known capitalism in power. They knew nothing about the old society at first hand. Parents could tell them, but to hear about history and to read books was not the same thing as living it.

"Is the current emphasis on indoctrination of students with revolutionary principles and manual labor practice intended primarily to safeguard the future of socialism inside China or to teach Chinese youth that that security can never be guaranteed until socialism is victorious everywhere? Or are both aims inseparable?"

For the moment he did not directly answer the question. He asked what nation could really be said to have security? All the governments were talking

¹⁹⁸ On July 7, 1937, the Japanese invading forces attacked the Chinese garrison at Luguoqiao, some ten kilometers southwest of Beijing. Under the influence of the ardent nationwide anti-Japanese movement, the Chinese troops put up resistance. This was an event Mao predicted; his accuracy enormously enhanced his prestige both as a Party and a national leader.

¹⁹⁹ What was published as *On Dialectical Materialism* in English is translated notes from lectures given by Mao in 1938, as well as an early draft of *On Contradiction*. They were never published under that title in China, it is therefore not surprising that Mao didn't know about it. For the text, see *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, pp. 220-228.

about it and at the same time talking about complete and total disarmament. China herself had proposed general disarmament since a long time past. So had the Soviet Union. The US kept talking about it. What we were getting instead was complete rearmament.

“President Johnson may find it difficult to settle problems in the East one by one,” I said. “Perhaps if he desired to expose the world to the real complexity of those problems he might do worse than cut to the heart of the matter by accepting China’s proposal to hold a summit conference to consider the total destruction of nuclear weapons.”

Chairman Mao agreed but concluded that it would be quite impossible. Even if Mr. Johnson himself desired such a meeting, he was after all but a steward for the monopoly capitalists, and they would never permit it. China had had only one atomic explosion and perhaps it had to be proved that one could divide into two, and so ad infinitum. Yet China did not want a lot of bombs, which were really quite useless, since probably no nation dared employ them. A few would suffice for scientific experiments. Even one bomb was not liked in China’s hands, however. Mao feared that his reputation was against him. The imperialists did not like him. Yet was it really right to blame China for everything and start anti-Chinese movements? Did China kill Ngo Dinh Diem? And yet that had happened. When the assassination of President Kennedy occurred, the Chinese were quite surprised. They had not planned that. Once more, they were quite surprised when Khrushchev was removed in Russia.

The View of Khrushchev

“Western commentators, and especially the Italian Communists, severely criticized the Soviet leaders for the conspiratorial and undemocratic way in which Khrushchev was thrown aside. What is your view?”

He replied that Mr. K had not been very popular in China even before his fall. Few portraits of him were to be seen. But K’s books were for sale in the bookstores before the fall and they were still for sale here but not in Russia. The world needed Khrushchev: his ghost would linger on. There were bound to be people who liked him. China would miss him as a negative example.

“On the basis of your own 70/30 standard—that is, a man’s work may be judged satisfactory if it is 70 percent correct and only 30 percent in error—how would you grade the present leadership of the Soviet party? How far is it still below passing?” I asked.

Mao said he would not choose to discuss the present leaders in those terms. As for any improvement on Sino-Soviet relations, there was possibly some but

not much. The disappearance of Khrushchev had perhaps only removed a target for polemical articles.

“In the Soviet Union, I said, “China has been criticized for fostering a ‘cult of personality’.”

Mao thought that perhaps there was some. It was said that Stalin had been the center of a cult of personality, and that Khrushchev had none at all. The Chinese people, critics say, have some (feelings or practices of this kind). There might be some reasons for saying that. Was it possible, he asked, that Mr. K fell because he had no cult of personality at all?

“Naturally I personally regret that forces of history have divided and separated the American and Chinese peoples from virtually all communication during the past 15 years. Today the gulf seems broader than ever. However, I myself do not believe it will end in war and one of history’s major tragedies.”

Mao said that forces of history were also bound, eventually, to bring the two peoples together again; that day would surely come. Possibly I was right that meanwhile there would be no war. That could occur only if American troops came to China. They would not really get much out of it. That simply would not be allowed. Probably the American leaders knew that and consequently they would not invade China. Then there would be no war, because the Chinese certainly would never send troops to attack the United States.

“What of the possibilities of war arising over Vietnam? I have read many newspaper stories indicating that the United States has considered expanding the war into North Vietnam.”

No, Mao said, he thought otherwise. Mr. Rusk had now made it clear that the US would not do that. Mr. Rusk may have earlier said something like that, but now he had corrected himself and said that he had never made such a statement. Therefore, there need not be any war in North Vietnam.

“I do not believe that the makers and administrators of United States policy understand you,” I said.

Why not? China’s armies would not go beyond her borders to fight. That was clear enough. Only if the United States attacked China would the Chinese fight. Wasn’t that clear? The Chinese were very busy with their internal affairs. Fighting beyond one’s own borders was criminal. Why should the Chinese do that? The Vietnamese could cope with their situation.

“American officials repeatedly say that if United States forces were withdrawn from Vietnam, then all Southeast Asia would be overrun.”

The question was, said Mao, “overrun” by whom? Overrun by Chinese or overrun by the inhabitants? China was “overrun,” but only by Chinese.

No Troops Outside China

In reply to a specific question, the chairman affirmed that there were no Chinese forces in Northern Vietnam or anywhere else in Southeast Asia. China had no troops outside her own frontiers.

(In another context, it was said that unless Indian troops again crossed China’s frontiers, there would be no conflict there.)

“Dean Rusk has often stated that if China would give up her aggressive policies then the United States would withdraw from Vietnam. What does he mean?”

Mao replied that China had no policies of aggression to abandon. China had committed no acts of aggression. China gave support to revolutionary movements but not by sending troops. Of course, whenever a liberation struggle existed China would publish statements and call demonstrations to support it. It was precisely that which vexed the imperialists.

Mao went on to say that on some occasions China deliberately makes a loud noise, as for example around Quemoy and Matsu. A flurry of shots there could attract a lot of attention, perhaps because the Americans were uneasy so far away from home. Consider what could be accomplished by firing some blank shells within those Chinese territorial waters. Not so long ago the United States 7th Fleet in the Taiwan Strait was deemed insufficient to reply to the shells. The US also dispatched part of its 6th Fleet in this direction and brought over part of the Navy from San Francisco. Arrived here, they had found nothing to do, so it seemed that China could order the American forces to march here, to march there. It had been the same with Chiang Kai-shek’s army. They had been able to order Chiang to scurry this way and then to hurry off in another direction. Of course when Navy men are warm and have full bellies they must be given something to do. But how was it that shooting off empty guns at home could be called aggression, while those who actually intervened with arms and bombed and burned people of other lands were not aggressors?

He continued: some Americans had said that the Chinese revolution was led by Russian aggressors, but in truth the Chinese revolution was armed by Americans. In the same way the Vietnamese revolution was also being armed by Americans, not by China. The liberation forces had not only greatly improved their supplies of American weapons during recent months but also expanded their forces by recruiting American-trained troops and officers from the pup-

pet armies of South Vietnam. China's liberation forces had grown in numbers and strength by recruiting to their side the troops trained and armed by the Americans for Chiang Kai-shek. The movement was called "changing of hats." When Nationalist soldiers changed hats in large numbers because they knew the peasants would kill them for wearing the wrong hat, then the end was near. "Changing hats" was becoming more popular now among the Vietnamese puppets.

Mao said that the conditions of revolutionary victory in China had been, first, that the ruling group was weak and incompetent, led by a man who was always losing battles. Second, the People's Liberation Army was strong and able and people believed in its cause. In places where such conditions did not prevail the Americans could intervene. Otherwise, they would stay away or soon leave.

"Do you mean that the circumstances of victory for the liberation front now exist in South Vietnam?"

Mao thought that the American forces were not yet ready to leave. Fighting would go on perhaps for one to two years. After that the United States troops would find it boring and might go home or somewhere else.

"Is it your policy now to insist upon the withdrawal of United States forces before participating in a Geneva conference to discuss the international position of a unified Vietnam?"

The chairman said that several possibilities should be mentioned. First, a conference might be held and United States withdrawal would follow. Second, the conference might be deferred until after the withdrawal. Third, a conference might be held but United States troops might stay around Saigon, as in the case of South Korea. Finally, the South Vietnamese front might drive out the Americans without any conference or international agreement. The 1954 Geneva conference had provided for the withdrawal of French troops from all Indochina and forbade any intervention by any other foreign troops. The United States had nevertheless violated the convention and that could happen again.

"Under existing circumstances," I asked, "do you really see any hope of an improvement in Sino-American relations?"

Going to See God Soon

Yes, he thought there was hope. It would take time. Maybe there would be no improvement in his generation. He was soon going to see God. According

to the law of dialectics all contradictions must finally be resolved, including the struggle of the individual.

“Judging from this evening you seem to be in good condition,” I said.

Mao Zedong smiled wryly and replied that there was perhaps some doubt about that. He said again that he was getting ready to see God very soon.

“I wonder if you mean you are going to find out whether there is a God. Do you believe that?”

No, he did not. But some people who claimed to be well-informed said there was a God. There seemed to be many gods and sometimes the same god could take all sides. In the wars of Europe the Christian God had been on the side of the British, the French, the Germans, and so on, even when they were fighting each other. At the time of the Suez Canal crisis God was united behind the British and French, but then there was Allah to back up the other side.

At dinner Mao had mentioned that both his brothers had been killed.²⁰⁰ His first wife had also been executed during the revolution and their son had been killed during the Korean War. Now he said that it was odd that death had so far passed him by. He had been prepared for it many times but death just did not seem to want him. What could he do? On several occasions it had seemed that he would die. His personal bodyguard was killed while standing right beside him. Once he was splashed all over with the blood of another soldier, but the bomb had not touched him. There had been other narrow escapes.

After a moment of silence Mao said that he had, as I knew, begun life as a primary school teacher. He had then had no thought of fighting wars. Neither had he thought of becoming a Communist. He was more or less a democratic personage such as myself. Later on, he sometimes wondered by what chance combination of reasons he had become interested in founding the Chinese Communist Party. Anyway, events did not move in accordance with the individual human will. What mattered was that China had been oppressed by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism.

“Man makes his own history, but he makes it in accordance with his environment,” I quoted. “You have fundamentally changed the environment in China. Many wonder what the younger generation bred under easier conditions will do. What do you think about it.”

He also could not know, he said. He doubted that anyone could be sure. There were two possibilities. There could be continued development of the rev-

²⁰⁰ In 1935 Mao's brother Mao Zetan also killed in combat. The youngest brother, Mao Zemin, made the Long March and was killed in 1942, in an anti-Communist purge in Xinjiang.

olution toward Communism, the other possibility was that youth could negate the revolution, and give a poor performance: make peace with imperialism, bring the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek clique back to the mainland, and take a stand beside the small percentage of counter-revolutionaries still in the country. Of course he did not hope for counter-revolution. But future events would be decided by future generations, and in accordance with conditions we could not foresee. From the long-range view, future generations ought to be more knowledgeable than we are, just as men of the bourgeois-democratic era were more knowledgeable than those of the feudal ages. Their judgment would prevail, not ours. The youth of today and those to come after them would assess the work of the revolution in accordance with values of their own. Mao's voice dropped away, and he half closed his eyes. Man's condition on this earth was changing with ever increasing rapidity. A thousand years from now all of them, he said, even Marx, Engels and Lenin, would possibly appear rather ridiculous.

Mao Zedong walked me through the doorway and, despite my protests, saw me to my car, where he stood alone for a moment, coatless in the sub-zero Beijing night, to wave me farewell in the traditional manner of that ancient cultured city. I saw no security guards around the entrance, nor can I now recall having seen even one armed bodyguard in our vicinity all evening. As the car drove away I looked back and watched Mao brace his shoulders and slowly retrace his steps, leaning heavily on the arm of an aide, into the Great Hall of the People.

Comment on the Article *How To Play Table Tennis* by Comrade Xu Yinsheng

January 12, 1965

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 226.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 99.

Comrade Xu Yinsheng's talk and Comrade He Long's comment should be printed and circulated among the comrades in the Center, who, I hope, will have more of this kind of thing printed and distributed when they go back to their regions. Comrades, this is young "generals'" challenge to us, the old ones!

Should we refuse to learn anything from them? The talk is full of dialectical materialism and is throughout opposed to idealism and metaphysics. [I] have not read anything so good for years. What he [Xu] talks about is a ball game; what we can learn from it are theory, politics, economy, culture, and military affairs. If we do not learn from the young “generals,” we shall be doomed.

Notes on Comrade Chen Zhengren’s Report on His “Squatting Point”²⁰¹

January 29, 1965

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 227.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 99-100.

Management is a form of socialist education. If the managerial staff do not go to the lathe shop to work on the “three sames”²⁰² and to look for teachers from whom they may learn one or two crafts, then they will live in a state of class conflict with the workers. In the end they will be knocked down like capitalists by the workers. They cannot manage well, if they do not learn and remain ignorant of any productive skill. It is impossible to make other people understand, if they themselves are confused.

The bureaucrats and the workers and the middle-poor peasants are acutely antagonistic classes.

Such people [the bureaucrats] are already or are becoming capitalist vampires to the workers. How can they have sufficient understanding? They are the objects of struggle and revolution; socialist education cannot depend on them. We can only rely on those cadres who are not hostile to the workers and are imbued with revolutionary spirit.

²⁰¹ Chen is an old comrade of Mao, who worked with him in the land reform, Jiangxi, 1930-1931 and his “squatting point” (*dundian*) sounds like a factory where he stayed and worked. He was “sent down” (*xiafang*), but not as a form of punishment.

²⁰² Same food, same accommodation, and same work.

Directives After Hearing the Reports of Gu Mu and Yu Qiuli on Planning Work

January 1965

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 227-228.

(In January 1965, Comrades Gu Mu and Yu Qiuli reported to the Chairman on planning work. They mentioned dare to think and dare to do.)

One must dare to think and dare to do, instead of being random; one must break down superstitions, not science. Don't try to spend half a day talking, with planning and with experimenting, or there will be no results in the end.

(They reported on how many XX ten thousand tons of steel can be produced this year)

Isn't there such a report that when the British heard that we were engaged in making adjustments and consolidation, they were afraid? Don't undertake adventurism, but do concern yourself with quality, variety and specifications; then they will be afraid. Add quantity slowly. Don't be impatient.

(They mentioned three-line construction.)

We must grasp three-line construction firmly, especially during the time of struggle with imperialism and with revisionism.

(They reported that our technology must catch up with and surpass international standards.?)

Yes, we must have... no matter what country, no matter what missiles, atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, we must surpass them. I have said before, when the atomic bomb is exploded, even if one-half of mankind perishes, there will still be one-half left. When Snow²⁰³ was talking with me, he asked me why I did not deny the rumor, and I said I did not want to. I simply said that if war breaks out and one-half of mankind dies, the other half will still be left. There are some people who are even more terrible than me. There is an American movie which describes the situation so terribly. Khrushchev has said much, much more than I. He said there is a weapon which could wipe out mankind, a

²⁰³ Edgar Snow, an American journalist and author of *Red Star Over China* and other books on China. See his interview with Mao Zedong on January 9, 1965, pp. 196-210.

death ray. I did not refer to China, but said that one-third of the world's population will perish, and at most, one-half will die! With three-line construction, we will develop the steel industry, national defense, machinery, chemical and petroleum industries, and railway bases. By that time, we won't be afraid if war breaks out. If they are not completed, what can we do if there is war? We can fight them with conventional weapons. Before we did not have aircraft and artillery... and no TNT, and did we not win? We can continue to construct even when we are fighting: you fight your war and we do our construction.

(They mentioned that new technology must be adopted in designing.)

One must compare in designing, as to what costs less and accomplishes more, and what costs more and accomplishes less. Should the design personnel design at their own home or on-the-spot? I have seen an article on the design of a 12,000-ton hydraulic press, and some designs have failed once, twice, or even hundreds of times. There won't be success without failure.

Remark at the Central Work Conference

January 1965

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1966, No. 13, p. 4.

Translation: Beijing Review, September 26, 1969, Vol. XII, No. 39, page 4.

Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so.

**Excerpt from the *Publisher's Note on "Statements by
Khrushchov," Vol. III***

February 21, 1965

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 228.

Translation: Beijing Review, March 5, 1965, Vol. VIII, No. 10, page 12.

Revolutionary parties and the revolutionary people can temper themselves, reach maturity and gain assurance of victory only through the process of repeated education by positive and negative examples and through the process of comparison and contrast. We Chinese Communists have positive teachers in Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We also have teachers by negative example in Chiang Kai-shek, the Japanese imperialists, the U.S. imperialists and those people in our Party who made the mistake of adopting "Left" or Right opportunist lines. The Chinese revolution would not have been victorious if there had been only positive teachers and no teachers by negative example. Those who belittle the role of teachers by negative example are not thoroughgoing dialectical materialists.

**You Fight Your Way and I'll Fight My Way—Excerpts
From a Conversation with the Palestine Liberation
Organization Delegation**

March 17-22, 1965²⁰⁴

Source: al-Anwar, Beirut, April 6, 1965.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 228.

Translation: Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. I, No. 2, page 21, 25.

Japan had capitulated, and we were again forced to fight. There were two methods; you fight your way and I'll fight my way. Whatever the military logic, it can be reduced simply to these two sentences. What is you fight your way?

²⁰⁴ The March 26, 1965 *Beijing Review* indicates that a delegation of the PLO visited China between March 17 and 22, had conversations with different leaders and signed a statement.

He seeks me out to fight but cannot be found, thus ending abortively. What is I'll fight my way? We concentrate a few army divisions and brigades and eat him up.

Everything is divisible. Since imperialism is a thing, it also is divisible, and can be eliminated piece by piece. Chiang Kai-shek's 8 million-man armed force is also a thing which can be eliminated piece by piece. This is known as smashing the enemy one by one, which is the logic expounded in ancient books of Europe and China. It is very simple, and has no profound logic at all. Don't read books, for who would ever bring a book to read when fighting? I would never read when fighting. Read less, for it won't do any good to read a lot.

The battlefield is a school. I don't oppose military academies. They can remain open, but the school term should not be too long. It would be too long if it lasted two or three years. A few months would suffice. No army, naval or air force academy can be all that outstanding.

There are certain modern sciences which require a longer time to learn, such as guided missiles and atomic bombs which must be researched and manufactured. It does not take long to train soldiers in the use of weapons. One month is enough to train artillery troops. Several months or at most a year is enough to train drivers and aviators. The principal thing is to train on the battlefield. During peacetime, training should be conducted at night. During wartime, learn by fighting. Haven't you said that you have read my articles? These things may not be very useful, but there are two principal lines: you fight your way and I'll fight my way. The sentence I'll fight my way may be divided into two more sentences: if I can win, I will fight; if I cannot win, I will run away. Imperialists are most afraid of this method. If I can win, I will eat you up; if I cannot win, I will run away, making it impossible for you to find me. In the beginning, we used guerrilla warfare in both offensive and defensive operations. The basic method was guerrilla warfare. When we were fighting Chiang Kai-shek, we moved from small battles to large battles. Later, we used 300,000 troops to wipe out his 500,000 troops. We used three fingers to bite off his five fingers. We were a minority, so how could we eat them? We did it piecemeal. The result is that we swallowed them.

There are some foreigners studying military science in China. I advise them to go back, and not to study too long. A few months will do. There is only lecturing in the classroom which is of no use. After going back, it would be most useful to take part in fighting. Some logic requires little if any explanation.

One should spend most of one's time in his own country. Perhaps there is no need to go abroad, and one will learn it all right.

Imperialism is afraid of China and of the Arabs. Israel and Formosa are bases of imperialism in Asia. You are the front gate of the great continent, and we are the rear. Their goal is the same... Asia is the biggest continent in the world, and the West wants to continue exploiting it. The West does not like us, and we must understand this fact. The Arab battle against the West is the battle against Israel. So boycott Europe and America, O Arabs!

You are not only two million Palestinians facing Israel, but one hundred million Arabs. You must act and think along this basis. When you discuss Israel keep the map of the entire Arab world before your eyes. An Algerian delegation under Krim Belkacem once visited us and told us that their country lost one million people in the struggle for independence. I told them that peoples must not be afraid if their numbers are reduced in liberation wars, for they shall have peaceful times during which they may multiply. China lost twenty million people in the struggle for liberation. Today, China is tackling the problem of increase in population, which means the country is now suffering because of the loss during the war... Do not tell me that you have read this or that opinion in my books. You have your war, and we have ours. You must create the principles and ideology on which your war stands. Books obstruct the view if piled up before the eyes. What is important is to begin action with faith. Faith in victory is the first element of victory—in fact, it may mean victory itself. We were only 70 persons when we started the [Chinese] Communist Party. Only I and another person are now left. Many deviationists had appeared among us—and there are many deviationists still among the Communists, as you know. Just the same, we achieved victory. And we are confident that we shall achieve victory in all the battles we are now fighting, especially in Vietnam. America cannot defeat us in a non-nuclear war. Days of nuclear war are gone.

Directive on Public Health

June 26, 1965

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 230.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 232-233.

Tell the Ministry of Public Health that it only works for fifteen percent of the total population of the country and that this fifteen percent is mainly composed of gentlemen,²⁰⁵ while the broad masses of the peasants do not get any medical treatment. First they don't have any doctors; second they don't have any medicine. The Ministry of Public Health is not a Ministry of Public Health for the people, so why not change its name to the Ministry of Urban Health, the Ministry of Gentlemen's Health, or even to the Ministry of Urban Gentlemen's Health?

Medical education should be reformed. There's no need to read so many books. How many years did Hua Tuo²⁰⁶ spend at college? How many years' education did Li Shizhen of the Ming dynasty receive? In medical education there is no need to accept only higher middle school graduates or lower middle school graduates. It will be enough to give three years to graduates from higher primary schools. They would then study and raise their standards, mainly through practice. If this kind of doctor is sent down to the countryside, even if they haven't much talent, they would be better than quacks and witch doctors and the villages would be better able to afford to keep them. The more books one reads, the more stupid one gets. The methods of medical examination and treatment used by hospitals nowadays are not at all appropriate for the countryside, and the way doctors are trained is only for the benefit of the cities. And yet in China over 500 million of our population are peasants.

They work divorced from the masses, using a great deal of manpower and materials in the study of rare, profound and difficult diseases at the so-called pinnacle of science, yet they either ignore or make little effort to study how to prevent and improve the treatment of commonly seen, frequently occurring

²⁰⁵ Here, and later in this paragraph, the term translated as "gentlemen" is *laoye* [literally, "old grandfather"], which also means an official, in particular a district magistrate. Mao is using it ironically of the "new class" of party cadres, etc.

²⁰⁶ Hua Tuo (140-208), a celebrated physician and surgeon who served as court physician to Cao Cao; the latter had him executed when he proposed to open his skull to cure him of headaches.

and widespread diseases. I am not saying that we should ignore the advanced problems, but only a small quantity of manpower and material should be expended on them, while a great deal of manpower and material should be spent on the problems to which the masses most need solutions.

There is another peculiar thing. Whenever a doctor makes an examination, he always has to wear a mask no matter what the illness is. Is this because they are afraid they might catch a disease and thus transmit it to others? I am afraid that it is primarily because they are afraid of catching an illness themselves. Different diseases should be dealt with separately. If they wear masks no matter what the illness, this creates a distance between doctor and patient from the start.

We should leave behind in the city a few of the less able doctors who graduated one or two years ago, and the others should all go into the countryside. The Four Clean-ups movement was wound up in the year XX and has been basically completed, but even though the Four Clean-ups has been completed, medical and health work in the villages has not yet been completed!

In medical and health work put the emphasis on the countryside!

Notes on the *Report of the Investigation of the Beijing Teachers' Training College*

July 3, 1965

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 230.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 101-102.

Students are heavily loaded [with work] and their health suffers. Their study therefore becomes useless. [I] suggest a cut of one third of their total activities [work]. Please ask representatives of staff and students to discuss this problem a few times, take decisions, and carry them out. Please consider whether this is feasible.

Letter to Comrade Chen Yi Discussing Poetry

July 21, 1965

Translation: Beijing Review, January 13, 1978, Vol. XXI, No. 2, page 6-7.

Comrade Chen Yi,

You asked me to polish your poems, but I am unable to as I have never learnt how to write *lushu*²⁰⁷ in five character lines and have never published any in that form. Your poems have power and range. Only I feel that in form, or metrically, they are not quite *lushu*. For it has strict tonal patterns, without which a poem cannot be called *lushu*. In this respect, I think, both of us are still beginners. I have occasionally written a few seven-character *lushu*, but none of them satisfies me. Just as you are good at writing unorthodox verse, I know a little about *shi*²⁰⁸ with lines of different lengths. Jianying [Ye Jianying] is good at seven-character *lushu*, and old Comrade Dong [Dong Biwu] at five-character *lushu*. If you want to write in these forms, you can ask for their advice.

Journeying Westward

I speed westward ten thousand *li*,
 Riding the wind over infinite space;
 Had not this giant roc spread its wings,
 How could man traverse this void crossed only by birds?
 The sea below ferments a thousand goblets of wine,
 And mountains tower to great heights with onion spires.
 Everywhere we find good friends,
 As wind and thunder sweep the world.

I made changes in this poem and am still far from satisfied with the result. I am afraid I cannot do the rest.

²⁰⁷ *Lushu* is a traditional form of classical Chinese poetry. With a strict tonal pattern and rhyme scheme, it has eight lines with five or seven character in each. It was very popular during the Tang Dynasty (618-907).

²⁰⁸ *Shi* is a verse form which originated in the Tang Dynasty. It is sung to certain tunes each of which prescribes a fixed number of lines of a standardized varying length. Of the 39 published poems of Chairman Mao's, 25 are *shi*.

Another thing is that poetry uses images to convey ideas and should not communicate plainly as in prose. So we cannot dispense with *bi* (similes and metaphors) or with *xing* (association). We may also use the technique of *fu* (direct statement) as in Du Fu's²⁰⁹ *Northern Journey*, which may be said to "state in plain terms," but here too he used *bi* and *xing*. "*Bi* means comparing one object to another," and "*xing* means speaking first of something else to lead up to the main theme." Han Yu²¹⁰ used prose techniques in poetry, and some people said he knew nothing at all about poetry, but that was going too far, as some of his poems like "The Rocks," "Mount Heng" and "To Prefectural Official Chang on the Fifteenth Day of the Eighth Moon" are really not bad. We can see, therefore, it is not easy to write poetry. Most Song poets did not understand that poetry must convey ideas by means of images, and they disregarded the tradition of Tang poetry, with the result that what they wrote was quite flat. These random remarks all refer to classical poetry. To write modern poetry, we must use the method of conveying ideas through images in reflecting class struggle and the struggle for production, and must definitely not go in for classicism. But for the last few decades, poetry in the vernacular has not been successful. There have been some good folk songs, however. It is very likely that the future trend will be to draw nourishment and adopt forms from the folk song and develop a new type of poetry which will appeal to the general reading public. Incidentally, Li Bai²¹¹ wrote very few *lushu*, and Li He²¹², apart from a few five-character *lushu*, never wrote any in seven-character lines. Li Ho is well worth reading. I don't know if you are interested.

With best wishes,
[Dated and signed]

²⁰⁹ Du Fu (712-770) was a great poet in ancient China. Characterized by realism, his poems reflect the age in which he lived.

²¹⁰ Han Yu (768-824), a noted prose writer and poet of the Tang Dynasty.

²¹¹ Li Bai (701-762) was another great poet in ancient China. Highly critical in content, his poems are brimful of patriotism and romanticism.

²¹² Li He (790-816) was a poet who lived in the middle period of the Tang Dynasty.

Interview with French Minister Andre Malraux²¹³

August 3, 1965

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 236-239.

Translation: Andre Malraux: Anti-Memoirs, 1968, page 369-390.

Return. Yesterday evening I received a telephone call requesting me not to leave the embassy. At one o'clock this afternoon, another telephone call: they are expecting me at three. In theory, it is for the audience with the President of the Republic, Liu Shaoqi; but the "they" leads our ambassador to suppose that Mao will be present. Three o'clock. The pediment of the Palace of the People rests on massive Egyptian pillars, with lotus-capitals painted red. A corridor over a hundred yards long. At the end, against the sunlight (but in a room, I suppose), about twenty people. Two symmetrical groups. No, there is only one group, which seems to be split into two because the people facing me are standing some way behind the central personage, probably Mao Zedong. As I enter the room I can distinguish the faces. I walk toward Liu Shaoqi, since my letter is addressed to the President of the Republic. No one moves.

"Mr. President, I have the honor of delivering to you this letter from the President of the French Republic, in which General de Gaulle empowers me to act as his spokesman with Chairman Mao Zedong and yourself."

When I reach the phrase which concerns Mao, I address it to him, and find myself in front of him, after handing over the letter, at the moment when the translation is completed. His welcome is both cordial and curiously familiar, as if he were about to say: "To hell with politics!"

But he says, "**You have just come back from Yanan, have you not? What is your impression?**"

"A very powerful one. It is a museum of the invisible..."

The interpreter—the one Zhou Enlai used—translates without faltering, but is obviously expecting an explanation.

"In the Yanan Museum, one expects photographs of the Long March, Lola tribesmen, mountains, swamps. But the expedition itself is relegated to the background. In the foreground are the pikes, the field guns made of tree trunks and telegraph wire—a gallery of revolutionary penury. When one leaves it for

²¹³ Andre Malraux, prominent French novelist. In 1965 he was minister of culture in de Gaulle's government.

the caves where you lived with your colleagues, one has the same impression, especially when one remembers the luxury of your opponents. I was reminded of Robespierre's room in the house of the cabinetmaker Duplay. But a mountain is more impressive than a workshop, and your shelter, above the present-day museum, is reminiscent of the tombs of Egypt."

"But not the party assembly rooms."

"No. First of all, they are protected by panes of glass. But they give an impression of a deliberate, a monastic bareness. It is the bareness, reminiscent of om great monasteries, which suggests an invisible power."

We are all seated in wicker chairs with little white cloths on the arms. A waiting room in a tropical railway station. Outside, through the blinds, the immense August sun. Now I can make out Mao against the light. The same type of face, round, smooth and young-looking, as the Marshal's. The famous wart on the chin, like a Buddhist sign. A serenity that is all the more unexpected because he is reputed to be violent. Beside him, the equine face of the President of the Republic. Behind them, a white-clad nurse.

"When the poor are determined to fight," he says, "they are always victorious over the rich: look at your own revolution."

The stock phrase of all our staff colleges rings in my ears: irregulars will never defeat a regular army in the long run. And how many Jacqueries for one revolution! But perhaps he means that in a country like China, where the armies resembled our great medieval companies, what was strong enough to raise volunteer forces was also strong enough to insure victory: one fights better to survive than to conserve.

After the crushing of the communists by Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai and Hankow in 1927, Mao organized peasant militias. Now all the Russians, basing themselves on Marxism-Leninism, and all the Chinese who were directly dependent on them, Trotskyists and Stalinists alike, laid it down as a basic principle that the peasantry can never win on its own. Mao's certainty that a seizure of power by the peasants was possible changed everything. How did it arise? When did he oppose the peasant multitudes armed with spears to all Marxists of Russian, hence Comintern, persuasion?

"My conviction did not take shape: I always felt it."

I remember General de Gaulle's answer to the question, "When did you think that you would return to power?": "Always."

"But there is a rational answer all the same. After Chiang Kai-shek's coup in Shanghai, we scattered. As you know, I decided to go back to my

village. Long ago I had experienced the great famine in Changsha, when the severed heads of rebels were stuck on poles, but I had forgotten it. Two miles outside my village there were trees stripped of their bark up to a height of twelve feet: starving people had eaten it. We could make better fighters out of men who were forced to eat bark than out of the stokers of Shanghai, or even the coolies. But Borodin understood nothing about peasants.”

“Gorki said to me one day, in Stalin’s presence: peasants are the same everywhere.”

“Neither Gorki, a great vagabond poet, nor Stalin... knew anything at all about peasants. There is no sense in confusing your kulaks with the poverty-stricken people of the underdeveloped countries. And there is no such thing as abstract Marxism, but only concrete Marxism, adapted to the concrete realities of China, to the trees as naked as the people because the people are busy eating them.”

After “Stalin” he hesitated. What was he about to say? A seminarist?

What can he think of him today? Right up to the communist entry into Beijing, Stalin believed in Chiang Kai-shek, who would crush this ephemeral, not even Stalinist party, as he had crushed it in 1927. At the secret session of the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, Khrushchev asserted that Stalin had been ready to break with the Chinese communists. In North Korea, he had left the factories intact; in the regions which Mao was to occupy, he had destroyed them. He had sent Mao a work on partisan warfare, and Mao had given it to Liu Shaoqi: “Read this, if you want to know what we ought to have done—in order to end up dead.” If he had to trust a Chinese communist, Stalin preferred Li Lisan, who was Moscow-trained. Mao had probably been indifferent to the purges—more so than to the rejection of criticism, and to the contempt for the peasant masses. And no doubt he appreciates the immense services rendered to communism by the campaign against the kulaks, the struggle against encirclement, and the conduct of the war. Above me, as in all official rooms, hang four portraits: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Although Mao belonged to the group of young Chinese who were to go to France one after the other, after picking up a few words of French, to get their revolutionary training in French factories (Zhou Enlai founded the Chinese Communist party at Billancourt), he never left China, and never abandoned his mistrust of most of the revolutionaries who came back from abroad, nor of the envoys from the Comintem.

“Around 1919, I was in charge of the students of Hunan. Before anything else we wanted autonomy for the province. We fought alongside the warlord Zhao Hengti. The following year, he turned against us. He crushed us. I realized that only the masses could overthrow the warlords. At that time I was reading the Communist Manifesto, and took a hand in the organizing of the workers. But I knew the army; I had been a soldier for a few months in 1911. I knew the workers would not be enough.”

“With us, the soldiers of the revolution, many of whom were the sons of peasants, became the soldiers of Napoleon. We know roughly how. But how was the People’s Army formed and reformed, since only seven thousand of the twenty thousand fighting men who arrived in Yanan came from the south. People talk of propaganda, but propaganda produces supporters, not soldiers.

“First there were the party cells. There were more workers than they say in the revolutionary army. We had a lot of people in Kiangsi: we chose the best. And for the Long March, they chose themselves. Those who stayed behind made a mistake: Chiang Kai-shek wiped out more than a million of them.

“Our people hated, despised and feared soldiers. They soon realized that the Red Army was their own. Almost everywhere it had a friendly reception. It helped the peasants, especially at harvest time. They saw that there was no privileged class among us. They saw that we all ate the same food and wore the same clothes. The soldiers were free to meet and free to talk. They could inspect the accounts of their company. Above all, the officers did not have the right to strike the men or to insult them.

“We studied the relations between classes. When the army was present, it wasn’t difficult to show what we were defending: peasants have eyes. The enemy forces were much more numerous than ours, and helped by the Americans; yet we were often victorious, and the peasants knew that we were victorious on their behalf. One must learn to wage war, but war is simpler than politics: it is a question of having more men or more courage in the place where you give battle. An occasional defeat is inevitable; you simply need to have more victories than defeats.”

“You turned your defeats to great advantage.”

“More so than we had foreseen. In some respects the Long March was a retreat. Yet its results were those of a victory, because wherever we went...” [“six thousand miles,” the interpreter interjected] “the peasants under-

stood that we were with them, and if ever they doubted it, the behavior of the Kuomintang soldiers soon persuaded them. Not to mention the repression.”

Chiang Kai-shek's. But he might also mention the efficacy of his own: not only did the liberation army confiscate the big estates, it also exterminated the big landowners and canceled debts. Mao's war maxims became a popular song: "The enemy advances, we retreat. The enemy camps, we harass. The enemy tires, we attack. The enemy retreats, we pursue." I know that his "we" includes not only the army and the party, but the workers of today and those of eternal China. Death has no place there. The civilization of China had made every Chinese a naturally disciplined individual. And for any peasant, life in the People's Army, where you were taught to read, where there was great comradeship, was more honorable and less harsh than village life. The progress of the Red Army across China was more powerful as propaganda than anything conceived of by the party; along the whole length of this trail of corpses, the entire peasantry rose when the time came.

"What was the pivot of your propaganda?"

"Just visualize the life of the peasants. It had always been unpleasant, especially when armies were living off the land. It had never been worse than during the last days of Kuomintang power. Suspects buried alive, peasant women who longed to be reborn as dogs so as to be less miserable, witches who invoked their gods by singing like a funeral dirge: 'Chiang Kai-shek is coming.' The peasants knew little of capitalism: they found themselves faced with a feudal state reinforced by the machine guns of the Kuomintang.

"The first part of our struggle was a peasant revolt. The aim was to free the farmer from his overlord; to win not freedom of speech, voting or assembly, but the freedom to survive. Fraternity rather than liberty! The peasants had tackled it without us, or were on the point of tackling it. But often in a state of despair. We brought hope. In the liberated areas, life was less terrible. Chiang Kai-shek's troops were so well aware of this that they put it about that the prisoners and peasants who came over to us were buried alive. That is why we had to organize a war of slogans, having the truth propagated by people who were known to those who listened to them. And only by those who had left no relatives on the other side. It was in order to sustain hope that we developed guerrilla warfare as much as we could. Much more than for punitive expeditions. Everything arose out of a spe-

cific situation: we organized peasant revolt, we did not instigate it. Revolution is a drama of passion; we did not win the people over by appealing to reason, but by developing hope, trust, and fraternity. In the face of famine, the will to equality takes on a religious force. Then, in the struggle for rice, land, and the rights brought by agrarian reform, the peasants had the conviction that they were fighting for their lives and those of their children.

“For a tree to grow, there must be seed, there must also be soil: if you sow in the desert, the tree will not sprout. The seed, in many places, was the memory of the liberation army; in many others, our prisoners. But everywhere the soil was the specific situation, the intolerable life of the villagers under the last Kuomintang regime.”

“During the Long March, we took more than a hundred and fifty thousand prisoners, a few at a time; and many more during the march on Beijing. They stayed with us for four or five days. They could see the difference between themselves and our soldiers. Even if they had almost nothing to eat—like us—they felt liberated. A few days after their capture, we would assemble those who wanted to leave. They would go off, after a farewell ceremony, as if they were our own men. After the ceremony, many of them gave up the idea of leaving. And with us, they became brave. Because they knew what they were fighting for.”

“And because you distributed them among experienced units?”

“Of course. The soldier’s relationship to his company is as important as the army’s relationship to the population. That is what I called the fish in water. An army of liberation is a soup into which prisoners dissolve. Likewise, new recruits must only be committed to battles they can win. Later on, it’s different. But we always looked after the enemy wounded. We couldn’t have dragged all those prisoners along with us; no matter. When we marched on Beijing, the defeated soldiers knew that they ran no risk by surrendering, and they surrendered in droves. The generals too, in fact.”

To give an army the feeling that it is inevitably destined for victory is certainly no mean feat. I remember Napoleon, during the retreat from Russia: “Sire, our men are being massacred by two Russian batteries.” “Order a squadron to capture them!”

I tell this to Mao, who laughs, and adds: “You must realize that before us, among the masses, no one had addressed themselves to women or to the young. Nor, of course, to the peasants. For the first time in their lives, every one of them felt involved.

“When Westerners talk about revolutionary sentiments, they nearly always attribute to us a propaganda akin to Russian propaganda. Well, if there is propaganda, it’s more like that of your revolution, because, like you, we were fighting for a peasantry. If propaganda means training militiamen and guerrillas, we did a lot of propaganda. But if it means preaching... You know I’ve proclaimed for a long time: we must teach the masses clearly what we have received from them confusedly. What was it that won over most villages to us? The expositions of bitterness.”

The exposition of bitterness is a public confession in which the speaker confesses not his sins but his sufferings in front of the whole village. Most of the listeners realize that they have undergone the same sufferings and recount them in their turn. There is a familiar poignancy in many of these confessions, the immemorial lament of immemorial misery. Some of them are appalling. (I was told of the one by a peasant woman who goes to ask the warlord what has happened to her imprisoned husband: “He is in the garden.” She finds the body there, decapitated, with the head lying on the stomach. She takes the head, which the soldiers try to snatch from her, cradles it, and defends it so fiercely that the soldiers recoil as if the woman was the object of a supernatural possession. This story is very well known, because the woman repeated this exposition of bitterness many times—and because when the warlord was brought to public trial, she tore out his eyes.) **“We organized these expositions in every village,” Mao says, “but we didn’t invent them.”**

“What discipline did you have to impose in the early days?”

“We did not impose much discipline over the settling of that kind of score. As for the army, its three principles were: no individual requisitioning; all goods confiscated from landlords to be handed over to the political commissariat; immediate obedience to orders. We never took anything from the poor peasants. Everything depends on the cadres: a soldier attached to a disciplined unit is disciplined. But all militants are disciplined, and ours was an army of militants. It was the famous ‘brain-washing’ that brought most of our prisoners over to us. But what did it consist of? Saying to them, ‘Why are you fighting us?’ and telling the peasants, ‘Communism is first of all an insurance against fascism.’”

I think of the men eating the bark of trees, and of what Nehru said to me about famine. But I know that brain-washing was not limited to these manifestations. The sessions of self-criticism were often sessions of accusation, followed by expulsions, arrests, and executions. “Turn resolutely against the ene-

my lurking inside your skull!" In 1942, at Yanan, Mao ordered the militants to become like the workers and the peasants. (I was shown the field he himself used to cultivate in the valley.) Later he was to order the "reconditioning" of all the Chinese. When he enjoined them to "surrender their hearts" there began the ritual oaths of the crowds "whose hearts beat only for the party," and the ecstasies of big Red hearts, some of which became kites.

"We lost the south," Mao continues, "and we even abandoned Yanan. But we recaptured Yanan, and we recaptured the south. In the north, we had the possibility of direct contact with Russia, and the certainty of not being encircled; Chiang Kai-shek still had several million men. We were able to establish solid bases, develop the party, organize the masses. As far as Jinan, as far as Beijing.

"In the Soviet Union, it was the party which made the Red Army; here, it seems as if often it was the liberation army which developed the party."

"We will never allow the gun to rule the party. But it's true that the Eighth Route Army built up a powerful party organization in northern China—cadres, schools, mass movements. Yanan was built by the gun. Everything can grow in the barrel of a gun.

"But in Yanan we came across a class we had hardly ever come across in the south, and not at all during the Long March: the bourgeois-nationalists, the intellectuals²¹⁴, all those who had sincerely accepted the united front in the struggle against Japan. In Yanan we were confronted with the problems of government. What I'm going to tell you will surprise you: if we hadn't been forced to it by the enemy offensive, we would never have attacked."

"Did they think they could wipe you out?"

"Yes. Chiang Kai-shek's generals lied to him a great deal, and he lied a great deal to the Americans. He thought we were going to give battle in the traditional manner. But Zhe De and Chen Yi refused to take up the challenge except when our forces became superior to his. He immobilized a lot of men for the defense of cities, but we never attacked cities."

"Which was why the Russians... neglected you for such a long time."

"If revolution can only be brought about by the workers, obviously we couldn't bring about revolution. The Russians' friendly feelings were for

²¹⁴ By this, Mao means, apart from the liberal professions, students and teachers, technicians and engineers: the mass of those who are neither workers, peasants, nor former compradors or capitalists.

Chiang Kai-shek. When he escaped from China, the Soviet ambassador was the last person to wish him goodbye. The cities fell like ripe fruit.”

“Russia was mistaken, but we too would have been mistaken. Nineteenth-century Asia seems to have been stricken with a decay which colonialism doesn’t sufficiently explain. Japan was the first to Westernize herself, and it was prophesied that she would very quickly become Americanized. The truth is that, in spite of appearances, she has remained profoundly Japanese. You are in the process of restoring Greater China, Mr. Chairman; that is evident in all the propaganda pictures and posters, in your own poems, in China herself, with the military adjuncts of which tourists are so critical.”

Here the ministers, sitting in a circle, prick up their ears. **“Yes,”** he replies calmly.

“You are hoping that your ancient agriculture, in which manual labor is still so widespread, will catch up with mechanization?”

“It will take time. Perhaps decades. We shall also need friends. First of all there must be contacts. There are various kinds of friends. France is one kind. Indonesia is another. Aidit²¹⁵ is here. I haven’t seen him yet.

There are still some points in common between him and us, and others between you and us. You said very...”—the interpreter is trying to think of the French—”pertinently to the foreign minister, that you did not want a world subjected to a dual hegemony of the United States and the Soviet Union, who will end up, in fact, by establishing what I called two years ago their Holy Alliance. You have shown your independence with regard to the Americans.”

“We are independent, but we are also their allies.”

Since the beginning of the interview, he has made no other gesture than to raise his cigarette to his lips and put it down on the ashtray again. In the general stillness, he does not seem a sick man, but a bronze emperor. Now, suddenly, he raises both arms in the air and lets them drop.

“Our allies! Yours and ours!”

As much as to say, a fine lot they are!

“The United States simply means American imperialism, and Great Britain is playing a double game.”

For the first time, the Marshal takes the floor: “Britain supports the American imperialists.”

²¹⁵ D. N. Aidit (1923–1965) was the leader of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). He died as a martyr three months after this interview.

Almost in the same breath as I reply, “Don’t forget Malaysia...” Mao says, **“Returning the compliment.”** But he lowers his voice as though talking to himself as he goes on. **“We have done what had to be done, but who knows what will happen in a few decades?”**

I am thinking not of what will happen tomorrow but of what happened yesterday, when the Russians, at the same time as they were constructing giant steel plants, were moving the frontier posts on the Turkestan steppes while all the Chinese guards were dead-drunk, in order to lay hands on the uranium mines—the frontier posts returning to their original positions a little later on as a result of a comradely tit for tat which had put the Russian guards to sleep.

“Is the opposition still powerful?” I ask.

“There are still the bourgeois-nationalists, the intellectuals, and so on. They are beginning to have children.”

“Why the intellectuals?”

“Their thinking is anti-Marxist. At the time of the liberation, we welcomed them even when they had been involved with the Kuomintang, because we had too few Marxist intellectuals. Their influence is far from disappearing. Especially among the young.”

I suddenly notice that the paintings on the wall are traditional scrolls in the Manchu style—as in the Marshal’s office and Zhou Enlai’s. There are none of the socialist-realist pictures which cover the walls of the town.

“The young I have come across in the course of my travels,” says our ambassador, “are nevertheless deeply devoted to you, Mr. Chairman.” Mao knows that Lucien Paye was minister of education and rector of Dakar University. He also knows that he takes every opportunity to make contact with teachers and students. The ambassador speaks a little Mandarin, which several of the members of our embassy, Chinese-born, speak fluently.

“One can see things in that way also.”

It is not a polite phrase meant to ward off discussion. Mao attaches the same importance to youth as General de Gaulle or Nehru. He seems to think that there can be several opinions on the youth of China, and to wish that some other view than his own were tenable. He knows that our ambassador has studied the new Chinese educational method: the “half work, half study” system, and the system whereby students are allowed to bring their textbooks with them for examinations. He questions the ambassador closely: **“How long have you been in Beijing?”**

“Fourteen months. But I have been to Canton by train; I have visited the central south, which enabled me, Mr. Chairman, and not without emotion, to see the house where you were born, in Hunan; I have seen Sichuan and the northeast. And we saw Loyang and Sian on our way to Yanan. Everywhere, I have been in contact with the people. A superficial contact; but the contact I established with teachers and students was a real one—and in Beijing, fairly durable. The students are oriented toward the future which you envisage for them, Mr. Chairman.”

“You have seen one aspect. Another could have escaped you. And yet it has been seen and confirmed. A society is a complex organism. Do you know what the chrysanthemums were called, at the last Hangchow show? The drunken dancer, the old temple in the setting sun, the lover powdering his fair one. It is possible that the two tendencies coexist, but there are many conflicts in store.”

In this country where people talk of nothing else but fraternity and the future, how lonely his voice sounds when confronting the future! I think of a childish picture from my first history book: Charlemagne watching the first Normans in the distance sailing up the Rhine. **“Neither the agricultural nor the industrial problem is solved. Still less the youth problem. Revolution and children have to be trained if they are to be properly brought up.”**

His children, entrusted to peasants during the Long March, were never found again. Somewhere, perhaps, in a people’s commune, there are two young men of thirty, left behind years ago with so many others, alive and dead, and who are the nameless sons of Mao Zedong.

“Youth must be put to the test.”

A sudden change in the atmosphere seems to intensify the stillness of our audience. Something very different from the uneasy curiosity which set in when they were waiting to hear what he would say about the resurrection of China. It is as if we were talking about secret preparations for an atomic explosion. “Put to the test.” There are twenty-five million young communists, of whom nearly four million are intellectuals; what Mao has just said suggests, and surely heralds, a new revolutionary development comparable to that which instigated the “Hundred Flowers” campaign and its subsequent suppression.

“Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools contend!” Mao launched this slogan, which seemed to be a proclamation of liberalism, at a time when he believed China to have been “remodeled.” The kind of criticism he was inviting was the “constructive” criticism so dear to communist parties:

his intention was to use it as a basis for necessary reforms. He found himself faced with a mass of negative criticisms, which even went so far as to attack the party itself. The return to Sparta was not long delayed; the intellectuals were sent to remodel themselves in people's communes. Critics of the regime have seen in the "Hundred Flowers" campaign a bait intended to lure opponents out into the open. But Mao had been sincerely anxious to relax the party line, just as he decided sincerely, and firmly, to reestablish it as soon as he realized that the criticism he had aroused was not "self-criticism." In many respects the situation would be the same today if the slogan were "Let youth blossom." Does he consider communist youth capable of carrying the young along with it in a campaign comparable to the "Great Leap Forward"? Moreover, the party doubtless needs to be put to the test again. The repression which followed the "Hundred Flowers" eliminated not only the protesting young but also the party members who had allowed them to protest: two birds with one stone. The whole of Chinese youth must be worked upon, in order to put the party to the test. The beleaguerment of the West by the underdeveloped nations to which Zhou Enlai alluded—"hence," says Mao, "the fate of the world"—is inseparable from the youth of China. Does he really believe in the liberation of the world under the leadership of China? Revolution brought about by the evangelists of a great revolutionary nation certainly seems a more grandiose and thrilling policy than that of the United States, which can be defined simply as the prevention of such an expansion. Borodin, the Soviet envoy to Sun Yat-sen, answered the *Hong Kong Times* interviewer: "You understand the behavior of the Protestant missionaries, don't you? Well then, you understand mine!" But that was in 1925. Two thousand dancers and three hundred thousand spectators are mobilized for the President of Somalia—and then what? Stalin believed in the Red Army, not the Comintern, and perhaps Mao believes in the seizure of world power by the underdeveloped countries only in the same way that Stalin believed in the seizure of power by the international proletariat. The revolution will conquer: but in the meantime Somali presidents, Vietnam war, war propaganda down to village level, these are the justification for Sparta. Mao blesses Hanoi, Somalia, Santo Domingo, and "liquidates" his Tibetan adversaries. The defense of Vietnam and the communization of Tibet are connected, at a far deeper level than the symbolic aid to the Somalis or the Congolese, like twins at the breast of the Old Empire. Every Vietnamese guerrilla fallen in the bush around Danang vindicates the toil of the Chinese peasants. China will go to the aid (up to what point?) of all the oppressed

peoples struggling for freedom, but the struggle of these peoples is the cement that keeps her together. **“Strategically,” says Mao, “imperialism is doomed and no doubt capitalism with it; tactically, it must be fought as the troops of the liberation army fought those of Chiang Kai-shek.”** And tactically, the decisive battles will take place in China, because Mao will not commit himself decisively outside. But already the Long March has taken on the aura of a legend, and the survivors of the end of the war against Chiang Kai-shek are called the Veterans.

Mao said that the industrial problem was not yet solved, but I do not believe he is worried about it: in his mind, China's conversion is already a fact. He said that the agricultural problem was not yet solved; yet there are those—he, himself, first and foremost—who maintain that nearly all the arable land in China is under cultivation, and that its yield can only be increased to a limited extent; while others proclaim the imminent development of the steppes, and a doubling of the yield. The atom bomb and the hand cart will not always coexist. But Mao envisages the modernization of agriculture, and industrialization, only in terms of the powerful Chinese structures in which the party expresses, guides, and directs the masses as the Emperor directed the forces of the earth. Agriculture and industry are linked, and must remain so; politics comes before technology. Perhaps the Soviet state is strong enough for Russian youth to become to some extent indifferent to a policy which nevertheless fills them with pride; but the Chinese state is still no more than the daily victory won by China in the glorious struggle. Like the Soviet state before the war, the Chinese state needs enemies. Was the austerity which brought with it the daily bowl of rice really austerity, compared to the poverty which brought hunger? But poverty is receding, the landowners of the days of the Empire and of the Kuomintang are dead, the Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek have gone. What is there in common between the illiterates of Kiangsi who still resemble the Taiping revolutionaries, the Tibetan serfs freed by the liberation army and trained by the School of National Minorities, and the students interrogated by Lucien Paye? The menace of revisionism of which Mao speaks surely lies there, far more than in nostalgia for a past of which only the worst aspects are now known. More than two hundred and eighty million Chinese under seventeen years of age have not a single memory prior to the capture of Beijing.

Since the interpreter's last sentence, no one has spoken. The reaction which Mao inspires in his companions intrigues me. There is first of all a kind of friendly deference: the Central Committee around Lenin, not Stalin. But what

he has been saying to me sometimes appears to be also addressed to an imaginary contradictor, to whom he is replying through them. He has a slight air of saying: this is how it will be, whether you like it or not. As for them, their attentive silence gives them, fleetingly, the aspect of a tribunal.

“By the way,” says Mao suddenly, “a few months ago I received a parliamentary delegation from your country. Do your socialist and communist parties really mean what they say?”

“It depends what they say. The Socialist party is primarily a party of white-collar workers, whose influence is exerted through the unions of the *Force Ouvriere*, which have a considerable membership in the administration. It is a liberal party with a Marxist vocabulary. In the south, there are quite a few vineyard owners who vote socialist.”

My interlocutors seem thunderstruck by these elementary truths. “As for the Communist Party, it still has a quarter or a fifth of the vote. Brave and devoted militants, under the apparatus which you know as well as I do. Too revolutionary a party for another militant party to develop, too weak to bring about Revolution.”

“The revisionism of the Soviet Union may not make it lose votes, but it will make it lose teeth. As a party, it is against us. Like all the others, apart from Albania. They have become social-democratic parties of a new type.”

“It was the last great Stalinist party. Individually most of the communists would like to have you kiss them on one cheek and the Russians on the other.”

He is not quite sure he was understood. The interpreter enlarges. He turns toward the Marshal, the President, and the other ministers. Mao’s laugh is said to be infectious. It is true: they all roar with laughter. Serious again, he says, **“What does General de Gaulle think of it?”**

“He does not attach any great importance to it. It is nothing more than an electoral factor. At present, the destiny of France is being worked out between the French people and him.”

Mao reflects. **“Plekhanov and the Mensheviks were Marxists, even Leninists. They cut themselves off from the masses and ended up by taking up arms against the Bolsheviks—or rather they mainly ended up exiled or shot.**

“There are now two paths for every communist: that of socialist construction, and that of revisionism. We are beyond the bark-eating stage, but we have only got as far as a bowl of rice a day. To accept revisionism is

to snatch away the bowl of rice. As I told you, we made the Revolution with peasant rebels; then we led them against the cities ruled by the Kuomintang. But the successor of the Kuomintang was not the Chinese Communist party, however important that may be: it was the New Democracy. The history of the Revolution, like the weakness of the proletariat of the big cities, forced the communists into collaboration with the petty bourgeoisie. For that reason, too, our revolution, in the last analysis, will no more resemble the Russian Revolution than the Russian Revolution resembled yours. Even today, broad layers of our society are conditioned in such a way that their activity is necessarily orientated toward revisionism. They can only obtain what they want by taking it from the masses.”

(I think of Stalin: “We did not bring about the October Revolution in order to give power to the kulaks!”)

“Corruption, law-breaking, the arrogance of intellectuals, the wish to do honor to one’s family by becoming a white-collar worker and not dirtying one’s hands anymore, all these stupidities are only symptoms. Inside the party and out. The cause of them is the historical conditions themselves. But also the political conditions.”

I know his theory: you begin by no longer tolerating criticism, then you abandon self-criticism, then you cut yourself off from the masses, and, since the party can draw its revolutionary strength only from them, you tolerate the formation of a new class; finally like Khrushchev, you proclaim peaceful coexistence on a durable basis with the United States—and the Americans arrive in Vietnam. I have not forgotten his old saying: “Here seventy percent of the people are poor peasants, and their sense of the Revolution has never been at fault.” He has just explained how he interprets it: one must learn from the masses in order to be able to teach them.

“That is why,” he says, “Soviet revisionism is an... apostasy.” (The interpreter hit on the word “apostasy” almost at once. Brought up by the nuns?) **“It is moving toward the restoration of capitalism, and one wonders why Europe isn’t satisfied with it.”**

“I don’t believe they are contemplating a return to private ownership of the means of production.”

“Are you so sure? Look at Yugoslavia!”

I have no desire to talk about Yugoslavia, but it crosses my mind that the two major rebels, Mao and Tito, are both strangers to the cadres of the Gray House in Moscow—both guerrilla leaders.

“I believe that Russia wants to extricate itself from Stalinism without returning to straight capitalism. Hence a certain liberalism. But this entails a metamorphosis of power; there is no such thing as liberal Stalinism. If what we call Russian communism means Stalinism, we’re facing a change of regime. The end of encirclement and of the primacy of heavy industry, the abolition of the political police as a fourth power, the victory of 1945, have brought about a metamorphosis in the Soviet Union at least as radical as the transition from Lenin to Stalin. Brezhnev is the successor of Khrushchev and so will all the Brezhnevs be. I remember a time when one didn’t talk politics even with one’s wife; when I heard that people were daring to make fun of the government in the underground, I realized that there hadn’t simply been a ‘softening’ of what I had known, but a radical transformation.”

“In other words, you think they are not revisionists, because they are no longer even communists. Perhaps you’re right, if one thinks of [the interpreter cannot think of the word]; [“hurly-burly,” our interpreter suggests] if one thinks of the hurly-burly which reigns over there, and which has no other aim than to deceive the whole world! Yet the ruling clique allows the formation of strata of the population which are not yet classes, but which influence communist policy.”

Rome betrays as soon as it eliminates Sparta. For a Chinese Sparta cannot comfortably be maintained beside a Rome which in any case it identifies with Capua. I know the exasperated answer of the Russians: “Mao is a dogmatist and a visionary. How can revolutionary fervor be maintained fifty years after the revolution! There are no tsarist defeats or capitalists or landowners to revive the feeling of October 1917. China is going through the trials we went through thirty years ago. She has nothing, whereas we have something, and we cannot return to nothing. A new factor outweighs all ideologies: nuclear war will annihilate every nation involved in it. Khrushchev put an end to the terror and the concentration camps, and believed in the possibility of disarmament agreements. He governed injudiciously, but we too, like him, want to establish communism in the world while avoiding war.” I also know Mao’s answer. He will quote Lenin on his deathbed: “In the last analysis, the success of our struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, China, and India constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe.” He will recall that the Chinese party has accumulated more experience than all the others. He will think of the saying of the man beside him, Liu Shaoqi: “Mao’s stroke of genius was to transpose the European character of Marxism-Leninism into its

Asian form.” He will repeat that Khrushchev’s abandonment of China over the affair of the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu was a betrayal, and that Soviet support for the United Nations action in the Congo was another. That the conditions of the recall of the Russian experts were calculated to force the relinquishment of all the public works that had been begun. That every intervention of the United States makes them an object of hatred for the poor and revolutionary majority, and that the disintegration of the colonial world now demands rapid action. That Khrushchev was a non-Leninist petty bourgeois, who graduated from fear of nuclear war to fear of revolution and that the Soviet government is henceforth incapable of appealing to the masses because it is afraid of them.

The sending of city dwellers, of engineers and factory managers into the people’s communes here is as banally rigid as was compulsory military service in Europe. The party’s slogans are never questioned; not even the absurdities which accompany an epic, such as the campaign “against bourgeois sentiments such as love between parents and children, or between people of opposite sexes when they are carried to extremes of emotional feeling.” But slogans are only followed if the masses remain mobilized. Mao can only build China with volunteers. He is more anxious to make China than to make war, and he is positive that the United States will not use nuclear weapons in Vietnam any more than in Korea. He still believes in the permanent revolution—and what most separates him from it is Russia.

For the third time, a secretary has come to speak to Liu Shaoqi, and for the third time the President has come to hold a low-voiced conversation with Mao. The latter makes a tired gesture, and levers himself up with his hands on the arms of his chair. He is the most upright of us all: monolithic. He is still holding a cigarette. I go to take leave of him, and he holds out an almost feminine hand, with palms as pink as if they had been boiled. To my surprise, he accompanies me out. The interpreter is between us, a little to the rear; the nurse, behind him. Our companions precede him, the French ambassador with the President of the Republic, who has not said a word. Some distance behind us is a younger group—high officials, I presume.

He walks one step at a time, as stiff as if he were not bending his legs, more than ever the bronze emperor in his dark uniform surrounded by light-colored or white ones. I think of Churchill at the time he received the Cross of the Liberation. He was to review the guard which had just presented arms to him. He too could only shuffle forward step-by-step, and he stopped in front

of each soldier to examine his decorations before going on to the next man. He seemed, then, to be at death's door. The soldiers watched the stricken old lion pass slowly by in front of them. Mao is not stricken: he has the uncertain equilibrium of the statue of the Commendatore, and walks like a legendary figure risen from some imperial grave. I quote to him Zhou Enlai's remark a few years back: "We began a new Long March in 1949, and we are still only on the first lap."

"Lenin wrote: 'The dictatorship of the proletariat is an unrelenting struggle against all the forces and traditions of the old society.' Unrelenting. If Khrushchev really believed that all the contradictions had disappeared in Russia, it was perhaps because he thought he was ruling a revived Russia."

"Which Russia is that?"

"The Russia of victories. That can suffice. Victory is the mother of many illusions. When he came here for the last time, on his return from Camp David, he believed in compromise with American imperialism. He imagined that the Soviet government was that of all Russia. He imagined that the contradictions had almost disappeared there. The truth is that if the contradictions due to victory are less painful than the old ones, luckily they are almost as deep. Humanity left to its own devices does not necessarily reestablish capitalism (which is why you are perhaps right in saying they will not revert to private ownership of the means of production), but it does reestablish inequality. The forces tending toward the creation of new classes are powerful. We have just suppressed military titles and badges of rank; every "cadre" becomes a worker again at least one day a week; whole trainloads of city dwellers go off to work in the people's communes. Khrushchev seemed to think that a revolution is done when a communist party has seized power as if it were merely a question of national liberation."

He does not raise his voice, but his hostility when he refers to the Russian Communist party is as obvious as Zhou Enlai's hatred when he refers to the United States. And yet, in Loyang or in the back streets of Beijing, the children, who took us for Russians (they have not seen any other whites), smiled at us.

"Lenin was well aware that at this juncture the revolution is only just beginning. The forces and traditions he was referring to are not only the legacy of the bourgeoisie. They are also our fate. Li Zongren, who was vice-president of the Kuomintang, has just come back home from Taiwan.

Another one! I told him: 'We still need another twenty or thirty years of effort to make China a powerful country.' But is that merely in order that this China should become like Taiwan? The revisionists mix up cause and effect. Equality is not important in itself; it is important because it is natural to those who have not lost contact with the masses. The only way of knowing whether a young cadre is really revolutionary is to see whether he really makes friends with the workers and peasants. The young are not Red by birth; they have not known Revolution. You remember Kosygin at the Twenty-third Congress: 'Communism means the raising of living standards.' Of course! And swimming is a way of putting on a pair of trunks! Stalin had destroyed the kulaks. It isn't simply a question of replacing the Tsar with Khrushchev, one bourgeoisie with another, even if it's called communist. It's the same as with women. Of course it was necessary to give them legal equality to begin with! But from there on, everything still remains to be done. The thought, culture, and customs which brought China to where we found her must disappear, and the thought, customs, and culture of proletarian China, which does not yet exist, must appear. The Chinese woman doesn't yet exist either, among the masses; but she is beginning to want to exist. And then, to liberate women is not to manufacture washing machines—and to liberate their husbands is not to manufacture bicycles but to build the Moscow subway."

I think of his own wives, or rather what one hears about them. The first had been chosen by his parents. It was under the Empire—Mao could have seen the last Empress. He draws aside her veil, finds her ugly, and has not stopped running since. The second was the daughter of his master. He loved her, and refers to her in a famous poem as "my proud poplar" (a play on her name). She was taken as a hostage by the Kuomintang, and beheaded. I remember the photograph in which he is seen raising his glass face to face with Chiang Kai-shek at Chongqing; much icier than Stalin face-to-face with Ribbentrop. The third was the heroine of the Long March: wounded fourteen times. He divorced her (divorce is rare in the Chinese party); today she is governor of a province. Finally he married Jiang Qing, a Shanghai film star who found her way to Yanan through the lines to serve the Party. She directed the army theater. Since the capture of Beijing she has lived only for Mao and has never again appeared in public.

"Proletarian China," Mao goes on, "is no more a coolie than it is a mandarin; the People's Army is no more a partisan band than a Chiang

Kai-shek army. Thought, culture, customs must be born of struggle, and the struggle must continue for as long as there is still a danger of a return to the past. Fifty years is not a long time; barely a lifetime—our customs must become as different from the traditional customs as yours are from feudal customs. The basis on which we have constructed everything is the real toil of the masses, the real struggle of the soldiers. Anyone who does not understand that puts himself outside the Revolution. It isn't a victory, it is a mixing of the masses and the cadres over several generations."

Thus, doubtless, did he speak of China in the cave at Yanan. I think of the poem in which, after evoking the heroes of Chinese history and Genghis Khan, he adds, **"Look rather in the present."**

"And yet," I remark, "it will be the China of the great empires."

"I don't know; but I do know that if our methods are the right one—if we tolerate no deviation—China will be restored to greatness."

Once more I am about to take my leave of him: the cars are at the bottom of the steps.

"But in this battle," he adds, **"we are alone."** "Not for the first time."

"I am alone with the masses. Waiting."

The tone is a surprising one, in which there is bitterness, perhaps irony, and above all pride. One might think he had spoken these last words for the benefit of the others, but he has only spoken with passion since they moved out of earshot. He is walking more slowly than his illness compels him to.

"What is expressed in that commonplace term 'revisionism' is the death of the revolution. What we have just done in the army must be done everywhere. I have told you that the revolution is also a feeling. If we decide to make of it what the Russians are now doing—a feeling of the past—everything will fall apart. Our revolution cannot be simply the stabilization of a victory."

"Doesn't the Great Leap Forward seem much more than a stabilization?"

Its edifices surround us as far as the eye can see.

"Yes. But since then... There is what one sees, and what one doesn't see. Men do not like to bear the burden of the Revolution throughout their lives. When I said, 'Chinese Marxism is the religion of the people,' I meant—but do you know how many communists there are in the countryside? One percent!—I meant that the communists express the Chinese people in a real way if they remain faithful to the work upon which the whole of China has embarked as if on another Long March. When we say,

‘We are the Sons of the People,’ China understands it as she understood the phrase ‘Son of Heaven.’ The People has taken the place of the ancestors. The People, not the victorious Communist party.”

“Marshals have always liked stabilizations; but you have just eliminated ranks.”

“Not only marshals! Besides, the survivors of the old guard have been molded by action, like our state. Many of them are empirical, resolute, prudent revolutionaries. On the other hand, there is a whole generation of dogmatic youth, and dogma is less useful than cow dung. One can make whatever one likes out of it, even revisionism! Whatever your ambassador may think, this youth is showing dangerous tendencies. It is time to show that there are others.”

He seems to be struggling simultaneously against the United States, against Russia—and against China: “If we tolerate no deviation...” Little by little we approach the front steps. I look at him (he is looking straight ahead). What an extraordinary power of allusion! I know that he is about to intervene anew. Through the young? Through the army? No man will have shaken history so powerfully since Lenin. The Long March portrays him better than any personal trait, and his decision will be brutal and ruthless. He is still hesitating, and there is something epic in this hesitation whose object I do not know. He wanted to re-create China, and he has re-created it; but he also wants the “uninterrupted revolution” with the same determination, and it is essential to him that youth should want it too. I think of Trotsky, but the “permanent revolution” related to a different context, and I only knew Trotsky after his defeat (that first evening, at Royan, the shock of white hair, the smile, and the little wide-apart teeth in the glare of the car headlights). The man walking slowly by my side is haunted by something more than the uninterrupted revolution; by a gigantic conception of which neither of us has spoken: the underdeveloped countries are far more numerous than the countries of the West, and the struggle began as soon as the colonies became nations. He knows that he will not see the global revolution. The underdeveloped nations are at the same stage as the proletariat in 1848. But there will be a Marx (he, himself, first and foremost) and a Lenin. A great deal can be done in a century! It is not a question of the alliance of such-and-such an external proletariat with an internal proletariat, the alliance of India with the British Labor movement, of Algeria with the French communists; it is a question of the vast tracts of misery against the little European headland, against hateful America. Proletariat will unite with

capitalism, as in Russia, as in the United States. But there is one country dedicated to vengeance and justice, one country that will never lay down its arms, will never lay down its spirit, before the global confrontation. Three hundred years of European energy are now on the wane; the Chinese era is dawning. He reminded me of the emperors, and he now reminds me, standing there, of the rust-covered shields of the army chiefs which belonged to the funerary avenues of the emperors, and are to be found abandoned in the sorghum fields. Behind our entire conversation the hope of a twilight world stood watch. In the vast corridor, the dignitaries have stopped without daring to turn round.

“I am alone,” he repeats. And suddenly he laughs: **“Well, with a few distant friends: please give General de Gaulle my greetings. As for them”** (he means the Russians), **“the revolution doesn’t really interest them, you know.”**

The car drives off. I draw back the little curtains on the rear window. As when I arrived, but this time in broad daylight, he is alone in his dark costume at the center of a slightly withdrawn circle of light-colored suits. Silky tufts of mimosa drift past on the wind like snowflakes, like the tufts of kapok above the queen of the Casamance. Overhead, an airplane flashes past. With his hand to his forehead in the age-old gesture, the Old Man of the Mountain watches it recede, shading his eyes from the sun.

Question Raised at the (Enlarged) Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee

September 1965

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1967, No. 13, page 16.

Translation: Beijing Review, August 11, 1967, Vol. X, No. 33, page 7.

What are you going to do if revisionism appears in the Central Committee? This is highly likely. This is the greatest danger.

Inscription for the 20th Anniversary of China National Radio

December 9, 1965

Source: *People's Daily (Renmin Ribao)*, December 9, 1965, page 1.

Translation: Jerome Chen, *Mao Papers*, page 103.

Strive to run broadcasting well to serve the people of China and the whole world.

Speech at the Hangzhou Conference

December 21, 1965

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui)*, 1968, Vol. 5, page 246-249.

Translation: Stuart Schram, *Mao Talks to the People*, page 234-241.

I have read three articles in this issue of the *Philosophical Research*.²¹⁶

Those of you who are engaged in philosophy should go in for practical philosophy, otherwise nobody will read it. Bookish philosophy is very difficult to understand. For whom is it written? Some intellectuals like Wu Han²¹⁷ and Jian Bozan²¹⁸ are going from bad to worse. Someone called Sun Daren has written an article refuting Jian Bozan's idea of the feudal landlord class

²¹⁶ 1965, No. 6 special issue of *Philosophical Research (Zhixue Yanjiu)* that contained philosophical articles written by workers, peasants and soldiers.

²¹⁷ Wu Han (1909-1969) was at this time Vice-Mayor of Beijing. He had contributed to the series of articles published in 1961 and 1962 in the Beijing press under the title "Notes from Three-Family Village," which contained thinly veiled attacks on Mao's "great empty talk" and failure to listen to advice. Above all, he was the author of the play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*, published in January 1961, which was in fact a defense of Peng Dehuai camouflaged as an upright official removed from office by the emperor in Ming times because he had defended the right of the peasants to their land. Yao Wenyuan's attack on this drama in November 1965 (see note 8, below) gave the signal for the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

²¹⁸ Jian Bozan (1898-1968), a leading historian who also came under attack in the Cultural Revolution; at the time of Mao's speech he was head of the History Department at Beijing University.

adopting a policy of concessions towards the peasants. After peasant wars the landlord class would only counter-attack and seek revenge; there was never any question of concessions. The landlord class made no concessions to the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom.²¹⁹ The Boxers first said: “Oppose the Qing and eliminate the foreigners,” and later, “Support the Qing and eliminate the foreigners,” thus gaining the support of the Empress Dowager Cixi. After the Qing dynasty had suffered defeat at the hands of imperialism the Dowager Empress and the Emperor ran away, and Cixi started to “support the foreigners and eliminate the Boxers.”²²⁰ Some people say that the *Inside Story of the Qing Court* is patriotic, but I think it is treasonable—out-and-out treason.²²¹ Why is it that some say it is patriotic? Merely because they think that the Guangxu emperor was a pitiable man who, together with Kang Youwei,²²² opened schools, formed the New Armies and put into effect a few enlightened measures.

²¹⁹ A reference to the war of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. It was a peasant revolutionary war waged against the feudal rule and national oppression of the Qing Dynasty in the middle of the 19th century. Leaders of this revolution staged an uprising in Guangxi in January 1831 and proclaimed the founding of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Because the Taiping army failed to build stable base areas in the places it occupied and also because, after establishing its capital in Nanjing, the leading group in the army committed many political and military errors, it could not withstand the joint attack of the counter-revolutionary troops of the Qing government and the aggressors, Britain, the United States and France, and suffered defeat in 1864.

²²⁰ Boxers, a reference to the Yihetuan Movement. The Yihetuan Movement was the anti-imperialist armed struggle which took place in northern China in 1900. The broad masses of peasants, handicraftsmen and other people took part in this movement. Getting in touch with one another through religious and other channels, they organized themselves on the basis of secret societies and waged a heroic struggle against the joint forces of aggression of the eight imperialist powers the United States, Britain, Japan, Germany, Russia, France, Italy and Austria. The movement was put down with indescribable savagery after the joint forces of aggression occupied Tianjin and Beijing. In 1901 the Ching government concluded a treaty with the imperialist powers. Its main provisions were that China had to pay those countries the enormous sum of 450 million *taels* [1 *tael*=approximately 40 grams] of silver as war reparations and grant them the special privilege of stationing troops in Beijing and in the area from Beijing to Tianjin to Shanhaiguan.

²²¹ A reference to a film with that title. Comrade Mao denounced this film as early as March 1950 and again in October 1954 (see “Directive on the Film *Qing Gong Mishu*,” *Selected Works*, Volume VII, p. 54 and pp. 284-285.)

²²² Kang Youwei (1858-1927), of Nanhai County, Guangdong Province. In 1895, after China had been defeated by Japanese imperialism in the previous year, he led thirteen hundred candidates for the third grade in the imperial examinations at Beijing in submitting a “ten thousand word memorial” to Emperor Guangxu, asking for “constitutional reform and modernization” and asking that the autocratic monarchy be changed into a constitutional monarchy. In 1898, in an attempt to introduce reforms, the emperor promoted Kang Youwei together with Tan Sitong, Liang Qichao and others to key posts in the government. Later, the Empress Dowager Cixi, representing the die-hards, again took power and the reform movement failed. Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao fled abroad and formed the Pro-

At the end of the Qing dynasty some people advocated “Chinese learning for the substance, Western learning for practical application.” The substance was like our General Line, which cannot be changed. We cannot adopt Western learning as the substance, nor can we use the substance of the democratic republic. We cannot use “the natural rights of man” nor the “theory of evolution.” We can only use Western technology. “The natural rights of man” represents, of course, an erroneous line of thought. Is there such a thing as rights bestowed by nature? Isn’t it man who bestows rights on man? Were the rights we enjoy bestowed by nature? Our rights were bestowed by the common people, and primarily by the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants.

If you study a little modern history you will see that there was no such thing as a “policy of concession.” The only concessions were made by the revolutionary forces to the reactionaries. The reactionaries always counter-attacked and sought revenge. Whenever a new dynasty emerged in history they adopted a policy of “decreased labor service and taxation.” This was because people were very poor and there was nothing to take from them. This policy was of advantage to the landlord class.

I hope that those who are engaged in philosophical work will go to the factories and the countryside for a few years. The system of philosophy should be reformed. You should not write in the old manner and you should not write so much.

A student of Nanjing University who came from a peasant family, a student of history, took part in the Four Clean-ups movement. Afterwards he wrote some articles on the subject of the necessity for those engaged in history to go down to the countryside. In these articles, which were published in the *Nanjing University Journal*, he made a confession saying: “I have studied now for several years and have lost all notion of manual labor.” In the same issue of the *Nanjing University Journal* is an article which says: “The essence is the major contradiction and, in particular, the major aspect of the major contradiction.” Even I have not made such a statement before. The outward appearance is visible; it stimulates the senses. The essence is invisible and intangible; it is hidden behind the outward appearance. The essence can only be discovered through investigation and study. If we could touch and see the essence there would be no need for science.

tect-the-Emperor Party, which became a reactionary political faction in opposition to the bourgeois and Kang Youwei-bourgeois revolutionaries represented by Sun Yat-sen.

You should gradually get into contact with reality, live for a while in the countryside, learn a bit of agricultural science, botany, soil technology, fertilizer technology, bacteriology, forestry, water conservancy, etc. There's no need to read big tomes. It's sufficient to read little books and get a bit of general knowledge.

Now about this university education. From entering primary school to leaving college is altogether sixteen or seventeen years. I fear that for over twenty years people will not see rice, mustard, wheat or millet growing; nor will they see how workers work, nor how peasants till the fields, nor how people do business. Moreover their health will be ruined. It is really terribly harmful. I said to my own child: "You go down to the countryside and tell the poor and lower-middle peasants, 'My dad says that after studying a few years we became more and more stupid. Please, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters, be my teachers. I want to learn from you.'" In point of fact pre-school children have a lot of contact with society up to the age of seven. At two they learn to speak and at three they have noisy quarrels. When they grow a little bigger, they dig with toy hoes to imitate grown-ups working. This is the real world. By then the children have already learned concepts. "Dog" is a major concept. "Black dog" and "yellow dog" are minor concepts. His family's yellow dog is concrete. Man is a concept which has shed a great deal of meaning. Man or woman, great or small, Chinese or foreigner, revolutionary or counter-revolutionary all these distinctions are absent. What is left are only the characteristics which differentiate man from the other animals. Who has ever seen "man?" You can only see Mr. Chang and Mr. Li. You cannot see the concept "house" either, only actual houses, such as the foreign-style buildings of Tianjin or the courtyard houses of Beijing.

We should reform university education. So much time should not be spent attending classes. Not to reform arts faculties would be terrible. If they are not reformed, can they produce philosophers? Can they produce writers? Can they produce historians? Today's philosophers can't turn out philosophy, writers can't write novels, and historians can't produce history. All they want to write about is emperors, kings, generals and ministers. Qi Benyu's²²³ article is

²²³ Qi Benyu was an editor of the *Red Flag* (*Hongqi*). The article to which Mao refers here was entitled "Study History for the Sake of the Revolution", and appeared in issue No. 13 of that journal, which was published on December 6, 1965, pp. 14-22. As Mao says, it did not name names; it attacked disciples of Hu Shih who had denied the relevance of class struggle to the study of history, and called for a "supra-class viewpoint" and "absolute objectivity," but did not identify them except by saying that they had expressed such ideas openly in 1963.

excellent, I read it three times. Its defect is that it does not name names. Yao Wenyan's²²⁴ article is also very good: it has had a great impact on theatrical, historical and philosophical circles. Its defect is that it did not hit the crux of the matter. The crux of *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* was the question of dismissal from office. The Chia Qing emperor dismissed Hai Rui from office. In 1959 we dismissed Peng Dehuai from office. And Peng Dehuai is Hai Rui too.

We must reform the arts faculties in the universities. The students must go down and engage in industry, agriculture and commerce. The engineering and science departments are different. They have factories for practical work and also laboratories. They can work in their factories and do experiments in their laboratories. After they have finished high school they should first do some practical work. Only to go to the countryside is not enough. They should also go to factories, shops, army companies. They can do this kind of work for a few years and then study for two years. This will be enough. If the university has a five-year system, they should go down for three years. Teachers should also go down and work and teach at the same time. Can't they teach philosophy, literature and history there too? Must they have big foreign-style buildings to teach them in?

Many great inventors, such as Watt and Edison, came from workers' families. Franklin, who discovered electricity, sold newspapers: he started as a newspaper boy. Many of the great scholars and scientists did not go through college. Not many of the comrades in our Party's Central Committee are university graduates.

You cannot go on writing books the way you write them now. Take the example of analysis and synthesis. In the past books did not explain them clearly. They said, "Within analysis there is synthesis; analysis and synthesis are indivisible." This sort of statement may be correct, but it has its inadequacy. One should say, "Analysis and synthesis are both divisible and indivisible." Everything can be divided. It is all a case of "one divides into two." Analysis has to be applied in differing circumstances. Take, for example, an analysis of the Kuomintang and the communists. How did we analyze the Kuomintang in the past? We said that it occupied extensive territory with a large population, it controlled the large and medium-sized cities, enjoyed the support of imperi-

²²⁴ Yao Wenyan had first attracted attention by an article of June 1957, attacking the bourgeois tendencies of the *Shanghai Wenhui Bao*. Ironically, his article entitled "On the New Historical Play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*" appeared on 10 November 1965 precisely in that paper—because, as Mao stated in October 1966, it was not possible to get it published in the Beijing press, which was tightly controlled by the party bureaucracy, headed by Liu Shaoqi.

alism and had large well-equipped armies. But the fundamental point was that it was divorced from the masses the peasants and soldiers. Also it had internal contradictions. Our armies were small, our weapons inferior (only millet and rifles), our territory was small, we had no big cities and no foreign aid, but we had close links with the masses; we had democracy in the three main fields, we had the three-eight working style, and we represented the demands of the masses. This was the fundamental thing.

Those Kuomintang officers who had graduated from military academies could not fight battles, while those who had studied in the Whampoa Military Academy for only a few months could fight. Among our own marshals and generals there are very few who have been to college. I had never studied military books. I had read *The Zuo Tradition*,²²⁵ *Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance*²²⁶ and *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. These books all described battles, but when I actually went into battle I forgot all about them. When we fought we did not take a single book with us. We only analyzed the situation of ourselves and the enemy, analyzed the concrete situation.

To synthesize the enemy is to eat him up. How did we synthesize the Kuomintang? Did we not do it by taking enemy material and remolding it? We did not kill prisoners, but released some of them and retained most of them to replenish our own armies. We took all the weapons, food and fodder and equipment of all kinds. Those we did not use we have *aufgehoben*, to use a philosophical term, as in the case of people like Du Yuming.²²⁷ The process of eating is also one of analysis and synthesis. For example when eating crabs you eat the meat but not the shell. The stomach will absorb the nutritious part and get rid of the useless part. You are all foreign-style philosophers. I am a native-style philosopher. Synthesizing the Kuomintang means eating it up, absorbing most of it and eliminating a small part. I've learnt this from Marx. Marx removed the shell of Hegel's philosophy and absorbed the useful inner part, transforming it into dialectical materialism. He absorbed Feuerbach's materialism and criticized his metaphysics. The heritage had always to be passed on.

²²⁵ A commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, written in the third century B.C.

²²⁶ The *Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance* [*Zizhi Tongjian*] of Sima Guang (1019-1086), written between 1072 and 1084, is a general history of China from 403 B.C. to A.D. 959. It is, with the *Zuo Tradition* one of China's most famous historical writings.

²²⁷ The communists applied the treatment which Mao characterizes in Hegelian terms as *aufhebung* (*yangqi*) to the Kuomintang general Du Yuming by defeating him in battle and taking him prisoner after he had refused to surrender. See Mao's *Message Urging Du Yuming and Others to Surrender* of 17 December 1948, *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 295-297.

In his treatment of French utopian socialism and English political economy, Marx absorbed the good things and abandoned the bad.

Marx's *Capital* started with the analysis of the dual nature of commodities. Our commodities also have a dual nature. In a hundred years' time, commodities will still have a dual nature. Things which are not commodities have a dual nature too. Our comrades likewise have a dual nature, correct and incorrect. Don't you have a dual nature? I know I have. Young people easily make the mistake of being metaphysical: they cannot bear to talk about their shortcomings. People improve with experience. In recent years, however, it is the young who have made progress; the hopeless cases are some of the old professors. Wu Han is mayor of a city. It would be better if he were demoted to being head of a county. It would be better if Yang Xianzhen and Zhang Wentian were demoted too. This is the only way we can really help them.

Recently an article was written about the law of adequate justification. What law of adequate justification? I don't think such a thing exists. Different classes have different ways of justifying their actions. Which class does not have adequate justification? Doesn't Russell? He recently sent me a pamphlet which should be translated and read. Russell is now a bit better politically. He is anti-revisionist and anti-American and he supports Vietnam. This idealist has acquired a little materialism. I am talking about his actions.²²⁸

A man should work in many fields, have contact with all sorts of people. Leftists should not only meet leftists but also rightists. They should not be afraid of this and that. I myself have met all sorts of people; I have met big officials and small ones.

In writing philosophy can you change your methods? You must write in a popular style, using the language of the laboring masses. We all talk like students. [*Comrade Chen Boda interrupts: "The Chairman excepted"*] I have been involved in the peasant movement, the workers' movement, the student movement, the Kuomintang movement, and I have done military work for over twenty years, so I am somewhat better.

In tackling the study of Chinese philosophy, we must study Chinese history and the historical process of Chinese philosophy. One should first study the history of the past 100 years. Isn't the historical process the unity of opposites? Modern history is a continual process of one dividing into two and continual struggle. In these struggles some people compromised, but the people were

²²⁸ For Mao's criticism of Bertrand Russell's ideas in 1920, see *Communism and Dictatorship*, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, pp. 17-19.

dissatisfied with them and went on struggling. Before the 1911 Revolution²²⁹ we had the struggle between Sun Yat-sen and Kang Youwei. After the 1911 Revolution had overthrown the emperor there was the struggle between Sun and Yuan Shikai. Afterwards the Kuomintang had continual internal schisms and struggles.

The Marxist-Leninist classics not only need to have prefaces written, but also annotations. Political prefaces are easier to write than philosophical ones, which are none too easy. It used to be said that there were three great laws of dialectics, then Stalin said that there were four. In my view there is only one basic law and that is the law of contradiction. Quality and quantity, positive and negative, external appearance and essence, content and form, necessity and freedom, possibility and reality, etc., are all cases of the unity of opposites.

It has been said that the relationship of formal logic to dialectics is like the relationship between elementary mathematics and higher mathematics. This is a formulation which should be studied further. Formal logic is concerned with the form of thought, and is concerned to ensure that there is no contradiction between successive stages in an argument. It is a specialized science. Any kind of writing must make use of formal logic.

Formal logic does not concern itself with major premises: it is incapable of so doing. The Kuomintang call us “bandits.” “Communists are bandits,” “Zhang San is a communist,” therefore “Zhang San is a bandit.”²³⁰ We say “The Kuomintang are bandits. Chiang Kai-shek is of the Kuomintang. Therefore, Chiang Kai-shek is a bandit.” Both of these syllogisms are in accordance with formal logic.

One cannot acquire much fresh knowledge through formal logic. Naturally one can draw inferences, but the conclusion is still enshrined in the major premise. At present some people confuse formal logic and dialectics. This is incorrect.

²²⁹ The Revolution of 1911 overthrew the autocratic regime of the Qing Dynasty. On October 10 that year, a section of the New Army, at the urging of the revolutionary societies of the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie, staged an uprising in Wuchang. This was followed by uprisings in other provinces, and very soon the rule of the Qing Dynasty crumbled. On January 1, 1912, the Provisional Government of the Republic of China was set up in Nanjing, and Sun Yat-sen was elected Provisional President. The revolution achieved victory through the alliance of the bourgeoisie, peasants, workers and urban petit bourgeoisie. But because the group which led the revolution was compromising in nature, failed to bring real benefits to the peasants and yielded to the pressure of imperialism and the feudal forces, state power fell into the hands of the Northern warlord Yuan Shikai, and the revolution failed.

²³⁰ Zhang San is a placeholder name.

Conversation with Chen Boda and Ai Siqi in Hangzhou

December 21, 1965

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 249.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 101-102.

The next few decades will be precious and important for the future of our country and the destiny of mankind. The twenty-years-old [of today] will be forty or fifty in twenty or thirty years' time. This generation of young people will take part in building our "poor and bare" country into a great strong socialist power and will fight and bury imperialism with their own hands. The task is arduous and the road long. Chinese young people of lofty ambitions must dedicate their lives to the accomplishment of our great historic mission! And for this, people of our generation must determine to fight hard for the rest of their lives!

Politics must follow the mass line. It will not do to rely on leaders alone. How can the leaders do so much? The leaders can cope with only a fraction of everything, good and bad. Consequently, everybody must be mobilized to share the responsibility, to speak up, to encourage other people, and to criticize other people. Everyone has a pair of eyes and a mouth and he must be allowed to see and speak up. Democracy means allowing the masses to manage their own affairs. Here are two ways: one is to depend on a few individuals and the other is to mobilize the masses to manage affairs. Our politics is mass politics. Democratic rule is the rule of all, not the rule of a few. Everyone must be urged to open his mouth. He has a mouth, therefore he has two responsibilities to eat and to speak. He must speak up wherever he sees bad things or bad styles of work. He must follow his duty to fight.

Nothing can be done well, if it depends entirely on the leader not on the leadership of the Party. [We] must rely on the Party and [our] comrades to deal with matters, not on a solitary leader. An active leader followed by inactive masses will not do; it must be established as a practice that the masses use both their hands and their mouths. The only way to have things done well is to depend on the leadership of the Party from above and [the support of] the masses from below.

1966

Talk with Mao Yuanxin (3)²³¹

February 18, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 252.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 250-251.

[Chairman Mao and his nephew discussed the question of whether the Military Engineering Institute should go in for two or three years of study first and then do another year of part-time work and part-time study: and also the question of coordination and assignment of work.]

The science and engineering faculties should still have their own language. With their six-year syllabus we could start by trying to do it in three years first and see how it works out, and not necessarily be in a hurry to shorten it to two years. With advanced science, if there is a clear-cut objective, then three years of study would perhaps be all right, and if three years are not enough they could later add on a bit.

Only when there is a clear-cut objective can you do less but do it well, and only then can you combine the general and the particular. The six-year system can then be altered into a three-year system, and after we have done that our direction will be right.

When you try new things, the only way to do it is to carry on for a few years, constantly summarizing your experience.

The science and engineering faculties have their specific nature and have their own special terminology, so you have to read a few books. But they also have something in common with other subjects, it's no good just to read books. One had only to study at Whampoa Academy for half a year and after graduation one served as a soldier for one year. In that way many talented officers were produced, but after it was changed to the Army University (I have not made a note of how long they studied) the result was that when people graduated, they kept on being defeated in battle and becoming our captives.

I don't know anything about the science and engineering faculties, but I do claim a little knowledge about the medical faculty. When you listen to an

²³¹ For the first talk, see pp. 60-61. For the second talk see pp. 139-147 in this volume. Mao Yuanxin is Chairman Mao's nephew who studied at the Harbin Military Engineering Institute.

eye doctor talk it all sounds very mysterious, but the human body should be viewed as a whole.

The development of science proceeds from a low level to a high level, from the simple to the complex, but when one teaches one cannot follow the sequence of development. When we study history, we should concentrate on modern history. Now we only have three thousand-odd years of recorded history; what will happen when we have ten thousand years of history, how will we teach it then?

Advanced science, including those fundamental theories which practice has proved useful, must get rid of those parts which practice has proved useless and irrational.

When one lectures on nuclear physics it will suffice to talk about the Sakata model; one needn't start from the theories of Bohr of the Danish school; otherwise you won't graduate even after ten years of study. Even Sakata uses dialectics—why don't you use it?

Man's understanding of things always starts from the concrete and proceeds to the abstract. In medicine they start by teaching abstract things such as psychology, the nervous system, etc. I think this is wrong: they should start by teaching anatomy. Mathematics was originally derived from physical models. Nowadays one cannot associate mathematics with physical models: instead one has gone a step further and made it abstract.

Letter of Instruction on Agricultural Mechanization and Preparing for War and Famine for the People (2)

March 12, 1966

*Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 253-254;
Translation: Beijing Review, December 26, 1977, Vol. XX, No. 52, page 7-9.*

Your letter dated March 11 has been received. It is a very good idea that the central planning group send people to Hubei to discuss with the provincial party committee its program for farm mechanization covering five, seven and ten years and have a look at the experimental centers for achieving mechanization through self-reliance. I suggest that the regional bureaus of the Central Committee and the party committees of the provinces, municipalities and

autonomous regions also send their people to Hubei to join in the study. Seven to ten days will suffice. On their return the localities should draft tentative plans covering five, seven and ten years and spend a few months talking the matter over. Then there will be something for discussion at the working conference to be called sometime in August or September this year. If no preparations are made in advance, I am afraid the discussion will get nowhere. The task of mechanization should be performed by the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions mainly through their own efforts, and the central authorities can only provide some help in materials, etc., for those areas which are deficient, but these things have to be bought with local funds when the central authorities really have reserves for sale. It won't do to start the work on the spur of the moment, with everyone stretching out his hand for help. In the absence of the necessary conditions, it would be better to postpone the matter for a few years. In line with the above principle, those localities where materials (iron and steel), machine tools and farm machines are under state control but are produced locally and where output far exceeds the state targets (say by 100 percent or more) should be permitted to buy 30 to 50 percent of that portion above the target for their own use. Unless this practice is established, it will be impossible to bring the initiative of the local authorities into play. To mechanize farming and increase output in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-lines and fishery, it is necessary to win for the localities some right to the machinery they make. Here some right means the right to share in the above-target portion where it is sufficiently large, but not otherwise. It is not good to concentrate everything in the hands of the central authorities and impose rigid controls. Moreover, mechanization should be linked with getting prepared against war, getting prepared against natural disasters, and doing everything for the people. Otherwise the localities will not go about it with enthusiasm even when the necessary conditions are present. The first point is getting prepared against war, for after all the people and the army must be fed and clad before they can fight, otherwise the rifles and guns will be useless. The second point is getting prepared against natural disasters. It is by no means feasible for the localities to go on for long without reserves of grain, cotton and cooking oil and to depend on other provinces for relief in case of crop failure. The difficulties will be greater still in time of war. And crop failure in limited areas is often unavoidable in any single province. This is still more so when several provinces are considered together. The third point is that the state must not take too much for accumulation but must allow for the fact that

even now some of the people have not enough food and very little clothing. Further, it must allow for the need to store reserves among the people against the exigencies of war and natural disaster and, above all, it must allow for the accumulation by the localities of funds for expanded reproduction. Therefore, farm mechanization must be linked with these points before the masses can be mobilized to accomplish the plan for mechanization at a fairly rapid yet steady pace. Soviet agricultural policy has always been at fault; it drains the pond to catch all the fish and alienates the masses. In consequence, the country finds itself in its present straits, the main trouble being that it has long been confined to simple reproduction and is unable even to keep this up in a bad year. For several years we too had the experience of draining the pond to catch all the fish (i.e., higher tax and excessive state purchase of grain) and of being unable to maintain simple reproduction in many areas in lean years. We should at least take warning from this. We have raised the slogan "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people" (the last is also the best way of doing everything for the state, as the old saying goes: when the people are well off, how can the monarch not be?), but whether this slogan will be conscientiously followed for long, I think, is still a problem, and only time will show if it can be settled. By and large, has not agriculture been mechanized in the Soviet Union? Why is it still impasse? This is something well worth pondering.

Please weigh the above points and see if they are practicable. Further, as to who from the central planning group should go to Hubei, it seems comrades Yu Qiuli and Lin Hujia are the suitable choices. If the regional bureaus of the Central Committee and the party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions are also asked to send people it seems appropriate that they should each send the secretary in charge of agriculture and a member of the planning commission. Altogether there will be only about 70 people going to have on-the-spot meeting for seven to 10 days, also please consider if this is practicable.

Talk at Enlarged Standing Committee Meeting of the Political Bureau

March 17-20, 1966

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui)*, 1968, Vol. 5, page 257-258.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

Our policy of taking care of the intellectuals after liberation had advantages as well as disadvantages. At present, the bourgeois intellectuals are holding the real power in the academic and the educational circles. The more penetrating the socialist revolution, the more they resist us, and the more they reveal their opposition to the Party and socialism. Such people as Wu Han and Jian Bozan are communist party members, but they also oppose communism. They are, in reality, Kuomintang people. At present, this problem is still not properly understood in many places. Academic criticism still has not been unfolded. The various localities must note which hands are grasping the schools, newspapers, periodicals, and publishing houses, and they must carry out sincere criticism against the bourgeois academic authority. We must cultivate our own academic authority among our youths. We must not be afraid that the young people will violate the "law of the land." We must not confiscate and suppress their manuscripts. The Central Ministry of propaganda must not become a rural work department.²³²

Qianxian also belongs to Wu Han, Liao Mosha, and Deng Tuo.²³³ It is also anti-party and anti-socialist.

Literature and art, history, philosophy, law, and economics must carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they must resolutely carry out criticism. After all, how much Marxism is there?

²³² The Central Ministry of Rural Work was abolished in 1962.

²³³ *Frontlines (Qianxian)* is a Beijing periodical. Liao Mosha and Deng Tuo were close collaborators of Wu Han. This trio wrote under a joint pen name. They wrote a series of articles under such titles as *Evening Chats at Yanshan* and *Notes From a Three Family Village*. In these essays, using the form of dialogues between villagers and intellectuals, they attacked Mao and the "three red banners," i.e. the general line for socialist construction.

Talk at the Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau

March 20, 1966

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui)*, 1968, Vol. 5, page 255-257.
Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

1. On Not Attending the 23rd Congress of the CPSU

We shall not be attending the 23rd Congress of the Soviet Union. The convening of this congress by the Soviet Union is under a situation of difficulties both at home and abroad. We shall rely on self-reliance. We shall not depend on the Soviet Union. We shall not become befuddled. If we wish people to stand firm, we ourselves must first be unwavering. We shall not go. The leftist faction has stiffened its back, the middle faction is leaning towards us. If we do not attend the 23rd Congress, then the most they can do is to threaten us with their troops. If they don't, then it would just lead to a battle on paper. We can write a letter to say that we shall not attend. We have said that traitors, scabs, and the Soviet Union oppose China. Once they opposed us, we shall have essays to write. Traitors and scabs have always opposed China. Our banners must be new and fresh in color, they must not be bedraggled. Castro is nothing more than a bad man in an important position. [*Someone asked:* This time we do not attend, but when the revisionists convene in the future, do we send a congratulatory message?] We will still have to send a congratulatory message, but it will be sent to the Soviet people.

2. An Academic Question, An Educational Question.

We have been hiding inside a drum and there are many things which we do not know about, in reality, the academic and educational circles are in the hands of the bourgeoisie and Kang Youwei bourgeoisie. In the past, our policy towards the intellectuals of the national bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie was to discriminate against comprador bourgeoisie. They should be discriminated against and the discrimination policy is very effective. It is improper to equate them all together. At present, the greater part of the universities, middle schools, and primary schools have been monopolized by intellectuals who have emerged from the ranks of the bourgeoisie, Kang Youwei bourgeoisie, and the landlord and rich peasant class. We took care of these people after the libera-

tion. At the time, it was the right thing to do. Now when we are conducting academic critiques, we must also protect some of them, such as Old Guo and Old Fan (Wenlan) of the emperor-king group. At present, all medium-sized or large cities and towns have established research departments on literature and art, history, philosophy, law, and economics. In the study of history, there are various kinds of histories. Every academic department has a history. There is history and general history. Philosophy, literature, and natural science all have histories, and there is not a single department that does not have a history. With regard to the natural science department, we have not set anything into motion. From now on, we should do a bit of criticizing of the work done in each 5 or 10-year periods, discuss the pros and cons, and train successors. Otherwise, everything will fall into their hands. With regard to natural sciences, the views of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are not the same. Idealism and materialism are also involved in natural sciences. Old Fan is very fond of emperors, kings, generals, and prime ministers. People like him, including persons of the emperor-king school are very fond of emperors, kings, generals, and prime ministers and they opposed the 1958 method of studying history. [*Lin Biao*: This is class struggle.] When criticizing, one must not shoot off clank cannons, one must study historical data. This is a serious class struggle. Otherwise, revisionism shall emerge. It is this group of people who will be the ones to come up with revisionism in the future. For example, Wu Han and Jian Bozan were all opposed to Marxism-Leninism. They were members of the Communist Party; Communist Party members who nevertheless opposed the Communist Party and opposed materialism. [*Lin Biao*: This is socialist ideological construction.] This is a widespread class struggle. At present, 15 out of 28 provinces and municipalities in the whole country have launched this struggle and there are 13 which have not taken any action.

There are advantages and also disadvantages in our taking care of the intellectuals. Under our care, they earned fixed income, and became teachers and school principals. They were really Kuomintang people. [*Lin Biao*: We must pay attention to the newspapers, for the newspapers are an important matter. They are the everyday means for transmitting central committee orders.] There is also that Beijing periodical *Frontlines*, which is, in reality, the front lines of Wu Han, Deng Tuo and Liao Moshu *Three-family Village* [*Sanjiachun*] is their work.²³⁴ Liao had previously given moral support to “Li Hui-niang” and advocated the “theory of devils without harm.” The class struggle is very sharp

²³⁴ See note 218 on p. 243 of this volume.

and very widespread. The various major bureaus and provincial committees must pay a bit of attention to this. For example they must administer academic work, newspapers, publications, literature and art, motion pictures, and the plays.

The essay by XX has been made public. It is well written. XX is the head of the history office, he is the younger brother of Zhao XX. His essay was written in 1964 but was suppressed for one-and-a-half years before it was made public. Essays written by young people must not be suppressed, whether they are good or bad. Do not be afraid of running into matter if it does not deprive them of their bread and butter. One must not be afraid of running into “authority.”

[XX: The literary and art circles and the medical circles have all organized work teams to go into the countryside.]

They have all gone into the countryside, the half-work and half-study students of the middle, vocational, and technical schools have all gone into the countryside. It will not do to study books of classical literature alone; it is necessary to come into contact with reality. XX was unable to write anything good. One must not begin learning by studying old writings first. This includes the writings of Lu Xun²³⁵ and myself: One must learn to write. In the department of literature, students must write prose and novels, they must not study the history of literature. How can you accomplish anything if you do not start with writing? It will be fine if one is able to write. Henceforth, with writing the main factor, it will be the same as learning to hear and speak being the main factors in the study of foreign languages. Writing is the equivalent of composing essays. To learn to write essays is to use writing as the main factor. As for learning history, that can wait until the work period. The people in our troop units, those generals and division commanders did not know anything about the kings, Yao and Shun. They had never studied the military tactics of Sun-tzu.²³⁶ Yet, did they not do battle just the same? Not a single person fought any battles in accordance with Sun-tzu on the *Art of War*. [Lin Biao: There are so many items in the book, when the time came, one was unable to locate the

²³⁵ Lu Xun (1881-1936) was the father of modern Chinese literature and the greatest and most militant standard-bearer of China's cultural revolution. Apart from *The True Story of Ah Q*, *A Madman's Diary* and *The New Year's Sacrifice* his most famous works—he wrote many short stories and essays, in which he vehemently attacked feudalism and imperialism, gave force to the aspirations of the oppressed and exposed the people's enemy in his true colors. He always identified his work with the Chinese people's revolution, for which he waged a relentless struggle until his death in October 1936.

²³⁶ Sun Wu Tzu, or Sun Wu, was a famous Chinese military scientist in the 5th century B.C., who wrote *The Art of War*, a treatise on war.

proper item; there is not a single battle, large or small, which is identical, so it was a bit more simpler to do things according to the actual circumstances.]

There are two kinds of methods. One is to initiate criticism. The other is to engage in half-work and half-study and carry on the Four Clean-ups campaign. The young people must not be suppressed, let them come forward. Luo Ergang was criticized by XX. X was one of the workers in the mail and visitors' section of the central committee's General Office. Lo was a professor. Do not be afraid of provoking Luo Ergang and Jian Bozan. Do not suppress either the bad or the good. On Khrushchev, we issued a complete collection of essays! [*Lin Biao*: We carried out material construction, they carried out the building of the bourgeois spirit] [*Peng X*: Actually, it is their dictatorship. The power of leadership is in their hands. If you oppose them, they would reduce your work points.] Students, lecturers, and a part of the professors were all liberated, it was fine if the remainder of the people were able to reform, if they were unable to reform, they were dragged down. [*Peng X*: Promoting a doctrine does not produce co-operation.] [*Lin Biao*: This is class struggle, they must talk about it.] Nevertheless XX said it properly. XX said that those who were younger and had less education overthrew those who were older and had more education. [*Zhu X*: Overthrow those in authority.] [*Chen Boda*: Overthrow the bourgeois authority, bring up newborn strength, establish proletarian authority, and train successors.] Who is the authority at the present time? It is Yao Wenyuan, XX, and XX. As to who is able to destroy whom, there is no solution at the present time. [*Chen Boda*: The successors must develop naturally. Stalin produced a Malenkov who was not the right man. The former did not wait for him to die. Malenkov met with premature death. Such successors are not wanted.] What is needed are determined people who are young, have little education, a firm attitude, and the political experience to take over the work. This problem is very big.

3. On the Industrial System

There are some questions you do not comprehend. Can you handle so much? [*Peng X*: The central and local authorities must be like field armies and territorial armies.] In Nanjing, I talked with Chiang XX. When war breaks out; first, the central authorities will not send troops; second, it will not send generals, third, the food it has is not enough, it cannot be delivered; four, there is no clothing; and five, it has some rifles and guns, but not too many. The various administrative areas and provinces must do their own [battles]. The people must fight their own battles. Each province must fight its own battle. The local

areas cannot have their own naval and air forces. These forces must be put under the unified control of the central government. When war breaks out, it is best to rely on the local areas. You cannot depend on the central government. The local areas will take charge of the guerrillas and rely on armed struggle.

There are two methods of managing industry in East China. The method practiced in Jiangsu is good. That is, the province has no control in managing industry. This was carried out in Nanjing and Soochow; Soochow had 100,000 workers with an output value of 800 million yuan. The method practiced in Jinan is another. The large industries are managed by the province and the small industries by the municipalities, but the breakdown is unclear.

[*Liu XX*: How can we trial implement the general labor system and the general participation in work and participation in voluntary labor. At present, there are too many people who are not taking part in production work; the number of workers and staff members is 800,000 while the number of dependents is also 800,000.] It is necessary to carry out general propaganda now, break down the old ways, and gradually implement [the new] step by step.

This country of ours is made up of 28 “countries.” There are large “countries” as well as small “countries.” Such “countries” as Tibet and Qinghai are small “countries,” they do not have many people. [*Premier Zhou*: It is necessary to implement mechanization.] You people of the central bureaus, provinces, regions, and municipalities, carry out blooming and contending when you return to your posts; such places as provinces, regions, and municipalities must all carry out free expression of opinions during the months of April, May, June, and July. The free expression of opinions must be connected with “preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities, and everything for the people,” otherwise they will be afraid to express opinions freely. [*Premier Zhou*: I’m afraid to say that they are for decentralization]. The local areas must pay attention to wealth accumulation, now everything belongs to the state treasury. Shanghai has some accumulation. First, it has capital; second, it has raw materials; and third, it has equipment. It will not do to have everything concentrated at the central level. It will not do to drain the pond to catch the fish. It is said that the Soviet Union is the one which drains the pond to catch fish. [*Peng X*: Shanghai used machinery to support agriculture and changed from unlawful to lawful.] It is unlawful, but it must be recognized as being lawful. In history, everything changed from unlawful to lawful. Sun Yat-sen was unlawful in the beginning and became lawful afterwards. The Communist Party also changed from unlawful to lawful. Yuan Shikai changed from lawful

to unlawful. Being lawful is reactionary. Being unlawful is revolutionary. At present time, being reactionary is not to permit people to have positiveness: it is to limit the people's role in making revolution. The central government still is in favor of a figure-head republic, the Queen of England and the Emperor of Japan are all figureheads of republics. The central government is still in favor of a figure-head republic, caring only for major administrative policies. But these policies also came from local blooming and contending. So the central government opened up a processing plant to produce them. The province, municipalities, districts, and counties have to release them before the central government can produce them. It is fine to let the central government exercise control in name, but not in fact or only to a slight degree in fact. When the central government takes in too many factories, all those who take over the factories should be told to get out of the central government and go over to the local areas, lock, stock, and barrel. [*Peng X*: When we operate a trust and have the trust take over the work of the Party, we are in fact running an industrial party.] The Four Clean-ups campaign belongs to you. The central government is only taking care of the Twenty-three Articles. What experience do you of the XX political department have? Troop units still depend on the local military units before they can develop into regular troops. I do not have any experience. The summations of the past three months and the summations for the past half-year were not based on the report below. The operation of arsenals were all dependent on the local areas. The central government provided the spirit. The central government did not even have a single bullet or a single grain of food. They only put forth a bit of spirit. At present, grain is being shipped from the south to the north and coal from the north to the south. This will not do. [*Premier Zhou*: the national defense industry should also be returned to the local areas. In general, this industry should be given to the lower levels and not to the upper levels. The central government should handle only important matters]. The aircraft factories still have not been relocated. In time of war, even rifles cannot be supplied. Every province must have a small iron and steel plant. There are several hundred thousand people in a province. A hundred thousand tons of steel is not enough. A province must therefore operate several dozen steel plants.

[*Yu Qiuli*: It is necessary that three veterans take three novices under their wings, that veteran plants lead the way for new plants, and that old bases lead the way for new bases...] [*Lin*: For the old to lead the new is the Chinese way.] This is similar to the guerrillas during the war of resistance. It is necessary to

practice socialism and not individualism. [*Peng X*: There are XX small iron and steel plants which have all been controlled by the central government.] Why do you discriminate against what others do? Return them all. [*Peng X*: Let's figure out a method next year.] Why wait until next year? You should hold a meeting upon your return. For those who want to take over other people, tell them to become deputy plant directors. [*Premier Zhou*: At present, to promote agricultural mechanization is still like borrowing the east wind [borrowing without any return]. The Eighth Ministry of Machine Building operated a trust and took over quite a number of plants. Then tell XX of the Eighth Ministry of Machine Building to go and become the plant director!

Some of them actually imposed hardship on the peasants. In Jiangxi one *tan* [50 kgs.] of grain was assessed (delivered) three times. I think that they should be punished. A meeting of all civil and military department should be called to punish those who levied excessive taxes and sought excessive contributions.

The plans of the central government must be coordinated with those of the local areas. The central government cannot administer to everything firmly and the provinces cannot embrace everything firmly. [*Liu XX*: Allocate a part of the plans to the local areas.] You can frighten them with war, at the sound of the explosion of an atom bomb, individualism will no longer be practiced. When war starts, will it be possible to issue the *People's Daily*? It is necessary to pay attention to the division of power. Do not empty the pond to catch fish. At present, there is no one to administer things at the top. At the lower levels there is no one who has the authority to administer things. [*Tao X*: The central government also has no authority!] At present, fighting for one's independence is permitted. There must be independence against bureaucracy. It must be like XX. The students must also fight, they must bloom and contend on the academic question. There was a manuscript of a lecture delivered by a professor of chemistry which his students failed to understand after studying it for several months. The University students asked him about it but he did not have the answer. The students wanted to uproot his foundations. Wu Han and Jian Bozan relied on history for their bread and butter. Yu Boping is also unlearned. [*Lin Biao*: He still had to study Chairman Mao's works.] One must not emulate Jian Bozan. One must not emulate me. If one wishes to learn, one must excel in learning. One must not be subjected to limitations, one must not solely interpret and merely compile records. One must not be restricted. Lenin refused to be restricted by Marx. [*Lin Biao*: Lenin was also excellent. We must now advocate the study of Chairman Mao's works. We must sow the

seeds of Mao Zedong thought.] One might also say that, but one must not be superstitious. One must not be restricted. One must have new interpretations, new viewpoints, and creativity.

That is, it is necessary that the professors be overthrown by the students. [*Lin Biao*: These people only think of dictatorship.] A culture and education secretary in Kirin wrote an essay criticizing conceptual imagery. It was well written. The *Guangming Ribao* criticized *Officialdom Unmasked*. This was the clarification of the basic dispute. *Officialdom Unmasked* is reformist. In a word, the so-called “reprimanding novels” are reactionary, anti-Sun Yat-sen, monarchist, and bring on landlord dictatorship. They must be revised a bit, improved a bit, they are heading towards perdition.

The documents on agricultural mechanization are sent to the provinces for discussion, so I won't discuss them here.

Down with the Prince of Hell, Liberate the Little Devil—A Talk with Kang Sheng

March 28-30, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 258.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 42349.

Wu Han²³⁷ has made public so many essays. They never had to be made known. They never had to be approved. So why do the essays of Yao Wenyuan²³⁸ have to be made known? Do you mean to say that the decisions of the central government are of no consequence? People who confiscate and suppress the manuscripts of the leftists and protect the rightists are of the university clique. The Central Ministry of Propaganda is the palace of the prince of Hell. It is necessary to overthrow the palace of the Prince of Hell and liberate the Little Devil. I have always advocated that whenever the central organs do something wrong, it is necessary to call upon the local authorities to rebel and attack the central government. The local areas must produce several more Sun

²³⁷ Wu Han, see note 218 of p. 243 of this volume.

²³⁸ Yao Wenyuan, see note 225 on p. 247 of this volume.

Wukong²³⁹ to vigorously create a disturbance at the palace of the king of heaven. If Peng Zhen, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, and the Central Ministry of Propaganda again protect the bad people, then it will be necessary to dissolve the Beijing Municipal Committee, and it will be necessary to dissolve the Five Man Group.²⁴⁰ Last September, I asked some of the comrades what should be done if revisionism emerged in the central government?²⁴¹ This is very possible, and it is also the most dangerous situation: to protect rightists, cultivate the ranks of the rightists in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Revolution and Productive Forces

April 5, 1966

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1966, No. 5, page 5.

Translation: Beijing Review, April 19, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 16, page 25.

Revolution means to liberate the productive forces; revolution means to promote the development of the productive forces.

²³⁹ Sun Wukong, is the monkey king in the Chinese novel *Journey to the West* [*Xiyouji*] written in the 16th century.

²⁴⁰ Peng Zhen, the then Mayor of Beijing and a Politburo member. He was a close confidant of Liu Shaoqi. The “Group of Five” was set up in early 1966, under the leadership of Peng Zhen, and produced a report dated February 7, which sought to orient the Cultural Revolution in the direction of academic and ideological debate rather than “class struggle.” This was revoked by a circular of the CC dated 16 May, drawn up under Mao’s personal guidance, which also dissolved the “Group of Five” and set up the new “Cultural Revolution Group” directly under the Standing Committee of the Politburo. See Appendix 2, pp. 428-435.

²⁴¹ See “Question Raised at the (Enlarged) Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee”, p. 242 of this volume.

Criticize Peng Zhen (Talk with Kang Sheng)

April 28-29, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 259.

Even a silver needle cannot penetrate into Beijing, even a single drop of water cannot fall into Beijing. Peng Zhen wants to transform the Party according to his world outlook. Things in general are developing towards his negative side and he has set the conditions for his defeat. This is inevitable. It has emerged from inadvertent disclosures and development deeply step by step. Historical lessons are not accepted by everyone as warnings. This is the law of class struggle. It cannot be altered by the will of man. Whenever there are people in the central government carrying on tricks and deception, I call upon the local areas to rise up and attack them, I call upon Sun Wukong to vigorously wreak havoc in Heaven. It is also necessary to deal with those people who protect the “Jade Emperor.” Peng Zhen was a tiny personality who sneaked into the Party, this is not so very astonishing for he can be brought down with one finger. “The West Wind Scatters Leaves Over Changan” tells our comrades that it is not necessary to worry endlessly.²⁴² “Where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself; without struggle, the class enemies will not fall.”

I am in favor of the opinions expressed by Lu Xun. One cannot do without reading books. But one must not read too much. If you do not read books, others may deceive you.

Appearance can be seen, but not essence. Essence can manifest itself through appearance. Peng Zhen’s essence has been hidden for 30 years.

Is it necessary to tell our Albanian comrades? There is nothing we can’t tell people.

²⁴² Poem written by Mao in January 1963. See “Reply to Comrade Guo Moruo”, Mao Zedong, *Poems*, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1976, pp. 46-47.

Letter to Comrade Lin Biao (The Whole Country Should Become a Great School of Mao Tse-tung's Thought)

May 7, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 259-260.

Translation: Beijing Review, August 5, 1966, Vol. IX, No. 32, page 6-7.

Dear Comrade Lin Biao,

I have received the report from the Rear Service Department which you sent me on May 6. I think it is an excellent plan. Is it possible to send this report to all the military districts and ask them to hold discussions of it among the cadres at the army and division levels? Their views should be reported to the Military Commission and through it to the Center for approval. After that, suitable directives should be issued to them. Please consider this [suggestion].

In the absence of a world war, our army should be a great school. Even under conditions of the third world war, it can still serve as a great school. In addition to fighting the war, it must do other work. In the eight years of the second world war, did we not do just that in the anti-Japanese base areas? In this great school, our armymen should learn politics, military affairs and culture. They can also engage in agricultural production and side occupations, run some medium-sized or small factories and manufacture a number of products to meet their own needs or for exchange with the state at equal values. They can also do mass work and take part in the socialist education movement in the factories and villages. After the socialist education movement is over, they can always find mass work to do, so that the army will for ever be at one with the masses. They should also participate in the struggles of the cultural revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie whenever they occur. In this way, the army can concurrently study, engage in agriculture, run factories and do mass work. Of course, these tasks should be properly co-ordinated, and a distinction should be made between the primary and secondary tasks. Each army unit should engage in one or two of the three fields of activity—agriculture, industry and mass work, but not in all three at the same time. In this way, our army of several million will be able to play a very great role indeed.

While the main activity of the workers is in industry, they should at the same time also study military affairs, politics and culture. They, too, should take part in the socialist education movement and in criticizing the bourgeoisie. Where conditions permit, they should also engage in agricultural production and side occupations, as is done at the Daqing Oilfield.

While the main activity of the peasants in the communes is in agriculture (including forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations and fisheries), they, too, should at the same time study military affairs, politics and culture. Where conditions permit, they should also collectively run some small factories. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie.

This holds good for students too. While their main task is to study, they should in addition to their studies, learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie. The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue.

Where conditions permit, those working in commerce, in the service trades and in Party and government organizations should also do the same.

What has been said above is neither new nor original. Many people have been doing this for some time, but it has not yet become a widespread [phenomenon]. Our army has been working in this way for decades. Now it is on the threshold of new developments.

The Big-Character Poster at Beijing University

June 1, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 261.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 113.

[Quoted in a speech of Kang Sheng on September 8]

This big-character poster at Beijing University is a Marxist-Leninist one which should be at once broadcast and published in the newspapers.

A Paragraph Added to the Article *Hail a Big-Character Poster at Beijing University*

June 2, 1966

Source: People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), June 2, 1967.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 267.

Translation: Beijing Review, September 9, 1966, Vol. IX, No. 37, page 21-22.

All erroneous leadership that endangers the revolution should not be accepted without qualification: it should be firmly resisted.

Organize and Expand the Ranks of the Proletarian Left

July 3, 1966

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1966, No. 9, page 30.

Translation: Beijing Review, July 8, 1966, Vol. IX, No. 28, page 29.

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is essential to organize and expand the ranks of the proletarian left and rely on them to mobilize, unite with and educate the masses.

Talk to Leaders of the Center

July 21, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 264-265.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 253-255.

Chairman Mao said that the “May Twenty-fifth” big-character poster of Nie Yuanzi²⁴³ is a manifesto of the Chinese Paris Commune of the sixties of

²⁴³ A woman instructor at Beijing University who was the first to write a big-character poster, inaugurating the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

the twentieth century, the significance of which surpasses the Paris Commune. This kind of big-character poster, we are incapable of writing.

[Several Young Pioneers wrote big-character posters about their fathers saying that their fathers had forgotten their past, did not talk to them about Mao Zedong thought, but did ask them about the marks they got at school and rewarded them when they got good]

Chairman Mao asked Comrade Chen Boda to pass on a message to these little friends: “Your big-character posters are very well written.”

[*He continued:*] I say to you all: youth is the great army of the Great Cultural Revolution! It must be mobilized to the full.

After my return to Beijing I felt very unhappy and desolate. Some colleges even had their gates shut. There were even some which suppressed the student movement. Who is it who suppressed the student movement? Only the Beiyang Warlords.²⁴⁴ It is anti-Marxist for communists to fear the student movement. Some people talk daily about the mass line and serving the people, but instead they follow the bourgeois line and serve the bourgeoisie. The Central Committee of the Youth League should stand on the side of the student movement. But instead it stands on the side of suppression of the student movement. Who opposes the great Cultural Revolution? The American imperialists, the Soviet revisionists, the Japanese revisionists and the reactionaries.

To use the excuse of distinguishing between “inner” and “outer”²⁴⁵ is to fear revolution. To cover over big-character posters which have been put up, such things cannot be allowed. This is a basic error of orientation. They must immediately change direction, and smash all the old conventions.

We believe in the masses. To become teachers of the masses we must first be the students of the masses. The present great Cultural Revolution is a heaven-and-earth-shaking event. Can we, dare we, cross the pass into socialism? This

²⁴⁴ The new-style army under the control of Yuan Shikai during the last years of the Empire was known as the Beiyang Lujun or Northern Army. The term “Beiyang Warlords” is employed both of Yuan and his subordinates during the period 1911-16, and more loosely as a collective designation for the several cliques into which his epigones split up during the decade following his death. Mao is probably thinking here in particular of the warlord-dominated government in Beijing in 1919, which suppressed the May Fourth student demonstrations.

²⁴⁵ This distinction between “inner” and “outer” probably refers broadly to the drawing of rigid boundaries in a variety of contexts, ranging from Party and non-party at one extreme to Chinese and foreigners at the other. The crucial point at issue in the summer of 1966 (and indeed subsequently, throughout the whole of the Cultural Revolution) was, however, that of the status of the CPC as an order set apart from the rest of society.

pass leads to the final destruction of classes, and the reduction of the three great differences.

To oppose, especially to oppose “authoritative” bourgeois ideology, is to destroy. Without this destruction, socialism cannot be established nor can we carry out, first struggle, second criticism, third transformation. Sitting in offices listening to reports is no good. The only way is to rely on the masses, trust the masses, struggle to the end. We must be prepared for the revolution to be turned against us. The Party and government leadership and responsible party comrades should be prepared for this. If you now want to carry the revolution through to the end, you must discipline yourself, reform yourself in order to keep up with it. Otherwise you can only keep out of it.

There are some comrades who struggle fiercely against others, but cannot struggle with themselves. In this way, they will never be able to cross the pass.

It is up to you to lead the fire towards your own bodies, to fan the flames to make them burn. Do you dare to do this? Because it will burn your own heads.

The comrades replied thus: “We are prepared. If we’re not up to it, we will resign our jobs. We live as Communist Party members and shall die as Communist Party members. It doesn’t do to live a life of sofas and electric fans.”
[*Chairman Mao said:*]

It will not do to set rigid standards for the masses. When Beijing University saw that the students were rising up, they tried to set standards. They euphemistically called it “returning to the right track.” In fact it was “diverting to the wrong track.”

There were some schools which labeled the students as counter-revolutionaries. (Liaison officer Chang Yen went out and labeled twenty-nine people as counter-revolutionary.)

[*Chairman Mao said:*] In this way you put the masses on the side of the opposition. You should not fear bad people. How many of them are there after all? The great majority of the student masses are good.

Someone raised the question of disturbances. What do we do in such cases about taking legal action?

[*Chairman Mao said:*] What are you afraid of? When bad people are involved you prove that they are bad. What do you fear about good people? You should replace the word “fear” by the word “dare.” You must demonstrate once and for all whether or not the pass into socialism has been crossed. You must put politics in command, go among the masses and be at one with them, and carry on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution even better.

Speech at a Meeting with Regional Secretaries and Members of the Cultural Revolutionary Group of the Central Committee

July 22, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 263-264.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 256-259.

Now all the regional secretaries and members of the Cultural Revolution Group are present. The task of this meeting is to attend to our documents, and primarily to change the method of sending out work teams so that revolutionary teachers and students in schools, as well as some middle-of-the-road people, can organize school Cultural Revolution Groups to lead the Great Cultural Revolution. Only they understand the affairs of the schools. The work teams do not understand. There are some work teams who made a mess of things. The purpose of the Great Cultural Revolution in the schools is to carry out struggle, criticism, transformation. The work teams had the effect of obstructing the movement. Can we carry out struggle and transformation? For example, Jian Bozan²⁴⁶ wrote a great many books, yet you still haven't read them. How can you struggle against him and transform him? Where schools are concerned it is a case of "When the temple is small the gods seem big, and when the pool is shallow the turtles seem plentiful." Therefore we must rely on internal forces in the schools. The work teams won't do. I won't do, you won't do. The provincial party committees won't do either. If it's struggle and transformation you want, you must rely on the schools themselves and the units themselves. It is no good relying on the work teams. I wonder whether the work teams can be changed into liaison staff. If they are changed into advisers they will have too much power. Perhaps they can be called observers. The work teams obstruct the revolution, but there are some among them who don't. If they obstruct the revolution they will unavoidably become counter-revolutionary. The Communications University in Xian does not allow people to telephone and does not allow people to be sent to the Center. Why should they fear people going to the Center? Let them come and besiege the State Council. We must draw up documents to the effect that they may telephone or send delegates. Will it do

²⁴⁶ Jian Bozan, see note 219 on p. 243 of this volume.

to get so frightened? When the newspapers in Xian and Nanjing were besieged for three days, the people concerned were so afraid that their souls left their bodies. Are you afraid like this? You people! If you don't make revolution, the revolution will be directed against you. Some districts do not allow people to besiege newspaper offices, go to the provincial party committee or go to see the State Council. Why are you so afraid? When they get to the State Council all they see are little unimportant generals, and so nothing can be cleared up. Why are things like this? Even if you won't show your faces I will show mine. This word "fear" is always coming to the fore—fear of counterrevolution, fear of people using knives and guns. Can there really be so many counter-revolutionaries? These past few days Kang Sheng,²⁴⁷ Chen Boda and Jiang Qing have been going down to schools to read the big-character posters. How can you get by without perceptual knowledge? None of you go down because you are busy with routine matters; but you should go down even if it means neglecting routine matters, in order to get perceptual knowledge. In Nanjing they did things a bit better. They didn't stop students from coming to the Center.

[*Kang Sheng interrupted:*] "Nanjing had three great debates. The first debate was about whether the New China Daily was revolutionary or not; the second was about whether the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee was revolutionary or not. The debate concluded that the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee was after all revolutionary. The third debate was about whether Kuang Yaming should be paraded in the street wearing a dunce's hat."

[*Chairman Mao resumed:*] In the schools the majority is revolutionary, the minority is not revolutionary. As to whether Kuang Yaming will parade the streets wearing a dunce's hat, the conclusion of the debate will naturally clarify this point.

During this meeting the comrades who are attending it should go to Beijing University and the Broadcasting Institute to read the big-character posters. You should go to the places where there is the most trouble and take a look there. Today you aren't going because we have to attend to the documents. When you

²⁴⁷ Kang Sheng (1898-1975) spent considerable time in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, and was long regarded above all as a specialist in intelligence and security matters. Beginning in the mid-fifties, he began to play a role both in higher education, and in liaison with foreign Communist parties, participating in several important delegations for discussions with the Soviets. He became a member of the Secretariat of the Politburo in September 1962, at the Tenth Plenum. His closeness to Mao, and his interest in cultural matters, are underlined by his participation in Mao's talks with Chen Poet about philosophy in 1964. In mid-1966 he became member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, and he played an important role thereafter throughout the Cultural Revolution.

read the big-character posters you can say that you are there to learn, to support their revolution; you go there to light the fire of revolution and support the revolutionary teachers and students, not to listen to counter-revolutionaries and right-wing talk. After two months you still haven't got the slightest perceptual knowledge and you are still bureaucratic. If you go there you will be surrounded by the students and should be surrounded by them, and when you start talking to a few of them they will surround you. At the Broadcasting Institute over a hundred people were beaten up. There is one good thing about our era: the left-wingers get beaten up by the right-wingers, and this toughens up the left-wingers. To send the work teams for six months or even a year won't work, only people from on the spot will do. The first thing is struggle, the second is criticism, the third is transformation. Struggle means destruction, and transformation means establishing something new. It won't do to change the teaching materials in half a year's time. The thing to do is to delete, to abandon, to condense and to simplify. Materials which are incorrect or repetitious can be cut by one third to one half.

[*Wang Renzhong interrupted:*] We should cut out two-thirds and study *Quotations from Chairman Mao*.

[*Chairman Mao resumed:*] Political teaching materials, central directives and newspaper editorials are guidelines for the masses; they mustn't be regarded as dogmas. The problem of beatings-up hasn't been mentioned in our circulars. This won't do. This is a matter of our basic direction and of laying down guidelines. Our general policy should be quickly established. In carrying out transformation we must rely on the revolutionary teachers and students and leftists in the schools. It doesn't matter if rightists join the cultural revolutionary committees of the schools; they can be useful as teachers by negative example, but the rightists shouldn't be concentrated together. The Beijing Municipal Party Committee doesn't need so many people. When there are too many people around there will be telephoning and the issuing of orders. There should be a wholesale cut in secretaries. When I was working on the Front Committee²⁴⁸ I had a secretary called Xiang Bei. Later during our retreat we did not have secretaries any more. It's enough just to have someone to receive and dispatch documents.

[*Kang Sheng interrupted:*] The Chairman has talked about four things. One is the reorganization of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee. This has been

²⁴⁸ The leading party organization in Jinggangshan days.

done. The second is the reorganization of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, which has also been carried out. The third is the elimination of the Five Man Group of the Cultural Revolution, which has also been done.²⁴⁹ The fourth is the transformation of certain ministries into departments, which hasn't been done.

[*Chairman Mao replied:*] That's right, regarding ministers, those who can manage their work don't have to be changed. They can be called ministers, heads of departments, heads of bureaus, heads of offices, but those who don't do their jobs should be changed into the Department of Metallurgy, the Department of Coal.

[*Someone interrupted:*] Beijing University carried out four big debates. Was the incident of June 18 a counter-revolutionary affair?²⁵⁰ Some say yes, because there were riff-raff involved in it, but some say no, and that the work team made mistakes. Over forty people in the Beijing University Middle School propose sacking the head of the work team, Zhang Chengxian.

[*Chairman Mao replied:*] There are many work teams which obstruct the movement and they include Zhang Chengxian. But we mustn't arrest people indiscriminately. What constitutes counter-revolutionary activity? It's simply murder, arson, and spreading poison. Such people you can arrest. You can let those who write reactionary slogans go free for the time being so that you can have a confrontation. You can consider the matter again when you have struggled against them.

²⁴⁹ See note 241 on p. 268 of this volume.

²⁵⁰ Three days later, Jiang Qing, in a talk at Beijing University, declared that in the Chairman's view this incident was not counter-revolutionary, but revolutionary. He had arrived at this opinion after studying all the relevant documents in Wuhan, where he was at the time. According to the Red Guard editors, the incident arose when the students at Beijing University "brought their righteous indignation into play and spontaneously waged struggle against those in authority taking the capitalist road and other demons and monsters"; in the process, "some people were beaten up." Those "in authority" obviously included both Lu Bing and the university administration, and the "work team" sent to the university by the party organization.

Negation of the Negation

July 30, 1966

Source: Untitled Anthology, page 16.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 115.

[Quoted by Chen Boda]

Even the transformation from a quantitative to a qualitative change and the negation of negation are both unifications of contradictions. However you argue, they are still struggles of opposites. Dialectics can be made monistic, never pluralistic. Nature and society are full of contradictions. As soon as a contradiction is resolved, a new one emerges. There is no world or society without contradictions. Sometimes we may not be able to name a specific contradiction, but it exists all the same. Contradictions are the motivating force of the development of everything. This has been so in the past, is so at present, and will be so in the future.

A Letter to the Red Guards of Qinghua University Middle School

August 1, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 266.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 260-261.

Red Guard comrades of Qinghua University Middle School:

I have received both the big-character posters which you sent on July 28 as well as the letter which you sent to me, asking for an answer. The two big-character posters which you wrote on June 24 and July 4 express your wrath against and your denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs, all of whom exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups. They show that it is right to rebel against reactionaries. I warmly support you. I also give enthusiastic support to the big-character poster of the Red

Flag Combat Group of Beijing University Middle School which said that it is right to rebel against the reactionaries; and to the very good revolutionary speech given by comrade Peng Xiaomeng representing their Red Flag Combat Group at the big meeting attended by all the teachers, students, administration and workers of Beijing University on July 25. Here I want to say that I myself as well as my revolutionary comrades-in-arms all take the same attitude. No matter where they are, in Beijing or anywhere in China, I will give enthusiastic support to all who take an attitude similar to yours in the Cultural Revolution movement. Another thing, while supporting you, at the same time we ask you to pay attention to doing your best to unite with all people that can be united. As for those who have committed serious mistakes, after their mistakes have been pointed out you should offer them a way out of their difficulties by giving them work to do, and enabling them to correct their mistakes and become new men. Marx said that the proletariat must emancipate not only itself but all mankind. Without emancipating all mankind the proletariat cannot achieve its own final emancipation. Comrades, please pay attention to this truth as well.

Interjection at Enlarged Meeting of CCPCC Standing Committee

August 4, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 266-267.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

The Northern Warlords [early Nationalist period, 1916-1927] who came after the period of relative peace and order and the Kuomintang that followed were all repressive of students. The present Communist Party also suppresses student movements, and what difference is there between this and Lu Bing and Jiang Nanxiang? The Central Committee has ordered a suspension of classes for half a year in order to engage exclusively in the Great Cultural Revolution. But once the students arose, it again repressed them. It was not because no one advanced dissenting views, but rather because no one listened to them. There is another view which is rather interesting. To put it lightly, this is a question of orientation. Actually, the question of orientation is a central question. It is a question of line which runs counter to Marxism, and is a problem which must

be resolved by Marxism. I sense danger. They themselves ordered the students to make revolution, but when everybody rose up, they wanted to suppress them. The so-called orientation and line, the so-called trust in the masses, and the so-called Marxism are all false and have been for many years already. If you run into such things, they could blow up. They clearly stand on the side of the bourgeoisie and oppose the proletariat. [You] say to oppose the new municipal committee is anti-party. The new municipal committee suppresses the student movement so why not oppose it?

I have not gone down to stay at a selected basic unit. Some people stand more and more on the side of the bourgeoisie and oppose the proletariat the longer they stay at selected basic units. To stipulate that all contacts between one class and another, one department and another and one school and another is to repress the students is madness. Some people who came from the Central Committee are disaffected with the Central Committee's comments of June 18, saying that it should not be uttered. The big-character poster put out by Nie Yuanzi and six others of Beijing University is the Paris Commune manifesto of the 1960s—the Beijing Commune. It is a good thing to put out big-character posters; they should be announced to the people of the entire world! Nonetheless, in Xuefeng's report, it is said that the Party has party discipline and the state has state law, and there must be a distinction between internal and external affairs. Big-character posters should not be posted outside the gate, so that foreigners cannot see them. In fact, with the exception of secret places, such as the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Public Security which should be areas proscribed to foreigners, what's so important about other places? Even under a proletarian dictatorship, the masses should be allowed to petition, demonstrate, and litigate. Moreover, freedom of speech, assembly and publication have been inscribed in the Constitution. Judging from this act of suppressing the Great Cultural Revolution of the students, I don't believe there is genuine democracy and genuine Marxism. It is a case of standing on the side of the bourgeoisie to oppose the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Central Committee of the League has not only failed to support the young student movement, but has suppressed the student movement. I think this should be dealt with properly.

Bombard the Headquarters—My First Big-Character Poster

August 5, 1966

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1967, No. 13, page 3.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 267.

Translation: Beijing Review, No. 33, August 11, 1967, Vol. X, page 5.

China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster and Commentator's article on it in *Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)* are indeed superbly written! Comrades, please read them again. But in the last fifty days or so some leading comrades from the central down to the local levels have acted in a diametrically opposite way. Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have stood facts on their head and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with themselves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous! Viewed in connection with the Right deviation in 1962 and the wrong tendency of 1964 which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, shouldn't this make one wide awake?

To the Revolutionary Masses of Beijing

August 10, 1966

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1966, No. 11, page 9.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 267.

Translation: Beijing Review, August 19, 1966, Vol. IX, No. 34, page 9.

You should pay attention to state affairs and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end!

Speech at the Closing Ceremony of the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee

August 12, 1966

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui)*, 1968, Vol. 5, page 268.

Translation: *Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People*, page 262-263.

With regard to the Ninth Congress, I think it's time we made some preparations. We should prepare to make a decision as to when the Ninth Congress will be held. It has been a good many years; in two years' time it will be ten years since the Second Session of the Eighth Congress. Now the Ninth Congress must be held, probably at a suitable time next year. We must now prepare for it. May I propose that we entrust the necessary preparations to the Politburo and its Standing Committee?

Whether the decisions taken by this conference are correct or incorrect will be shown by future events.²⁵¹ But it seems that our decisions are welcomed by the masses. For example one of the important decisions of the Central Committee concerns the Great Cultural Revolution. The broad masses of students and revolutionary teachers support us and resist the policies of the past. Our decision was based on their resistance to past policies. But whether this decision can be implemented will ultimately depend on the action of leaders at all levels, including those present today and those who are not. Take for example the question of reliance on the masses. One way is to implement the mass line. Another way is not to implement the mass line. It must by no means be taken for granted that everything which is written down in our resolutions will be implemented by all our party committees and all our comrades. There will always be some who are unwilling to do so. Things are perhaps better than in the past, since in the past we had no such publicly taken decisions. Furthermore, there are organizational guarantees for the implementation of these decisions. This time our organization has undergone some changes. The adjustments in the full and alternate membership of the Politburo, in the Secretariat and in the membership of the Standing Committee have guaranteed the implementation of the *Decision and Communiqué of the Central Committee*.

²⁵¹ The decisions are the *Resolutions of the Eleventh Plenum of the CC of the CPC*, commonly called the *Sixteen Articles*. See Appendix 4, pp. 441-450.

Comrades who have made mistakes should always be offered a way out. They should be allowed to correct their mistakes. You should not first take the view that they have made mistakes and then deny them the chance to correct them. Our policy is “learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient,” “observe and help,” and “unity-criticism-unity.” Do we have a party outside our Party? I think that we do, and that we have factions inside the Party. We used to criticize the Kuomintang, who said: “No party outside the Party and no factions inside the Party.” Some people put it, “No party outside the Party is autocracy; no factions inside the Party is nonsense.” The same applies to us. You may say that there are no factions in our Party, but there are. For instance, there are two factions as regards attitude toward the mass movements. It is just a question of which faction is the majority and which is the minority. If we had delayed holding this meeting a few months longer, things would have been in much more of a mess. So it is a good thing that this meeting was held. It has produced results.

We Should Never Divorce Ourselves from the Masses

August 17, 1966

Source: People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), August 17, 1966, page 1.

Translation: Beijing Review, September 2, 1966, Vol. IX, No. 36, page 24-25.

We should never divorce ourselves from the masses. In this way we shall be able to know the masses, to understand them, and be with them, and so be able to serve the people well.

Comment to Lin Biao at the First Red Guard Rally

August 18, 1966

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1966, No. 14, page 1.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 268.

Translation: Beijing Review, August 26, 1966, Vol. IX, No. 35, page 3.

This is a movement of a momentous scale. It has indeed mobilized the masses. It is of very great significance to the revolutionization of the thinking of the people throughout the country.

Beijing and the Rest of the Country

August 21, 1966

Source: Untitled Anthology, page 18.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 127-128.

[Reported by Comrade X in a speech to the students of the University of Communications, Xian, and of Chongqing and Sichuan Universities]

Let the rest of the country come to Beijing or Beijing go to the rest of the country... Let [those who live] at other places come and see. After all, the trains are free now, are they not?

Work Teams (1)

August 22, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 269.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 128.

[Reported by Zhou Enlai in a speech to the students at Qinghua University]

Almost ninety per cent of the work teams throughout the whole country have committed general mistakes in their orientation.

Talk at the Central Work Conference

August 23, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 269.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 35-36.

The main question is what policy to adopt towards the so-called chaos at various places. In my opinion, we should let the chaos go on for a few months and just firmly believe that the majority is good and only the minority bad. It does not matter if there are no provincial [party] committees. There are still district and county [party] committees! The *People's Daily* has published an editorial, calling on the workers, peasants, and soldiers to stop interfering with students' activities, and advocating non-violent, not violent, struggles.

In my view, Beijing is not all that chaotic. The students held a meeting of 100,000 and then captured the murderers. This caused some panic. Beijing is too gentle. Appeals have been issued, [but after all] there are very few hooligans. Stop interfering for the time being. It is still too early to say anything definite about the reorganization of the center of the [Youth] League; let us wait four months. Decisions taken hurriedly can do only harm. Work teams were dispatched in a hurry; the left was struggled against in a hurry; meetings of 100,000 were called in a hurry; appeals were issued in a hurry; opposition to the new municipal [party] committee of Beijing was said, in a hurry, to be

tantamount to an opposition to the [party] Center. Why is it impermissible to oppose it? I have issued a big-character poster myself, *Bombard the Headquarters!* Some problems have to be settled soon. For instance, the workers, peasants, and soldiers should not interfere with the students' great Cultural Revolution. Let the students go into the street. What is wrong with their writing big-character posters or going into the street? Let foreigners take pictures. They take shots to show aspects of our backward tendencies. But it does not matter. Let the imperialists make a scandal about us.

Work Teams (2)

August 26, 1966

Source: Untitled Anthology, page 16.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 128.

[Reported by the first secretary of the Sichuan provincial committee of the CPC [Liao Chigao] at Sichuan University]

It will not do to depend on the work teams coming from the Navy, Air Force, and governmental agencies. They neither teach nor learn. How can they understand the conditions in the schools? There is Jian Bozan at Beijing University who has written many books and essays. Have you read them? You see, how do you [begin to] criticize them? The Cultural Revolution at schools must not depend on work teams; nor must it depend on you [those attending the eleventh plenum—Ed.] or me. It must depend, on the revolutionary teachers and students at schools.

Dunce Caps and Fist-fights

August 30, 1966

Source: Untitled Anthology, page 17.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 128-129.

[Reported by Chen Yi in a speech to the students of the Foreign Language School]

I did things like this in the past. I beat people up and put dunce caps on landlords and local ruffians. But Chairman said: **“We must not do it this way. This is the peasants’ way, not our way.”**

Violent Struggles

August 31, 1966

Source: Untitled Anthology, page 16-17.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 129.

[Reported by the first secretary of the Hunan provincial committee of the CCP at a meeting of the staff and students of the colleges in Changsha]

[Chairman Mao wrote these eight characters in the Sixteen Articles:]

Yao yong wendou; bu yong wudou. [wage peaceful, not violent, struggles]

(These eight characters were added by Chairman Mao personally; the original draft [of the 16 Articles] did not have them... Words to the effect “Do not beat people up” were copied from the 23 Articles and they were crossed out by the Chairman who personally wrote these eight characters.)

Repressing Students

September 2, 1966

Source: Untitled Anthology, page 16.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 129.

[Report by the first secretary of the Hunan provincial committee of the CCP at the meeting of the cadres of the provincial government and party organizations]

None of those who repressed student movements have ended well. The Manchu government repressed them; how did it end? The Northern warlords did the same. How did they end? Chiang Kai-shek repressed them; how did he end? Lu Bing of Beijing University and Jiang Nanxiang of Qinghua University did exactly the same; how did they end? The work teams sent out later also repressed them. Now they have met their doom. Of course, we must add that the blame goes to those who sent them.

Instructions on the Report on the Situation in Changsha, Qingdao, Xian and Other Places

September 7, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 270.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 130.

Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai, Tao Zhu, [Chen] Boda, [Wang] Renzhong, and Jiang Qing:

I have read the attached document. The incidents in Qingdao, Changsha, and Xian are similar. They are caused by the opposition of organized workers and peasants against students and are all wrong. They must not be allowed to continue. Try to issue a directive from the Center to stop them and then publish editorials to tell the workers and peasants to cease interfering with student movements. Nothing like this has happened in Beijing, except that the People's

Congress drafted 600 peasants into the city to protect Guo Qiuying²⁵². Pass the experience of Beijing on to other places.

I think the views of Tan Qilong and the vice-mayor [of Qingdao?] are correct.

Leadership of the Revolution

September 7, 1966

Source: Untitled Anthology, page 18.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 130.

[Reported by Chou En-lai at the Chinese People's University]

In any revolution, its internal causes are fundamental and its external ones are supplementary.

A revolution depends on an inner core. This, the bourgeois faction in authority and the faction in authority which has committed mistakes know best; [their] peripheral organizations merely add fuel to the fire.

Grasp the Revolution; Promote Production

October 24, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 272.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 132.

Sent direct to Comrade [Chen] Boda:

I have read the revised draft [of your "Summing up the Past Two Months"]. It is very good. Please consider the insertion at some place of the two phrases:

²⁵² Guo Qiuying (1909-1985) was the Secretary of the Beijing Party Committee and the vice president of the Renmin University. He was accused by Kang Sheng of having plotted a coup with Peng Zhen and He Long (the "February Coup").

“Grasp the Revolution; Promote Production.” [The Summing Up] should be printed in pamphlets in large quantities and each party cell and each red guard group must have at least one copy.

Talk at the Report Meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee (1)

October 24, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 276.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 40-42.

Deng Xiaoping is deaf. Whenever we are at a meeting together, he sits far away from me. For six years, since 1959, he has not made a general report of work to me. He always gets Peng Zhen to do the work of the Secretariat [of the Party] for him. Do you say that he is able? [*Nie Rongzhen*²⁵³ says: “That bloke is lazy.”]

My view of the situation is that it is big in the middle and small at both ends. Only Henan puts the word “dare” ahead of all others; most people put the word “fear” in first place; only a very few people firmly place the word

²⁵³ Nie Rongzhen (1899-1992) a man of Chongqing, Sichuan, who studied at a middle school in Chongqing before going to France as a work-study student. In 1922 he joined the communist group organized by Zhou Enlai and went to work in Belgium. In the next year he returned to Paris to become a communist party member, whence to Moscow to study in a military school. In 1927 he took part in the famous Nanchang Uprising on August 1 and the Guangdong Commune in December. He did not go to the Jiangxi soviet until 1931 and soon was appointed the political commissar of the 1st Army Corps. His co-operation with Lin Biao, commander of the Army Corps, was resumed in 1937 when he became the political commissar of the 115th Division of the 8th Route Army, in which capacity he was chiefly responsible for the creation of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei border region. In 1945 he became a member of the CC of the CPC, and ten years later a marshal of the PLA.

“revolt” in front of other words. Anti-party and anti-socialist people include Bo Yibo²⁵⁴, He Changgong²⁵⁵, Wang Feng²⁵⁶, and also Li Fanwu.²⁵⁷

Real “four-kind” cadres (the rightists²⁵⁸) make up only one, two, or three per cent [*Zhou Enlai says*: “More than that now.”] Never mind how many more. We shall suppress them (*pingfan*). Some will not be kept where they are; they should be transferred to other places.

In Henan one [party] secretary does productive work while five others receive [the revolutionaries]. In the whole country there is only Liu Jianxun²⁵⁹ who has written a big-character poster to give support to the minority [the reactionaries]. That is a good thing.

What about Nie Yuanzi²⁶⁰? [*Kang Sheng says*: “She must be protected.” Li Xiannian²⁶¹ says: “All those who wrote the first big-character posters should be protected.”] Good!

(On the question of the great “get-together” (*dachuanlian*)²⁶² the Premier says: “It should be done with proper preparation.”) What preparation? Where cannot one find a bowl of rice.²⁶³

There are different views on the [present] situation. In Tianjin half a million people went to Wan Xiaotang’s funeral and they thought the situation was

²⁵⁴ Bo Yibo (1908-2007) joined the CPC when he was a student at the Taiyuan Teachers’ Training College in 1926. Later he studied at Beijing University and led the Sacrifice League in Shanxi during the Anti-Japanese war. He was elected to the CC, CPC, in 1945. In 1959 he became one of the deputy Premiers in charge of industrial development.

²⁵⁵ He Changgong (1902-1987) studied in France and Belgium and joined the CPC in 1921. In 1929 he was under Peng Dehuai and in the following year the C.O. of the 8th Red Army. In 1952 he was the deputy Minister of the 2nd Ministry of Heavy Industries and two years later, the deputy Minister of the Ministry of Geology.

²⁵⁶ Wang Feng (1910-1998) was born in Shaanxi and studied at Beijing University. Since 1949 he had been working in Northwest China and held the post of the first secretary of the CPC Gansu branch.

²⁵⁷ Li Fanwu (1912-1986), a deputy Minister of the Ministry of Forestry in 1952 and the secretary of the CPC Heilongjiang branch.

²⁵⁸ The wealthy, rightist, reactionary, and bad.

²⁵⁹ Liu Jianxun (1913-1983); at this time he was the first secretary of the CPC Henan branch, and concurrently first political commissar of the military district of Henan.

²⁶⁰ Nie Yuanzi, see note 244 on p. 272 of this volume.

²⁶¹ Li Xiannian, (1909-1992), born in Huangang, Hubei, and worked as a carpenter. He joined the CPC in 1927. In 1954 he was made a deputy Premier in special charge of finance. At the 8th Congress, 1956, he was elected to the Politburo and the Secretariat of the CPC.

²⁶² This literally means to go out and get people together.

²⁶³ This proverb means that life is much easier than one imagines.

excellent. In fact, that was a demonstration against the Party, an attempt to repress the living by using the dead.

Li Fuchun²⁶⁴ has been asked to rest for a year. Even I do not know who is in charge of the Planning Commission. [Li] Fuzhun respects the [party] discipline. He told some things to the Secretariat which were not reported to me. Deng Xiaoping respects me but keeps me at arm's length.

Talk at the Report Meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee (2)

October 24, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 272-274.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 264-269.

Mao Zedong: What is there to be frightened of? Have you read the brief report by Li Xuefeng?²⁶⁵ His two children ran off and when they came back, they gave Li Xuefeng a lecture. Why are you old leaders so frightened of the Red Guards? They haven't beat you up and yet you just won't examine yourselves." Wu Xiuquan has four children and they all belong to different factions and lots of their schoolmates go to his home, sometimes ten or more at a time. When you have had more contact with them then you realize there is nothing to be afraid of; instead you think they are quite lovable. If one wants to educate others the educationist should first be educated. You are not clear-headed and dare not face the Red Guards, nor speak the truth to the students; you act like officials and big shots. First of all you don't dare to see people and then you don't dare to speak. You have been making revolution for many decades, but the longer you do it the stupider you get. In the letter Shaoqi wrote to Jiang

²⁶⁴ Li Fuchun (1900-1975) born in Changsha, Hunan, studied in France as a work-study student, where he joined the Communist Party. He took part in the Nanchang Uprising of 1927. In 1945 he was a member of the Politburo and in 1950 the Minister of the Ministry of Heavy Industries. He has been in charge of the National Planning for economic construction.

²⁶⁵ Li Xuefeng (1907-2003), First Secretary of the CPC North China Bureau, had replaced Peng Zhen as First Secretary of the Beijing Party Branch in June 1966. Mao subsequently identified him as one of Lin Biao's co-conspirators.

Weiqing, he criticized Jiang Weiqing²⁶⁶ and said that he was stupid, but is he himself any cleverer?

*Mao Zedong (asking Liu Lantao)*²⁶⁷: When you have gone back, what do you have in mind to do?

Liu Lantao: I first want to go back and have a look.

Mao Zedong: When you speak you always mince your words.

[*Mao Zedong asked Zhou Enlai about the progress of the meeting.*]

Zhou Enlai: It's almost finished. We will meet for another half-day tomorrow. As for the concrete problems, we can solve them according to basic principles when we get back.

Mao Zedong (asking Li Jingquan): How's Liao Zhigao²⁶⁸ getting on?

Li Jingquan: In the beginning he wasn't very clear, but in the latter part of the meeting he was somewhat better.

Mao Zedong: What's all this about being consistently correct? You yourself did a bunk. You were frightened out of your wits and rushed off to stay in the military district. When you get back you must pull yourself together and work properly. It's bad to paste up big-character posters about Liu and Teng in the streets. Mustn't we allow people to make mistakes, allow people to make revolution, allow them to change? Let the Red Guards read *The True Story of Ah Q*.²⁶⁹

Mao Zedong: "The meeting this time is somewhat better. At the last meeting it was all indoctrination and no progress. Moreover we had no experience. Now we have had two months' more experience. Altogether we have had less than five months' experience. The democratic revolution was carried on for twenty-eight years; we made many mistakes and many people died. The socialist revolution has been carried on for seventeen years, but the cultural revolution has only been carried on for five months. It will take at least five years to get some experience. One big-character poster, the Red Guards, the great exchange

²⁶⁶ Jiang Weiqing (1910-2000), first secretary of Jiangsu Provincial Committee.

²⁶⁷ Liu Lantao (1910-1997), First Secretary of the CPC Northwest Bureau, and political commissar of the Lanzhou Military Region.

²⁶⁸ Li Jingquan (1952-1965), First Secretary of the CPC Southwest Bureau since 1961, was thus the direct superior of Liao Zhigao, about whom Mao asks him here. Liao Zhigao was first secretary of Sichuan Provincial Committee.

²⁶⁹ *The True Story of Ah Q*, is a famous novel by the great Chinese writer Lu Xun.

of revolutionary experience, and nobody—not even I—expected that all the provinces and cities would be thrown into confusion. The students also made some mistakes, but the mistakes were mainly made by us big shots.

Mao Zedong (asking Li Xiannian): How did your meeting go today?

Li Xiannian: The Institute of Finance and Economics held an accusation meeting, and I wanted to make a self-examination, but they wouldn't let me speak.

Mao Zedong: You should go there again tomorrow and make your examination, otherwise people will say you have done a bunk.

Li Xiannian: Tomorrow I have to go abroad.

Mao Zedong: You should also tell them that in the past it used to be *Sanniang* who taught her son.²⁷⁰ Nowadays it's the son who teaches *Sanniang*. I think you are a bit lacking in spirit.

If they don't want to listen to your self-examination, you must still go ahead and make one. If they accuse you, you should admit your mistakes. The trouble was stirred up by the Center, the responsibility rests with the Center, but the regions also have some responsibility. What I'm responsible for is the division into first and second lines. Why did we make this division into first and second lines? The first reason is that my health is not very good; the second was the lesson of the Soviet Union. Malenkov was not mature enough, and before Stalin died he had not wielded power. Every time he proposed a toast, he fawned and flattered. I wanted to establish their prestige before I died; I never imagined that things might move in the opposite direction.

*Tao Zhu*²⁷¹: Supreme power [*da quan*] has slipped from your hands.

Mao Zedong: This is because I deliberately relinquished it. Now, however, they have set up independent kingdoms; there are many things I have not been consulted about, such as the land problem, the Tianjin speeches, the cooperatives

²⁷⁰ *Sanniang* refers to Wang Chun, the heroine of the Beijing opera *Third Madame Educates Her Son* [*Sanniang Jiao Zi*]. Third wife of a Ming dynasty official wrongly thought to have died, she refused to remarry and devoted her life to educating her husband's son by his second wife, who eventually became a *zhuangyuan*, the person who received the highest score on the imperial exam.

²⁷¹ Tao Zhu (1908-1969) became First Secretary of the CPC Central-South Bureau in 1961. In the early stages of the Cultural Revolution he enjoyed a meteoric rise to power, becoming head of the CC's Propaganda Department in July 1966, and ranking fourth, immediately after Mao Zedong, Lin Biao, and Zhou Enlai, at the Eleventh Plenum in August 1966. In late December 1966, he was officially denounced.

in Shanxi, the rejection of investigation and study, the big fuss made of Wang Guangmei. All these things should really have been discussed at the Center before decisions were taken. Deng Xiaoping never came to consult me: from 1959 to the present he has never consulted me over anything at all. In 1962 suddenly the four vice-premiers, Li Fuchun, Tan Zhenlin, Li Xiannian and Bo Yibo²⁷² came to look me up in Nanjing, and afterwards went to Tianjin. I immediately gave my approval, and the four went back again, but Deng Xiaoping never came. I was not satisfied with the Wuchang Conference; I could do nothing about the high targets. So I went to Beijing to hold a conference, but although you had met for six days, you wouldn't let me hold mine even for a single day. It's not so bad that I am not allowed to complete my work, but I don't like being treated as a dead ancestor.

After the Zunyi conference the Center was more concentrated, but after the Sixth Plenum in 1938, Xiang Ying and Peng Dehuai tried to set up an independent kingdom.²⁷³ They didn't keep me informed about any of these things. After the Seventh Congress there was nobody at the Center. When Hu Zongnan marched on Yanan²⁷⁴ the Center was divided into two armies; I was in North Shaanxi with Enlai and Ren Bishi;²⁷⁵ Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De were in the north-east. Things were still relatively centralized. But once we entered the cities, we were dispersed, each devoting himself to his own sphere. Espe-

²⁷² Li Fuchun (1900-1975), a Hunanese, has been a long-time close associate of Mao Zedong. He worked with Mao at the Peasant Movement Training Institute in 1925-1926, and was married to Cai Chang, the sister of Mao's best friend, Cai Hesen. He has been Chairman of the State Planning Commission since 1954.

Tan Zhenlin (1902-1983), Politburo member and the Party's top agricultural spokesman in 1958, had espoused radical policies in the countryside at the time of the Great Leap Forward. He was made a vice-premier of the State Council in April 1959.

Bo Yibo (1908-2007), Vice-Premier and Chairman of the State Economic Commission; he was not re-elected, even to the CC, in 1969, and was extensively criticized during the Cultural Revolution for espousing the type of economic policies favored by Liu Shaoqi.

Li Xiannian (1909-1992), Minister of Finance, Vice-Premier, and member of the Politburo.

²⁷³ A reference to the New Fourth Army Incident in Southern Anhui, and to Peng's Hundred Regiments Offensive. Xiang Ying (c. 1895-1941), a former labor leader, and Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Soviet Republic in the early 1930s, was political commissar of the New Fourth Army in central China.

²⁷⁴ In the spring of 1947, obeying the fundamental principle of guerrilla tactics, as laid down by Mao, that the aim of war is to destroy the enemy's forces rather than to hold territory for its own sake, the Communists abandoned their capital of Yanan without a struggle. This resulted in the separation of the top leadership into two groups, as enumerated by Mao, which lasted from March 1947 until May 1948.

²⁷⁵ Ren Bishi (1904-1950) was a member of the Politburo at the time of his death and had been closely associated with Mao since the 1940s.

cially when the division was made into first and second lines, there was even more dispersal. In 1953, after the financial and economic conference, I told everybody to communicate with one another, to communicate with the Center and communicate with the regions. Liu and Teng acted openly, not in secret, they were not like Peng Zhen. In the past Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guotao, Wang Ming, Luo Zhanglong, Li Lisan all acted openly; that's not so serious. But Gao Gang, Rao Shushi, Peng Dehuai were two-faced. Peng Dehuai colluded with them, but I did not know it. Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing,²⁷⁶ Lu Dingyi²⁷⁷ and Yang Shangkun²⁷⁸ were acting secretly, and those who are secretive will come to no good end. Those who follow the wrong line should reform, but Chen, Wang and Li did not reform.

Zhou Enlai: Li Lisan did not change his thinking.

Mao Zedong: Cliques and factions of whatever description should be strictly excluded. The essential thing is that they should reform, that their ideas should conform, and that they should unite with us. Then things will be all right. We should allow Liu and Teng to make revolution and to reform themselves. You say that I am the kind of person that mixes with thin mud. I am the kind of person that mixes with thin mud. During the Seventh Congress Chen Qihan²⁷⁹ said, one shouldn't elect people who have followed Wang Ming's line to the Central Committee. Wang Ming and several others were all elected members of the Central Committee. At present only Wang Ming has left, the others are all still here! Luo Fu is no good. I have a favorable impression of Wang Jiaxiang,²⁸⁰ for he approved of the battle at Donggu.²⁸¹ During the Ningdu conference,²⁸² Luo Fu wanted to expel me, but Zhou and Chu did not agree. During the Zunyi Conference he played a useful role, and at that time one

²⁷⁶ Luo Ruiqing (1906-1978) was Minister of Public Security from 1949 to 1959. Thereafter he was Chief-of-Staff of the PLA up to the end of 1965.

²⁷⁷ Lu Dingyi (1906-1996), head of the CPC Propaganda Department until March 1966.

²⁷⁸ Yang Shangkun (1907-1998), at this time an alternate member of the CPC Secretariat.

²⁷⁹ Chen Qihan (1897-1981), a member of the CPC Central Control Commission, who retained his position on the Central Committee in 1969, was active in military and intelligence work at the time of the Seventh Congress in 1945.

²⁸⁰ Wang Jiaxiang (1907-1974) was, like the other people comrade Mao was discussing here, a member of the "Returned Student's faction," i.e., Wang Ming faction.

²⁸¹ A reference to the revolt organized by Li Lisan against comrade Mao in December 1930. This is commonly known as Futian Incident which began in the town of Donggu.

²⁸² In August 1932, at the Ningtu conference comrade Mao was stripped of his control over the Red Army. He suggests here that Luo Fu (Zhang Wentian) wanted to expel him from the Party as well, but that Zhou Enlai and Zhu De opposed this.

couldn't have got by without them.²⁸³ Luo Fu [Zhang Wentian] was obstinate. Comrade Shaoqi opposed them, and Nie Rongzhen²⁸⁴ also opposed them. We shouldn't condemn Liu Shaoqi out of hand. If they have made mistakes they can change, can't they? When they have changed it will be all right. Let them pull themselves together, and throw themselves courageously into their work. This meeting was held at my suggestion, but the time has been so short that I don't know whether things are clear or not. Still, it may be better than the last meeting. I had no idea that one big-character poster, the Red Guards and big exchange of revolutionary experience would have stirred up such a big affair. Some of the students did not have a terribly good family background, but were our own family backgrounds all that good? Don't enlist deserters and turncoats. I myself have many right-wing friends such as Zhou Gucheng and Zhang Zhizhong.²⁸⁵ Will it do not to have a few right-wing contacts? How can one be so pure? To enter into contact with them is to investigate and study them and understand their behavior. The other day on the Tiananmen I deliberately drew Li Zongren²⁸⁶ over towards me. It's better not to give this fellow a post; it's better for him not to have any position or power. Do we want to have democratic parties? Can't we have just one party? The party organizations in the schools shouldn't be restored too early. After 1957, the Party added many new members; Jian Bozan, Wu Han, Li Da were all party members. Were they all so good? Are the democratic parties all so very bad? I think the democratic parties are better than Peng, Luo, Lu and Yang. We still want the democratic parties, the Political Consultative Conference; we should explain this clearly to the Red Guards. The Chinese democratic revolution was started by Sun Yat-sen. At that time there was no Communist Party. Under the leadership

²⁸³ At the Zunyi Conference of January 1935, where comrade Mao's line was firmly established in the CPC, Qin Bangxian was replaced as Secretary-General by Zhang Wentian. Without the cooperation of some of the Moscow-oriented faction, and of Zhang in particular, Mao could obviously not have achieved as much as he did on this occasion in reorganizing the leadership of the Party.

²⁸⁴ Nie Rongzhen (1899-1992) was Lin Biao's chief political officer during the Long March; after 1949, he occupied important positions in military and scientific work. He remains a Vice-Premier, and a member of the CC.

²⁸⁵ Zhang Zhizhong (1891-1961), a Nationalist general who had occupied many high posts under Chiang Kai-shek, was director of the Generalissimo's north-west headquarters from 1945 to 1949, when he switched his allegiance to the communists. After helping the new regime establish its authority in Xinjiang, he was appointed in 1954 Vice-Chairman of the National Defense Council in Beijing.

²⁸⁶ Li Zongren (1891-1969), acting president of the Kuomintang regime in early 1949, who returned to China from exile in the United States in 1965.

of Sun Yat-sen, they fought against Kang, Liang,²⁸⁷ and the imperial system. This year makes the hundredth anniversary of Sun Yat-sen's birth. How shall we celebrate it? We should discuss this with the Red Guards, and we should hold commemorative meetings. The division which I introduced into first and second lines has led to the opposite result.

Kang Sheng: The political report at the Eighth Congress contains the theory of the disappearance of classes.

Mao Zedong: I read the report, and it was passed by the congress; we cannot make those two—Liu and Deng—solely responsible.

Factories and villages should be dealt with by stages and in batches. Go back and clarify the thinking of your fellow-students in the provinces and municipalities, and hold good meetings. Find a quiet place in Shanghai in which to meet. If the students stir things up, let them. We have met for seventeen days, and it has been worthwhile. As Lin Biao says, we should do careful political and ideological work among them. In 1936 Stalin talked about the elimination of class struggle, but in 1939 he carried out another purge of counter-revolutionaries. Wasn't that class struggle too?

When you go back you should pull yourselves together and do your work well. Who then can overthrow you?"

Message of Greetings to the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour

October 25, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 276-277.

Translation: Beijing Review, November 11, 1966, Vol. IX, No. 46, page 5.

To the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor

Dear Comrades:

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people send their warmest congratulations to the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor.

We wish your congress every success!

²⁸⁷ I.e., the reformers Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, who supported the idea of a constitutional monarchy in the early years of the twentieth century.

The glorious Albanian Party of Labor, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, is firmly holding aloft the revolutionary red banner of Marxism-Leninism while encircled ring upon ring by the imperialists and the modern revisionists.

Heroic people's Albania has become a great beacon of socialism in Europe.

The revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union, the Tito clique of Yugoslavia, and all the other cliques of renegades and scabs of various shades are mere dust heaps in comparison, while you, a lofty mountain, tower to the skies. They are slaves and accomplices of imperialism, before which they prostrate themselves, while you are dauntless proletarian revolutionaries who dare to fight imperialism and its running dogs, fight the world's tyrannical enemies.

The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and all those countries where the modern revisionist clique is in power have either changed color or are in the process of doing so. Capitalism has been or is being restored there, and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been or is being transformed into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Against this adverse current of counter-revolutionary revisionism, heroic socialist Albania has stood firm. Persevering in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, you have adopted a series of measures of revolutionization and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. Taking the path of socialism, you are building your country independently and have won brilliant victories. You have contributed precious experience to the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"A bosom friend afar brings a distant land near." China and Albania are separated by thousands of mountains and rivers but our hearts are closely linked. We are your true friends and comrades. And you are ours. We are not like those false friends and double-dealers who have honey dripping from their tongues and daggers concealed in their hearts, and neither are you. Our militant revolutionary friendship has stood the test of violent storms.

The truth of Marxism-Leninism is on our side. The international proletariat is on our side. The oppressed nations and oppressed peoples are on our side. The masses of people who constitute over ninety per cent of the world's population are on our side. We have friends all over the world. We are not afraid of being isolated, and we most certainly can never be isolated. We are invincible. The handful of pitiful insects who oppose China and Albania are doomed to failure.

We are now in a great new era of world revolution. The revolutionary storms in Asia, Africa and Latin America are sure to deal the whole of the old world a decisive and crushing blow. The great victories of the Vietnamese people's war

against US aggression and for national salvation are convincing proof of this. The proletariat and working people of Europe, North America and Oceania are in the midst of a new awakening. The US imperialists and other such harmful insects have already created their own grave-diggers; the day of their burial cannot be far off. Naturally, the road of our advance is by no means straight and smooth. Comrades, please rest assured that whatever may happen in the world, our two Parties and our two peoples will always be united, will always fight together and be victorious together.

Let the Parties and peoples of China and Albania unite, let the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world unite and overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism, and the reactionaries of every country! A new world without imperialism, without capitalism, and without any system of exploitation is certain to be built.

Talk at the Central Work Conference

October 25, 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 274-275.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 270-274.

I have just a few words to say about two matters.

For the past seventeen years there is one thing which in my opinion we haven't done well. Out of concern for state security and in view of the lessons of Stalin in the Soviet Union, we set up a first and second line. I have been in the second line, other comrades in the first line. Now we can see that wasn't so good; as a result our forces were dispersed. When we entered the cities we could not centralize our efforts, and there were quite a few independent kingdoms. Hence the Eleventh Plenum carried out changes. This is one matter. I am in the second line, I do not take charge of day-to-day work. Many things are left to other people so that other people's prestige is built up, and when I go to see God there won't be such a big upheaval in the State. Everybody was in agreement with this idea of mine. It seems that there are some things which the comrades in the first line have not managed too well. There are some things I should have kept a grip on which I did not. So I am responsible, we cannot just blame them. Why do I say that I bear some responsibility?

First, it was I who proposed that the Standing Committee be divided into two lines and that a secretariat be set up. Everyone agreed with this. Moreover I put too much trust in others. It was at the time of the *Twenty-three Articles* that my vigilance was aroused.²⁸⁸ I could do nothing in Beijing; I could do nothing at the Center. Last September and October I asked, if revisionism appeared at the Center, what could the localities do?²⁸⁹ I felt that my ideas couldn't be carried out in Beijing. Why was the criticism of Wu Han initiated not in Beijing but in Shanghai? Because there was nobody to do it in Beijing. Now the problem of Beijing has been solved.

Second, the Great Cultural Revolution wreaked havoc after I approved Nie Yuanzi's big-character poster in Beijing University, and wrote a letter to Qinghua University Middle School, as well as writing a big-character poster of my own entitled *Bombard the Headquarters*.²⁹⁰ It all happened within a very short period, less than five months in June, July, August, September and October. No wonder the comrades did not understand too much. The time was so short and the events so violent. I myself had not foreseen that as soon as the Beijing University poster was broadcast, the whole country would be thrown into turmoil. Even before the letter to the Red Guards had gone out, Red Guards had mobilized throughout the country, and in one rush they swept you off your feet. Since it was I who caused the havoc, it is understandable if you have some bitter words for me. Last time we met I lacked confidence and I said that our decisions would not necessarily be carried out. Indeed all that time quite a few comrades still did not understand things fully, though now after a couple of months we have had some experience, and things are a bit better. This meeting has had two stages. In the first stage the speeches were not quite normal, but during the second stage, after speeches and the exchange of experience by comrades at the Center, things went more smoothly and the ideas were understood a bit better. It has only been five months. Perhaps the movement may last another five months, or even longer.

²⁸⁸ I.e., when Mao put forward his new *Twenty-three Articles for the Socialist Education Campaign* in January 1965, and Liu Shaoqi refused to accept it. See note 187 on p. 177 of this volume.

²⁸⁹ See p. 242 of this volume.

²⁹⁰ On June 1, 1966, Mao ordered that a big-character poster written by Nie Yuanzi, a lecturer at Beijing University, be widely published and broadcast on the radio, thus giving the signal for the real beginning of the Cultural Revolution. On August 5, 1966, he wrote a poster of his own, entitled *Bombard the Headquarters*, which turned the assault against the party leadership. See p. 282 of this volume.

Our democratic revolution went on for twenty-eight years, from 1921 to 1949. At first nobody knew how to conduct the revolution or how to carry on the struggle; only later did we acquire some experience. Our path gradually emerged in the course of practice. Did we not carry on for twenty-eight years, summarizing our experience as we went along? Have we not been carrying on the socialist revolution for seventeen years, whereas the Cultural Revolution has been going on for only five months? Hence we cannot ask comrades to understand so well now. Many comrades did not read the articles criticizing Wu Han last year and did not pay much attention to them. The articles criticizing the film *The Life of Wu Xun* and studies of the novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* could not be grasped if taken separately, but only if taken as a whole. For this I am responsible. If you take them separately it is like treating only the head when you have a headache and treating only the feet when they hurt, the problem cannot be solved. During the first several months of this Great Cultural Revolution—in January, February, March, April and May articles were written and the Center issued directives, but they did not arouse all that much attention. It was the big-character posters and onslaughts of the Red Guards which drew your attention, you could not avoid it because the revolution was right on top of you. You must quickly summarize your experience and properly carry out political and ideological work. Why are we meeting again after two months? It is to summarize our experience and carry out political and ideological work. You also have a great deal of political and ideological work to do after you go back. The Political Bureau, the provincial committees, the regional committees and county committees must meet for ten days or more and thrash out the problems. But they mustn't think that everything can be cleared up. Some people have said, "We understand the principles, but when we run up against concrete problems we cannot deal with them properly." At first I could not understand why, if the principles were clear, the concrete problems could not be dealt with. I can see some reason for this: it may be that political and ideological work has not been done properly. When you went back after our last meeting some places did not find time to hold proper meetings. In Henan there were ten secretaries. Out of the ten there were seven or eight who were receiving people. The Red Guards rushed in and caused havoc. The students were angry, but they did not realize it and had not prepared themselves to answer questions. They thought that to make a welcoming speech lasting a quarter of an hour or so would do. But the students were thoroughly enraged. The fact that there were a number of questions which they could not immedi-

ately answer put the secretaries on the defensive. Yet this defensive attitude can be changed, can be transformed so that they take the initiative.

Hence my confidence in this meeting has increased. I don't know what you think. If when you go back you do things according to the old system, maintaining the status quo, putting yourself in opposition to one group of Red Guards and letting another group hold sway, then I think things cannot change, the situation cannot improve. But I think things can change and things can improve. Of course we shouldn't expect too much. We can't be certain that the mass of central, provincial, regional, and county cadres should all be so enlightened. There will always be some who fail to understand, and there will be a minority on the opposite side. But I think it will be possible to make the majority understand.

I have talked about two matters. The first concerns history. For seventeen years the two lines have not been united. Others have some responsibility for this, so have I. The second issue is the five months of the Great Cultural Revolution, the fire of which I kindled. It has been going on only five months, not even half a year, a very brief span compared to the twenty-eight years of democratic revolution and the seventeen years of socialist revolution. So one can see why it has not been thoroughly understood and there were obstacles. Why hasn't it been understood? In the past you have only been in charge of industry, agriculture and communications and you have never carried out a Great Cultural Revolution. You in the Foreign Affairs Ministry and the Military Affairs Committee are the same. That which you never dreamed of has come to pass. What's come has come. I think that there are advantages in being assailed. For so many years you had not thought about such things, but as soon as they burst upon you, you began to think. Undoubtedly you have made some mistakes, some mistakes of line, but they can be corrected and that will be that! Whoever wants to overthrow you? I don't, and I don't think the Red Guards do either. Two Red Guards said to Li Xuefeng: "Can you imagine why our elders are so frightened of the Red Guards?" Then there were Wu Xiuquan's four children who belonged to four different factions. Some of their school friends went to his home, several dozen at a time, and this happened quite a few times. I think that there are advantages in making contact in small groups.

Another method is to have big meetings, 1,500,000 meeting for several hours. Both methods serve a purpose.

There have been quite a few brief reports presented at this meeting. I have read nearly all of them. You find it difficult to cross this pass and I don't find it

easy either. You are anxious and so am I. I cannot blame you, comrades, time has been so short. Some comrades say that they did not intentionally make mistakes, but did it because they were confused. This is pardonable. Nor can we put all the blame on Comrade Shaoqi and Comrade Xiaoping. They have some responsibility, but so has the Center. The Center has not run things properly. The time was so short. We were not mentally prepared for new problems. Political and ideological work was not carried out properly. I think that after this seventeen-day conference things will be a bit better.

Does anyone else want to speak? I guess that's all for today. The meeting is adjourned.

Support the Red Guards²⁹¹

November 10, 1966

Source: People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), November 12, 1966, page 1.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 278.

Translation: Beijing Review, November 18, 1966, Vol. IX, No. 47, page 5-7.

[*To Red Guards cheering "Long live Chairman Mao!":*]

Comrades, long life to you!

You should put politic in command, go to the masses and be one with them and carry on the great proletarian cultural revolution even better.

²⁹¹ Spoken in front of a microphone on the rostrum of the Tiananmen, on the occasion of the seventh review of the great armies of the Cultural Revolution. Since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, these have been the only words spoken by Mao directly to the public below the rostrum of the Tiananmen.

Literature and Art

November 28, 1966

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1966, No. 5, page 6.

Translation: Beijing Review, December 9, 1966, Vol. IX, No. 50, page 6.

[Reported in a speech of Chen Boda]

The overthrown bourgeoisie is trying, by all methods, to use the position of literature and art as a hotbed for corrupting the masses and preparing for the restoration of capitalism. Therefore, our tasks in the field of literature and art are not lighter but heavier. Our leadership on the literary and art front should not be weakened but, on the contrary, strengthened still further. In order to fulfil their glorious tasks, our revolutionary literary and art organizations must carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Four Instructions at a Standing Committee Meeting of the Politburo

December 1966

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 279-280.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 150-151.

1. We must step forward to meet the masses, to accept their criticism, and to do our own self-criticism. This is to get oneself near the fire [so to speak].
2. We must step forward to explain our policies to the masses. Those who have had to wear a dunce cap or had their face blackened should take the cap off, clean their face, and go straight to work.
3. Think of long-term interests and unite the majority. The freaks and monsters are the landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, bad elements, and rightists—the minority. Even some who have made serious mistakes should be saved by letting them correct their errors. Otherwise, how can we unite more than ninety-five percent [of the people].

-
4. Convince the cadres and make them understand. Do not let everyone who has been through the test [criticism] become ashen with despair. We must go out, not with the word “fear” [*pa*] but with the word “dare” [*gan*] [in our minds]. In this way we can solve questions of any magnitude. If we go out with the word “fear,” [the opponents] will make more and more demands.

1967

Talk at a Meeting of the Central Cultural Revolution Group

January 9, 1967

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui)*, 1968, Vol. 5, page 282-283.

Translation: *Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People*, page 275-276.

At the *Wenhui Bao* the leftists have now seized power.²⁹² They rebelled on the fourth. The *Liberation Daily* also rebelled on the sixth. This is the right direction. I have read all three editions of the *Wenhui Bao* since the seizure of power. They reprinted some articles by Red Guards. Some of them are good and should be reprinted elsewhere. On the fifth the *Wenhui Bao* issued a "Message to All Shanghai People." *The People's Daily* should reprint it,²⁹³ and the radio stations should broadcast it. Internal rebellions are one. In a few days

²⁹² The "seizure of power" at the Shanghai *Wenhui Bao* was the first act in the "January Storm." Shanghai, the cradle of the Chinese Communist revolution, possessing the largest and most politically experienced working class in the nation, was the site of the Cultural Revolution's most important victory in January 1967. It was then that the Shanghai working class united to seize power from the old bureaucratic party organization in an action that became the model for the whole country. By October 1966 only a few thousand rebels existed out of a total of one million industrial workers in the city. Shanghai workers had always been highly politicized and were loyal to the CPC. It was logical, therefore, that the Shanghai workers would approach with caution any call for an attack on officials of a party which they had supported over the years with so much sacrifice and enthusiasm. Nevertheless, by December 1966, 60,000 workers responded to Mao's call and joined the Workers' Rebel Headquarters, while an equal number of workers supported the "royalist" or conservative Workers' Red Militia, an organization built by the functionaries of the Liu Shaoqi followers. Clashes between the two groups were frequent, but by the end of December a wholesale defection by the members of the conservative organizations ensued, and the collapse of the Workers' Red Militia followed. It was at this point that the party officials in the old Shanghai Municipal Committee, plant managers, heads of bureaus under siege by the rebels, and district party chiefs counterattacked, using methods that caught Mao and his colleagues in Beijing completely unawares. Factories were closed, railroads and shipping were paralyzed, and serious power shortages plagued the greatest industrial city in China. The revolutionary rebels responded to the crisis by in effect seizing power. Rank-and-file workers and students manned ticket booths at the railway stations, factory workers stood triple shifts in the industrial plants, and thousands of volunteers appeared at the docks to help unload cargo. New institutions of power were hastily created in the classic revolutionary pattern. Mao, watching the situation in Shanghai closely, recognized that the workers in Shanghai had in fact seized power: he was the first to name what had happened "a power seizure from below."

²⁹³ This was in fact done on the very day on which Mao was speaking. See Appendix 5, pp. 451-455.

we can make a general report on them. This is one class overthrowing another. This is a great revolution. Many papers in my opinion would be better closed down. But newspapers must still come out. The question is by whom they are brought out. It is good that the *Wenhui Bao* and the *Liberation Daily* have changed management. As soon as they come out these two papers will certainly influence East China and every province and city in the country.

Before you make a revolution, you must first create public opinion. "June First" was when power was seized in the *People's Daily*. The Center sent a work team and put out the editorial *Sweep Away All Monsters and Demons*²⁹⁴. I do not agree with the wholesale replacement of the staff of the *People's Daily*, but it had to be taken over. Tang Pingzhu replaced Wu Lengxi.²⁹⁵ At first the masses were distrustful because the *People's Daily* had deceived people in the past, and what's more, it had issued no statement. The seizure of power in two newspapers is a national question and we should support their rebellion.

Our newspapers should reprint Red Guard articles. They are very well written whereas our stuff is utterly lifeless. The Propaganda Department of the Central Committee can be done away with, though those people can continue to eat there. There are many things which the Propaganda Department and the Ministry of Culture were unable to cope with. Even you [pointing to Comrade Chen Boda] and I could not cope with them. But when the Red Guards came they were immediately brought under control.

The upsurge of revolutionary power in Shanghai has brought hope to the whole country. It cannot fail to influence the whole of East China and all provinces and cities in the country. "Message to All Shanghai People" is a rare example of a good article. It refers to the city of Shanghai but the problem it discussed is of national significance.

In making revolution these days people demand this and that. When we made revolution from 1920 onwards we set up first the Youth League and then the Communist Party. We had no funds, no printing press, no bicycles. When we ran newspapers we were very friendly with the workers and chatted with them as we edited articles.

We should establish links with all sorts of people, left, right and center. I have never agreed with a unit being all that pure in its approach. [Some-

²⁹⁴ See Appendix 3, pp. 436-440.

²⁹⁵ Wu Lengxi (1919-2002) had been editor of *People's Daily* since 1957; he had participated in the deliberations of Peng Zhen's Five Man Group. In late 1972, he reappeared as a "leading member" of the editorial staff, though no longer as editor. Tang Pingzhu was an ultra-leftist, purged in 1968 with the Wang Li faction.

one responded: “Wu Lengxi’s lot are now very comfortable. They have put on weight.”] We have allowed Wu Lengxi to become too comfortable. I am not in favor of their dismissal. Let them remain at their posts to be supervised by the masses.

When we started to make revolution it was opportunism which we met with, not Marxism-Leninism. When I was young I hadn’t even read the *Communist Manifesto*.

We must speak of grasping revolution and promoting production. We must not make revolution in isolation from production. The conservative faction do not grasp production. This is a class struggle. You must not believe that “we won’t eat pork with bristles and all even when the butcher Zhang is dead,”²⁹⁶ or that we can do nothing without them. Don’t believe that sort of rubbish.

Instructions For the Army to Support the Left

January 21, 1967

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 284.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 134.

[The Chairman having read the document from XX of Anhui and Comrade Lin Biao’s comment on it.]

To Lin Biao,

You must dispatch troops to support the broad left-wing revolutionary masses. Later on, whenever true revolutionaries need support from the PLA, you should do likewise. The so called “non-interference” is untrue. [The PLA] has been involved for some time. I think on this matter you should issue new orders; the old ones should be canceled.

²⁹⁶ A peasant expression meaning that nothing will change.

Power Struggle at the Broadcasting Station

January 23, 1967

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 287.

Translation: Foreign Languages Press, Paris, 2020.

The revolutionary comrades of the Central People's Broadcasting Station seized power. Very good! I heard that now there's going to be another internal split with internal quarrels. There is also the Revolutionary School of Broadcasting that took power and then split. We must convince them to unite, to place the importance on the overall situation, and to strive for great unity, not small groupism. Regardless of whether he opposes or is opposed or opposes the wrong people, he must be good at uniting with them. I don't agree that you can't cooperate with those who oppose you. If there are internal differences, they should be handled according to the internal contradictions among the people, and if there are different opinions, they can be resolved through discussion.

On the New Stage of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

January 23, 1967

Source: Central Directive (Zhongfa), January 23, 1967, No. 27.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 284.

Translation: Foreign Languages Press, Paris, 2020.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has begun a new stage. The main feature of this new stage is the great unity of the proletarian revolutionaries, seizing power from the handful of party leaders who are taking the capitalist road and diehards who adhere to the bourgeois reactionary line.²⁹⁷ This struggle to seize power is the overall counterattack of the proletariat against the

²⁹⁷ The phrase "diehards who adhere to the bourgeois reactionary line" was added by Wang Li. Mao corrected this phrase after he discovered it, calling it an ultra-left slogan.

bourgeoisie and its agents in the party after 17 years of widespread attacks. This is a nationwide class struggle on all fronts, a big revolution in which one class overthrows another class.

Summary of a Talk at the Enlarged Meeting of the Military Commission²⁹⁸

January 27, 1967

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 285.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 47-48.

1. The armed forces' attitude towards the great Cultural Revolution. At first they chose non-involvement, but they were in fact involved in such ways as documents being sent to them for safekeeping and some cadres going [to work] among the units. In the present situation, when the struggle between the two lines has become extremely acute, they cannot stay aloof and their participation must mean their support of the left.
2. Most of the old comrades have so far failed to come to grips with the great Cultural Revolution. They have lived on their "capital," depended on their past records. They should discipline and reform themselves in this movement and set up new records and make new contributions. (Here, Mao mentioned the story of Shulong's audience with Queen Mother Zhao from the *Annals of the Warring States* [*Zhan Guo Ce*].) They must resolutely stand on the side of the left; they must not try to muddle through; they must firmly support the left. Then they must do their work well under the control and supervision of the left.
3. With regard to the power struggle in the newspapers, it is a struggle for power against the capitalist "roaders" and the faction in authority and against the diehards of the bourgeois reactionary line. How else can [we] struggle for power? Now it seems that [we] should carefully divide... [and] take over power before other things can be done. [We] must not be metaphysical [superficial?] about it. Otherwise [we] shall be constrained. After the struggle for power [we] should examine the true nature of the

²⁹⁸ This summary is said to have been done by Zhou Enlai.

faction in authority and then pass judgment on it and we should report it to the State Council for approval.

4. The old cadres before the power struggle and the [new] cadres after it should co-operate in working together and preserve the secret of the state.

Instructions on the Cultural Revolution in the Army

January 27, 1967

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 285.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 134-135.

1. I think [we] must have an order of priorities; [we] must not carry on in all the military districts simultaneously.
2. The great revolution is being ferociously developed in the regions and the struggles for power are continuing. Our armed forces should support the left-wing revolutionaries there in their power struggle, and therefore they must not be involved in local cultural revolutions.
3. Internationally, both imperialism and revisionism are making use of our great Cultural Revolution to carry on their anti-Chinese activities. For instance, the Soviet Union is suppressing [our] students; [Soviet] air-planes near the Xinjiang border are more active; and [Soviet] ground forces are mobilized. All the armed units stationed in the big military districts along the frontiers such as Jinan, Nanjing, Fuzhou, and Kunming should be alerted and made ready. Therefore the time schedule of the great Cultural Revolution must be slightly postponed on account of the general situation, but it will be carried out in the future.

Comment on the Decree of the Military Commission Issued on This Day

January 28, 1967

Source: Wenhua Dageming Wenjian Huibian (Compendium of Documents on the Great Cultural Revolution), Hong Kong, 1968, page 56.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 135.

The Eight Articles are excellent, to be issued as they are.

Paragraphs added to *On the Proletarian Revolutionaries' Struggle to Seize Power*

January 30, 1967

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1967, No. 3, page 12, 16.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 287.

Translation: Beijing Review, February 3, 1967, Vol. X, No. 6, page 10-15.

Proletarian revolutionaries unite and seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road!

Cadres who have made errors should be treated correctly and should not be overthrown indiscriminately. All those who are not anti-Party, anti-socialist elements, and do not persist in their errors or refuse to correct them after repeated education, should be allowed to correct their errors and be encouraged to make amends for their crimes by good deeds.

Cadres at all levels have to undergo the test of the great proletarian cultural revolution and make new contributions to the revolution. They should not rest on their past achievements, think that they are so wonderful and lightly regard the young revolutionary fighters who have now come to the fore. The following concepts are completely wrong and must be corrected: to see only one's own past merits but not the general orientation of the revolution today

and to see only the shortcomings and mistakes of the newly emerged young revolutionary fighters, but not to recognize the fact that their general orientation in the revolution is correct.

Conversation with Premier Zhou on Power Struggle

January 1967

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 286.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 48-50.

Mao Zedong: How's the power struggle? The Public Security Bureau is an instrument of the dictatorship.

Zhou Enlai: It was taken over only about a day ago.

Mao Zedong: [We] ought to choose the typical cases.

Zhou Enlai: The municipal [party] committee of the Bureau held a meeting and decided on several kinds of power struggle. Cadres belong to the faction in authority [who are]: 1. the “black gang” soaked through [with erroneous ideology] and therefore “black”; 2. the capitalist “roaders” in power; 3. those adamantly upholding the capitalist reactionary line; 4. those admitting some mistakes but leaving the rest intact; and 5. [among them] individual cases of the general mistake (the majority of the cases).

Mao Zedong: Make the first two categories smaller and isolate and attack the smallest minority. Take-over is in itself a revolution, a creation of something new. According to different circumstances, there are five different ways. 1. Complete re-organization (as Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan [have done in Shanghai]). 2. After takeover, adopt different methods in dealing with the faction in authority. Criticize them while keeping them at work under supervision (according to the work assigned to them). 3. Suspend their posts but keep them at their work. 4. Dismiss them but keep them at their work. Or 5. cashier and punish them.

Zhou Enlai: That is a good way—dismiss them, keep them at their work, but struggle against them. There will then be an opposition to help [us] to enlarge and strengthen our own ranks. To take on too much work [themselves] (referring to the revolutionary rebels) can only make them “passive” [slaves of work]. Keep them [the faction in authority] at their work and struggle against

them. In the Academy of Sciences, the left has grown strong. Their work to “Take firm hold of the revolution and promote production” is done very well. [But] they let the faction in authority sweep the street and after that [the reactionaries] just go to sleep. It is really cushy. [We] must not let ourselves be bogged down by routine business. ([We] must pay attention to this problem.) To take-over is a big thing which will touch off a chain of changes. It is a revolution. [We] must be clear about the aim of the take-over, about the problems involved in it, and about how to do it. [We] must know how to tackle [those] questions and must have concrete policies (e.g. how to deal with the staff of the bureaus, Ministries, departments, and sections.) [We] have seized power, but it may be snatched away [from us] again. In some organizations this tug-of-war may be a discipline in itself. [But we] must keep the power. This depends chiefly on the strength of the left. When the strength of the left is small, power may be snatched away from it again. [Therefore] the left must be strong. I support the power struggle. After it, [we] must get down to revolution and encourage production.

The PLA, Production, and Revolution

February 6, 1967

Source: Wenhua Dageming Wenjian Huibian (Compendium of Documents on the Great Cultural Revolution), Hong Kong, 1968, page 64-65.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 135.

The armed forces advance [an inch];
 Production grows an inch
 Tighten the discipline [so that];
 Revolution is always successful.

Talks at Three Meetings with Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan²⁹⁹

February 12-18, 1967

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 290-292.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 277-279.

Chairman Mao invited Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan³⁰⁰ to come to Beijing from 12 to 18 February, and met them three times within a week. Even before they had arrived at the airport the Chairman inquired whether they had arrived or not, and when the airport comrades said they would soon be there, the Chairman waited for them in the doorway. They had no sooner arrived than the Chairman asked, "What is this with the First, Second and Third Regiments? They have come here making accusations against you."

From February to April is a crucial period for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. During these three months, the Great Cultural Revolution ought to start taking shape.

In general, the work in Shanghai is very good. At the time of the Anting Incident, isn't it true that only 1,000-2,000 workers of Shanghai went there at

²⁹⁹ The source states that this article was based on the tape-recorded draft of Comrade Zhang Chunqiao's speech at the Shanghai People's Square on 24 February and on some pertinent handbills. Whether every word is Chairman Mao's original word is difficult to ascertain, and so this is for reference only.

³⁰⁰ Zhang Chunqiao, a secretary of the Shanghai Party Committee, had helped to arrange for the publication of Yao Wenyan's attack on Wu Han in November 1965. Thereafter he rose rapidly, becoming a member of the Cultural Revolution Group in the summer of 1966, and a Politburo Member in 1969. He and Yao Wenyan were the two principal leaders of the "Shanghai Commune" which had been formed on February 5, 1967. While the general thrust of Mao's remarks on this occasion is plain enough, the rather terse record of the main points of his conversations with Chang and Yao contained in the text includes allusions to a great many details of the complex and rapidly changing situation in Shanghai in January and February 1967. The First, Second and Third Regiments (of Workers in the Northern Expedition) were organizations loyal to Geng Jinzhang, a leader later denounced as an ultra-leftist, who was contending with Zhang Chunqiao in early 1967 for control of the situation in Shanghai. Geng was said to have visited Beijing in late December 1966; in early February 1967, he sent to Beijing emissaries who were received by Zhou Enlai and handed to him detailed accusations against Chang and his Workers' Headquarters.

first? Now, the number has reached one million! This illustrates that Shanghai's workers have been mobilized rather successfully.

Our present revolution—the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and we have launched it ourselves. This is because a portion of the structure of proletarian dictatorship has been usurped and no longer belongs to the proletariat, but to the bourgeoisie. Thus, we had to make revolution. The Central Cultural Revolution Group must ponder over it and write articles. This is called “Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.” This is a very important theoretical problem.

The Chairman said that for the purpose of seizing power the “three-in-one” combination were essential.³⁰¹ Fujian, Guizhou and Inner Mongolia did not present big problems, though there might be a little disorder there. In Shanxi at present 53 percent were revolutionary masses, 27 percent army, and 20 percent cadres from various organs. Shanghai ought to learn from them. The January Revolution had succeeded, but February, March and April were more crucial, more important. The Chairman said: “The slogan of “Doubt everything and overthrow everything” is reactionary. The Shanghai People's Committee demanded that the Premier of the State Council should do away with all heads. This is extreme anarchism, it is most reactionary. If instead of calling someone the “head” of something we call him “orderly” or “assistant,” this would really be only a formal change. In reality there will still always be “heads.” It is the content which matters.

There is a slogan in Henan, “The present-day proletarian dictatorship must be completely changed.” This is a reactionary slogan.

The slogan “doubt everything and down with everything” is reactionary. Those who want to doubt everything and overthrow everything are bound to head in the opposite direction, and will be overthrown in a matter of days. (We have here some units which won't even have deputy section chiefs. People who don't want to have deputy section chiefs cannot last more than a few days.)

We must trust over 95 percent of the masses, and then over 95 percent of the cadres will follow us. China has a sizable Kang Youwei bourgeoisie, and the

³⁰¹ This was the formula put forward in January 1967 for the “seizure of power” by “Revolutionary Committees.” Comrade Mao said: “The basic experience of revolutionary committees is this—they are threefold: they have representatives of revolutionary cadres, representatives of the armed forces, and representatives of the revolutionary masses. This forms a revolutionary “three-in-one” combination. The revolutionary committee should exercise unified leadership, eliminate redundant or overlapping administrative structures, follow the policy of better troops and simpler administration and organize a revolutionary leading group which keeps in contact with the masses.”

number of middle peasants is rather large. In urban areas, the number of Kang Youwei bourgeoisie, small handicraftsmen, including small business owners, is considerable. If we prove to be adept in leading, they will also follow us. We must trust the vast majority.

It would be very difficult for a college student who has just graduated, or one who hasn't yet graduated, to lead a municipality or to manage Shanghai municipality. I don't think he would be qualified to be a college president either. In the case of college president, school conditions are complex, especially to one who has just graduated or hasn't yet graduated. In my estimation, he may not even qualify to be a department head. A department head must have some scholarship! Since you haven't yet completed your academic work, or have only just graduated, you have no teaching experience and no experience in administering a department. We have already trained a number of assistants and lecturers to serve as department heads. A few persons should be selected from among the original leadership cadres. We cannot completely dispense with the old personnel. [Are you] afraid Zhou Gucheng³⁰² is no longer any good? That Zhou Gucheng will no longer be able to teach?

The Paris Commune,—did we not all say that to institute a Paris Commune is to institute a new political power? The Paris Commune was founded in 1871, almost 96 years ago. If the Paris Commune had not failed, but had been successful, then in my opinion, it would have become by now a bourgeois commune. This is because it was impossible for the French bourgeoisie to allow France's working class to have so much political power. That is the case of the Paris Commune. In regard to the form of soviet political power, as soon as it materialized, Lenin was elated, deeming it a remarkable creation by workers, peasants and soldiers, as well as a new form proletarian dictatorship. Nonetheless, Lenin had not anticipated then that although the workers, peasants and soldiers could use this form of political power, it could also be used by the bourgeoisie, and by Khrushchev. Thus, the present soviet has been transformed from Lenin's soviet to Khrushchev's soviet.

Britain is a monarchy. Doesn't it have a king? The US has a presidential system. They are both the same, being bourgeois dictatorships. The puppet regime of South Vietnam has a president and bordering it is Sihanouk's Royal Kingdom of Cambodia. Which is better? I am afraid Sihanouk is somewhat better. India has a presidential system; its neighbor, Nepal, is a kingdom. Which country is better? It would seem that the kingdom is somewhat better

³⁰² For Zhou Gucheng see note 111 on p. 116 of this volume.

than India. This is judging by their present performances. In the case of ancient China's three kings and five emperors, they were called kings in the Zhou dynasty, emperors in the Qin dynasty. The First Emperor of Qin (*Qinshihuang*) assumed all the titles of three kings and five emperors. It was called Heavenly King in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, while Tang Taizong also called himself Heavenly Emperor. So you see, titles have changed over and over again. What we want to see is not the changing of titles, because the problem lies not with title, but with practice; not with form, but with content.

Titles must not be changed too frequently; we don't emphasize names, but emphasize practice; not form, but content. That fellow Wang Mang of the Han dynasty was addicted to changing names. As soon as he became emperor, he changed all the titles of government offices, like many of us who have a dislike for the title "chief." He also changed the names of all countries in the country. This is like our Red Guards who have changed almost all the street names of Beijing, making it impossible for us to remember them. We still remember their former names. It became difficult for Wang Mang to issue edicts and orders, because the people did not know what changes had been made. This form of popular drama can be used either by China or by foreign countries, by the proletariat or by the bourgeoisie.

The principal experiences are the Paris Commune and the soviet. We can imagine that the [name] People's Republic of China can be used by both classes. If we should be overthrown and the bourgeoisie came to power, they would have no need to change the name, but would still call it the People's Republic of China... The main thing is which class seizes political power. That is the fundamental question, not what its name is.

I think we should be more stable and should not change all the names. This is because this would give rise to the question of changing the political system, to the question of the state system, and to the question of the name of the country. Would you want to change [the name] to the Chinese People's commune! Should the Chairman of the People's Republic of China be called director or commune leader? Not only this problem, but another problem would arise. That is, if there is a change, it will be followed by the question of recognition or non-recognition by foreign countries. When the name of a country is changed, foreign ambassadors will lose their credentials, new ambassadors will be exchanged and recognition will be given anew. I surmise that the Soviet Union would not extend recognition. This is because she would not dare to recognize, since recognition might cause troubles for the soviet. How

could there be a Chinese People's Commune? It would be rather embarrassing to them, but the bourgeois nations might recognize it.

If everything were changed into commune, then what about the Party? Where would we place the Party? Among commune committee members are both party members and non-party members. Where would we place the party committee? There must be a party somehow! There must be a nucleus, no matter what we call it. Be it called the Communist party, or social democratic party, or Kuomintang, or Yiguandao, it must have a party. The commune must have a party, but can the commune replace the Party?

I think we had better not change the name and not call it commune. It would be better to observe the old method. We still should have the People's Congress and elect people's councils in the future. Any change in name is a change in form and does not solve the problem of content. When we set up temporary power structures, do we not still call them revolutionary committees? The controlling organs in schools can become cultural revolutionary committees or cultural revolutionary leading teams. The *Sixteen Articles*³⁰³ specify this.

The people of Shanghai like the people's commune very much, and like that name very much. What should we do? Shouldn't you go back and do some consultation? There are several methods that we can use: one of them is to make no change and go on calling it the Shanghai People's Commune. The advantage of this method is that it could safeguard the enthusiasm of Shanghai's people, since they like this commune. The shortcomings of this is that yours would be the only one in the entire country, and so won't you be rather isolated? For now don't announce in the *People's Daily* that everyone wants to call it People's Commune. If the Central Committee should recognize People's Commune and publish it in the *People's Daily*, then the name will be used throughout the country. Why should only Shanghai be allowed to call it so, and we cannot? This would make it rather difficult. Thus, there are both advantages and shortcomings in not changing the name. The second method is to change it throughout the country. This would necessitate a change in the political system and in the country's name. Some people might not recognize it, and much trouble might ensue. Moreover, it wouldn't have any meaning, and no practical significance. The third method is to go ahead and change it, thus conforming with the entire country. Of course, you could change it in the near future or later on, not necessarily right now. But if you people still say that

³⁰³ For the *Sixteen Articles* see Appendix 4, pp. 441-450 of this volume.

you don't wish to change, then you may just as well call it this name for some time. What do you think? Does it make sense?

There is another series of problems which you may not have considered. Many places have now applied to the Center to establish people's communes. A document has been issued by the Center saying that no place apart from Shanghai may set up people's communes. The Chairman is of the opinion that Shanghai ought to make a change and transform itself into a revolutionary committee or a city committee or a city people's committee.

[*Chairman Mao said:*] "I've read Liu Shaoqi's *How to be a Good Communist*³⁰⁴ several times. It is anti-Marxist-Leninist. Our method of struggle should now be on a higher level. We shouldn't keep on saying, 'Smash their dogs' heads, down with XX.' I think that university students should make a deeper study of things and choose a few passages to write some critical articles about."

From now on, we should not advocate the slogan of "down with the diehard elements who uphold the bourgeois reactionary line," but rather "down with those in power taking the capitalist road."

Generally speaking the work of Shanghai is excellent. When you went there last time, weren't there only some 100-200 persons? By now it has reached more than one million. The workers have organized nearly one million people which illustrates that Shanghai's worker masses have been more fully mobilized.

I have seen the "Urgent Directive" of the Central Cultural Revolution Group on dealing with the question of the Shanghai Red Revolutionary Committee.³⁰⁵ It was very well written, being imbued with the spirit of the rebels. Its last point says "necessary measures shall be taken. If that meeting is held to bombard Zhang Chunqiao we will certainly take the necessary steps and arrest people."

The [Shanghai People's] Commune has been too soft on the question of suppressing counter-revolutionaries. Someone complained to me that when

³⁰⁴ Liu Shaoqi's work of 1939, which had been re-issued in revised form in 1962, was known under this title in English, prior to the Cultural Revolution. It was the quintessential expression of his revisionist and careerist thinking. Since that time, the title has been translated literally as *On the Self Cultivation of Communists* (*Self-Cultivation* for short).

³⁰⁵ This refers to the urgent telegram sent to Shanghai by the Cultural Revolution Group under the CC on 29 January 1967, criticizing the Red Revolutionaries (see note below) for turning the spearhead of the struggle against Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, rather than against the old party leadership headed by former Mayor Cao Diqu, and threatening them with "all necessary action" if they persisted in their errors.

people were apprehended by the bureau of public security, they would enter through the front door and be released through the back door.

There are a number of accounts still outstanding which must be settled later. First, the demand made to the Premier by the Municipal People's Committee; second, the question of the Red Revolutionaries; third, the broadening of the revolution to oppose the military seizure of the radio stations; fourth, the opposition to military control at Longhua Airfield.³⁰⁶

There is a quotation which is currently used a great deal: "The world is ours." This was said by the Chairman in 1920.³⁰⁷ He can't altogether remember it himself and it should not be used in the future.

[*Mao Zedong asked:*] Is Tongji University still at the stations and docks?³⁰⁸

[*Zhang Chunqiao replied:*] They still are.

[*The Chairman then asked:*] Were they still there when you came?

[*Zhang Chunqiao replied:*] I'm not sure.

[*Mao Zedong said:*] That's excellent. In the past the students had not really united with the workers. Only now have they really united with them. The people in literature and the arts should return to their own units to carry out the Cultural Revolution.

[*Mao Zedong remarked:*] The *Wenhui Bao* has done very well. I completely agree with their point of view on the struggle with neighborhood cadres and I support them.

[*Zhang Chunqiao said:*] The *Wenhui Bao* exerts a lot of pressure.

[*Mao Zedong said:*] We must support them.

³⁰⁶ The demand by the Municipal People's Committee is presumably that criticized by Mao. "Red Revolutionaries" is the abbreviation for the Revolutionary Committee of Red Guards from Shanghai Schools and Universities, one of the principal signatories of the "Urgent Notice" denouncing "economism" put out by thirty-two "Rebel" organizations in Shanghai on January 9, 1967. This group, the strongest of all student organizations in the city, opposed Zhang Chunqiao until ordered to desist by the telegram of January 29, from the Center mentioned in note 7. The establishment of PLN control over broadcasting stations had been called for in the Central Committee circulars of January 11 and 23, 1967. The second of these opened the door to possible conflict by stipulating: "When the proletarian revolutionaries are able to control the situation, military control should end." Military control of the civil aviation system was ordered by the State Council on 26 January 1967. This apparently encountered opposition at Longhua Airfield in Shanghai.

³⁰⁷ "The world is ours, the nation is ours, society is ours" is a quotation from Mao's article "To The Glory of the Hans" in 1919. See *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, pp. 10-11.

³⁰⁸ The "Mao Zedong's Thought Red Guards" "East is Red General Headquarters of Tongji University" were supporters of Zhang Chunqiao.

The PLA and the Left

February 1967

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1967, No. 3, page 18.

Translation: Beijing Review, February 3, 1967, Vol. X, No. 6, page 10-15.

The People's Liberation Army should actively support and assist the genuine proletarian revolutionaries and oppose the Rightists resolutely.

“March 7 Circular”

March 7, 1967

Source: Central Directive (Zhongfa), March 8, 1967, No. 85.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 295-296.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 136.

Lin Biao, [Zhou] Enlai, and the comrades of the Cultural Revolution Group:

This document may be issued to the whole country. The PLA should separately and in sessions give military training to university students and children of middle schools and the upper formers of primary schools. They should also take part in the work of re-openings schools, re-adjusting school organization, setting up leadership bodies of the “three-in-one” combination, and carrying out struggle, criticism, and reform. They should set up experimental points first and then apply the experience so acquired to a wider scope. They ought to convince students and children [to accept] what Marx taught us—“The proletariat must emancipate mankind as a whole before it can emancipate itself.” In military training, they must not reject teachers and cadres who have made mistakes. These people must be allowed to take part so as to facilitate their reform; the only exceptions to this are the aged and sick. All this is quite easy, if it is conscientiously carried on.

Instruction in *Elementary and Secondary Schools* *Resume Classes to Make Revolution*

March 7, 1967

Source: People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), March 7, 1967, page 1.

Translation: Beijing Review, November 1, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 44, page 5.

Resume classes and make revolution.

Two Paragraphs added to *On the Revolutionary 'Three-in-One' Combination*

March 10, 1967

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1967, No. 5.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 294-295.

Translation: Beijing Review, March 17, 1967, Vol. X, No. 12, page 14-16.

[*Chairman Mao has pointed out that*] in those places and organizations where power needs to be seized, the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one", combination must be carried out in establishing a provisional organ of power that is revolutionary and representative and has proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called a revolutionary committee

At various levels, in those departments where power needs to be seized, representatives of the armed forces or of the militia should take part in forming the "three-in-one" combination. This should be done in factories and rural areas, in financial, trading, cultural and educational departments (universities, middle schools and primary schools), in Party and government organizations and in people's organizations. Representatives of the armed forces should be sent to the county level or higher and representatives of the militia should be sent to the commune level or lower. This is highly desirable. If representatives

of the armed forces are not sufficient, their posts can be left vacant for the time being and filled in the future.

A Paragraph added to *Patriotism or National Betrayal?*

April 1, 1967

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1967, No. 5.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 299.

Translation: Beijing Review, March 17, 1967, Vol. X, No. 15, page 5-16.

Was it the Boxer Rebellion [*Yihetuan*] organized by the Chinese people that went to the imperialist countries in Europe and America and to Japan to stage rebellion and “commit murder and arson”? Or was it the imperialist countries that came to invade China, this land of ours, to oppress and exploit the Chinese people and so aroused the masses of the Chinese people to resist imperialism and its lackeys and corrupt officials in China? This is a major question of right and wrong which must be debated and cleared up.

Broadcast Comrade Lin Biao’s Talk

April 7, 1967

Source: Wenhua Dageming Wenjian Huibian (Compendium of Documents on the Great Cultural Revolution), Hong Kong, 1968, pages 118-119.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 138.

The recording of Comrade Lin Biao’s talk on March 20, 1967 should be broadcast to all the members of the PLA and the red guards of the whole country. Comrade Lin Biao’s talk is a report of the utmost importance to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong’s thought; it is highly significant in guiding the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolutionary movement and in promoting further victories for the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggles at two fronts. The party committees of all the military districts, party committees at various levels, revolutionary committees of all the provinces and cities, all

the military control committees, and all the revolutionary mass organizations must organize themselves and study conscientiously Comrade Lin Biao's talk and must put it into practice meticulously.

Excerpt from the Instructions on Sichuan

April 23, 1967

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 304.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 138-139.

It is difficult to avoid mistakes, the point is to correct them honestly. Too many people have been arrested in Sichuan and many mass organizations are branded as reactionary. All these are wrong, but they have been quickly rectified.

Speech to an Albanian Military Delegation

May 1, 1967

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 311-313.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

I once said at a rally of 7,000 people in 1962³⁰⁹: "In the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, it is yet uncertain as to which will win and which will be defeated, it being highly possible that revisionism will triumph and we will be defeated. We used the possibility of defeat to alert the public, and we found this to be highly conducive to heightening our vigilance against revisionism, as well as to preventing and opposing revisionism..." Actually, the struggle between the two classes and the two lines within the Communist Party has always existed. Nobody can deny it, and being materialists ourselves, we of course should not deny it. Since that rally, the struggle between the two classes within our Party has manifested itself in the forms of "left" in appearance but

³⁰⁹ A reference to the *Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the CC of the CPC* held on January 30, 1962. See *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, pp. 413-436.

right in essence and the opposition to same, a denial of the existence of class struggle and emphasis on the existence of class struggle, and in compromises and accentuation of proletarian politics, etc. This has been discussed in pertinent documents that appeared prior to that occasion.

Today the military delegation of Albania has come here to understand our nation's Great Cultural Revolution. Let me first of all talk about my approaches to this problem.

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began with Comrade Yao Wenyuan's criticism of *Hai Rui Dismissed From Office* in the winter of 1965. At that time, certain departments and certain localities in this country of ours were dominated by revisionism. It was so tight that even water could not seep in and pins could not penetrate. I then suggested to Comrade Jiang Qing that she organize some articles to criticize *Hai Rui Dismissed From Office*. But this was impossible to accomplish here in this Red metropolis, and there was no alternative but to go to Shanghai to organize it. Finally the article was written. I read it three times, and considered it basically all right, so I let Comrade Jiang Qing bring it back for publication. I suggested that some of the leading comrades of the Central Committee be allowed to read it, but Comrade Jiang Qing suggested: "The article can be published as it is, and I do not think there is any need to ask Comrade [Zhou] Enlai and Kang Sheng to read it." [*Comrade Lin Biao interrupted, saying*: "Some people say that Comrade Mao Zedong used one faction to fight another faction. But now all of the central leadership comrades have prestige among the revolutionary masses, and they were all briefed beforehand by Chairman Mao on the Great Cultural Revolution, and so they did not commit any errors. I think the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an examination without examination, and whoever follows closely Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is a proletarian revolutionary. So I have always said that Mao Zedong Thought must be implemented both when we understand it and when we may temporarily not understand it."] After Yao Wenyuan's article was published, most of the newspapers in the country published it, but it was not published in Beijing and Hunan. Later I suggested that a pamphlet be issued but it was also opposed and did not go through.

Yao Wenyuan's article was merely the signal for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Consequently, in the Central Committee, I was especially keen on drawing up the *May 16 Circular*.³¹⁰ Because the enemy was especially sensitive, once the signal was sounded here, we knew that he would take

³¹⁰ For the *May 16 Circular*, see Appendix 2, pp. 428-435.

action. Of course, we also had to take action on our own. This circular had already been very precise in bringing out the question of line, and the question of the two lines. At that time, the majority did not agree with my view, and I was left alone for a time. They said that my views were outmoded, and so I had to present my views to the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CPC Central Committee for discussion. After some debate I gained the endorsement of a little over one-half of the Comrades. There were still many people who would not agree with me, including Li Jingquan and Liu Lantao.³¹¹ Comrade [Chen] Boda went to talk with them, and they said: I couldn't endorse it in Beijing, and after I returned [home] I still could not endorse it. Finally I had no choice but to let practice make further examination!

After the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CPC Central Committee, the emphasis was on the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line that had been taking place during the three months of October, November and December 1966, and this resulted in public disclosure of contradictions within the Party. Here, I would like to mention another problem and that was that the broad masses of workers and peasants, and the hardcore cadres of the Party and league were deceived during the process of criticizing the reactionary line. Having studied the problem what could we do with regard to those comrades who were deceived? I have always felt that the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are good, the overwhelming majority of Party members and [youth] league members are good, and that they have all been the principal forces during every stage of the proletarian revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is certainly no exception. Since the broad masses of workers and peasants are involved in actual labor, they naturally know very little about conditions in the upper echelons. Moreover, the vast number of hardcore cadres of the Party and league have heart-felt devotion to the Party and have boundless love for the party's cadres, while the "power holders taking the capitalist road" have raised the red flag to oppose the red flag. For this reason, they were so deceived that for a relatively long period of time they could not get out from under their delusions, but there were historical factors behind all of this. As long as those who were deceived reformed themselves, it was all right! As the movement developed, they again became the main force. The "January Storm" was launched by the workers, and it is just as true for the democratic revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The "May

³¹¹ Li Jingquan, see note 269 on p. 294 of this volume. For Liu Lantao, see note 268 on p. 294 of this volume.

4th Movement³¹² was launched by intellectuals, thereby fully demonstrating their foresight and awareness. However, we must depend on the masters of the time, the workers, peasants and soldiers, to serve as the main force in carrying through thoroughgoing revolutions on the order of a real Northern Expedition or Long March. In point of fact, workers, peasants and soldiers are really only workers and peasants, since soldiers are only workers and peasants dressed in army uniforms. Although it was the intellectuals and the broad masses of young students who launched the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line, it was, nonetheless, incumbent upon the masters of the time, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, to serve as the main force in carrying the revolution through to completion, once the “January Storm” had seized power. Intellectuals have always been quick in altering their perception of things, but, because of the limitations of their instincts, and because they lack a thorough revolutionary character, they are sometimes opportunistic.

From the standpoint of policy and strategy, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution may be generally divided into four stages. From the publication of Comrade Yao Wenyan’s article to the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CPC Central Committee may be considered the first stage, and it was primarily a stage of mobilization. From the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CPC Central Committee to the “January Storm” may be considered the second stage. The third stage consisted of Qi Benyu’s³¹³ *Patriotism or National Betrayal?* and *Betrayal of Proletarian Dictatorship is an essential element in the Book on ‘Self-Cultivation’*. The period thereafter may be considered the fourth stage. During the third and fourth stages the question of seizing power was paramount. The fourth stage was concerned with seizing the powers of revisionism and of the bourgeoisie ideologically. Consequently, this was a crucial stage in the decisive battle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, and this was the main and proper theme of the whole movement. After the “January Storm,” the Central Committee repeatedly concerned itself with the problem of a great alliance, but it did not work out. Later, it was discovered that this subjective wish was not in keeping with the objective laws of the development of class

³¹² May Fourth Movement: On May 4, 1919, students in Beijing demonstrated against the handing over to Japan of many of China’s sovereign rights in Shandong by Britain, the United States, France, Japan, Italy and other imperialist countries then in conference in Paris. This student movement evoked an immediate response throughout the country. After June 3, it developed into a country-wide anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary movement embracing large numbers of the proletariat, the urban petit bourgeoisie and even the national bourgeoisie.

³¹³ Qi Benyu, was an editor of the *Red Flag* [*Hongqi*], the theoretical organ of the CPC.

struggle. This is because each class and political power wanted to exert itself stubbornly. Bourgeois and Kang Youwei bourgeois ideologies burst forth like unbridled flood waters, thus undermining the great alliance. It was impossible to work out a great alliance, and even if it were, it would eventually be broken up. Thus, the present attitude of the Central Committee is merely to promote it, not to work it out. The method of pulling the sprout to accelerate its growth is unfeasible. This law of class struggle cannot be changed by anyone's subjective will. On this question there are many examples which can be cited. In the workers' congress, the Red Guard congress, and the peasants' congress in XX municipality, it seems that with the exception of the peasants' congress, the workers' and Red Guard congress have had many squabbles. I think the revolutionary committee of XX municipality may yet have to be reorganized.

I had originally intended to train some successors from among the intellectuals, but this would now appear to be impractical. It seems to me that the world outlook of intellectuals, including those young intellectuals who are still receiving education in schools, and those both within and outside the Party, is still basically bourgeois. This is because in the more than ten years since liberation, the cultural and educational circles have been dominated by revisionism, and so bourgeois ideology has seeped into their blood. Thus, revolutionary intellectuals must carefully remold their world outlook during this crucial stage of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Otherwise, they will go contrary to the revolution. Now I would like to ask you a question: What would you say is the goal of the Great Cultural Revolution? [*Someone answered on the spot:* It is to struggle against power holders within the Party who take the capitalist road.] To struggle against power holders who take the capitalist road is the main task, but it is by no means the goal. The goal is to solve the problem of world outlook: it is the question of eradicating the roots of revisionism.

The Central Committee has emphasized time and again that the masses must educate themselves and liberate themselves. This is because world outlook cannot be imposed on them. In order to transform ideology, it is necessary for the external causes to function through inner causes, though the latter are principal. If the world outlook is not transformed, how can the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution be called a victory? If the world outlook is not transformed, then although there are 2,000 power holders taking the capitalist road in this Great Cultural Revolution, there may be 4,000 next time. The cost of this Great Cultural Revolution has been very great, and even though the

question of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads cannot be resolved by one, two, three or four Great Cultural Revolutions, still, this Great Cultural Revolution, should consolidate things for a decade at least. In the course of one century, it may be possible to launch such a revolution two or three times at most. Thus we must focus our attention on eradicating the roots of revisionism in order to strengthen our ability to guard against and oppose revisionism at any time. Here I would like to ask you another question: Who would you say are the power holders taking the capitalist road? [*No response from the audience.*] The so-called power holders taking the capitalist road are those power holders who take the road of capitalism! What I mean by this is that during the time of the democratic revolution, these people actively participated in opposing the three big mountains but once the entire country was liberated, they were not so keen on opposing the bourgeoisie. Though they had actively participated in and endorsed the overthrow of local despots and the distribution of land, after the country's liberation when agricultural collectivization was to be implemented, they were not very keen on this either. He who would not take the socialist road and is now in power—is it not he who is a power holder taking the road of capitalism! Let's just say that it is "veteran cadres encountering new problems!" When a veteran comes face to face with a new problem, he will resolutely take the socialist road if he has the proletarian world outlook, but if he has the bourgeois world outlook, he will take the road of capitalism. This means that the bourgeoisie wants to transform the world in accordance with the bourgeois world outlook, while the proletariat wants to transform the world in accordance with the proletarian world outlook. There are those who have committed errors of orientation and line in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and this has been said to be a case of "veteran cadres encountering new problems." But the fact that you have erred tells us that you veteran cadres have not yet thoroughly remolded your bourgeois world outlook. From now on, veteran cadres are bound to encounter even more new problems. To ensure that you will resolutely take the road of socialism, you will have to undergo a thorough proletarian revolutionization ideologically. Let me ask you, how can you actually proceed from socialism toward communism? This is a great event for the nation, and a great event for the world.

I say the revolutionary spirit of the revolutionary little generals is very strong, and this is excellent. But you cannot step onto the stage now, because if you step onto the stage now, you will be kicked off the stage tomorrow. But this word has been leaked out by a Vice Premier's own mouth, and this is highly

inappropriate. As far as the revolutionary little generals are concerned, it is a question of nurturing and training them. At a time when they have committed certain errors, to use such words will only dampen their spirits. Some say that elections are very good and very democratic. As far as I am concerned, election is merely a fancy word, and do not feel that there is any genuine election. I have been elected by the Beijing district to serve as a representative to the National People's Congress, but how many in Beijing really understood me? I feel that Zhou Enlai's premiership was an appointment by the Central Committee. Others say that China is profoundly peace loving, but I cannot see how profound that love is. I think Chinese are militant.

In regard to cadres, we must establish the belief that 95 percent or more of them are good or relatively good, and we must never depart from this class viewpoint! In regard to leading cadres who are revolutionary or want to be revolutionary, one should protect them, protect them forthrightly and bravely, and liberate them from their errors. Even though they have taken the capitalist road, we must allow them to make revolution after they have undergone long-term education and their errors have been rectified. There are not many really bad persons. Among the masses, they constitute at most 5 percent; within the Party and league, 1 to 2 percent; and there are only a handful of power holders who stubbornly take the capitalist road. But we must regard this handful of power holder within the Party who take the capitalist road as the principal target of attack because their influence and insidious poison are deep and far-reaching. Thus, this is the principal task of this Great Cultural Revolution. As for bad elements among the masses, they number at most 5 percent, and they are scattered without much strength. If the 35 million of them, calculated at 5 percent, should band together to form an army and oppose us in an organized manner, that would be a problem deserving serious consideration. But since they are diffused in various localities and powerless, they cannot be the principal target of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, it is necessary for us to heighten our vigilance and, especially at this crucial stage of the struggle, prevent these bad elements from wreaking havoc. Thus, there should be two premises for the great alliance: one is to destroy self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest; the other is that there must be a struggle. Without struggle the great alliance will not be effective.

The fourth stage of this Great Cultural Revolution is the crucial stage of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Thus, a relatively longer period of time will be needed to arrange mass criticism. It is

still being discussed by the Central Cultural Revolution Group. Some feel that the end of this year would be an appropriate time for this, and others feel that next May would be more appropriate. However, the time must conform to the laws of class struggle.

Comment in Warmly Respond to the Call to Support The Army and Cherish the People

May 7, 1967

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1967, No. 6.

Translation: Beijing Review, May 5, 1967, Vol. X, No. 19, page 21-22.

We must have faith in and rely on the masses, have faith in and rely on the People's Liberation Army and have faith in and rely on the great majority of the cadres.

A Paragraph Added to A Great Historic Document

May 18, 1967

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1967, No. 7, page 11.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 311.

Translation: Beijing Review, May 19, 1967, Vol. X, No. 21, page 10-12.

The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. [*In the last few years Comrade Mao Zedong has said repeatedly that*] the issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance.

On the Central Military Commission Notice on Studying the 54th Army's Mass Work

May 25, 1967

Source: People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), July 7, 1967, page 3.

Translation: Jerome Chen, Mao Papers, page 142-143.

All military regions, all armed services, all soldiers:

The 54th Army has done a good job in Chongqing, available for your reference. Whenever acute opposition exists between the mass organizations of two factions, there will be need for careful political ideological work which can help to resolve all the differences. Careful political ideological work is needed even when [we] are dealing with conservative and reactionary organizations.

Directive on External Propaganda Work

June 18, 1967

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 315.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

Some foreigners have offered suggestions on the external propaganda conducted by *Beijing Review* and *Xinhua News Agency*. In the past, they did not proselytize the fact that Mao Zedong's Thought has developed Marxism, but now after the Great Cultural Revolution, they are doing it with fanfare and there is such boasting that it is hard to swallow. Why must one say some of the words by one's self? We must be modest, especially toward outsiders. In being a little modest toward outsiders, naturally we must not lose our principles. In yesterday's communiqué on the hydrogen bomb, I deleted Great Leader, Great Teacher, Great Commander-in-Chief, and Great Helmsman. I also deleted "boundless flame." How could there be boundless flame in the world? There is always a "bound" and so I deleted it. I also deleted "10,000 percent" from the phrase "mood of 10,000 percent joy and excitement." It was not 10 percent,

100 percent, or 1,000 percent, but 10,000 percent! I didn't even want to have one percent, and so I deleted it entirely.

Petty-Bourgeois Ideology

June 21, 1967

Source: Wen Wei Po, June 21, 1967.

People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), June 25, 1967, page 3.

Translation: Beijing Review, July 7, 1967, Vol. X, No. 28, page 16.

We must be good at guiding those people in our ranks with petty bourgeois ideas on to the path of the proletarian revolution. This is crucial to the success of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Party Organization

July 1967

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 1, page 14.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 342.

Translation: Beijing Review, January 3, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 1, page 11-12.

The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous and vital organization of vanguards which can lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in struggle against the class enemy.

Socialist Economy

August 17, 1967

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1967, No. 13, page 9.

Translation: Beijing Review, August 18, 1967, Vol. X, No. 34, page 14.

What will happen if our country fails to establish a socialist economy? It will turn into a country like Yugoslavia, a bourgeois state in effect, and the dictatorship of the proletariat will turn into a bourgeois dictatorship and, for that matter, into a reactionary, fascist dictatorship. This question very much warrants our vigilance and I hope comrades will give it serious consideration.

Comment in Some Tentative Programmes for Revolutionizing Education

October 25, 1967

Source: People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), November 3, 1967, page 1

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 341.

Translation: Beijing Review, November 17, 1967, Vol. X, No. 47, page 9.

The proletarian revolution in education should be carried out by relying on the mass of revolutionary students, teachers and workers in the schools, by relying on the activists among them, namely, those proletarian revolutionaries who are determined to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Letter to Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai and the Central Cultural Revolution Group

December 17, 1967

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 342-343.

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

Comrades Lin, Zhou and Central Cultural Revolution Group:

1. The way in which absolute authority is presented is improper. There has never been any single absolute authority. All authorities are relative. All absolute things exist in relative things just as absolute truth is the total of innumerable relative truths, and that absolute truth exists only in relative truths.
2. The talk about “establishing in a big way” and “establishing in a special way” is also improper. Authority and prestige can only be established naturally through struggle and practice. They cannot be established artificially. Prestige established artificially will inevitably collapse.
3. The Central Committee of the Party banned birthday celebration a long time ago. The entire nation should be notified of the reaffirmation of this ban.³¹⁴
4. Some other date should be chosen for the Hunan meeting.
5. We don't need any scrolls with calligraphed messages.
6. As to the name of the meeting, we may concur with Hunan's suggestion, wing the first plan.

I hope that the above points will be discussed and adopted at a meeting.

³¹⁴ While anniversary celebrations commemorating important victories or achievements of the people were widespread, birthday parties for a person were banned in China, as they were during the feudal times opportunities for rich landlords to flaunt their wealth and also to require lavish gifts from the peasants. Mao enacted the ban on birthday parties, as well as naming places after him and opposed receiving gifts because of his position (See for example his instruction to Wen Jiuming to not bring presents in *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, pp. 238-239). Beginning in May 1967, different factions of the Red Guards (both right and ultra-left) started to erect statues of Mao, and against his explicit instructions, on December 26, a statue of Mao made of aluminum was unveiled in Beijing.

Message of Greetings to President Nguyen Huu Tho

December 19, 1967

Source: People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), December 19, 1967, page 1.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 343-344.

Translation: Beijing Review, December 25, 1967, Vol. X, No. 52, page 5.

President Nguyen Huu Tho of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation:

On behalf of the Chinese people, I extend the warmest congratulations to the fighting people of southern Vietnam on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the founding of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front.

You are putting up a good fight! Under exceptionally difficult conditions, you have, by relying on your own strength, battered US imperialism, the most ferocious imperialism in the world, so that its forces are in disorder and it has no way out. This is a great victory. The Chinese people salute you.

Your victory manifests once again that a nation, big or small, can defeat any enemy, however powerful provided only that it fully mobilizes its people, relies firmly on the people, and wages a people's war. By their war against US aggression and for national salvation under the wise and able leadership of the great leader President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people have set a brilliant example for the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations the world over in their struggle for liberation.

The days of the US aggressors in Vietnam are numbered. However, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct desperate struggles. They are bound to resort to military adventure and political deception in all their forms in order to save themselves from extinction. And the revolutionary peoples are bound to meet with all kinds of difficulties before final victory. Nevertheless, all these difficulties can be surmounted, and no difficulty can ever obstruct the advance of the revolutionary people. Perseverance means victory. I am deeply convinced that, by persevering in protracted war, the Vietnamese people will certainly be able to drive the US aggressors out of Vietnam.

We firmly support you. We are neighboring countries as close as the lips and the teeth. Our two peoples are brothers sharing weal and woe. The fraternal people of southern Vietnam and the entire fraternal Vietnamese people can rest assured that your struggle is our struggle. The 700 million Chinese

people are the powerful rearguard of the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area. In the face of the solid fighting unity of our two peoples, all military adventures and political deceptions by US imperialism will certainly fail.

Victory will definitely belong to the heroic Vietnamese people!

1968

People's Air Force

February 9, 1968

Source: People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), February 9, 1968, page 6.

Translation: Beijing Review, November 28, 1969, Vol. XII, No. 48, page 13.

Build a powerful people's air force to defend the motherland and to prepare for the repulsion of invaders.³¹⁵

Instructions on Holding Study Classes

October 1967 - February 1968

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 346.

Translation: Foreign Languages Press, Paris, 2020.

The central government should hold studies, mainly in the provinces, not just the army, but also in the local party and government, in culture and education must gather for study.

The Rebel Faction must also go through training. They are impatient and ambitious. If one session doesn't take, do two or three sessions. There are many people in the Rebel Faction. I think this training method is good.

Soldiers must participate in studies in the military.

Conducting studies is a good method. Many problems can be solved in the study.

³¹⁵ See also "Inscription for the Air Force", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. VII, page 102.

Three Experiences of the Revolutionary Committees

March 30, 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 1, page 26.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 346.

Translation: Beijing Review, April 5, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 14, page 6.

The basic experience of revolutionary committees is this—they are three-fold: they have representatives of revolutionary cadres, representatives of the armed forces and representatives of the revolutionary masses. This forms a revolutionary “three-in-one” combination. The revolutionary committee should exercise unified leadership, do away with redundant or overlapping administrative structures, have “better troops and simpler administration” and organize a revolutionized leading group which is linked with the masses.

Quotations in *Revolutionary Committees are Fine*

March 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 1, page 20.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 345.

Translation: Beijing Review, April 19, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 16, page 7.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is in essence a great political revolution made under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle between the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under the Party’s leadership on the one hand and the Kuomintang reactionaries on the other, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The “three-in-one” revolutionary committee is a creation of the working class and the masses in the current great cultural revolution.

The most fundamental principle in the reform of state organs is that they must keep in contact with the masses.

Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Repression

April 16, 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 1, page 5-7.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 346-347.

Translation: Beijing Review, April 19, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 16, page 5-6.

Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the US imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of nonviolence. Nevertheless, the US imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance toward him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the Black people in the United States a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities in the United States, a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country. It shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than twenty million Black Americans.

The storm of Afro-American struggle taking place within the United States is a striking manifestation of the comprehensive political and economic crisis now gripping US imperialism. It is dealing a telling blow to US imperialism, which is beset with difficulties at home and abroad.

The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed Black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous aid and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against US imperialism and to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against US imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the Black people in the United States.

Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and the US ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the US monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the Black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The Black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States have common interests and common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the US monopoly capitalist class.

In 1963, in the *Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by US Imperialism*, I said that "the evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people." I still maintain this view.

At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the Black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against US imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals of all countries and all who are willing to fight against US imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the Black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, US imperialism, and its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism, and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.

On Class Analysis of Factionalism

April & May 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 1, page 29.

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1968, Vol. 5, page 347.

Translation: Beijing Review, May 10, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 19, page 3-4.

We must make a class analysis of factionalism.

Outside a party there exist other parties and inside a party there exist factions; this has always been the case.

Apart from uninhabited deserts, wherever there are groups of people they are invariably composed of the Left, the middle and the right. This will still be the case after thousands of years.

Any faction forms one wing of a class.

The Fundamental Distinction Between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang

June 3, 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 1, page 8-9.

Translation: Beijing Review, June 7, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 23, page 17.

To protect or to suppress the broad masses of the people—this is a fundamental distinction between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Take the Road of the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant in Training Technicians From Among the Workers³¹⁶

July 21, 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 3, page 12.

Translation: Beijing Review, August 2, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 31, page 9.

It is still necessary to have universities; here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is essential to shorten the length of schooling, revolutionize education, put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study.

Dialogues with Responsible Persons of Capital Red Guards Congress

July 28, 1968

Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (Wansui), 1969.³¹⁷

Translation: JPRS, Report No. 61269-2.

Mao Zedong: [Nie Yuanzi, Tan Houlan, Han Aijing and Wang Dabing walked into the room. The Chairman, standing, shook hands with each one of them] All are young!

³¹⁶ This short note, written as a commentary to the article “The Road of Training Engineering and Technical Personnel as Demonstrated by the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant—an Investigation Report” was named the “July 21st Directive” and started a campaign to open all universities around China for and by workers.

³¹⁷ The translation of this document was first published by the JPRS and cites the *Wansui* as its source. The 1968 *Wansui* ends at May 1968, it's therefore this document was probably (though unverifiably) published in a 1969 version of the *Wansui*.

[Shaking hands with Huang Zuozhen³¹⁸] Are you Huang Zuozhen? I haven't met you before. You were not killed?

Jiang Qing: Haven't seen you for a long time. You didn't post big-character posters.

Mao Zedong: We met last time at Tiananmen, but there was no chance to talk with you at that time. That was bad! You people don't come to see me unless you have important business. But I have read all of your reports. I understand your situation very well.

Kuai Dafu did not come. Is it because he is unable to come or unwilling to come?

Fuzhi: I am afraid that he is unwilling to come.

Han Aijing: No. At this moment, if he knew that there was a meeting with the Central Cultural Revolution Group, he would cry because he missed the chance to meet the Chairman. I am sure that he is unable to come.

Mao Zedong: Kuai Dafu should capture the black hand. So many workers were sent to schools to "suppress" and "oppress" the red guards. Who is the black hand? The black hand is still not captured.

The black hand is nobody else but me. Kuai did not come. He should have come to grab me. It was I who sent the Central Police Guards and the workers of the Xinhua Printing Plant and the General Knitwear Mill. I asked them how they would deal with the fighting in universities, and told them to go there to take a look. As a result, 30,000 of them went. Actually, they hated Beijing University, but not Qinghua. [Turned to Nie] This was what the workers and the students did. Tens of thousands of them staged a demonstration. I heard that the reception you gave them was pretty good. Was it you, or Jinggongshan?³¹⁹ [Wen Yucheng, Huang Zuozhen: Not them]. With what unit did Beijing University clash?

Nie Yuanzi: With the Institute of Agricultural Science.

Mao Zedong: Did you fight them?

Nie Yuanzi: We even served tea in front of our gate.

³¹⁸ Nie Yuanzi, Han Aijing, Wang Dabing, Kuai Dafu, Tan Houlan, and Huang Zuozhen were all leader' of various Red Guard factions of Beijing.

³¹⁹ "Jinggongshan," "April 14," "May 16," "April 22" were all the names of various Red Guard organizations

Mao Zedong: I did not know that. Beijing University wants to arrest the black hand. This black hand is not me, but Xie Fuzhi.³²⁰ I didn't have such a big ambition. I suggested only that a few people be sent over to have a discussion with them. Kuai Dafu said that 100,000 of them went.

Fuzhi: Less than 30,000.

Mao Zedong: How did you deal with armed fighting in universities? One way is complete withdrawal. Leave the students alone. Let everybody fight if he wants to. In the past, the revolutionary committees and the garrison commands were not afraid of the chaos caused by the fighting in universities. They refrained from control anxiety and suppression. In retrospect, this is right. The other way is to give them a little help. This has won the support of the workers, the peasants, and the majority of students. There are more than 50 institutions of higher learning in Beijing. There are about five or six of them where the fighting was severe, and where your ability was put to the test. As to how to solve the problem, some of you live in the south, and some of you live in the north. And all of you are called new Beijing University, "Jinggangshan," and "commune," just like the Soviet Communist Party calling itself "Bolshevik." If you cannot handle the problem, we may resort to military control, and ask Lin Biao to take command. We also have Huang Yongsheng.³²¹ The problem has to be solved one way or the other. You people have engaged in the Great Cultural Revolution or struggle-criticism-transformation for two years. Now, in the first place, you are not struggling; in the second place, you are not criticizing, in the third place, you are not transforming. Yes, you are struggling, but it is armed struggle. The people are not happy. The workers are not happy. The peasants are not happy. Beijing residents are not happy. The students in most of the schools are not happy. Most students in your school are also not happy. Even within the faction that supports you there are people who are unhappy. Can you unite the whole country this way? You belong to the new Beijing University. You "Old Buddha" are in the majority. You are a philosopher. Don't tell me that there is nobody against you in the new Beijing University commune and among the cultural revolutionaries in the schools. I don't believe that! They may not say anything in front of you, but they will say devilish words behind your back. Wang Dabing, is your work easier?

³²⁰ Xie Fuzhi, at that time vice-premier, and member of the Cultural Revolutionary group of the CC of the CPC.

³²¹ Huang Yongsheng, the Army Chief of staff of that time.

Wang Dabing: Those who opposed Xie Fuzhi fled.

Fuzhi: His second man in command wanted to seize power and accused him of leaning toward the right.

Mao Zedong: Is he that left?

Wang Dabing: They are trying to sow discord in our relationship. He is a good comrade, with a good background. He suffered greatly and has deep hatred. This man is very straightforward, and full of energy for revolution, with a strong revolutionary character. His only drawback is his impatience. He is not very tactful in uniting people. His working method is a little stiff.

Mao Zedong: Can you unite with him? He is left; you are right. It should be easy for you two to be united! Come over here, sit by my side!

Lin Biao: Come over!

Fuzhi: Go! Go! [Wang Dabing sat down by the side of the Chairman.]

Mao Zedong: Sit down, sit down. We should be flexible in these matters. After all, they are all students. They did not engage in black gang activities. Recently, struggles were conducted against black gangsters in some schools, and sketches of these black gangsters were drawn. Several tens of them were dealt with in the new Beijing University. Is that all the black gangsters? I think there are more. The crucial point is that the two factions are engaged in armed struggle. They were bent on armed struggle. This kind of struggle-criticism-transformation does not work. Maybe, struggle-criticism-quit will. The students are talking about struggle-criticism-quit; or struggle-criticism-disperse. Now there are so many people who are aloof and indifferent. More and more derogatory words are heard in society about Nie Yuanzi and Kuai Dafu. Nie Yuanzi's cannon fodder is limited in number; so is Kuai Dafu's. Sometimes 300; other times 150 men. How can that be compared with the number of troops under Lin Biao and Huang Yongsheng. This time, in one shot, I dispatched 30,000.

Lin Biao: During the development of all significant events in the world, there is unity after long disunity, and disunity after long unity. Tear down all the defense works for armed struggle. All the hot weapons, cold weapons, knives, and rifles should be put in storage. Nie Yuanzi, they call you "Old Buddha," or the "Old Nest of Buddha." Moreover, we have you, Comrade Tan Houlan, wearing two pigtales. You asked for a transfer down to lower levels. You have spent more than 10 years studying in schools. Everybody agrees that you

should be transferred down. I am afraid that you cannot leave. Once you are gone, who is going to take your place?

Tan Houlan: Everything has been arranged.

Mao Zedong: Your five great generals, we support you, including Kuai Dafu who wants to grab the black hand. We have our prejudices. The “Beijing University” “Jinggangshan” and the “April 14” Army Corps at Normal University may have adverse opinions about us. I’m not afraid of being overthrown by others. When the “April 14” Army Corps at Qinghua said that the “April 14” thinking must win, I was unhappy. They also said that those who won the country cannot rule it, and that the proletariat which won the country cannot rule it. “April 14” has a theoretician by the name of Zhou Chuanying. Why should we arrest a theoretician? He is a theoretician for a school of thought. He writes articles. Why should you arrest him? Release him. He has his opinion. Let him write again! Otherwise, there will be no freedom. I say, you, Old Buddha, had better be a little more generous. There are several thousand men at Beijing University’s “Jinggangshan.” If they were released like a torrential flood, they will wash the Dragon King’s Temple away. Can you take it? Otherwise, you Old Buddha we have to impose military control. The third method is to handle this matter according to the principles of dialectics. Don’t live in one city. Separate. Either you or “Jinggangshan” move to the south. If one is in the south and the other in the north, you won’t see each other. You cannot fight. Each one puts his own house in order, and then the entire world will be united. Otherwise, you will be afraid. If they launch an attack on the nest of Old Buddha, you won’t be able to sleep. You’ll be afraid. They will be afraid, too. It is necessary to hold back a little. Why should you be so tense? You are afraid of others attacking you. If you don’t reserve some strength for the future, what are you going to do when they attack? I heard that there is a man who wants to assassinate you. Even though you know who the would-be assassin is, you don’t have to arrest him. Let him go. Don’t say anything even if you know exactly who he is. But from now on you should pay attention to one thing. Don’t go anywhere alone.

Jiang Qing: She has bodyguards.

Nie Yuanzi: No.

Mao Zedong: Your elder brother is no good. Neither is your elder sister. In short, the Nie family is no good. After all, a bad elder brother is still an elder

brother, a bad elder sister is still an elder sister. Why should they get the younger sister involved? [*Somebody reported that he could not find Kuai Dafu*].

Jiang Qing: Is Kuai Dafu unwilling to come, or unable to come?

Fuzhi: We broadcast an announcement saying that Kuai Dafu is wanted by the Central Cultural Revolution Group to attend a meeting. He is just unwilling to come.

Jiang Qing: Is he unwilling to come, or unable to come?

Fuzhi: I guess that he is under someone's control. It doesn't matter if he is.

Wenyuan: Quite possible.

Mao Zedong: I think Kuai Dafu is a good man. He is quite exposed. Those who control him are bad people. Kuai Dafu and those who are exposed are good men. I have a lot of experience in this respect. Wang Dabing, is there any fighting in your place?

Wang Dabing: No. On September 23, 1966, we had a fight with the conservative faction. It was Comrade [Chen] Boda who sent men to our rescue. Then we won.

Mao Zedong: That's good. From then on, neither you nor Han Aijing have engaged in fighting. Han Aijing, you are very good at giving advice and are a strategist. Are you a descendant of Han Xin?

Kang Sheng: I heard that Kuai Dafu is the commander, and Han Aijing is the political commissar.

Han Aijing: Kuai Dafu is surrounded by a group of people with complicated backgrounds. Now, people who gained their stature by writing big-character posters at the beginning of the movement are very few. The number of people who engage in armed fighting has increased. They want the headquarters reorganized. Kuai Dafu is unable to control any more.

Kang Sheng: The situation may not be what you have just said!

Mao Zedong: Tan Houlan, the cultural revolution has been going on for two years now. The members of your 100-200 man army corps are unable to sleep peacefully at night. For the time being, you cannot leave because you are the queen. Here among the four of you attending this meeting, two are women. It is great! I think you cannot leave for the time being. You have to provide them with food and freedom of movement. They are in a sad plight, and yet

they want to seize power. Other schools have also participated. You [pointing to Han] and Kuai Dafu have played a role.

Han Aijing: I also participated.

Jiang Qing: Han Aijing wanted to topple others.

Mao Zedong: You played a role. Our Commander, Kuai Dafu, also played a part. Young people should do good things, but they are also capable of doing bad things. You said that the Central Cultural Revolution Group did not notify you. Comrade Lin Biao and Premier Zhou spoke on 23 and 27 March, respectively, and a rally of 100,000 people was held. This time both Comrades Huang Zuozhen and Wen Yucheng spoke, but fighting still went on at the lower level, as though this was done deliberately in opposition to us. First of all, we want cultural struggle, not armed struggle. If you want to fight, it is all right. The more you fight, the bigger the fighting becomes. Both sides have native guns. What kind of fighting is yours! Your fighting is nothing. Take out the carbines, rifles, native guns, and even anti-aircraft guns like in Sichuan.

Jiang Qing: Disgrace to the family.

Mao Zedong: With so much magic power, you, Old Buddha, can only activate something like 200-300 men. Where are your troops? You still have to rely on workers and demobilized soldiers as the main force. Without them you cannot succeed. Comrade Lin Biao has lots of troops. If he gives you a few thousand, or a few tens of thousands, it should be enough for you to eliminate “Jinggangshan” entirely. But this is not the answer. Let us have some discussion, or call a meeting to discuss this matter. But, first of all, you should get united.

Lin Biao: Unity comes first. The Chairman mentioned four plans. The first is military control. The second is one divides into two. The third is to follow the steps of “struggle-criticism-quit.” The fourth is to fight on a big scale.

Mao Zedong: One divides into two. Both sides are very tense and restless because of hatred. Moving and relocation is a problem. Quarrels will occur if both sides are in Beijing. This auditorium is empty; Zhongnanhai is a big place capable of accommodating 40,000-50,000 people. Is it not big enough for a school? Either Nie Yuanzi or Hou Hanqing [one of the leaders of Beijing University’s Jinggangshan] should move here.

You people were talking about “killing the cow, slaughtering the monkey and stewing the mutton.”³²² The cow is Niu Huilin, the monkey is Hou Hanqing, and mutton is Yang Keming. Of these three, I know only Yang Keming. He is also a young man. He attended the 11th plenum of the 8th Central Committee. That big-character poster was done with Yang Keming’s help. Your big-character poster represents two factions. This kind of social phenomenon does not change according to man’s will. Nobody foresaw this kind of fighting. Suspension of classes for half a year was originally planned. It was so announced in the newspaper. Later, the suspension was extended to one year. As one year was not enough, it was extended to two years, and then, to three years. I say, if three years are still not enough, give them as many years as necessary. After all, people are growing older every year. Suppose you were a freshman three years ago, you are now a junior. The schools may be suspended for another two, four, or eight years, you get promoted all the same, so what. . .

Struggle-criticism-quit is also a way out. Is it true that Tan Houlan wanted to quit? Let everybody quit; sweep everyone out. Should we continue to run universities? Should universities continue to enroll new students? To stop enrolling new students does not work, either. I put some reservations in my remarks. I said that we should continue to run universities. I mentioned science and engineering colleges, but I did not say that all liberal arts colleges should be closed. But if liberal arts colleges are unable to show any accomplishments, they should be closed. As far as I can see, the basic courses in junior and senior middle schools and the last two years in primary school are about the same as those offered by colleges. One should only go to school for six years, at most ten years. The courses given in senior middle school repeat those in junior middle school, and those courses given in college repeat those given in senior middle school. All basic courses are repetitious. As to courses of specialization, even the teachers don’t understand. Philosophers are unable to talk philosophy. What is there to learn in school? Nie Yuanzi, you are a philosopher, are you?

Nie Yuanzi: No, I am not a philosopher.

Jiang Qing: She is an Old Buddha.

Mao Zedong: What is the use of studying philosophy? Can one learn philosophy in college? If one has never been a worker or a peasant and goes to study philosophy, what kind of philosophy is that?

³²² Chinese character for cow is pronounced *niu*; Chinese character for monkey is pronounced *hou*; and Chinese characters for mutton are pronounced *yang rou*.

Lin Biao: The more one studies, the narrower one's mind gets. It is called “*zhexue*” (“narrow study”).³²³

Mao Zedong: How about studying literature? One should not study the history of literature. Instead, he should learn to write novels. Write a novel for me each week. If he is unable to produce, send him to a factory to work as an apprentice. During his apprenticeship, he should write about his experience as an apprentice. Those who study literature nowadays are unable to write. Hu Wanchun of Shanghai used to write a lot, but after a while I saw little of his work.

Zhou Enlai: There is also Gao Yubao. He also went to college. Then his brain petrified.

Mao Zedong: Let me talk with you about Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Marx and Lenin finished their college education, but not Engels and Stalin. Lenin studied law for one year. Engels went to college for one and a half years. Before finishing high school, he was asked by his father to work as an accountant in a factory. Then the factory moved to England. It was in the factory that he came into contact with the workers. How did Engels learn natural science? He did it in a London library, where he stayed eight years. He had never gone to college. Stalin had never gone to college, either. He was a graduate of a missionary high school. Gorky had only two years of formal education in primary school, even less than Jiang Qing. Jiang Qing is a primary school graduate. She had six years of schooling, Gorky had only two.

Ye Qun: Comrade Jiang Qing studied very hard by herself...

Mao Zedong: Don't brag for her. Knowledge is not gained in schools. When I was in school, I did not obey the rules. My principle was just to avoid getting myself dismissed. As to examinations, my marks hovered between 50 or 60 percent and 80 percent, 70 percent being my average. There were several courses that I gave up. I was unable to cope with several subjects, sometimes on purpose. During examinations in such courses, I turned in a piece of blank paper. For geometry, I drew an egg. Is it not a geometrical shape? I turned in the paper the fastest because it took only one stroke.

Lin Biao: I studied for four years in a middle school but I left before graduation. It was a voluntary withdrawal. Without a middle school diploma, I worked as a primary school teacher. However, I liked to study by myself.

³²³ Philosophy is *zhe xue*, *ze* and *zhe* are almost homonyms.

Mao Zedong: The military schools nowadays are very harmful. Do you know how long it took one to finish at Whampoa Military Academy? Three months, six months!

Lin Biao: For the first three classes, it was three months. Starting with the fourth class, it took longer.

Mao Zedong: All that is needed is a little training. As to knowledge, it is not much except for some military drill.

Lin Biao: The point is: as soon as you learn something, you forget. Things learned in school in several weeks can be seen clearly in the army in a few days. Hearing about something a hundred times is not as good as seeing it once.

Mao Zedong: I have never attended any military school. Nor have I read a book on military strategy. People say I relied on *Romance of Three Kingdoms* and *The Art of War* of Sun Tzu for my military campaigns. I said that I had never read *The Art of War*. Yes, I have read *Romance of Three Kingdoms*.

Lin Biao: At one time, you asked me to get a copy [of *The Art of War*]. I was unable to get it for you.

Mao Zedong: During the meeting of Zunyi, I debated with XX. He asked me whether I had read *The Art of War*. I asked him: how many chapters are there in the *The Art of War* of Sun Tzu? He did not know. I asked him what is the title of Chapter One? He did not know, either. Later, when I wrote about what I called problems of strategy, I went over the *The Art of War* of Sun Tzu roughly.

Mao Zedong: What is military strategy? Who studied English? “*Ah de mierb*” is military strategy. It is good to know English. I studied foreign languages late in my life. I suffered. One has to learn foreign languages when one is young. Tan Houlan, what foreign language do you study? [The Chairman asked each one present the same question. Wang Dabing said he is studying Russian.] One cannot study geology without a foreign language. It is good to learn English. Foreign language study should be started in primary school.

Han Aijing: After the cultural revolution is over, Mr. Chairman, please send me to the army to be a soldier.

Mao Zedong: It is enough to be a soldier for half a year. What is the use of being a soldier too long? Half a year is adequate. Serve as a farmer for a year, and then a worker for two years. That's real college education. The real universities are the factories and rural areas. Comrade Lin Biao may be regarded as an

intellectual because he has attended middle school. What kind of intellectuals are Huang Yongsheng and Wen Yucheng? They are country folks. Comrade Huang Yongsheng, how many years did you attend school?

Huang Yongsheng: One year and a half.

Mao Zedong: What is the background of your family?

Huang Yongsheng: Lower-middle peasant.

Mao Zedong: Wen Yucheng, how many years did you go to school?

Wen Yucheng: Three years.

Mao Zedong: What is the background of your family?

Wen Yucheng: Poor peasant.

Mao Zedong: All are native folks with so little knowledge. With that little knowledge, Huang Yongsheng can be the Chief of Staff. Can you believe it?

Lin Biao: There was an XX from Whampoa Military Academy. Chiang Kai-shek gave him a watch as an award. Later, in Nanjing, he could not give a good account of himself in fighting.

Ye Qun: He was against the Chairman.

Mao Zedong: What's good about it if you are not opposed by anybody in this world? Let them oppose me.

Lin Biao: XX scored 5 in many subjects at the Nanjing Military Academy, but he could not fight.

Mao Zedong: Struggle-criticize-disband is also a way out. This is the way Tan Houlan is going to take. Isn't Tan Houlan thinking of quitting? I did not say that we should not run liberal arts colleges, but we have to change our methods. Those who study literature should be able to write novels, poems, and songs. Those who study philosophy should be able to write essays and discuss the course of China's revolutionary struggle. As to law, I think it is better not to study it at all. I heard that the Tian (sky) faction is against Xie Fuzhi. This matter came to an end without any conclusion. The Tian faction is no longer against anybody. "Smash the public prosecution law, smash Xie Fuzhi." Actually, Xie Fuzhi was the first one who proposed the smashing of the public prosecution law. Out of 30,000 people, the Beijing Public Security Bureau picked only several hundred or several tens of landlords, rich peasants, count-

er-revolutionaries, and rightists. Thus, the smashing of the public prosecution law was proposed. As a consequence, out of 30,000 people, only several tens were retained, and the rest were sent to study classes. You also used the slogan that Xie Fuzhi belongs to the Central Committee, and therefore must be overthrown. Then you arrested people in hurried ways. The People's Congress and the Three-Red General Headquarters kept quiet, but put up big-character posters agitating for the overthrow of Xie Fuzhi in the name of a small combat unit. When we proceeded to investigate this matter, they said: "We of the General Headquarters did not say overthrow Xie Fuzhi; only a small combat unit did." They want to overthrow Zhao Guilin. I don't know Zhao Guilin, but I have read that little information you have about him. How counter-revolutionary is he? Nie Yuanzi, you haven't said that Hou Hanqing is a counter-revolutionary, have you?

Nie Yuanzi: They organized a reactionary bloc, viciously attacking Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin.

Mao Zedong: It does not matter if people like us are being accused or despised by others. The Niu Huilin (one of the leaders of Beijing University's "Jinggangshan") affair was not handled right. It was not a grave political problem.

Law does not have to be negated. The Academy of Political Science and Law, the Political and Judicial Commune, and the Political and Judicial Army Corps may not be happy when they hear this. Reduce the time for legal investigation; let the workers and peasants do the job.

At Anshan Steel Mill, there was a case which needed inquiry and investigation. The case was left with the masses. They were fast in gathering information. Cases which had been pending for years were quickly brought to a solution. Before the trials, the public security bureau had no other way but to beat people. The information they obtained was inaccurate.

Members of the Military Control Commission are nothing but soldiers. Wen Yucheng does not know many people. Would it work... if we depend on their detection and investigation? We should say that we must learn from the masses. First, don't kill. Second, don't sentence people to long terms. Two to three years is enough. In the past, there was solitary confinement in the army. Do you still have this kind of punishment? Do you still arrest deserters?

Wen Yucheng: Solitary confinement is abolished. Deserters are no longer arrested.

Mao Zedong: People want to desert. What is the use of bringing them back? Struggle-criticize-quit. If they want to quit, let them go. Why do they want to quit? Simply because they don't feel comfortable after they are targets of struggle and criticism, or they are beaten. Or they have to attend to family matters. Or they cannot endure army life. Compared with the past, the number of deserters has become smaller after we stopped arresting deserters and abolished solitary confinement. We are the People's Liberation Army. Now in schools, the arrested are treated like prisoners of war, subjected to coercion and forced to make confessions. If one refuses to confess, he is beaten until he is injured or dead. I think the intellectuals are most un-civilized. I think the unsophisticated soldiers are most civilized. Huang Yongsheng and Wen Yucheng don't arrest deserters, nor do they punish people by solitary confinement. Now a new kind of punishment called "jet plane position" is invented. I am the guilty one. In the *Report on An Investigation of The Peasant Movement in Henan*, I talked about "parading people on the street in dunce hats," but I did not mention "jet plane position." I am the arch-criminal with inescapable responsibilities!

How about today? Do you think that you are being arrested here to be placed in solitary confinement? The method used by "Jinggangshan" is not good. I mean Commander Kuai's "Jinggangshan." Four people were killed and 50 at the General Knitwear Mill were wounded. Had it not been for the social effect, the loss was a minimum, very minimum.

Lin Biao: It was worth it; the loss was at a minimum.

Zhou Enlai: Vice-Chairman Lin has put it very well. The loss was very minimum, and the achievement was maximum.

Mao Zedong: In the future, if the workers go to your place, you should welcome them. Don't use Kuai Dafu's method.

Zhou Enlai: In the second half of 1966, you went to the factories for liaison work, they welcomed you, and did not beat you up.

Mao Zedong: Let them do their propaganda. Don't open fire. They are workers sent by the Party Central Committee. Didn't we say that the working class is the leading class? Didn't we say ours is a dictatorship by the working class? They are to dictate over a few bad people in the schools. You are well known people. You can dictate bad people in schools, but you cannot dictate the workers. This includes Commander Kuai.

Now there are many inter-group meetings going on at Qinghua University, Beijing Aeronautical Institute, and Hepingli. Numerous people are from other provinces, including such units as “April 22” of Guangxi, “Oppose to the End” of Sichuan, “August 31” of Liaoning, the “Messy” faction of Jinzhou, the “Flag” faction of Guangdong... Stop all these.

Lin Biao: They started all these meetings before we can convene the Ninth Party Congress.

Zhou Enlai: We haven't even convened the 12th plenum of the [8th] Central Committee.

Mao Zedong: Don't mention the 12th plenum. Everything is topsy-turvy. People are saying the “social struggle is a reflection of the struggle within the Party Central Committee.” It is not that social struggle is a reflection of the Party Central Committee. Rather, the struggle within the Party Central Committee is a reflection of social struggle.

Zhou Enlai: A national defense system meeting was held at Beijing Aeronautical Institute. Is it true?

Han Aijing: They did not dare call that meeting.

Zhou Enlai: Don't call that meeting. You know that; it is a national defense secret.

Mao Zedong: Why didn't I invite your opponents to come here? I invited you to come over today to talk about this matter so that you will be prepared. I have never made any tape recordings before, but I am doing it today. Otherwise, you will interpret what I said today in the way you wish after you go home. If you do so, I will play this tape back. You had better discuss this. Once I play this recording, many people will be put in a defensive position.

Despite the fact that so many days were spent and so many meetings held, despite a talk with Huang Zuozhen, and despite our effort to look for Kuai Dafu, you insist on asking the Central Committee to express its attitude. At the beginning, the Central Committee interfered a little. Later on, it was too busy to bother about this. In Beijing, we have Xie Fuzhi in charge. In the past when you were called in for meetings, I never attended, nor did Comrade Lin Biao. We are behaving like bureaucrats now! This time I am afraid that you will expel me from the Party because of my bureaucratic behavior. Besides, I am also the black hand that suppressed the Red Guards.

Lin Biao: Yesterday, I drove around to take a look at some of the big-character posters. I asked why there were no big-character posters put out by Beijing or Qinghua Universities. People said that they were engaged in armed struggle. I would say that you are isolated from the masses who are clamoring for an end to your armed fighting.

Mao Zedong: The masses just don't like civil wars.

Lin Biao: You have isolated yourselves from the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

Mao Zedong: Some people say that public notices issued in Guangxi are applicable only in Guangxi, and public notices issued in Shaanxi are applicable only in Shaanxi. Now, I am issuing a nation-wide notice. If anyone continues to oppose, fight the Liberation Army, destroy means of transportation, kill people, or set fires, he is committing crimes. Those few who turn a deaf ear to persuasion and persist in their behavior are bandits, or Kuomintang elements, subject to capture. If they continue to resist, they will be annihilated.

Lin Biao: There are real rebel groups. Some of them are bandits and Kuomintang elements who are using our flag for rebellion. In Guangxi, 1,000 houses have been burned down.

Mao Zedong: Make it clear in the notice and explain clearly to the students that if they persist and do not change, they are subject to arrest. This is for light cases. In serious cases, they are subject to capture and elimination.

Lin Biao: In Guangxi 1,000 houses were burned down, and nobody was allowed to put out the fire.

Mao Zedong: Wasn't the Kuomintang just like this? This is the kind of desperate struggle on the part of the class enemy before his death. Burning houses is a grave error.

Lin Biao: On my expedition in Guangxi, I fought with Bai Chongxi. He used this tactic. He set fire to houses and tried to make believe that it was the Communists who set fire to them. The same old tactic is being used again.

Han Aijing: Kuai Dafu is riding on the back of a tiger from which he cannot get down.

Kang Sheng: It is not the kind of situation as you say.

Mao Zedong: If he cannot get off the back of the tiger, then let me kill the tiger.

Zhou Enlai: The fellows from Guangxi are in your Beijing Aeronautical Institute. How did you call members of the national defense and scientific committee to attend the meeting?

Mao Zedong: You hide the “April 22” of Guangxi. The students from Guangxi are living at the Beijing Aeronautical Institute.

Kang Sheng: They wish to control the movement all over the country.

Han Aijing: We did not call that meeting. You may investigate. It was called by Wu Zhuanbin of Guangdong. I was sick at that time, and lived in the School of Physical Education before I was admitted to a hospital. A telephone call came from the school, asking me to greet two standing members of the provincial revolutionary committee. Others are saying “Up there is heaven; down there is the Beijing Aeronautical institute.” I did not enthusiastically receive the leaders of the “May 4 Students” Congress’, and those of the rebel factions from other provinces. We were criticized for conceit and self-complacency. They also said that we are rich peasants, not revolutionaries any more. Then I started giving them better reception. When we saw them off, they wanted to call a meeting to discuss the national situation. I told them that if they call such a meeting in Beijing, it would be an illegal meeting. In Beijing, there is a sky faction and an earth faction. The situation is very complicated. I agreed to have a chat with a few leaders of rebel factions and the responsible persons of revolutionary committees without going into any specific measures. Kuai and I went to those talks. Then, I was admitted to the hospital. Everybody felt that things went wrong as soon as the meeting was started. The representatives from the geology college stopped attending the meeting after they attended the preparatory meeting. Kuai Dafu ran away from the meeting after listening for a few minutes. The representatives of “Jinggangshan” were also scared, and ran away. Information from my schoolmates came to me one after another. Before we could rush in our reports, heaven knows, we were criticized.

Kang Sheng, Wen Yuan:...

Mao Zedong: You talk too much about Han Aijing. She is only 23 years old.

Jiang Qing: At the beginning of the movement, both Beijing University and Beijing Aeronautical Institute entertained visitors from other places, and did a lot of work together. In fact, we did ask you to do so. Now the situation has changed. It must be recognized that we should not do this anymore because what they are opposing are their respective provincial revolutionary commit-

tees and the People's Liberation Army. Tan Houlan, who saved the day for you in the "September 7" affair?

Tan Houlan: Chairman Mao, the Central Committee, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group.

Fuzhi: It was Comrade Jiang Qing.

Jiang Qing: I don't particularly like the army corps of Normal University. But the weather is so hot, you cut off their water, electricity, and food supply. They were not allowed to see daylight for three months during the summer. How could you have done this? As I heard this, I could not help crying. There were hundreds or tens of them. After all, they are the masses... Han Aijing was wrong at the very beginning. She wanted to topple others.

Han Aijing: I was wrong.

Mao Zedong: It sounds a little bit like anarchism. In this world, anarchism is relative to government. As long as there is government, anarchism cannot be eliminated. This is what we used to say: the punishment of right opportunism is punishment of right opportunism of the Central Committee.

Jiang Qing: I have no friendly feelings toward your opposition. It is said that the army corps is against us. I am not talking on their behalf, but you might as well release them! Proletarians should observe proletarian humanitarianism. These several tens of counter-revolutionaries are, after all, youths. They want to strangle me to death. I am not afraid of being fried in oil. I heard that "Jing-gangshan" of Beijing University wants to fry Jiang Qing.

Wenyuan: Frying is but a way of speech.

Mao Zedong: There is hope. Strangle Kuai Dafu to death, so they say.

Fuzhi: Niu Huilin is bad.

Jiang Qing: Niu Huilin may have some problems, but he can be educated. Nie Yuanzi, do I still have some right to speak? I privately feel sorry for you. You are engaged in a struggle in which the masses are pitched against the masses, and the bad people are hiding. Did I say that "April 14" believed that they are definitely going to win? "April 14" is specially against the Central Cultural Revolution Group. They are also against the Premier and Kang Sheng. Nevertheless, it is a mass organization!

You know where I live. If you want to strangle me, go ahead. If you want to fry me, go ahead. We went through trials and tribulations together. If you cannot tolerate others, how can you rule the country, and make peace in the world. I think you are not studying the Chairman's writings and not learning the Chairman's working style.

The Chairman always wants to unite with those who oppose him.

Mao Zedong: Don't mention that any more. "Kill the cow, slaughter the monkey, and stew the mutton." Why do we kill the cow? Can we keep it to help cultivate the field? All you cited are nothing but their attacks on Jiang Qing and Lin Biao. All these can be stricken out in one stroke. They only talked about these things among themselves privately. They did not put up big-character posters.

Jiang Qing: I am not afraid even if they do put up big-character posters.

Mao Zedong: Who opposed Comrade Lin Biao the year before?

Zhou Enlai, Ye Qun: Maybe Yilin and Dixi.

Mao Zedong: In addition, the leader of "June 16" Liu Gongkai was against the Premier, but the Premier always protected him. People said the Premier was magnanimous. I agree with the Premier. These people should not have been arrested in the first place. Too many were arrested, because I nodded my head.

Fuzhi: This has nothing to do with the Chairman. It was I who did the arresting.

Mao Zedong: Don't try to free me from my mistakes, or to cover up for me. I ordered the arrest; I also agreed to their release.

Fuzhi: You did not ask me to arrest so many.

Mao Zedong: Some of those released kill their time by riding a bicycle around Babaoshan and Tiananmen. After a couple of months, life becomes dull. Others behaved like rascals. Their purpose is nothing but to make a little money and to play with a woman. Is Peng Xiaomeng that reactionary?

Zhou Enlai, Wenyan: Bad. His parents are very bad. They are associated with Wu Xiuquan.

Jiang Qing: "April 14" is especially against the Party Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Group, but it is a mass organization.

Mao Zedong: You cannot get rid of several thousands of them. You cannot get rid of a thousand members of Beijing University's "Jinggangshan." Bad people will get rid of themselves. Don't mention "killing the cow, slaughtering the monkey, and stewing the mutton" any more. The cow can be used to cultivate the field. Why should we kill the monkey?

Jiang Qing: We have political responsibilities toward you. To help you politically is not enough. You have to do it yourself—arrest the black hand and foster unity.

Nie Yuanzi: More than 1,000 just left "Jinggangshan." They are holding study classes.

Mao Zedong: Those who leave "Jinggangshan" are not reliable. Most of them are on one side physically, and on the other side in their minds. Physically they are with the Old Buddha, but their mind is with "Jinggangshan." Don't interfere with Niu Huilin. Let him go to "Jinggangshan." Give him freedom. Don't compel or insult others. Especially don't beat people up.

Don't coerce or press for confessions. In the past we made many mistakes. You commit this mistake for the first time. We cannot blame you.

Jiang Qing: How is Fan Liqin?

Nie Yuanzi: We did not do anything to him. He is with the counter-revolutionary group of Peng Yan.

Mao Zedong: Has Niu Huilin put him under arrest?

Nie Yuanzi: He is under surveillance by his own people. Some agree to his arrest; others don't.

Mao Zedong: Is Hou Hanqing a student or a teacher?

Nie Yuanzi: A graduate student. His father was a speculator in 1963.

Jiang Qing: They are not the worst. They are made up of several organizations. There are bad people protected by secret agents. They are also engaged in what is known as single-line liaison.

Mao Zedong: This working style is bad.

Today we have two from the Heaven faction and two from the Earth faction. The Earth faction supports "April 14" of Qinghua and "Jinggangshan" of Beijing University. The Heaven faction supports Commander Kuai. I am not quite clear about this Heaven and Earth faction business. There are so many

schools... In short, we have experience with the five generals. They are Nie Yuanzi, Tan Houlan (woman), Kuai Dafu, Han Aijing, and Wang Dabing. There are leaders from other schools, but there are only five who are famous. You have done a lot of work. No matter how many defects and mistakes are there in your work, we are going to protect you. You are also confronted with a lot of difficulties in your work. I have not experienced cultural revolution before, nor have you. The majority of schools did not engage in fighting. Only a small number of them did. They affected the workers, soldiers, and internal unity. Why are there so many non-committed people, and so few [for] cannon fodder? Have you ever thought about this?

Fuzhi: The Chairman loves you because you are small generals of the Red Guards. Vice Chairman Lin, the Premier, the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and especially Comrade Jiang Qing are concerned about you. I have to take the major responsibility in this matter, because I did not give you enough help. I can go over this with you.

Mao Zedong: All the institutions of higher learning in the capital are holding study classes, and no report has been made to the Central Committee. This has caused dissatisfaction to Nie Yuanzi and others. You also run study classes, but you don't permit inter-group activities. So they held a big meeting for inter-group activities. To forbid inter-group activities is wrong. You are also wrong in threatening to overthrow Xie Fuzhi.

Fuzhi: That helped me greatly.

Mao Zedong: There is a habit in Beijing. Today we overthrow this; tomorrow we overthrow that.

Lin Biao: A big storm blows all "overthrows" away.

Mao Zedong: Children are collecting big-character posters as waste paper for sale. How many cents a catty?

Fuzhi: Seven cents. The children are making a fortune.

Mao Zedong: I don't believe that. Chinese are good in one thing. When they have an opinion, they talk. It is all right to say that inter-group activities are not allowed, but absolute banning is not good. The opposition is conducting inter-factional activities. "Smash-the-Three Olds" faction is conducting inter-factional activities. The "Anti-Smash-the-Three Olds" faction is also conducting inter-factional activities. What's wrong with a little inter-faction-

al activity? Why can't the Heaven faction and the Earth Faction have a little inter-factional activities. I say that inter-factional activities are permissible, because they are being done. If you don't permit good people to have inter-factional activities, bad people will do it. Most of the people are good people. More than 90 percent of the people are good. Bad people are extremely few.

Jiang Qing: It would be a good thing to unify our viewpoints through inter-factional activities and pluck the bad people out.

[Huang Zuozhen reported that Kuai Dafu was coming. Kuai cried out as soon as he entered. The Chairman stood up and went forward to shake hands with Kuai. Comrade Jiang Qing laughed. Kuai presented his case as he cried. He said that Qinghua was in danger. The workers under the control of black hand were entering Qinghua to suppress the students. He said it was a great conspiracy.]

Mao Zedong: Is your name Huang Zuozhen? Where are you from?

Huang Zuozhen: XX, Jiangxi.

Mao Zedong: Oh, cousin! I heard of you a long time ago. Comrade Huang Zuozhen's words were not taken seriously. Comrade Xie Fuzhi's words were not taken seriously. The Municipal Revolutionary Committee meeting was not taken seriously. I don't know whether the meeting of the Central Cultural Revolution Group will be taken seriously. I have become the black hand. Take me to the garrison headquarters.

Wenyuan: Extend the red hand. Propagandize Mao Zedong's thought. We follow you closely.

Mao Zedong: Four methods. What are the four methods?

Wenyuan: Military control; one divides into two; struggle-criticize-quit; fighting on a big scale, if necessary.

Mao Zedong: The first is military control; the second is one divides into two; and the third is struggle-criticize-quit. In the first place, you don't struggle. In the second place, you don't criticize. In the third place, you don't transform. How many months have you fought?

Zhou Enlai: Since last year.

Mao Zedong: The fourth method is to fight on a big scale. Get 10,000 people involved in the fighting. Withdraw the workers. Give the rifles back to you for a big fight, just like what was done in Sichuan.

Jiang Qing: Disgrace to the family.

Mao Zedong: I'm not afraid of fighting. I'm glad as soon as I hear about fighting. What kind of fighting is it in Beijing? A few cold weapons, and a few rifle shots. In Sichuan, the fighting is real war. Each side has tens of thousands of men. They have rifles and cannons. I heard that they had radios, too.

Jiang Qing...

Mao Zedong: In the future, wide publicity should be given to public notices as soon as they are issued. If anyone disobeys them, he should be arrested or eliminated, because it is counter revolutionary!

Jiang Qing: Guangxi has been under siege for almost two months.

Zhou Enlai: You people did not think as to why the Guangxi notice is Chairman Mao's great strategic plan. In regard to concern about affairs of the state, you five did not even issue a joint announcement to express your attitude, or do a little follow-up work.

Mao Zedong: They are busy!

Zhou Enlai: These are affairs of the State!

Mao Zedong: Don't divide yourselves into factions anymore.

Jiang Qing: I hope you will be united. Don't divide yourselves into Heaven faction, Earth faction, Chang faction, and Li faction. You belong to the Mao Zedong thought faction!

Mao Zedong: Don't create two factions. One faction is enough, why two? There are difficulties in achieving this.

XX: No headway has been made in education reform.

Mao Zedong: Education revolution cannot make any headway. Even we cannot make any headway, not to mention you. You are hurt by the old system. Why can't we make any headway? ...Our Comrade Chen Boda was anxious at the Central Committee meeting. I said don't be so anxious. A few years later, they will be gone, and that will be the end. As I see it, the education revolution consists of only a few things. Why should we engage in education reform? If

we fail, that's the end of it. This is what the students say. Where else can I get information except from the non-committed students! Marx was engaged in the study of philosophy... Why can't the first volume of his book, *Das Kapital* be published? To build a party is not an easy thing. The first international was divided into at least three factions Marxism, Proudhonism, Blanquism, Lassallism... Blanqui's so-called report is nothing but anarchism. The first international was divided in four or five ways. We are not being fair in what we are doing now. To fight a little civil war is not a serious matter. Therefore, one of the four methods is to fight in a big way.

Wenyuan: I am inclined to accept the struggle-criticize-disband, or the struggle-criticize-quit formula practiced in some schools.

Mao Zedong: When the earth makes one revolution, it is one year. When it turns 10 times, it is 10 years. With the two factions going on like this, I think they have to quit. If they want to fight, let them fight on a big scale. They should give their place in the school to novel writers for self-study. Those who study literature should write poems and drama. Those who study philosophy should write history, family history, and the process of revolution. Those who study political science and economics should not emulate the professors of Beijing University. Are there any famous professors at Beijing University? These subjects do not need teachers. Teaching is harmful. Organize a small group for self-study, a self-study university. The students may stay half a year, one year, two years, or three years. No examination is required. Examination is not a good method. Suppose ten questions are asked about a book, which contains 100 viewpoints. The ten questions cover only one-tenth of the book. Even if you answer all the ten questions correctly in the examination, what about the other 90 percent?

Who examined Marx? Who examined Engels? Who examined Lenin? Who examined Comrade Lin Biao? Who examined Comrade Huang Zuozhen? The needs of the masses and Chiang Kai-shek are our teachers. This was the case for all of us. Teachers are needed in middle schools, but everything should be made simple.

Wenyuan: Establish a few good libraries.

Mao Zedong: Give workers, peasants and soldiers time to use them. To study in a library is a good method. I studied at a library in Hunan for half a year, and in the library of Beijing University for half a year. I chose my own books. Who taught me? I took only one course—journalism. I can be regarded as a

member of the journalism class. As to that Philosophy Research Association, the sponsors were insincere. Hu Shih signed. There were also Tan Pingshan and Chen Gongbo.

The Beijing University was run in such an inflexible fashion. It should have operated with more freedom.

Jiang Qing: Now the universities are engaged in armed struggle.

Mao Zedong: There are two advantages of armed struggle. First, one obtains combat experience from fighting. Second, bad people are exposed. We must make an overall analysis of armed struggle. Social phenomena do not change according to man's will. Now that the workers are there to intervene, if they do not succeed, withdraw the workers. Let the students fight for another 10 years. The earth will be revolving as usual, and the heaven is not going to fall.

Jiang Qing: We really love you. It is nonsense to say that we don't need college students. We do want you. Some of you sometimes listen to us. Some of you act in one way in our presence, and in another way behind our back. We don't know what you are holding back.

Mao Zedong: If you don't listen to us, I have a way out. Let the workers extend the "black hand"; use the workers to intervene; use the proletariat to intervene.

[Nie Yuanzi requested that the Liberation Army be sent to Beijing University.]

Mao Zedong: You want your appetite satisfied. You insist on the 63rd Army, not any other unit. How about the 38th Army? If the 38th Army really supports "Jinggangshan," I will send the 63rd Army. You should work with the 38th Army.

Jiang Qing: Nie Yuanzi, you should work on the 38th Army. You should give it a welcome.

Mao Zedong: Send half of the troops from the 38th Army, and the other half from the 63rd Army. The 38th Army is not as bad as you think. Their base lies with Yang Chengwu and the Beijing Military Region. The Beijing Military Region held two meetings. The first one was not very good, the second was better. Zheng Weishan was put under investigation.

Tan Houlan, actually your gun was always pointed at Nie Yuanzi. When you, Tan Houlan, a woman general, fired a shot, Zheng Weishan became very nervous. At the time, Zheng Weishan was not in Beijing. He went to Baoding and Shanxi to solve his problems. We didn't see him, did we? Nobody knows

whether this divisional commander is good or bad. He scared all the generals. Did he give you [pointing to Tan] any trouble?

Tan Houlan: No, the students don't agree with him.

Mao Zedong: There must be historical reasons. These things don't happen accidentally. They don't come suddenly.

Boda: Follow the Chairman's teaching closely; resolutely carry it out.

Mao Zedong: Don't talk about teachings.

Wenyuan: The Chairman's words today have profound meaning.

Chen Boda: The first half of 1966 was relatively good. All the colleges and universities agitated and ignited the flame of revolution. It was right to touch off the storm of revolution. Now, they have gone beyond their heads, thinking that they are great. They want to put the entire country under their control. The hands of Kuai Dafu and Han Aijing reach everywhere, but they are ignorant.

Mao Zedong: They are only 20-odd years old. Don't take the young people lightly. Zhou Yu started as a cavalryman. He was only 16 when he became the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Wu. Please don't think that you are old timers.

Jiang Qing: We took part in the revolution when we were teenagers.

Mao Zedong: Don't feel elated; elation all over the body is just like a disease.

Chen Boda: Han Aijing, you have not given much thought to Chairman Mao's thinking and the opinion of the Central Committee. You call secret meetings on the basis of information obtained surreptitiously. You put your personal interests first. You are following a dangerous path.

Mao Zedong: First of all, I have been bureaucratic. I have never met you. Had they not wanted to grab the black hand, I would not have asked you to come here. Let Kuai Dafu wake up.

Chen Boda: Kuai Dafu, you should wake up. Stop the horse at the edge of the precipitous cliff. You are on a dangerous course.

Lin Biao: Stop the horse at the edge of the precipitous cliff. Admit your mistakes!

Mao Zedong: Don't use the words "admit mistakes."

Chen Boda: Kuai Dafu does not respect the worker masses. If he still refuses to listen to us, it will mean his disrespect to the Central Committee, his disrespect to Chairman Mao. That road is dangerous.

Mao Zedong: It is pretty dangerous. Now it is time for the younger leaders to make their mistakes.

Zhou Enlai: The Chairman said a long time ago: now it is the younger leader's turn to make their mistakes.

Lin Biao: Kuai Dafu, our attitude toward you was taken after consultation with the Garrison Headquarters and the Municipal Revolutionary Committee. You said that you don't understand the attitude of the Central Committee. Today, Chairman Mao shows his personal concern about you, and has made the most important, the most correct, the clearest, and the most timely teaching. If you turn a deaf ear to this again, you will be committing a grave mistake. You Red Guards have played an important role during the Great Cultural Revolution. Now, a great revolutionary unity has been achieved in many schools throughout the nation. As far as great unity is concerned, some of the schools are still lagging behind. You should catch up. You have failed to see what is needed at different stages of the movement.

Mao Zedong: Tan Houlan's opposition has only 200 people. A year later, they are still not suppressed. The opposition force in other schools is much larger in size, how can they be conquered?

Cao Cao tried to use force to conquer Sun Quan, and was defeated. Liu Bei used force to conquer Sun Quan; he lost Jieting and was defeated. Sima Yi failed to conquer Zhuge Liang by force. The first battle lasted a long while, but Zhang He had only one horse left at the end...

Ye Qun: That's the loss of Jieting.

Lin Biao: To fight the capitalist roaders is a good thing. It is also necessary to struggle with the freaks and monsters in literary circles. Now there are people who are not doing this. Instead, they are engaged in pitting one group of students against another group of students, and one group of masses against another group of masses. Most of them are children of workers and peasants, being utilized by bad people. Some of them are counter-revolutionaries. Others have just begun to be revolutionary. Gradually, their revolutionary spirit diminished and went in the other direction. Still others subjectively want revolution, but their objective action is just the opposite. There is a small group

of people who are both subjectively and objectively counter-revolutionary. You are isolated from the masses.

Mao Zedong: The workers and peasants constitute more than 90 percent of the population of the country. More than 90 percent of the schools are good; very few of them are engaged in civil strife. There are only six of them in Beijing.

Fuzhi: Qinghua has 20,000 students. Less than 5,000 are engaged in armed struggle.

Lin Biao: Those who do not take part in the fighting disapprove of the fighting.

Mao Zedong: They are riding on the back of a tiger, there is no way of coming down although they wish to; Kuai Dafu can come down and become a government official or a plain citizen. Kuai Dafu should welcome the workers.

Fuzhi: The workers are not armed with an ounce of iron. They carry only three weapons: (1) quotations from Chairman Mao's works; (2) Chairman Mao's latest instructions; and (3) the "July 3" notice.

Kang Sheng: The rifles in Qinghua were provided by the Beijing Aeronautical Institute. Two car-loads of rifles were given to Qinghua. Kuai Dafu is the commander and Han Aijing is the political commissar.

Han Aijing: There isn't such a thing! There isn't such a thing at all! People from the Garrison Command came over to our place to check the rifles several times. Not a single rifle was missing.

Fuzhi: You are correct; you are all right again. I criticized you several times, and you objected. You don't have the self-criticism spirit at all.

Chen Boda: Should we take back the rifles?

Han Aijing: Chairman, I have a request to make. Please assign a unit of the Liberation Army to supervise me. Many reports are at variance with facts. I love Kuai Dafu very much. I am also aware of the fact that as long as I am with him, I will be involved in many things. But I feel that I must do my best to protect him lest he collapses. His fate is linked with that of the Red Guards throughout the country. Assign a Liberation Army unit to me, and everything will be clarified.

Chen Boda: No self-criticism spirit.

Jiang Qing: I made a mistake. I spoiled you. Xie Fuzhi, you spoiled her more than I did. She is spoiled. Now that there is a little trouble; Chairman Mao's method is the best.

Mao Zedong: Don't criticize all the time. Yang Chengwu is creating many centers. The National Defense Scientific Committee is engaged in the theory of many centers. Throughout the country, there are thousands, or perhaps tens of thousands of centers. If everybody considers himself No. 1 in the country, will there still be any center?

Jiang Qing: Han Aijing, I criticized you several times. You have never expressed yourself.

Mao Zedong: Don't criticize her. You always blame others; never blame yourself.

Jiang Qing: I was saying that she lacks so much in self-criticism spirit.

Mao Zedong: Young people cannot stand criticism. Her character is somewhat like mine when I was young. Kids are strong in subjectivism, very strong. They only criticize others.

Jiang Qing: Kuai Dafu is smiling now. Relax a little, don't be so tense.

[Kuai reported that Zhen Yuyan, a girl student at "Jinggangshan" Headquarters, was arrested by the workers.]

Has Zhen Yuyan been released? She is a girl, and should be protected.

Kuai Dafu: Zhen Yuyan is sleeping at Beijing Aeronautical Institute.

Mao Zedong: If you want to arrest the "black hand," the "black hand" is me. What can you do to me? We are sympathetic with your side. I cannot accept "April 14's" idea of certain victory, but we must woo their masses and some of their leaders. Zhou Chia-yin's main viewpoint is that those who conquered the country cannot rule it. He said that Kuai Dafu must turn over his authority to "April 14."

We asked the workers to do some propaganda work, you refused, knowing clearly what kind of propaganda they were to do. Huang Zuozhen and Xie Fuzhi explained this matter, but they failed to persuade you. The workers were unarmed. You killed or wounded five of them. Just like Beijing University, we are sympathetic with Nie Yuanzi, sympathetic with you five leaders. Didn't you know why tens of thousands of workers went to Qinghua University? How dare they go without the order of the Central Committee? You are very passive.

Contrary to our expectations, “April 14” welcomed the workers, while “Jinggangshan” did not. You are mixed up. Nobody was invited here today from “April 14” or “Jinggangshan” of Beijing University because the thinking of “April 14” is not right. Although flying the red flag, “Jinggangshan” has more bad people. The Nie Yuanzi faction has more good people.

Nie Yuanzi: Wang, Guan and Qi had a hand in it.

Mao Zedong: You are opposed to Wang, Guan, and Qi. You had inter-faction contacts, which I cannot forbid. Han Aijing, Kuai Dafu, are you good friends? You two should continue to be good friends. Han Aijing, you should continue to help him by making better policies.

Now, “April 14” is very happy, thinking that “Jinggangshan” is going to collapse. I don’t believe that. I think “Jinggangshan” will continue to be “Jinggangshan.” I don’t mean you Old Buddha’s “Jinggangshan.”

Wenyuan, *Fuzhi:* The real Jinggangshan, the base of revolution!

Jiang Qing: Don’t put me in a position where I cannot do anything to help you although it is my wish.

Mao Zedong: Many of those who beat up the workers are not your men. I heard that they came from other places.

Zhou Enlai: Do you still have out-of-town students in your place?

Kuai Dafu: Yes.

Mao Zedong: All of you haven’t slept yet. Kuai Dafu, if you don’t have a place to sleep tonight, go to Han Aijing’s place to sleep. Han Aijing should take good care of him. Han Aijing, you should take good care of him. When you people get together, go to Han Aijing’s place to take a little rest, and then hold a meeting.

Zhou Enlai: Han Aijing, you can come up with some good idea to help him.

Mao Zedong: Kuai Dafu, is your action against the Central Committee? You ignored Huang Zuozhen’s words, and ignored Xie Fuzhi’s words. Even a meeting at the Municipal Revolutionary Committee did not stop you. I cannot but extend my “black hand.” I mobilized the workers to stop your fighting. The fighting went on for so many days. As the workers marched in with drums and gongs, you still did not pay any attention. You are isolated from the masses, the workers, the peasants, the soldiers, the majority of the students, and your

own people. Many people are saying uncomplimentary words about you. We did not tell Qinghua University to keep quiet directly, but we did tell them indirectly.

Wu Te: I had a talk with Kuai Dafu yesterday. He did not listen to me.

Mao Zedong: “April 14” welcomed the workers. You (Jinggangshan) people are very stupid, very passive. I am very unhappy with that “April 14.”

Jiang Qing: “April 14” cursed me.

Mao Zedong: The workers carried an effigy in their demonstration and cut the power supply cables. At this moment, “April 14” was not told anything about this demonstration, why did they welcome them? You are very foolish this time, giving “April 14” a chance to welcome the workers.

Jiang Qing: Even the masses of “April 14” are saying that Kuai Dafu is left oriented, and Shen Juhuai [an “April 14” leader] is right oriented. Qinghua is engaged in a grand unity movement, but it won’t work without Kuai Dafu.

Mao Zedong: Kuai Dafu, can you be the chancellor of Qinghua University? Let the university be run by two from “Jinggangshan” and one from “April 14.” Let Shen Juhuai be the vice chancellor.

Kuai Dafu: No, I can’t, I am unable to.

Mao Zedong: Unity is needed. We need Kuai Dafu. Without Kuai Dafu, unity cannot be achieved. Kuai Dafu is left inclined. Two from “Jinggangshan.” “April 14” is right oriented.

Jiang Qing: Now, starting with you five, stop the fighting first.

Mao Zedong: First, military control. Second, divide into two, with “April 14” taking a half and you, Kuai Dafu, taking the other half. Third, struggle-criticize-quit. These are the proposals, but they are unwilling to follow.

In the first place, you don’t struggle. In the second place, you don’t criticize. In the third place, you don’t transform. You concentrate your effort on civil war. Of course, civil war will take months. The fourth way is to withdraw the workers, return all the rifles to you for a big fight. Should we run liberal arts college? We still have to run liberal arts colleges. As to how, we have to make a study and find a method. The old method encouraged revisionism.

Tan Houlan: Is the Normal University going to be continued?

Mao Zedong: If we suspend it, who is going to teach senior middle school? Who is going to teach special secondary schools? How can we go without a foreign language school? It doesn't work if only one wind prevails. But heaven is not going to fall if only one wind prevails for a few years. During World War I which lasted a number of years, not only universities were suspended, but high schools and primary schools were also suspended. Everything was chaotic.

Jiang Qing: Reform is a hard task; you people cannot sit still on your rear ends.

Mao Zedong: Knowledge is not gained in schools. Hasn't Comrade Lin Biao just said that! Where did his knowledge come from? From Whampoa Military Academy? Comrade Huang Yongsheng went to school for one year and a half. Wen Yucheng is lucky; he went to school for three years. Wen Yucheng, you are from Changgang; you know a few characters. Society is the biggest university. How can it work if you sit in a narrow grove? Society is the biggest university. Lenin studied in a university for a year and a half. Engels did not finish high school. Both of them were better off than Gorky, who went to primary school for only two years. I, too, haven't attended a university... [text illegible]... The inventor of the steam engine was a worker, not a college teacher... [text illegible]... Look at some of our children who spend more than ten years studying. They are physically ruined, and become unable to sleep. A child may study history, but he doesn't understand class struggle.

Jiang Qing: They study dozens of thick books. The works of Marx, Engels, and Chairman Mao become reference material, or supplementary material. Only the books chosen by their teachers are formal teaching materials.

Mao Zedong: Six years is too long for primary school education; six years is too long for middle school education. Too much time is wasted. Do away with examinations! What are examinations for? It would be good if no examinations were necessary for any course. All examinations should be abolished, absolutely abolished. Who examined Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin? Who examined Comrade Lin Biao? Who examined me? Comrade Xie Fuzhi, call all the students back to school. If some of them don't want to go back because they are angry, don't force them. It is not right that members of "April 14" are staying in school, while members of "Jinggangshan" are not. Tell all members of "Jinggangshan" to come to the People's Assembly Hall. Differentiation should be made in treating the leaders of "April 14."

Han Aijing: Chairman, I have a question. If 10 or 100 years from now, civil war should break out in China, and if one faction claims that they represent Mao Zedong's thought and another faction also claims that they represent Mao Zedong's thought, resulting in a situation where each faction occupies a piece of territory and the entire country is engulfed in war, what would we do?

Mao Zedong: There is nothing startling about it. The war against the Qing Dynasty lasted more than 20 years. We fought Chiang Kai-shek for over 10 years. Within the Chinese Communist Party, we had Chen Duxiu, Li Lisan, Wang Ming, Bo Gu, Zhang Guotao, Gao Gang, Liu Shaoqi, and many more. These experiences are more valuable than our knowledge about Marxism.

Lin Biao: We have Mao Zedong's thought.

Mao Zedong: We are better off to have this Great Cultural Revolution than to have none. Of course, we cannot guarantee. [illegible]... I don't understand your sister Nie Yuansu. Why must your elder brother and elder sister align with their younger sister?

Zhou Enlai: My younger brother Zhou Yong likes to be associated with Wang, Guan, Qi. I have grabbed him and sent him to the garrison headquarters.

Mao Zedong: My father was bad. If he were alive today, he should be given a "jet plane ride" [a form of punishment].

Lin Biao: Lu Xun's younger brother was a big traitor.

Mao Zedong: I, myself, am not smart, either. I believed in everything I studied. Thereafter, I studied for another seven years, including half a year spent in studying capitalism. I was totally ignorant about Marxism. Knowing only Napoleon and Washington, I was not even aware of the existence of Marx in this world. It is much better to study in the library than attending classes. A piece of cake is enough to take care of a day's meal. The old library attendant became very well acquainted with me.

Chen Boda: Han Aijing mentioned this problem before. With Comrade Lin Biao as Chairman Mao's successor and with Mao Zedong's thought, I am not afraid of the emergence of revisionism.

Mao Zedong: Nobody can guarantee that there will be no more cultural revolutions after this one. There will still be complications. Don't talk about new stages. There are so many new stages. I mentioned the Shanghai Machine

Tool Plant affair. What new stage is that? One cultural revolution may not be enough.

Wenyuan: The Chairman has already talked about this problem.

Zhou Enlai: Comrade Lin Biao has studied the Chairman's writings well. Vice Chairman Lin has also mastered Soviet affairs and the works of Marx and Lenin.

Mao Zedong: Did the Party go out of existence because of the emergence of Chen Duxiu? Despite Li Lisan, the Wang Ming line, and Li Lisan's repeated errors, the Party still survived, the revolution still went on, and the armed units still marched on... [text illegible]

Jiang Qing: Han Aijing wrote to me several times, discussing this problem. Why did Han Aijing keep bringing this problem up? In the first place, she is isolated from the workers and the peasants. In the second place, she is isolated from reality. As soon as I see her, she thinks about the future. She always talks about things that might happen decades from now. She even asked me when World War III will break out.

Mao Zedong: It is good to think far ahead. She is good! She is good! We may die in many ways. First, we may be killed by bombs. Second, we may die of diseases or germs. Third, we may be killed in a train or plane accident. Fourth, I love to swim; I may be drowned. Lastly, we may die a natural death, death caused by germs.

I heard that Liu Shaoqi has recovered from a serious disease. Bo Yibo almost died. He had kidney infection, heart disease, hypertension, and diabetes. Four or five doctors and two nurses saved him. Have you heard that?

Wenyuan: Historical development is always progressive and has ups and downs, but the future is bright. We believe in Mao Zedong's thought; we believe in the masses. I think Han Aijing is a pessimist.

Han Aijing: Victory is not won in one shot. There will always be ups and downs according to dialectics... [Remaining text illegible]

Leading Role of the Working Class

August 15, 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 3, page 32.

Translation: Beijing Review, August 23, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 34, page 6.

Our country has a population of 700 million people and the working class is the leading class. The leading role of the working class in the Cultural Revolution and all fields of work should be developed. The working class should also constantly raise its own political consciousness in the course of the struggle.

Quotations in *The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything*

August 26, 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 2, page 4, 6.

Translation: Beijing Review, August 30, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 35, page 3-6.

In carrying out the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working-class leadership; it is essential for the masses of workers to take part and, in co-operation with Liberation Army fighters, bring about a revolutionary “three-in-one” combination, together with the activists among the students, teachers and workers in the schools who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end. The workers’ propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and take part in fulfilling all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the schools, and they will always lead the schools. In the countryside, the schools should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants—the most reliable ally of the working class.

Struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee; car-

rying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying the class ranks; consolidating the Party organization; and simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops.

On the Re-Education of Intellectuals

September 5, 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 3, page 24.

Translation: Beijing Review, September 20, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 38, page 21.

The example of this doctor who came to the countryside from the city has proved that the majority or the vast majority of the students trained in the old schools and colleges can integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and, some have made inventions or innovations; they must, however, be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of the correct line, and thoroughly change their old ideology. Such intellectuals will be welcomed by the workers, peasants and soldiers. If you doubt this, think of that doctor in Jiangzhen Commune, Chuansha County, Shanghai.

Instruction Regarding the *May 7 Directive*³²⁴

October 5, 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 4, page 4.

Translation: Beijing Review, October 11, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 41, page 23.

Sending the masses of cadres to do manual work gives them an excellent opportunity to study once again; this should be done by all cadres except those who are too old, weak, ill or disabled. Cadres at work should also go group by group to do manual work.

³²⁴ The *May 7 Directive* is a letter of Mao to Lin Biao calling the army to engage in production and mass work, as well as for workers, peasants and students to learn from the work of each others. See pp. 270-271 of this volume.

Absorb Fresh Blood From the Proletariat—An Important Question in Party Consolidation

October 16, 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 4, page 7-11.

Translation: Beijing Review, October 25, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 43, page 4-7.

A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart circulates the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen; that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigor.

Who is it that gives us our power? It is the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the laboring masses comprising over 90 percent of the population. We represent the proletariat and the masses and have overthrown the enemies of the people, and therefore the people support us. Direct reliance on the revolutionary masses is a basic principle of the Communist Party.

Excerpt from Mao's Talk at the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eight Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

October 30, 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 5, page 28.

Translation: Beijing Review, November 8, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 44 (Supplement), page 2.

The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

We Cannot Speak of Final Victory

October 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1969, No. 5, page 23.

Translation: Beijing Review, April 30, 1969, Vol. XII, No. 18, page 28.

[Quoted by Lin Biao]³²⁵

We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man on the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts.

Quotation in *Conscientiously Study the History of the Struggle Between the Two Lines*

November 25, 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1968, No. 5, page 5.

Translation: Beijing Review, November 29, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 48, page 10.

Historical experience merits attention. Line and viewpoint must be talked over constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to talk them over with only a few people; they must be made known to all the revolutionary masses.

³²⁵ Lin Biao quoted Mao saying this comes from his talk of October 1968, without more precision. It's possible that it comes from the *Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*

Re-educating the Youth

December 22, 1968

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1969, No. 1, page 4.

Translation: Beijing Review, December 27, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 52, page 6.

It is very necessary for educated young people to go to the countryside to be reeducated by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Cadres and other people in the cities should be persuaded to send their sons and daughters who have finished junior or senior middle school, college or university to the countryside. Let us mobilize. Comrades throughout the countryside should welcome them.

1969

Purifying Class Ranks

January 1, 1969

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1969, No. 1, page 8-9.

Translation: Beijing Review, January 3, 1969, Vol. XII, No. 1, page 7-10.

We must pay attention to policy in dealing with counter-revolutionaries and those who have made mistakes. The scope of attack must be narrow and more people must be helped through education. The stress must be on the weight of evidence and on investigation and study. It is strictly forbidden to extort confessions and accept such confessions. As for good people who have made mistakes, we must give them more help through education. When they are awakened, we must liberate them without delay.

As for purifying the class ranks, first we must grasp this work firmly; second we must pay attention to policy.

Policy and Planning

February 21, 1969

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1969, No. 3-4, page 27, 30.

Translation: Beijing Review, February 28, 1969, Vol. XII, No. 9, page 4-6.

Serious attention must be paid to policy in the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In making plans, it is essential to mobilize the masses and see to it that there is enough leeway.

On Summing up Experience

March 14, 1969

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1969, No. 3-4, page 5-6.

Translation: Beijing Review, March 21, 1969, Vol. XII, No. 12, page 2-5.

A leader's duty is not only to point out the orientation of the struggle and lay down its tasks, he must also sum up concrete experience and spread it rapidly among the masses so that what is correct will be promoted and what is wrong will not be repeated.

It is necessary to sum up experience conscientiously.

When one goes to a unit to get to know the situation there, one must become acquainted with the whole process of the movement: its inception, its development, and its present state; how the masses have acted and how the leadership has acted; what contradictions and struggles have emerged and what changes have occurred in these contradictions; and what progress people have made in their knowledge so as to find out its laws.

Address at the Opening Session of the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party

April 1, 1969

Source: Studies in Communist China (Zhonggong yanjiu), Taipei, Vol. IV, No. 3, page 118-119.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 280-281.

Comrades! The Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party is now in session [Long and enthusiastic applause. Delegates shout: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"]:

I hope that this will be a good congress, a congress of unity, a congress of victory [enthusiastic applause and cheers].

Since the foundation of our Party in 1921, forty-eight years have already passed by. At the First Congress there were only twelve delegates. Two of them are here. One is Old Dong [Biwu] and one is me [enthusiastic applause]. Quite a few have sacrificed their lives: the Shandong delegates Wang Jinnmei and Deng Enming, the Hubei delegate Chen Tanqiu, the Hunan delegate He Shuheng, the Shanghai delegate Li Hanjun—all these laid down their lives, while four others rebelled and became traitors: Chen Gongbo, Zhou Fohai³²⁶, Zhang Guotao³²⁷ and Liu Renqing.³²⁸ The latter two are still alive. There was another delegate called Li Da³²⁹ who died two years ago. At that time there were only a few dozen party members in the whole country and the majority of these were intellectuals. Later the Party developed. The number of delegates attending the First, Second, Third and Fourth Congresses was very small, from ten to twenty or from twenty to thirty. The Fifth Congress was held in Wuhan. The number of delegates was somewhat larger, several hundred. The Sixth Congress was held in Moscow. There were several dozen delegates, Comrade Enlai and Comrade [Liu] Bocheng participated. The Seventh Congress was held in Yanan. It was a congress of unity, for there were divisions in the Party then too, caused by the mistakes of Qu Qiubai, Li Lisan and Wang Ming—especially the Wang Ming Line. There were those who were against the election to the Central Committee of comrades who followed the Wang Ming Line. We did not agree and persuaded people to elect their delegates. The result? The result was that there were only a few who were no good. Wang Ming fled abroad to oppose us. Li Lisan was also no good. Zhang Wentian and Wang Jiaxiang committed mistakes. There were only these few. As for the rest of them, such as Liu Shaoqi, Peng Zhen and Bo Yibo, we did not know that they were bad. We were not clear about their political history.

From the Eighth Congress up to now we have become more clear about them. We are clearer about their political line, their organizational line, and

³²⁶ Chen Gongbo (1892-1946) left the Chinese Communist Party shortly after its foundation, and joined the Kuomintang, becoming a close associate of Wang Jingwei. He participated in Wang's Japanese-sponsored puppet government during the period 1939-45 and was executed for treason in 1946. Zhou Fohai also collaborated with the Japanese.

³²⁷ Zhang Guotao, see note 80 on p. 73 of this volume.

³²⁸ Liu Renqing was a delegate of the Beijing Communists at the First Congress.

³²⁹ Li Da (1890-1966) was a philosopher and fellow traveler of the CPC. From 1953 to his death, he was the Vice Chancellor of Wuhan University. Mao praised him as the "Lu Xun in the world of theory." In March 1966, he opposed Lin Biao's theory that Mao Zedong Thought would be the "pinnacle of Marxism-Leninism." He was branded as a traitor and "anti-Party" by a pro-Lin Red Guards faction. Mao's instruction to not persecute and kill him were intercepted by a local Party leader. Li Da was killed in August 1966.

their ideology. Therefore we hope that this Congress will become a congress of unity [enthusiastic applause and cheers]. Can we win victory on the basis of this unity? Can this Congress become a congress of victory? After the Congress, can we win still greater victories throughout the country? I think we can. I think this will be a congress of unity and a congress of victory [enthusiastic applause]. After the Congress we can win still greater victories throughout the country. [Prolonged enthusiastic applause and shouts of “Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao! May Chairman Mao live forever!”].

The Proletariat as the Greatest Class

April 1, 1969

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1969, No. 5, page 21.

Translation: Beijing Review, April 30, 1969, Vol. XII, No. 18, page 26.

[Quoted by Lin Biao in the Political Report to the Ninth Congress]

The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them.

Talk at the First Plenum of the Ninth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

April 28, 1969

Source: Studies in Communist China (Zhonggong yanjiu), Taipei, Vol. IV., No. 3, pages 120-126.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 251-252.

What I am going to say is old stuff with which you are all familiar. There is nothing new. I am simply going to talk about unity. The purpose of uniting is to win still greater victories.

The Soviet revisionists now attack us. Some TASS broadcast³³⁰ or other, the Wang Ming material,³³¹ and the long screed in *Kommunist* all say we are no longer a party of the proletariat, and call us a “petit-bourgeois party.” They say we have imposed a monolithic order and have returned to the time of the bases, which means we have retrogressed. What is this thing they call becoming monolithic? They say it is a military-bureaucratic system. According to Japanese terminology it is a “system.” In Soviet vocabulary it is a “military-bureaucratic dictatorship.” When they see there are many military men in our lists of personnel they call us “military.” As for the “bureaucratic” part, I suppose they mean the batch of “bureaucrats” comprising me, Enlai, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda. In a word those of you who are not military are all supposed to belong to a bureaucratic network, and we are collectively called a “military-bureaucratic dictatorship.” I say let them talk. They can say what they want. But their words have one characteristic: they avoid branding us as a bourgeois party, instead they label us a “party of the petit bourgeoisie.” We, on the other hand, say that they are a bourgeois dictatorship, and are restoring the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

If we are to speak of victory we must guarantee that under the leadership of the proletariat we unite the broad masses of the people to win victory. The socialist revolution must still be continued. There are still things in this revolution which have not been completed and must still be continued: for example struggle-criticism-transformation. After a few years maybe we shall have to carry out another revolution.

Several of our old comrades have been to the factories for a while to see for themselves. I hope that in future you people will also go down to have a look when the opportunity arises. You should study the problems of various factories. It seems essential that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution should still be carried out. Our foundation has not been consolidated. According to my own observation I would say that, not in all factories, nor in an overwhelming majority of factories, but in quite a large majority of cases the leadership is not in the hands of true Marxists, nor yet in the hands of the masses of the workers. In the past the leadership in the factories was not devoid of good men;

³³⁰ The Russian News Agency.

³³¹ This refers to Wang Ming’s article, “China: Cultural Revolution or Counter-Revolutionary Coup,” originally published in the Canadian Tribune on 19 March 1969, and subsequently reprinted in pamphlet form in Moscow by the Novosti Press Agency Publishing House. It enumerates “ten major crimes committed by Mao Zedong in China,” and “five major crimes committed by Mao Zedong in international affairs.”

there were good men. Among the party committee secretaries, assistant secretaries and committee members there were good men. There were good men among the branch secretaries. But they followed the old line of Liu Shaoqi. They were all for material incentives, they put profits in command and did not promote proletarian politics. Instead they operated a system of bonuses, etc. There are now some factories which have liberated them and have included them in the leadership based on the Triple Alliance. Some factories still have not done so. But in the factories there are indeed bad people, for example in the Seventh of February works, which is the railway locomotive and carriage repair works at Changxintian. This is a big factory with 8,000 workers and several tens of thousands if you include their families. In the past the Kuomintang had nine district branches there, the San Min Zhuyi Youth League³³² had three organizations and eight so-called special duty organs. Of course, careful analysis is called for because in those days it wouldn't do to refuse to join the Kuomintang! Some of them are old workers. Are you going to get rid of all the old workers? That won't do! You should distinguish the serious cases from the trivial. Some were nominal Kuomintang party members. They had to join the Party. It is only necessary to have a talk with them. There were others who had more responsibility, while there was a small minority who were up to their necks in it, and who have done bad things. You must distinguish between their differing circumstances. Among those who have done bad things there should also be distinctions. If they are frank then we should be more lenient. If they resist we should be severe. If they make a proper self-criticism we should let them go on working—of course we shall not give them work in the leadership. If you don't let them work, what will they do at home? What will their sons and daughters do? Besides, most of the old workers are skilled, even if their skill is not of a high order.

I have brought up this instance to illustrate that the revolution has not been completed. Therefore will all the comrades of the Central Committee including alternate members please pay attention: you should undertake very detailed work. It must be done in a detailed manner, it won't suffice to do it sketchily, that will often lead to mistakes. There are some places where too many people have been arrested. This is bad. Why arrest so many? They haven't committed homicide, arson, or poisoning. I say that provided they haven't committed any of these crimes, you shouldn't arrest them. As for those who

³³² The "San Min Zhuyi" or "Three People's Principles" Youth League was the youth organization of the Kuomintang.

have committed the mistake of following the capitalist road, still less should they be arrested. Those in factories should be allowed to work, to participate in mass movements. The people who made mistakes have after all made them in the past. Either they joined the Kuomintang or did some bad things—or perhaps they made mistakes in the recent period such as the capitalist roaders. But they should be allowed to join with the masses. It would be bad not to let them join with the masses. Some have been shut up for two years, shut up in “cattle pens.” They no longer know what is going on in the world. When they come out and people talk to them, they are unable to make sensible replies. They are still speaking the language of two years ago. These people have been divorced from life for two years and they must be helped. Study classes must be organized and you must talk about history with them and tell them about the course of the Great Cultural Revolution during the past two years, and enable them gradually to awaken.

Let us unite for one purpose: to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship. You should see that this is carried out in every factory, village, office and school. At first you shouldn't try to do this too comprehensively. You can do it, but you shouldn't start doing it and then not bother about it. Don't just do it for half a year or even longer and then have nobody bother with it after that. You should summarize experiences factory by factory, school by school, organ by organ. Thus Comrade Lin Biao's report says that we must do it factory by factory, school by school, commune by commune, party branch by party branch, unit by unit. The question of dealing with one Youth League branch after another and with the League as a whole has also been raised.

Another thing which we have talked about before is that we should be prepared for war. We should maintain our preparedness year after year. People may ask, “Suppose they don't come?” No matter whether they come or not, we should be prepared. Don't expect the Center to distribute materials even for the manufacture of hand-grenades. Hand-grenades can be made everywhere, in every province. Each province can even make rifles and light weapons. This concerns material preparation, but the most important thing is to be psychologically prepared. To be psychologically prepared means that we must be spiritually prepared to fight. Not only should we on the Central Committee have this psychological preparedness, but we should see to it that the great majority of the people have it too. Those I am talking about do not include the enemies of the dictatorship, such as those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements, because that lot would be happy to see the imperialists

and revisionists attack us. If they attacked us these people suppose that this would turn the world upside down and they would come out on top. We should also be prepared on this score; in the process of the socialist revolution, we should also carry through this revolution.

Others may come and attack us but we shall not fight outside our borders. We do not fight outside our borders. I say we will not be provoked. Even if you invite us to come out we will not come out, but if you should come and attack us, we will deal with you. It depends on whether you attack on a small scale or a large scale. If it is on a small scale we will fight on the border. If it is on a large scale, then I am in favor of yielding some ground. China is no small country. If there is nothing in it for them I don't think they will come. We must make it clear to the whole world that we have both right and advantage on our side. If they invade our territory, then I think it would be more to our advantage, and we would then have both right and advantage. They would be easy to fight since they would fall into the people's encirclement. As for things like airplanes, tanks and armored cars, everywhere experience proves that they can be dealt with.

Is it not true that in order to win victory we must have more people? People from all walks of life, no matter on which mountain-top or in which province they are, whether they are in the north or the south. Which is better, to unite more people or less people? It is always better to unite more people. Some people's opinion differs from ours, but this is not a case of relationship between us and the enemy. I do not believe, to put it in concrete terms, that the relationship between Yang Dezhi and Wang Xiaoyu³³³ is of the latter kind. Is the relationship between you two one between us and the enemy, or is it a relationship among the people? In my opinion it is merely a quarrel among the people. The Center is also rather bureaucratic; it did not pay much attention to you. Neither did you bring it to the Center for discussion. Such a big province as Shandong has contradictions among the people. Don't you think you should take this opportunity to talk it over? I think that in East China too there is this problem of contradictions among the people. This is also the case in Shanxi. You support one faction, I support another, but what is the necessity for this incessant quarrelling? There are also problems in Yunnan, Guizhou and

³³³ Wang Xiaoyu (1914-1995), a PLA political commissar, was Chairman of the Shandong Revolutionary Committee from its establishment on February 3, 1967 until October 1969. Yang Dezhi (1911-1994), who replaced him at that time, had been First Vice-Chairman throughout this period. Wang, at the time of his dismissal, was denounced as a member of the "May 16th" ultra-leftist group.

Sichuan. Every place has a certain number of problems, but things are much better than last year and the year before. You, comrade, aren't you called Xu Shiyou?³³⁴ The year before last when we were in Shanghai things were really terrible, in July, August and September. Now life is after all a bit better. I am talking about the overall situation. In that Nanjing of yours there emerged a so-called "Red Headquarters." Work was done and as a result they decided to cooperate, didn't they? Didn't the "August 27th" and the "Red Headquarters" in the end cooperate?

I believe that the main problem still concerns our work. Haven't I said these two sentences before: the answer to the problem of the localities lies in the army; the answer to the problem of the army lies in political work? You are not implacable enemies in life and death, so why bother about it? And when it comes to personal gratitude or hatred, that is not of such great consequence. In a word there is nothing from either your previous or present lives to make you mortal enemies. You simply clashed, had some difference of opinion, somebody did something like criticizing you or opposing you. You counter-attacked and as a result a contradiction arose. Those opposed to you are not necessarily bad. One of the personalities whom Beijing often wanted to overthrow was Xie Fuzhi. He later adopted the following method: to all the bodies which wanted to overthrow him he said that there was nothing wrong with them, and those who supported him were not necessarily good.

So what I say is still the same old words, which is nothing other than unite to win greater victories. In this there is concrete content. What are we going to do? And what sort of concrete victories? And how do we go about uniting people?

I have faith in some of the old comrades who have made mistakes in the past. Originally there was a long list of thirty-odd names. We thought that they should all be elected as members of the Politburo. Later someone prepared a shorter list of less than twenty. This time we thought it was too short. The majority are middle-of-the-roaders [laughter]. Those who oppose both the long list and the short list advocate a medium list of between twenty and thirty, so the only thing to do was to elect representatives. This is not to say that the candidate members of the Central Committee are not as good as full members or Politburo members in respect of their political level, working ability, moral and intellectual qualities; this isn't the question at all. There is

³³⁴ Xu Shiyou (1905-1985) was at this time Commander of the Nanjing Military Region and Vice-Minister of National Defense. Comrade Mao is alluding to the military rebellion in Wuhan in the summer of 1967.

something unfair here. You may say that it is quite fair; I think it is not so fair, not so just. Everyone should be both prudent and cautious, no matter whether you are alternate members of the Central Committee, Central Committee members, Politburo members, you should all be prudent and cautious. Don't be impulsive and forget what's what. Since the time of Marx we have never talked about credit. You are communists, you are that part of the masses which is more conscious, you are that part of the proletariat which is more conscious. So I agree with this slogan, "First do not fear hardship, second do not fear death"; but not the slogan, "Even if we get no credit, we are rewarded by hard work; if we get no credit for hard work, we have the reward of being exhausted" [laughter]. This slogan is the direct opposite of "First do not fear hardship, second do not fear death." You can see how many of us have died. All the old comrades who remain are fortunate to be alive and have survived by chance. Comrade Pi Dingjun,³³⁵ at that period in Hubei-Hunan-Anhui, how many people were with you? Afterwards how many were left? At that time there were many people, now not so many remain. At that time after the Jiangxi Soviet, the Jinggangshan Soviet, North-East Jiangxi, West Hunan and Hubei, North Shaanxi had gone through the fighting there were very great losses, and not many of the old comrades remained. This is what is meant by "First not fearing hardship, second not fearing death." For years we did not have any such thing as salaries. We had only a fixed amount of food, three mace of oil and five of salt. If we got 1½ catties of millet, that was great. As for vegetables, how could we get vegetables everywhere the army went? Now we have entered the cities. This is a good thing. If we hadn't entered the cities Chiang Kai-shek would be occupying them. But it is also a bad thing because it caused our Party to deteriorate. So there are some foreigners and journalists who say our Party is being rebuilt. We raise this slogan too, but we call it rectification and party-building. In fact the Party needs to be rebuilt. Every branch needs to be rectified among the masses. They must go through the masses; not just a few party members but the masses outside the Party must participate in meetings and in criticism. Individuals who are no good should be persuaded to get out of the Party, to withdraw. A very small minority may have to be disciplined. Isn't this laid down in the Party Constitution? It also has to be passed by the party branch

³³⁵ Pi Dingjun (1914-1976) became a member of the Central Committee at the Ninth Congress. At that time, he was Deputy Commander of the PLA in Fujian. He was transferred to Lanzhou in 1970 as Commander of the PLA there; he returned to Fujian in the reshuffle of January 1974.

congress and approved by the superior level. In a word we must use prudence. This must be done, it certainly had to be done, but it must be done prudently.

This National Congress seems to have been a very good one. In my opinion it has been a congress of unity and of victory. We use the method of issuing communiques. The foreigners can no longer fish for our news [laughter]. They say we hold secret meetings. In fact we are both open and secret. I think that the reporters in Beijing are not much good. Perhaps we have cleared out most of the traitors and spies who had wormed their way among us. In the past whenever we held a meeting it was immediately leaked out and the Red Guard posters immediately published it. Since Wang [Li], Guan [Feng], Qi [Benyu] Yang [Zhengwu], Yu [Lijin] and Zhuan [Zongpi] felt they no longer have any more news about the meetings of the Central Committee.

That's more or less that. The meeting is adjourned [long enthusiastic applause.]

1970

People of the World, Unite and Defeat the US Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!

May 20, 1970

Source: Red Flag (Hongqi), 1970, No. 6, page 3-4.

Translation: Beijing Review, May 23, 1970, Special Issue, page 8-9.

A new upsurge in the struggle against US imperialism is now emerging throughout the world. Ever since the Second World War, US imperialism and its followers have been continuously launching wars of aggression and the people in various countries have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.

Unable to win in Vietnam and Laos, the US aggressors treacherously engineered the reactionary coup d'état by the Lon Nol Sirik Matak clique, brazenly dispatched their troops to invade Cambodia and resumed the bombing of North Vietnam, and this has aroused the furious resistance of the three Indo-Chinese peoples. I warmly support the fighting spirit of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, in opposing US imperialism and its lackeys. I warmly support the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples. I warmly support the establishment of the Royal Government of National Union under the Leadership of the National United Front of Kampuchea. Strengthening their unity, supporting each other and persevering in a protracted people's war, the three Indo-Chinese peoples will certainly overcome all difficulties and win complete victory.

While massacring the people in other countries, US imperialism is slaughtering the white and black people in its own country. Nixon's fascist atrocities have kindled the raging flames of the revolutionary mass movement in the United States. The Chinese people firmly support the revolutionary struggle of the American people. I am convinced that the American people who are fighting valiantly will ultimately win victory and that the fascist rule in the United States will inevitably be defeated.

The Nixon government is beset with troubles internally and externally, with utter chaos at home and extreme isolation abroad. The mass movement of protest against US aggression in Cambodia has swept the globe. Less than ten days

after its establishment, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia was recognized by nearly twenty countries. The situation is getting better and better in the war of resistance against US aggression and for national salvation waged by the people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The revolutionary armed struggles of the people of the South-east Asian countries, the struggles of the people of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries against the revival of Japanese militarism by the US and Japanese reactionaries, the struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against the US-Israeli aggressors, the national-liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of North America, Europe and Oceania are all developing vigorously. The Chinese people firmly support the people of the three Indo-Chinese countries and of other countries of the world in their revolutionary struggles against US imperialism and its lackeys.

US imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its deathbed struggle. In the world of today, who actually fears whom? It is not the Vietnamese people, the Laotian people, the Cambodian people, the Palestinian people, the Arab people or the people of other countries who fear US imperialism; it is US imperialism which fears the people of the world. It becomes panic-stricken at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind. Innumerable facts prove that a just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history.

People of the world, unite and defeat the US aggressors and all their running dogs!

1971

Summary of Talks with Responsible Comrades at Various Places During Provincial Tour

Mid-August to 12 September, 1971

Source: Studies in Communist China (Zhonggong yanjiu), Taipei, Vol. VI., No. 9, pages 85-97.

Translation: Stuart Schram, Mao Talks to the People, page 290-299.

Chairman Mao said: I hope that you will practice Marxism and not revisionism; that you will unite and not split; that you will be sincere and open and not resort to plotting and conspiracy.

The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power. If its line is not correct, even what it has it may lose. The line is a net rope. When it is pulled, the whole net opens out.

This Party of ours already has fifty years' history, during which time we have had ten big struggles on the question of our line. During these ten struggles there were people who wanted to split our Party, but none of them were able to do so. This is a question worth studying: such a big country, such a large population, yet no split. We can only say that this means that the Party wants what the people want, and the Party members do not want a split. In view of its past history, the future of the Party is full of hope.

First came Chen Duxiu, who went in for right opportunism. After the "August 7th" Conference of 1927 he organized the "Leninist left-opposition faction" together with Liu Renjing, Peng Shuzhi and others, and eighty-one of them issued a statement. They aimed to split our Party but they did not succeed. They then fled to the Trotskyites.

Next Qu Qiubai committed mistakes of line. His people came across a pamphlet of mine in Hunan which contained my remark, "Political power comes from the barrel of a gun." This infuriated them. How could political power possibly come from the barrel of a gun? So they stripped me of my position as alternate member of the Politburo. Later Qu Qiubai was captured by

the Kuomintang, wrote his “Superfluous Words,” betrayed us, and went over to the other side.³³⁶

After the Sixth Congress of the Party in 1928 Li Lisan started to put on airs. From June to September 1930 he followed his Li-san Line for over three months. He advocated attacks on big cities, and first winning victory in one or several provinces. I did not agree with all this. At the Third Plenum of the Sixth Central Committee Li Lisan fell.

From 1930 to 1931 Luo Zhanglong’s rightist faction set up a separate Central Committee and engaged in splitting activity.³³⁷ But they did not succeed either.

The Wang Ming Line had the longest life-span. He had formed a faction in Moscow, and organized the “28½ Bolsheviks.” Relying on the might of the Third International they seized power in the Party and held it for a full four years. Wang Ming called the Fourth Plenum of the Sixth Central Committee in Shanghai, and published his pamphlet, Fight for the Greater Bolshevization of the Chinese Communist Party, in which he criticized Li Lisan for not being “left” enough. He was not satisfied until he had made a clean sweep of the bases, as in the end he practically did. During the four years from 1931 to 1934 I had no voice at all at the Center. The Zunyi Conference of January 1935 corrected mistakes of Wang Ming’s line and he fell.

During the Long March, after the meeting of the First and Fourth Front Armies, Zhang Guotao carried out a split and set up a separate Center, but he did not succeed. Before the Long March the Red Army had 300,000 men. On its arrival in North Shaanxi only 25,000 remained. In the Central Soviet Area there had been 80,000. Of these only 8,000 arrived in North Shaanxi. Zhang Guotao did not want to go to North Shaanxi and carried out a split. But what way out was there at that time, other than to go to North Shaanxi? This was a question of political line. Our political line at that time was correct. If we had not gone to North Shaanxi, how could we have later gone to the North China Region, the East China Region, and the Central China Region, the North-East Region? How could we have built so many bases in the Anti-Japanese War? When we arrived in North Shaanxi, Zhang Guotao fled.

³³⁶ Qu Qiubai, see note 87 on p. 86 of this volume.

³³⁷ Luo Zhanglong (1901-1949) was a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party and an important labor leader in the 1920s. In late 1930 he supported He Mengxiong’s bid for control of the Party. As a result he was expelled at the Fourth Plenum in January 1931 and thereafter joined He in setting up a rival Central Committee. Hence Mao’s charge of “splittism.” He later became a Trotskyite.

After nationwide victory Gao Gang and Rao Shushi created an anti-Party alliance, with the intention of seizing power, but they did not succeed either.

At the 1959 Lushan Conference Peng Dehuai colluded with a foreign country to seize power. Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian, Zhou Xiaozhou popped up and opposed the Party. They formed a military club, though they did not discuss military affairs, but said such things as: “The people’s communes were set up too soon,” “Our gains do not compensate for our losses,” etc. Peng Dehuai also wrote a letter which was an open declaration of war. His intention was to seize power, but he did not succeed.

Liu Shaoqi and his lot also wanted to split the Party, but they did not achieve their ambitions either.

Then came the struggle at the 1970 Lushan Conference.³³⁸

At the 1970 Lushan Conference they made a surprise attack and carried out underground activity. Why did they not dare to act openly? Clearly they had something to hide. So they first dissembled and then made a surprise attack. They concealed things from three of the five members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo. They also concealed things from the great majority of comrades on the Politburo apart from their own few big generals. These big generals included Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Ye Qun, Li Zuopeng, and Qiu Huizuo, as well as Li Xuefeng and Zheng Weishan.³³⁹ Before they launched their surprise attack they did not let out a whisper. They caused trouble not merely for a day and a half, but from 23 August right through the 24th and up to midday on the 25th, altogether two days and a half. This kind of behavior shows that they had some aim in mind! Peng Dehuai formed a military club and issued a declaration of war. They were not even up to Peng Dehuai’s level. This only shows how low their style of work was.

³³⁸ The Second Plenum of the Ninth Central Committee, held at Lushan from 23 August to 6 September 1970.

³³⁹ The five names on Mao’s list of the “big generals” making up Lin Biao’s clique were all members of the Politburo. With the exception of Lin’s wife, Ye Qun, they were all senior military men. Huang Yongsheng (1910-1983) had been Chief of Staff since March 1968. Wu Faxian (1915-2004) had been Commander of the Air Force since August 1965, and Deputy Chief of Staff since May 1968, Li Zuopeng had been First Political Commissar of the Navy since June 1967. Qiu Huizuo was Director of the PLA General Logistics Department and had been Deputy Chief of Staff since February 1969. Of the other two, Li Xuefeng (see note 2 on p. 186 of this volume) was an alternate member of the Ninth Politburo, and Political Commissar of the Beijing Military Region. Zheng Weishan (1915-2000) had been Deputy Commander of the Beijing Military Region from November 1959 to March 1968, and Commander since that time. He was also Vice-Chairman of the Beijing Revolutionary Committee.

In my view, behind their surprise attack and their underground activity lay purpose, organization and a program. Their program was to appoint a state chairman, and to extol “genius”: in other words, to oppose the line of the Ninth Congress and to defeat the three-point agenda of the Second Plenum of the Ninth Central Committee. A certain person was anxious to become state chairman, to split the Party and to seize power. The question of genius is a theoretical question. Their theory was idealist apriorism. Someone has said that to oppose genius is to oppose me. But I am no genius. I read Confucian books for six years and capitalist books for seven. I did not read Marxist-Leninist books until 1918, so how can I be a genius? Didn’t I put circles round those adverbs several times over?³⁴⁰ The Party Constitution was settled at the Ninth Congress. Why not take a look at it? I wrote “Some Opinions,”³⁴¹ which specially criticizes the genius theory, only after looking up some people to talk with them, and after some investigations and research. It is not that I do not want to talk about genius. To be a genius is to be a bit more intelligent. But genius does not depend on one person or a few people. It depends on a party, the party which is the vanguard of the proletariat. Genius is dependent on the mass line, on collective wisdom.

Comrade Lin Biao did not discuss that speech of his³⁴² with me, nor did he show it to me. When they had something to say they did not disclose it in advance. Probably this is because they thought they had a grip on things and were likely to succeed. But as soon as they were told that their ideas were not acceptable, they became jittery. At first they were as bold as brass, giving the impression they could raze Lushan to the ground or stop the earth revolving. But after a few days they hurriedly withdrew the draft.³⁴³ If it was right, why withdraw it? This shows that they were devoid of ideas and in a panic.

The struggle with Peng Dehuai at the 1959 Lushan Conference was a struggle between two headquarters. The struggle with Liu Shaoqi was also a struggle between two headquarters. The struggle at this Lushan Conference is yet another struggle between two headquarters.

³⁴⁰ “With genius,” “creatively,” and “comprehensively.” These adverbs, used by Lin Biao in his foreword to the December 1966 edition of *Quotations from Chairman Mao* to characterize Mao Zedong’s contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism, sum up the view of the subject which he had been propagating since 1960 and especially since 1966.

³⁴¹ A 700-word statement said to have been released by Comrade Mao during the Lushan Plenum. Nothing is known of its contents except for Mao’s own summary here.

³⁴² Lin Biao’s speech of August 23, 1970 to the Lushan Plenum.

³⁴³ Ye Qun is said to have withdrawn the minutes of her intervention before a meeting of the Central-South Group during the plenum.

The struggle at Lushan this time was different from the nine previous struggles. On the previous nine occasions we drew some conclusions, while this time we have shielded Vice-Chairman Lin and have not drawn conclusions concerning an individual. He must, of course, assume some responsibility. What are we to do about these people? We should still operate a policy of educating them, that is, “learning from past mistakes to prevent future ones and curing the disease to save the patient.” We still want to protect Lin. No matter who it is who has made mistakes, it is not a good thing to forget unity and the line. After I return to Beijing I must seek them out again to have a talk. If they do not come to see me I will go to see them. Some of them may be saved, others it may not be possible to save. This depends on their actions. They have two possible futures: they may reform or they may not. It is difficult for someone who has taken the lead in committing major errors of principle, errors of line or direction, to reform. Looking back, did Chen Duxiu reform? Did Qu Qiubai, Li Lisan, Luo Zhanglong, Wang Ming, Zhang Guotao, Gao Gang, Rao Shushi, Peng Dehuai or Liu Shaoqi reform? They did not reform.

I spoke to Comrade Lin Biao and some of the things he said were not very accurate. For example he said that a genius only appears in the world once in a few centuries and in China once in a few millennia. This just doesn't fit the facts. Marx and Engels were contemporaries, and not one century had elapsed before we had Lenin and Stalin, so how could you say that a genius only appears once in a few centuries? In China there were Chen Sheng and Wu Guang, Hong Xiuquan and Sun Yat-sen,³⁴⁴ so how could you say that a genius only appears once in a few millennia? And then there is all this business about pinnacles and “one sentence being worth ten thousand.”³⁴⁵ Don't you think this is going too far? One sentence is, after all, just one sentence, how can it be worth ten thousand sentences? We should not appoint a state chairman. I don't want to be state chairman. I have said this six times already. If each time I said it I used one sentence, that is now the equivalent of sixty thousand sentences.

But they never listen, so each of my sentences is not even worth half a sentence. In fact its value is nil. It's only Chen Boda's sentences that are worth ten thousand apiece to them. He talked about “establishing in a big way,” by

³⁴⁴ Chen Sheng and Wu Guang were contemporaries who jointly led an insurrection against the Qin in the third century B.C. Hong Xiuquan (1814-1964), the leader of the Taipings, was born only half a century before Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925). Mao attributes “genius” to these men because they were all, in some sense, revolutionary precursors, who therefore drew on the wisdom of the masses.

³⁴⁵ Lin Biao made this statement that what Chairman Mao says in one sentence surpasses what others say in 10,000 sentences, in his speech of May 18, 1966.

which he gave the appearance of meaning to establish my prestige.³⁴⁶ But when you get to the bottom of it, he really meant himself. They also said that the People's Liberation Army was built and led by me, and commanded personally by Lin.³⁴⁷ It seems that the person who founded it cannot command it! And I did not build it all by myself either.

When it comes to questions of line, questions of principle, I take a firm hold and do not relax my grip. On major questions of principle I do not make concessions. After the Lushan Conference I employed three methods: the first was throwing stones, the second was mixing sand into soil and the third was undermining the wall. I criticized the material produced by Chen Boda which fooled a great many people. I approved the report of the Thirty-eighth Army and the report of the Jinan Military Region which opposed arrogance and complacency.³⁴⁸ Then there was the Military Affairs Committee which held such a long discussion meeting without a word of criticism of Chen. I inserted a few critical notes about that in a certain document.³⁴⁹ My method was to pick up these stones, write a few remarks on them, and let everyone discuss them. This is what I call throwing stones. When soil is too compressed it cannot breathe. If you mix in a little sand, then it can breathe. The staff of the Military Affairs Committee was too uniform in its composition, and needed to have some new names added. This is mixing sand in the soil. The reorganization of the Beijing Military Region was undermining the wall.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁶ This refers to efforts by Chen Boda and Lin Biao to reinsert, in the draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China, the provision for a State Chairman which Mao had decided to strike out in March 1970. They claimed that their aim in this was further to glorify Chairman Mao, but in Mao's view their real intention was to ensure that Lin Biao should succeed Mao as the head both of the Party and of the state. Lin Biao and Chen Boda appear to have concluded a tactical alliance at the time of the Lushan Plenum, but clearly represented different factions and different viewpoints.

³⁴⁷ The question raised here as to who exercised real and immediate authority over the army is obviously closely related to that of party control over the "gun," which had become a burning issue within the leadership—and between Mao and Lin—in 1969-1970.

³⁴⁸ "Arrogance and complacency" was, by this time, the accepted expression for referring to the errors in Lin Biao's work style.

³⁴⁹ This apparently refers to Mao's "Open Letter to the Whole Party" of September 15 1970, calling for a campaign to criticize Chen Boda.

³⁵⁰ "Throwing stones" refers to Mao's action in compelling the "big generals" supporting Lin to denounce Chen Boda. "Mixing sand in soil" meant weakening Lin's control of the Military Affairs Committee by adding new members. The wall or cornerstone of Lin's power represented by the Beijing Military Region was undermined by the dismissal of his supporters Zheng Weishan and Li Xuefeng in December 1970.

What is your opinion of the Lushan Conference? For instance, is the Sixth Brief Report of the North China Group really revolutionary, semi-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary? I myself regard it as a counter-revolutionary report. You were all present at the meeting of the ninety-nine, when the Premier made the summing-up speech and the self-examinations of the five big generals were issued, as well as those of big generals Li Xuefeng and Zheng Weishan, so that everyone thought that the problem had been solved.³⁵¹ But in fact the Lushan affair had not finished, the problem had not been solved. They wanted to suppress it. They did not even let cadres of the rank of head of the General Command and the General Staff departments know about it. This would not do!

What I have been saying are my own personal opinions, which I am giving you informally. I shall not draw formal conclusions now, this must be done by the Central Committee.

You should be prudent. First of all the army must be prudent and secondly the regions must be prudent. You must not be arrogant, if you are arrogant you will commit errors. The army must be unified; it must be rectified. I just don't believe that you, Huang Yongsheng, could order the Liberation Army to rebel! Under [each] army are divisions and regiments and the judicial, political and support units. If you try to mobilize the army to do bad things, do you think they will obey you?

You should pay attention to military affairs. You should not only be civil officials but also military officials. Grasping army work means studying the line and rectifying incorrect styles of work. You should not go in for mountain-top-ism or sectarianism, but pay attention to unity. I approve of the army's traditional style of quick and decisive action. But this style cannot be applied to questions of ideology, for which it is necessary to make the facts known and reason with people.

³⁵¹ At a report meeting called by the Central Committee in April 1971, and attended by ninety-nine responsible cadres from the Center, the regions and PLA units, for the purpose of discussing the progress of the campaign to criticize Chen Boda and carry out rectification, self-criticisms by the "big generals" of the Lin Biao clique (as enumerated by Mao) were distributed.

I added my approval to the document of the Guangdong Military Region on the “three supports and two militaries.”³⁵² In order to get people to give it their attention I appended the words, “To be studied seriously,” to the Central Committee’s endorsement. Now that the regional party committees have been established, they should exercise unified leadership. It would be putting the cart before the horse if the matters already decided by regional party committees were later turned over to the army-party committees for discussion.

In the past the military training given to our armed forces included unit-by-unit coaching. From individual coaching to battalion coaching took five to six months. Now that they only go in for civil and not military matters, our army has become a cultural army.

When “one good” leads “three goods” perhaps that “one good” of yours will lead correctly and perhaps it will lead incorrectly.³⁵³ And then there are the congresses of representatives of activists. It is worth studying what their actual effect is. Some are successful, but many are not. This is primarily a question of line. If the line is mistaken then the activists’ congress cannot be successful.

“In industry learn from Daqing, in agriculture learn from Dazhai; let the people of the whole country learn from the PLA.” This is incomplete. We should add, “Let the PLA learn from the people of the whole country.”

³⁵² This refers to the “Summary of the Guangdong Military Region’s Forum on Political and Ideological Work relating to the Three Supports and Two Militaries,” distributed by the Central Committee on 20 August 1971. The “three supports” (“support the broad masses of the left, support industry and agriculture”) and “two militaries” (“military control and military training”) was the slogan summing up the policy of active intervention by the PLA in all aspects of politics and society which had developed in the course of the Cultural Revolution. Mao Zedong, who had launched the process in January 1967 with his directive to Lin Biao to intervene in the Cultural Revolution in support of the left, had clearly regarded this as a temporary expedient, but by 1970-71 there were signs that Lin Biao and his supporters took it as setting the long-term pattern of the Chinese political system, and were using the above slogan as a standard for opposing the restoration of party control. Presumably the Guangdong document adopted a more balanced position.

³⁵³ This apparently refers to Lin Biao’s replacement of Mao’s “five requirements for successors” by “three criteria” of his own, which he formulated as follows in his speech of August 1, 1966: “(1) Do they hold high the red banner of Mao Zedong’s thought? Those who fail to do so shall be dismissed from office; (2) Do they engage in political and ideological work? Those who disrupt it and the Great Cultural Revolution are to be dismissed; (3) Are they enthusiastic about the revolution? Those who are entirely devoid of such enthusiasm are to be dismissed... We must select, promote and employ cadres in accordance with Chairman Mao’s five requirements and these three criteria, especially the first one.” “One good” leading “three goods” is Mao’s summary of Lin’s viewpoint according to which a correct understanding of Mao Zedong’s thought in itself guaranteed that a person would be a good cadre. This criticism of Lin fits into the context of Mao’s ongoing effort, since the Ninth Congress, to stress that political zeal must be complemented by a correct work style and, building on this, to denounce the “arrogance and complacency” of Lin and his supporters in the army.

You should study the article written by Lenin on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Eugene Pottier. Learn to sing “The Internationale” and “The Three Great Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention.” Let them not only be sung but also explained and acted upon. “The Internationale” and Lenin’s article express throughout a Marxist standpoint and outlook. What they say is that slaves should arise and struggle for truth. There never has been any supreme savior, nor can we rely on gods or emperors. We rely entirely on ourselves for our salvation. Who has created the world of men? We the laboring masses. During the Lushan Conference I wrote a 700-word article which raised the question of who created history, the heroes or the slaves.³⁵⁴ “The Internationale” says we must unite until the day comes when Communism will certainly be realized. If you study Marxism you will see that it teaches unity and not splitting. We have been singing “The Internationale” for fifty years but people have tried to split our Party ten times. I think it possible that they will do it another ten times, or twenty times, or thirty times. You don’t believe it? Maybe you don’t but I do. When we reach Communism will there be no struggles? I don’t believe that either. When we reach Communism there will still be struggles, but they will be between the new and the old, the correct and the incorrect, that is all. After tens of millennia have passed by, the incorrect will still be no good and will fail.

The Three Great Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention must be “remembered clearly, each and every one” and “the people of the whole country welcome and support them.” Yet there are a few of the rules and points for attention which are not clearly remembered, especially the first of the Three Rules and the first and fifth of the Eight Points. These are not remembered clearly. How fine it would be if they could all be clearly remembered and put into effect. The first of the Three Rules is that in all actions orders must be obeyed, for only if we march in step can we win victory. If we are not in step we cannot win victory. Then there are the first and fifth of the Eight points which say that towards the people, and towards fellow soldiers and subordinates, we should always be polite. We must not put on airs; warlord ways must be rooted out. These are the points of emphasis. If there were no points of emphasis there would be no policy. I hope that we will use the Three Great Rules of Discipline

³⁵⁴ This refers to Mao’s “Some Opinions” mentioned earlier. The link between Lin’s glorification of the role of “genius” and the evocation here of the “Internationale,” with its message, “*Il n’est pas de sauveur suprême,*” is obvious.

and the Eight Points for Attention to educate the army, educate the cadres, educate the masses, educate the Party members and the people.

The Lushan Conference called for the study of books by Marx and Lenin.³⁵⁵ I hope you will read more books from now on. It just won't do if high-ranking cadres don't even know what is materialism and what is idealism. What do we do if we find the books of Marx and Lenin difficult? We can ask a teacher to help us. You are all secretaries, but you ought to be students too. I myself become a student every day. I read two issues of the *Reference News*³⁵⁶ daily, and that's why I know a little about international affairs.

I never approved of one's wife becoming the office manager in one's own work unit. Over at Lin Biao's, it is Ye Qun who manages his office. When the four of them want to ask Lin Biao about anything they have to go through her. In doing any work one should do it oneself and read and endorse papers oneself. One should not rely on one's secretary. One shouldn't let one's secretary wield so much power. My secretary is only responsible for receiving and dispatching papers. I select the documents myself, read them myself, and when something has to be done I do my own writing so that no mistakes are made.

The Cultural Revolution dragged out Liu Shaoqi, Peng, Lo, Luo, and Yang. This was a big achievement. There were also some losses. Some good cadres have still not been able to re-emerge. The great majority of our cadres are good. The bad ones are a very small minority. Those who have been cleared out only comprise one percent, while those who have been suspended are less than three percent. The bad ones must be given appropriate criticism. The good ones must be praised, though not to the skies. It does a person under thirty no good at all if you call him a "super-genius." At the recent Lushan Conference some comrades were deceived and hoodwinked. The problem does not lie in you, but in Beijing. It does not matter if you have made mistakes. Our Party has a

³⁵⁵ Whereas Lin Biao had earlier put the view that "In the classical works of Marxism-Leninism, ninety-nine percent of our studies must be from Chairman Mao's works," a movement had been under way since the Lushan Plenum of September 1970 to encourage the study of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

³⁵⁶ The *Reference News* (*Cankao Xiaoxi*) circulated to a fairly wide audience of cadres, containing translations from foreign news services.

rule that those who made mistakes should first make a self-examination, and then they should be permitted to correct their mistakes.

We must take care to educate people in our ideological and political line. Our principle must still be “learning from past mistakes to avoid future mistakes,” and “curing the disease to save the patient.” Unite to win still greater victories.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Present Problems Arising from the Socialist Education Movement in the Countryside (Extracts)

14 January, 1965

Translation: Richard Baum & Frederick C. Teiwes, Ssu-Ch'ing: The Socialist Education Movement of 1962-1966, Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, 1968.

Since the Tenth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September 1962, as a result of the socialist education movement which has developed in the cities and in the countryside, as a result of the application of a series of Central Committee policies by the whole Party, as a result of the active efforts of the popular masses, numerous party members and cadres, an excellent situation has come into being on the political, economic, ideological and cultural, and military fronts in our country. In the course of the past few months, more than a million cadres throughout the country have gone deep down into units at the grass-roots level in the villages, and a new high tide has emerged in the movement for socialist revolution.

The many great successes which our country has obtained so rapidly in the course of the past year, demonstrate that our Party's general line for building socialism is correct. At the same time, this has demonstrated even further that our Chinese Communist Party, headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, is a great, glorious and correct Party...

Serious and sharp class struggles persist both in our cities and in the countryside. Once the socialist transformation of the system of property has been basically carried out, the class enemies who oppose socialism endeavor to use the method of "peaceful evolution" in order to re-establish capitalism. This situation of class struggle is necessarily reflected within the Party. The leadership of some communes, brigades, enterprises, and other units has been corrupted, or usurped... Experience has shown that if only the whole Party... thoroughly applies the various directives of the Party Central Committee regarding the Socialist Education Movement, grasps the essential principle of class struggle, relies on the working class, the poor and lower, middle peasants, the

revolutionary cadres, the revolutionary intellectuals, and other revolutionary elements, and takes care to unite over ninety-five percent of the masses, and over ninety-five percent of the cadres—provided we do this, the numerous questions still persisting in the cities and in the countryside will not be hard to locate and to solve...

The important point in this campaign is rectifying those people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road... Some of those people in authority taking the capitalist road do so openly, others act behind the scenes. Some of those who support them are at lower levels, some are at higher levels. At the lower levels, there are landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, and other bad elements who have already been identified, and also similar elements who have not been detected. At the higher levels, there are those who oppose building socialism in the communes, the *zhu*, the *xian*, the special districts, and even in the work of provincial and Central Committee departments. Among them are those who were originally class alien elements; there are those who have shed their skins and changed their nature; and there are those who have taken bribes and traitorously banded together to break the law and cause disorder...

The overwhelming majority of our cadres want to take the socialist road, but there are few people among them who do not have a clear understanding of the socialist revolution, do not employ people properly, do not investigate the work energetically, and commit bureaucratic errors...

The socialist education movement in the cities and the countryside will henceforth be called simply the Four Clean-ups movement, i.e. political economic, organizational and ideological clean-up. In the cities, the socialist education movement was known in the past as the “Five-Antis” movement. Henceforth, it will also be known as the Four Clean-ups, and the term Five-Antis will be abolished...

In June 1964, at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Central Committee, attended by the first secretaries of all the regional bureaus of the Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong said:

What are the criteria for carrying out the socialist education movement well?

1. One must see whether the poor and lower middle peasants are really stirred into action or not.
2. Has the problem of the four uncleans among the cadres been solved or not?

3. Have the cadres taken part in manual labor or not?
4. Has a good leadership core been established or not?
5. When landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements are discovered who indulge in disruptive activities, is this contradiction simply handed over to higher authorities, or are the masses mobilized to watch them seriously and reform them on the spot?
6. One must see whether the result is to increase or to decrease production

...Throughout the whole movement, we must make use of contradictions, win over the majority, oppose and smash the minority; those who resolutely take the capitalist road are always an extreme minority. There are some people who have committed errors who can still correct them. As for those people who are the target of the Four Clean-ups, we must be good at dissociating them, at treating them in a discriminating fashion, and at isolating the worst offenders to the greatest extent possible...

Appendix 2

Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

May 16, 1966

Translation: Beijing Review, May 19, 1967, Vol. X, No. 21, page 6-9.

To all regional bureaus of the Central Committee, all provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party committees, ail departments and commissions under the Central Committee, all leading party members' groups and party committees in government departments and people's organizations, and the General Political Department of the PLA:

The Central Committee has decided to revoke the *Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution* which was approved for distribution on 12 February 1966, to dissolve the "Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" and its offices, and to set up a new Cultural Revolution group directly under the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. The outline report by the so-called "Group of Five" is fundamentally wrong. It runs counter to the line of the socialist cultural revolution set forth by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong to the guiding principles formulated at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the party in 1962 on the question of classes and class struggle in socialist society. While feigning compliance, the outline actually opposes and stubbornly resists the great Cultural Revolution initiated and led personally by Comrade Mao Zedong, as well as the instructions, regarding the criticism of Wu Han, which he gave at the work conference of the Central Committee held in September and October 1965 (that is, at the session of the Standing Committee attended also by the leading comrades of all the regional bureaus of the Central Committee).

The outline report by the so-called "Group of Five" is actually an outline report by Peng Zhen alone. He concocted it according to his own ideas behind the backs of Comrade Kang Sheng, a member of the "Group of Five", and other comrades. In handling such a document regarding important questions

which affect the overall situation in the socialist revolution, Peng Zhen had no discussion or exchange of views at all within the “Group of Five.” He did not ask any local party committee for its opinion; nor, when submitting the outline report, did he make it clear that it was being sent to the Central Committee for examination as its official document, and still less did he get the approval of Comrade Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Central Committee. Employing the most improper methods, he acted arbitrarily, abused his powers, and, usurping the name of the Central Committee, hurriedly issued the outline report to the whole party.

The main errors of the outline report are as follows:

1. Proceeding from a bourgeois stand and the bourgeois world outlook in its appraisal of the situation and the nature of the current academic criticism, the outline completely reverses the relation between the enemy and ourselves, putting the one into the position of the other. Our country is now in an upsurge of the great proletarian Cultural Revolution which is pounding at all the decadent ideological and cultural positions still held by the bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudalism. Instead of encouraging the entire party boldly to arouse the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, and the fighters for proletarian culture so that they can continue to charge ahead, the outline does its best to turn the movement to the right. Using muddled, self-contradictory, and hypocritical language, it obscures the sharp class struggle that is taking place on the cultural and ideological front. In particular, it obscures the aim of this great struggle, which is to criticize and repudiate Wu Han and the considerable number of other anti-party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie (there are a number of these in the Central Committee and in the party, government, and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal, and autonomous region level). By avoiding any mention of the fact repeatedly pointed out by Chairman Mao, namely, that the key point in Wu Han’s drama *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* is the question of dismissal from office, the outline covers up the serious political nature of the struggle.
2. The outline violates the basic Marxist thesis that all class struggles are political struggles. When the press began to touch on the political issues involved in Wu Han’s *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*, the authors of the outline went so far as to say: “The discussion in the press should not be confined to political questions, but should go fully into the various

academic and theoretical questions involved.” Regarding the criticism of Wu Han, they declared on various occasions that it was impermissible to deal with the heart of the matter, namely, the dismissal of the right opportunists at the Lushan plenum in 1959 and the opposition of Wu Han and others to the party and socialism. Comrade Mao Zedong has often told us that the ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie is a protracted class struggle which cannot be resolved by drawing hasty political conclusions. However, Peng Zhen deliberately spread rumours, telling many people that Chairman Mao believed political conclusions on the criticism of Wu Han could be drawn after two months. Peng Zhen also said that the political issues could be discussed two months later. His purpose was to channel the political struggle in the cultural sphere into the so-called pure academic discussion so frequently advocated by the bourgeois politics and opposing giving prominence to proletarian politics.

3. The outline lays special emphasis on what it calls “opening wide.” But playing a sly trick it grossly distorts the policy of “opening wide” expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong at the party’s National Conference on Propaganda Work in March 1957 and negates the class content of “opening wide.” It was in dealing with this question that Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: “We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked.” Comrade Mao Zedong also said, “To ‘open wide’ means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize, and dare to debate.” This outline, however, poses “opening wide” against exposure by the proletariat of the bourgeoisie’s reactionary stand. What it means by “opening wide” is bourgeois liberalization, which would allow only the bourgeoisie to “open wide”, but would not allow the proletariat to “open wide” and hit back; in other words, it is a shield for such reactionary bourgeois representatives as Wu Han. The “opening wide” in this outline is against Mao Zedong Thought and caters for the needs of the bourgeoisie.
4. Just when we began the counter-offensive against the wild attacks of the bourgeoisie, the authors of the outline raised the slogan: “everyone is

equal before the truth.” This is a bourgeois slogan. Completely negating the class nature of truth, they use this slogan to protect the bourgeoisie and oppose the proletariat, oppose Marxism-Leninism, and oppose Mao Zedong Thought. In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind, and there is absolutely no such thing as equality. Can any equality be permitted on such basic questions as the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture, and the continued efforts of the proletariat to weed out those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the communist party and who wave “red flags” to oppose the red flag? For decades the old-line Social Democrats, and for over ten years the modern revisionists, have never allowed the proletariat equality with the bourgeoisie. They completely deny that the several thousand years of human history is a history of class struggle. They completely deny the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie, and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Together with the bourgeoisie and imperialism, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system. They are a bunch of counter-revolutionaries opposing the communist party and the people. Their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle, and our relation with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary, it is a relation of one class oppressing another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. There can be no other type of relation, such as a so called relation of equality, or of peaceful coexistence between exploiting and exploited classes, or of kindness or magnanimity.

5. The outline states: “It is necessary not only to beat the other side politically, but also, by academic and professional standards, truly surpass and beat it by a wide margin.” This concept which makes no class distinction on academic matters is also very wrong. The truth on academic ques-

tions, the truth of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Zedong Thought—which the proletariat has grasped—has already far surpassed and beaten the bourgeoisie. The formulation in the outline shows that its authors laud the so-called academic authorities of the bourgeoisie and try to boost their prestige, and that they hate and repress the militant newborn forces representative of the proletariat in academic circles.

6. Chairman Mao often says that there is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, was founded and has constantly developed in the course of the struggle to destroy bourgeois ideology. This outline, however, emphasizes that “without construction, there can be no real and thorough destruction.” This amounts to prohibiting the destruction of bourgeois ideology and prohibiting the construction of proletarian ideology. It is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao’s thought. It runs counter to the revolutionary struggle we have been waging on the cultural front for the vigorous destruction of bourgeois ideology. And it amounts to prohibiting the proletariat from making any revolution.
7. The outline states that “we must not behave like scholar-tyrants who are always acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power” and that “we should guard against any tendency for academic workers of the left to take the road of bourgeois experts and scholar-tyrants.” What is really meant by “scholar-tyrants?” Who are the “scholar-tyrants?” Should the proletariat not exercise dictatorship and overwhelm the bourgeoisie? Should the academic work of the proletariat not overwhelm and eradicate that of the bourgeoisie? And if proletarian academic work overwhelms and eradicates bourgeois academic work, can this be regarded as an act of “scholar-tyrants?” The outline directs its spearhead against the proletarian left. Obviously, its aim is to label the Marxist-Leninists “scholar-tyrants” and thus to support the real, bourgeois scholar-tyrants and prop up their tottering monopoly position in academic circles. As a matter of fact, those party people in authority taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants, and those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the party and protect the bourgeois scholar-tyrants, are indeed big party tyrants who have usurped the name of the party, have no contact with the masses, have no learning at all, and

rely solely on “acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power.”

8. For their own ulterior purposes, the authors of the outline demand a “rectification campaign” against the staunch left in a deliberate effort to create confusion, blur class alignments and divert people from the target of struggle. Their main purpose in dishing up the outline in such a hurry was to attack the proletarian left. They have gone out of their way to build up dossiers about the left, tried to find all sorts of pretexts for attacking them, and intended to launch further attacks on them by means of a “rectification campaign,” in the vain hope of disintegrating their ranks. They openly resist the policy explicitly put forward by Chairman Mao of protecting and supporting the left and giving serious attention to building up and expanding their ranks. On the other hand, they have conferred on those bourgeois representatives, revisionists, and renegades who have sneaked into the party the title of “staunch left”, and are shielding them. In these ways, they are trying to inflate the arrogance of the bourgeois rightists and to dampen the spirits of the proletarian left. They are filled with hatred for the proletariat and love for the bourgeoisie. Such is the bourgeois concept of brotherhood held by the authors of the outline.
9. At a time when the new and fierce struggle of the proletariat against the representatives of the bourgeoisie on the ideological front has only just began, and in many spheres and places has not even started—or, if it has started, most party committees concerned have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle and their leadership is far from conscientious and effective—the outline stresses again and again that the struggle must be conducted “under direction”, “with prudence”, “with caution”, and “with the approval of the leading bodies concerned.” All this serves to place restrictions on the proletarian left, to impose taboos and commandments in order to tie their hands, and to place all sorts of obstacles in the way of the proletarian cultural revolution. In a word, the authors of the outline are rushing to apply the brakes and launch a counter-attack in revenge. As for the articles written by the proletarian left refuting the reactionary bourgeois “authorities”, they nurse bitter hatred against those already published and are suppressing those not yet published. But on the other hand, they give free rein to all the various ghosts and monsters who for many years have abounded in our press, radio, magazines, books, text-book, platforms, works of litera-

ture, cinema, drama, ballads and stories, the fine arts, music, the dance, etc., and in doing so they never advocate proletarian leadership or stress any need for approval. The contrast here shows where the authors of the outline really stand.

10. The present struggle centers on the issue of implementation of, or resistance to, Comrade Mao Zedong's line on the Cultural Revolution. Yet the outline states: "Through this struggle, and under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, we shall open up the way for the solution of this problem (that is, "the thorough liquidation of bourgeois ideas in the realm of academic work")." Comrade Mao Zedong opened up the way for the proletariat on the cultural and ideological front long ago, in his *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*, *Letter to the Yanan Beijing Opera Theatre after seeing the Performance of 'Driven to Joint the Liangshan Rebels'*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*. Yet the outline maintains that Mao Zedong Thought has not yet opened up the way for us and that the way has to be opened up anew. Using the banner of "under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought" as cover, the outline actually attempts to open up a way opposed to Mao Zedong Thought, that is the way of modern revisionism, the way for the restoration of capitalism.

In short, the outline opposes carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, opposes the line on the Cultural Revolution pursued by the Central Committee of the party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, attacks the proletarian left and shields the bourgeois right, thereby preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. It is a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the party, it is out-and-out revisionism. Far from being a minor issue, the struggle against this revisionist line is an issue of prime importance having a vital bearing on the destiny and future of our party and date, on the future complexion of our party and date, and on the world revolution.

Party committees at all levels must immediately stop carrying out the "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution." The whole party must follow Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions, hold high the great banner of the proletarian Cultural Revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called "academic authorities" who oppose the party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of

academic work, education, journalism, literature and art, and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the party, the government, the army, and all spheres of culture, to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions. Above all, we must not entrust these people with the work of leading the Cultural Revolution. In fact many of them have done and are still doing such work, and this is extremely dangerous.

Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the party, the government, the army, and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen thorough, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchev, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.

This circular is to be sent, together with the erroneous document issued by the Central Committee on February 12, 1966, down to the level of county party committees, party committees in the cultural organizations, and party committees at regimental level in the army. These committees are asked to discuss which of the two documents is wrong and which is correct, their understanding of these documents, and their achievements and mistake.

Appendix 3

Sweep Away All Monsters

June 1, 1966

Source: People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), June 1, 1966.

Translation: Beijing Review, June 3, 1966, Vol. IX, No. 23, page 4-5.

An upsurge is occurring in the great proletarian cultural revolution in socialist China whose population accounts for one-quarter of the world's total.

For the last few months, in response to the militant call of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers and vast numbers of revolutionary cadres and intellectuals, all armed with Mao Zedong Thought, have been sweeping away a horde of monsters that have entrenched themselves in ideological and cultural positions. With the tremendous and impetuous force of a raging storm, they have smashed the shackles imposed on their minds by the exploiting classes for so long in the past, routing the bourgeois "specialists," "scholars," "authorities" and "venerable masters" and sweeping every bit of their prestige into the dust.

Chairman Mao has taught us that class struggle does not cease in China after the socialist transformation of the system of ownership has in the main been completed. "The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled." The class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been very acute right through the 16 years since China's liberation. The current great socialist cultural revolution is precisely a continuation and development of this struggle. The struggle is inevitable. The ideology of the proletariat and the ideology of all the exploiting classes are diametrically opposed to each other and cannot coexist in peace. The proletarian revolution is a revolution to abolish all exploiting classes

and all systems of exploitation; it is a most thoroughgoing revolution to bring about the gradual elimination of the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between mental and manual laborers. This cannot but meet with the most stubborn resistance from the exploiting classes.

In every revolution the basic question is that of state power. In all branches of the superstructure—ideology, religion, art, law, state power—the central issue is state power. State power means everything. Without it, all will be lost. Therefore, no matter how many problems have to be tackled after the conquest of state power, the proletariat must never forget state power, never forget its orientation and never lose sight of the central issue. Forgetting about state power means forgetting about politics, forgetting about the basic theses of Marxism and switching to economism, anarchism and utopianism and becoming muddle-headed. In the last analysis, the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a struggle for leadership. The exploiting classes have been disarmed and deprived of their authority by the people, but their reactionary ideas remain rooted in their minds. We have overthrown their rule and confiscated their property, but this does not mean that we have rid their minds of reactionary ideas as well. During the thousands of years of their rule over the working people, the exploiting classes monopolized the culture created by the working people and in turn used it to deceive, fool and benumb the working people in order to consolidate their reactionary state power. For thousands of years, theirs was the dominant ideology which inevitably exerted widespread influence in society. Not reconciled to the overthrow of their reactionary rule, they invariably try to make use of this influence of theirs surviving from the past to shape public opinion in preparation for the political and economic restoration of capitalism. The uninterrupted struggle on the ideological and cultural front in the 16 years from liberation up to the current exposure of the anti-Party and anti-socialist black line of the “Three-Family Villages,” big and small, has been a struggle between the forces attempting restoration and the forces opposing restoration.

In order to seize state power, the bourgeoisie during the period of the bourgeois revolution likewise started with ideological preparations by launching the bourgeois cultural revolution. Even the bourgeois revolution, which replaced one exploiting class by another, had to undergo repeated reversals and witness many struggles—revolution, then restoration and then the overthrow of restoration. It took many European countries hundreds of years to complete their bourgeois revolutions from the start of the ideological preparations to the final

conquest of state power. Since the proletarian revolution is a revolution aimed at completely ending all systems of exploitation, it is still less permissible to imagine that the exploiting classes will meekly allow the proletariat to deprive them of all their privileges without seeking to restore their rule. The surviving members of these classes who are unreconciled will inevitably, as Lenin put it, throw themselves with a tenfold furious passion into the battle for the recovery of their lost paradise. The fact that the Khrushchev revisionist clique has usurped the leadership of the Party, army and state in the Soviet Union is an extremely serious lesson for the proletariat throughout the world. At present the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois “scholars” and “authorities” in China are dreaming precisely of restoring capitalism. Though their political rule has been toppled, they are still desperately trying to maintain their academic “authority,” remold public opinion for a come-back and win over the masses, the youth and the generations yet unborn from us.

The anti-feudal cultural revolution waged by the bourgeoisie ended as soon as it had seized power. The proletarian cultural revolution, however, is a cultural revolution against the ideology of all exploiting classes. This cultural revolution is entirely different in nature from the bourgeois cultural revolution. It is only after the creation of the political, economic and cultural prerequisites following the capture of state power by the proletariat that the broadest road is opened up for the proletarian cultural revolution.

The proletarian cultural revolution is aimed not only at demolishing all the old ideology and culture and all the old customs and habits, which, fostered by the exploiting classes, have poisoned the minds of the people for thousands of years, but also at creating and fostering among the masses an entirely new ideology and culture and entirely new customs and habits—those of the proletariat. This great task of transforming customs and habits is without any precedent in human history. As for all the heritage, customs and habits of the feudal and bourgeois classes, the proletarian world outlook must be used to subject them to thoroughgoing criticism. It takes time to clear away the evil habits of the old society from among the people. Nevertheless, our experience since liberation proves that the transformation of customs and habits can be accelerated if the masses are fully mobilized, the mass line is implemented and the transformation is made into a genuine mass movement.

As the bourgeois cultural revolution served only a small number of people, i.e., the new exploiting class, only a small number of people could participate in it. The proletarian cultural revolution, however, serves the broad masses of

the working people and is in the interests of the working people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population. It is therefore able to attract and unite the broad masses to take part in it. The bourgeois individuals who carried out the enlightenment invariably looked down upon the masses, treated them as a mob and considered themselves as the predestined masters of the people. In sharp contrast, proletarian ideological revolutionaries serve the people heart and soul with the object of awakening them, and work for the interests of the broadest masses.

The bourgeoisie, with its base selfishness, is unable to suppress its hatred for the masses. Marx said: "The peculiar nature of the material it [political economy] deals with, summons as foes into the field of battle the most violent, mean and malignant passions of the human breast, the furies of private interest." This also holds for the bourgeoisie when it has been overthrown.

The scale and momentum of the great proletarian cultural revolution now being carried on in China have no parallel in history, and the tremendous drive and momentum and boundless wisdom of the working people manifested in the movement far exceed the imagination of the lords of the bourgeoisie. Facts have eloquently proved that Mao Zedong Thought becomes a moral atom bomb of colossal power once it takes hold of the masses. The current great cultural revolution is immensely advancing the socialist cause of the Chinese people and undoubtedly exerting an incalculable, far-reaching influence upon the present and future of the world.

The stormy cultural revolution now under way in our country has thrown the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries into confusion and panic. At one moment, they indulge in wishful thinking saying that our great cultural revolution has shown that there are hopes of "a peaceful evolution" on the part of China's younger generation. A moment later, they become pessimistic, saying that all this has shown that Communist rule remains very stable. Then again, they seem to be fearfully puzzled, saying that it will never be possible to find genuine "China hands" who can promptly pass accurate judgement on what is taking place in China. Dear Sirs, your wishful thinking invariably runs counter to the march of history. The triumphant progress of this great and unparalleled cultural revolution of the proletariat is already sounding the death knell not only of the remnant capitalist forces on Chinese soil, but of imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. Your days are numbered.

Illuminated by the great Mao Zedong Thought, let us carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. Its victory will certainly further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, guarantee the completion of the socialist revolution on all fronts and ensure our successful transition from socialism to triumphant communism!

Appendix 4

Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

August 8, 1966

Translation: Beijing Review, August 12, 1966, Vol. IX, No. 33, page 6-11.

1. A New Stage in the Socialist Revolution

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a stage which is both broader and deeper.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Zedong said: to overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Zedong's has been proved entirely correct in practice.

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavor to stage a comeback. The proletariat must do the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

2. The Main Current and the Zigzags

The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals, and revolutionary cadres form the main force in this Great Cultural Revolution. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring pathbreakers. They are vigorous in action and intelligent. Through the media of big-character posters and great debates, they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. In such a great revolutionary movement, it is hardly avoidable that they should show shortcomings of one kind or another; however, their general revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning. This is the main current in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is the general direction along which this revolution continues to advance.

Since the Cultural Revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. This resistance comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the force of habits from the old society. At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn. But after all, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an irresistible general trend. There is abundant evidence that such resistance will be quickly broken down once the masses become fully aroused.

Because the resistance is fairly strong, there will be reversals and even repeated reversals in this struggle. There is no harm in this. It tempers the proletariat and other working people, and especially the younger generation, teaches them lessons and gives them experience, and helps them to understand that the revolutionary road zigzags and does not run smoothly.

3. Put Daring Above Everything Else and Boldly Arouse the Masses

The outcome of this Great Cultural Revolution will be determined by whether or not the Party leadership dares boldly to arouse the masses.

Currently, there are four different situations with regard to the leadership being given to the movement of Cultural Revolution by Party organizations at various levels:

- (1) There is the situation in which the persons in charge of Party organizations stand in the van of the movement and dare to arouse the masses boldly. They put daring above everything else, they are dauntless communist fighters and good pupils of Chairman Mao. They advocate the big-character posters and great debates. They encourage the masses to

expose every kind of ghost and monster and also to criticize the shortcomings and errors in the work of the persons in charge. This correct kind of leadership is the result of putting proletarian politics in the forefront and Mao Zedong Thought in the lead.

- (2) In many units, the persons in charge have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle, their leadership is far from being conscientious and effective, and they accordingly find themselves incompetent and in a weak position. They put fear above everything else, stick to outmoded ways and regulations, and are unwilling to break away from conventional practices and move ahead. They have been taken unaware by the new order of things, the revolutionary order of the masses, with the result that their leadership lags behind the situation, lags behind the masses.
- (3) In some units, the persons in charge, who made mistakes of one kind or another in the past, are even more prone to put fear above everything else, being afraid that the masses will catch them out. Actually, if they make serious self-criticism and accept the criticism of the masses, the Party and the masses will make allowances for their mistakes. But if the persons in charge don't, they will continue to make mistakes and become obstacles to the mass movement.
- (4) Some units are controlled by those who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. Such persons in authority are extremely afraid of being exposed by the masses and therefore seek every possible pretext to suppress the mass movement. They resort to such tactics as shifting the targets for attack and turning black into white in an attempt to lead the movement astray. When they find themselves very isolated and no longer able to carry on as before, they resort still more to intrigues, stabbing people in the back, spreading rumors, and blurring the distinction between revolution and counter-revolution as much as they can, all for the purpose of attacking the revolutionaries.

What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their leading posts all those in authority

who are taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolution.

4. Let the Masses Educate Themselves in the Movement

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead must not be used.

Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disturbances. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things.

Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy.

5. Firmly Apply the Class Line of the Party

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the Great Cultural Revolution.

Party leadership should be good at discovering the left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the left; it should firmly rely on the revolutionary left. During the movement this is the only way to isolate the most reactionary rightists thoroughly, win over the middle and unite with the great majority so that by the end of the movement we shall achieve the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses.

Concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois rightists and counter-revolutionary revisionists, and expose and criticize to the full their crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Zedong Thought so as to isolate them to the maximum.

The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists and those who support the Party and socialism but have said or done something wrong or have written some bad articles or other works.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the reactionary bourgeois scholar despots and “authorities” on the one hand and people who have the ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other.

6. Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People

A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as contradictions among the people.

It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views.

When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act. On the premise that they have the same general orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues.

7. Be on Guard Against Those Who Brand the Revolutionary Masses as “Counter-Revolutionaries”

In certain schools, units, and work teams of the Cultural Revolution, some of the persons in charge have organized counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters criticizing them. These people have even advanced such slogans as: opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Central Committee of the Party, means opposition to the Party and socialism, means counter-revolution. In this way it is inevitable that their

blows will fall on some really revolutionary activists. This is an error on matters of orientation, an error of line, and is absolutely impermissible.

A number of persons who suffer from serious ideological errors, and particularly some of the anti-Party and anti-socialist rightists, are taking advantage of certain shortcomings and mistakes in the mass movement to spread rumors and gossip, and engage in agitation, deliberately branding some of the masses as “counter-revolutionaries.” It is necessary to beware of such “pick-pockets” and expose their tricks in good time.

In the course of the movement, with the exception of cases of active counter-revolutionaries where there is clear evidence of crimes such as murder, arson, poisoning, sabotage or theft of state secrets, which should be handled in accordance with the law, no measures should be taken against students at universities, colleges, middle schools and primary schools because of problems that arise in the movement. To prevent the struggle from being diverted from its main target, it is not allowed, under whatever pretext, to incite the masses or the students to struggle against each other. Even proven rightists should be dealt with on the merits of each case at a later stage of the movement.

8. The Question of Cadres

The cadres fall roughly into the following four categories:

- (1) good;
- (2) comparatively good;
- (3) those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists;
- (4) the small number of anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists.

In ordinary situations, the first two categories (good and comparatively good) are the great majority.

The anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists must be fully exposed, refuted, overthrown and completely discredited and their influence eliminated. At the same time, they should be given a chance to turn over a new leaf.

9. Cultural Revolution Groups, Committees and Congresses

Many new things have begun to emerge in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

These Cultural Revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby the masses educate themselves under

the leadership of the Communist Party. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The struggle of the proletariat against the old ideas, culture, customs and habits left over by all the exploiting classes over thousands of years will necessarily take a very, very long time. Therefore, the Cultural Revolutionary groups, committees and congresses should not be temporary organizations but permanent, standing mass organizations. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools and government and other organizations, but generally also for factories, mines, other enterprises, urban districts and villages.

It is necessary to institute a system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, for electing members to the Cultural Revolutionary groups and committees and delegates to the Cultural Revolutionary congresses. The lists of candidates should be put forward by the revolutionary masses after full discussion, and the elections should be held after the masses have discussed the lists over and over again.

The masses are entitled at any time to criticize members of the Cultural Revolutionary groups and committees and delegates elected to the Cultural Revolutionary congresses. If these members or delegates prove incompetent, they can be replaced through election or recalled by the masses after discussion.

The Cultural Revolutionary groups, committees and congresses in colleges and schools should consist mainly of representatives of the revolutionary students. At the same time, they should have a certain number of representatives of the revolutionary teaching and administrative staff and workers.

10. Educational Reform

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching.

In this Great Cultural Revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Zedong of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labor, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become laborers with socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cas-

es beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the Cultural Revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie as these struggles occur.

11. The Question of Criticizing by Name in the Press

In the course of the mass movement of the Cultural Revolution, the criticism of bourgeois and feudal ideology should be well combined with the dissemination of the proletarian world outlook and of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought.

Criticism should be organized of typical bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party and typical reactionary bourgeois academic “authorities,” and this should include criticism of various kinds of reactionary views in philosophy, history, political economy and education, in works and theories of literature and art, in theories of natural science, and in other fields.

Criticism of anyone by name in the press should be decided after discussion by the Party committee at the same level, and in some cases submitted to the Party committee at a higher level for approval.

12. Policy Towards Scientists, Technicians and Ordinary Members of Working Staffs

As regards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, as long as they are patriotic, work energetically, are not against the Party and socialism, and maintain no illicit relations with any foreign country, we should in the present movement continue to apply the policy of “unity, criticism, unity.” Special care should be taken of those scientists and scientific and technical personnel who have made contributions. Efforts should be made to help them gradually transform their world outlook and their style of work.

13. The Question of Arrangements for Integration With the Socialist Education Movement in City and Countryside

The cultural and educational units and leading organs of the Party and government in the large and medium cities are the points of concentration of the present proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Great Cultural Revolution has enriched the socialist education movement in both city and countryside and raised it to a higher level. Efforts should be made to conduct these two movements in close combination. Arrangements

to this effect may be made by various regions and departments in the light of the specific conditions.

The socialist education movement now going on in the countryside and in enterprises in the cities should not be upset where the original arrangements are appropriate and the movement is going well, but should continue in accordance with the original arrangements. However, the questions that are arising in the present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution should be put to the masses for discussion at the proper time, so as to further foster vigorously proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology.

In some places, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is being used as the focus in order to add momentum to the socialist education movement and clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy. This may be done where the local Party committee thinks it appropriate.

14. Take Firm Hold of the Revolution and Stimulate Production

The aim of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. If the masses are fully aroused and proper arrangements are made, it is possible to carry on both the Cultural Revolution and production without one hampering the other, while guaranteeing high quality in all our work.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any idea of counterposing the Great Cultural Revolution to the development of production is incorrect.

15. The Armed Forces

In the armed forces, the cultural revolution and the socialist education movement should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

16. Mao Zedong Thought Is the Guide for Action in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is imperative to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and put proletarian politics in command. The movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao Zedong's works should be carried forward among the masses of the work-

ers, peasants and soldiers, the cadres and the intellectuals, and Mao Zedong Thought should be taken as the guide to action in the Cultural Revolution.

In this complex Great Cultural Revolution, Party committees at all levels must study and apply Chairman Mao's works all the more conscientiously and in a creative way. In particular, they must study over and over again Chairman Mao's writings on the Cultural Revolution and on the Party's methods of leadership, such as *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership* and *Methods of Work of Party Committees*.

Party committees at all levels must abide by the directions given by Chairman Mao over the years, namely that they should thoroughly apply the mass line of "from the masses, to the masses" and that they should be pupils before they become teachers. They should try to avoid being one-sided or narrow. They should foster materialist dialectics and oppose metaphysics and scholasticism.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is bound to achieve brilliant victory under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong.

Appendix 5

Take Firm Hold of the Revolution, Promote Production and Utterly Smash the New Counter-Attack Launched by the Bourgeois Reactionary Line

January 4, 1967

Translation: Beijing Review, January 13, 1967, Vol. X, No. 3, page 5-7.

["Renmin Ribao" editor's note: The "Message to All Shanghai People," published in the Shanghai "Wenhui Bao" on January 5, is an extremely important document. It holds high the great red banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and sounds a clarion call to continue the vigorous counter-offensive upon the bourgeois reactionary line. It resolutely responds to Chairman Mao's great call to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production and raises the current key question in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This question does not just concern Shanghai alone but the whole country as well.

With the growth of the revolutionary forces in Shanghai, the Wenhui Bao and Jiefang Ribao have appeared as two completely new and revolutionary newspapers. They are products of the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line over the bourgeois reactionary line. This is a great event in the history of the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China. This is a great revolution. This great event will certainly play a tremendous role in pushing ahead the development of the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout east China and in all the cities and provinces in other parts of the country.]

Message to All Shanghai People

Under the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has won tremendous victories in the mass movement over the last few months to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line. We have entered the year 1967 to the sound of mili-

tant songs of triumph. It was pointed out in the New Year's Day editorial of the *Renmin Ribao* [*People's Daily*] and the journal *Hongqi* [*Red Flag*]: "1967 will be a year of all-round development of class struggle throughout China. It will be a year in which the proletariat, united with other sections of the revolutionary masses, will launch a general attack on the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, and on the ghosts and monsters in society. It will be a year of even more penetrating criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line and elimination of its influence. It will be a year of decisive victory in carrying out the struggle [to overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road], the criticism and repudiation [of the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes], and the transformation [of education, literature and art, and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base]." In other words, it will be a year in which the bourgeois reactionary line will totally collapse and disintegrate completely, a year in which the great proletarian cultural revolution will win a great victory of decisive importance.

The broad revolutionary masses of Shanghai have also won an initial victory in the struggle to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line followed by a handful of people within the Party in the Shanghai area and have carried the struggle to a deeper and broader new stage.

The mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our Shanghai factories is surging forward vigorously, smashing through all resistance with the might of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt. We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, follow Chairman Mao's teachings most closely and resolutely carry out the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao himself. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." We of the revolutionary rebel groups clearly understand that if the great proletarian cultural revolution is not carried out well, we will lose our orientation in production and slide back in the direction of capitalism. What we ourselves have experienced in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution has increasingly proved to us that only if the great proletarian cultural revolution is carried out well, will production develop on a still greater scale. Any idea of counterposing the great cultural revolution to the development of production is erroneous.

However, a handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and those who obstinately follow the bourgeois reactionary line have a bitter hatred for the great proletarian cultural revolution. They have been trying by every means to resist the policy of “taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production” put forward by Chairman Mao. Their schemes and devices may be summarized in the following ways:

At the beginning of the movement, they used the pretext of “taking firm hold of production” to repress the revolution and oppose taking firm hold of the revolution. When we workers of the revolutionary rebel groups wanted to rise up in revolution and criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, they used the tasks of production to bring pressure to bear on the workers and tagged us with the label of “sabotaging production.” Did they really want to “take firm hold of production?” No, they wanted to defend their own positions and attempted to obstruct our revolution. We exposed their schemes and rose up bravely in rebellion.

Then they resorted to another trick, that is, they played with high-sounding revolutionary words, giving the appearance of being ultra “Left” in order to incite large numbers of members of the Workers’ Red Militia Detachments whom they had hoodwinked to undermine production and sabotage transport and communications under the pretext of going north to “lodge complaints.” They did this to attain their aim of undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. More recently, a handful of reactionary elements were even plotting to cut off water and electricity supplies and bring public transport to a standstill. We must drag out these reactionary elements and exercise proletarian dictatorship over them, punish them severely, and never allow them to succeed in their criminal schemes.

Comrade revolutionary workers! Go into action at once! Resolutely carry out the policy of “taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production” advanced by Chairman Mao! We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, must become models in “taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production.” We must serve as the vanguards and the backbone not only in taking firm hold of the revolution, but also in promoting production. Our city of Shanghai, China’s biggest industrial producer, plays an extremely important role in the overall economic life of the country. But lately, in many factories and plants, it has occurred that some or even the majority of the members of the Red Militia Detachments have suspended production and deserted their posts in production. This runs directly counter to the stipulation

by the Party Central Committee on taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production and directly affects the people's livelihood and the development of national economic construction. We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, bearing in mind the teachings of Chairman Mao, have stood our ground in the face of this adverse current, have given proof of our high sense of revolutionary responsibility, and, under extremely difficult conditions, have shouldered all the production tasks of our factories and plants, thus dealing a telling blow against the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and smashing the big plot whereby they have attempted to thwart the revolution by sabotaging production. The actions of these workers are correct and splendid! All of us comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups should learn from them. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports." We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, have the lofty aspiration, the determination and the strength to do still better in both the revolution and production and to carry out Chairman Mao's great call for "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production."

Masses of class brothers of the Workers' Red Militia Detachments who want to make revolution! "Taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" is a policy put forward by Chairman Mao, a policy stressed time and again by the Party Central Committee, an important policy which guarantees the carrying through to the end of the great proletarian cultural revolution. To support or not to support, to carry out or not to carry out this policy is itself a matter of principle, a cardinal issue of right and wrong. In allowing yourselves to be incited by those people and by deserting your posts in production, whose interests are you serving? By acting in this way, whose hearts, after all, are you gladdening and whose are you saddening? We hope that you will follow Chairman Mao's teachings, that, on this important question of principle, you will see things more clearly, make a clear distinction between right and wrong, stop being deceived, wake up quickly, return to your posts in production, and return to the proletarian revolutionary line. We, comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups, will certainly welcome you back warmly to make revolution along with us and improve production with us. There is no question of our reprimanding you, because we are all close class brothers, and because the overwhelming majority of you are victims of the poison of the bourgeois reactionary line, are revolutionary masses who have been hoodwinked by those within

the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and by those who are stubbornly following the bourgeois reactionary line.

All revolutionary students and revolutionary government cadres of the city! Let us closely unite with the masses of revolutionary workers, and in order to carry out resolutely the policy of “taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production” put forward by Chairman Mao, let us undertake wide-spread propaganda work and struggle, open fire fiercely and with still greater resolve at the bourgeois reactionary line, crush all new counterattacks by the bourgeois reactionary line, and launch a new upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the factories and plants!

In the radiance of the boundless brilliance of the great thought of Mao Zedong, we look towards the future and see the splendid and magnificent prospect of the revolution. We the working class, poor and lower-middle peasants, and all working people must unite with the revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals, and revolutionary cadres, must make a common effort, fight shoulder to shoulder and continue our victorious advance so as to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Long live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the red sun in our hearts, the greatest leader Chairman Mao and long life, long, long life to him!

The Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters

The Red Guards' Revolutionary Committee of the Colleges and Universities of Shanghai

The “Rebel to the End” General Liaison Headquarters of Shanghai

The Revolutionary Rebel Committee of the Shanghai Journalists

The “Bombard the Headquarters” United Corps of Shanghai

“The East Is Red” Corps of Tongji University

The “Rebel to the End” Corps of the Shanghai Jiaotong University

The Shanghai Liaison Center of the Third Headquarters of the Red Guards of the Capital (Beijing)

The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Red Flag Fighting Detachment of the Beijing Aeronautical Engineering Institute

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The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Provisional Cultural Revolutionary Committee of the Sian Military Telecommunications Engineering Institute

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