



1968:

Writings and speeches

Mao Zedong

Introduction

In 2013, a private collector of Mao Zedong's works and related memorabilia, published 52 volumes of the Collected Works of Mao Zedong.

Zhang Dijie, from Luoyang City in Henan province was born in December 1959, and joined the PLA in 1976, the year of Mao's death. He began collecting everything he could related to the writings of Chairman Mao, and his 52 volumes, each often comprising 500 or so pages, spans the first poem written by Mao in 1901 at the age of 8 years old, to the final message attributed to Mao before his death, the message on the 15th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between China and North Korea.

According to Zhang Dijie, over 36 years of painstaking effort he had accumulated 102,000 copies and 15,000 editions of Mao's works from over 130 countries. The content of the published collection, by a Hong Kong publishing house, comprises 30% that is widely known, 50% that has only been released to a limited audience, and 20% published for the first time.

This is a translation of those parts of Volumes 49 and 50 that span the year 1968. The five volumes of the Selected Works of Mao Zedong published in various languages by the Foreign Language Press, Beijing, have made Chairman Mao's writings on protracted people's war, the New Democratic Revolution, literature and art, and a host of other topics prior to the launching of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution available to the international communist movement.

I am not fluent in Chinese. I know enough to get by on a daily basis in China, but for the sake of getting the job done quickly, I use the online translators Google Translate and Deepl. As good as they are, they invariably contain errors or contain references that need to be explained for non-Chinese readers. I can at least recognise and correct the errors, and search the internet in Chinese to find the information that will help readers.

There are two types of footnotes in this collection of Mao's speeches and writings. Those enclosed in [] brackets at the end of each writing or speech by Mao are by Zhang Dijie, those at the bottom of a page are my own. There are not many of the latter. Those by Zhang Dijie are translated as they appear in his collection. Some are simply matters of fact ("XXX was at that time director of such and such an institution") while others reflect the revisionist reappraisal of events and people connected with the GPCR. Comrades will no doubt be able to use their own bullshit detectors in relation to the latter.

I have not been able to contact Comrade Zhang Dijie to thank him for his great effort in collecting and publishing the 52 volumes of Mao's Collected Works, so I use this opportunity to acknowledge his great contribution to our knowledge of Mao's thinking across the years, and particularly during the tumultuous year that saw the launching of the GPCR.

Nick G. (Contents pages at rear)

Comments on the Press Release and Editorial Draft Regarding the Establishment of the Jiangxi Provincial Revolutionary Committee

(January 6, 1968)

Return to Comrade Yao Wenyan [1]:

Both [2] are acceptable.

A few inappropriate phrases have been deleted from each [3].

Mao Zedong

January 6, 3:00 p.m.

[1] Yao Wenyan was a member of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China at that time.

[2] This refers to the Xinhua News Agency news release on the establishment of the Jiangxi Provincial Revolutionary Committee, submitted by Yao Wenyan for review on January 6, 1968, and the People's Daily and Liberation Army Daily editorials titled "The Red Flag of Jinggangshan Flies for Generations—Warmly Cheer for the Establishment of the Jiangxi Provincial Revolutionary Committee." Both articles were published in the People's Daily and the Liberation Army Daily on January 7.

[3] In the Xinhua News Agency's new draft, Mao Zedong deleted the sentence "Chairman Mao's words are truths, and one sentence is worth ten thousand." In the People's Daily and Liberation Army Daily editorials, Mao Zedong deleted the sentence "Chairman Mao's words are of the highest level and the greatest power, and every sentence is truth, and one sentence is worth ten thousand." He also deleted the word "step by step" from the sentence "They followed Chairman Mao's great strategic deployment step by step."

Comments on a Peking University student's letter reporting on the "Wu Hao Announcement" [1]

(January 16, 1968)

This matter has long been clarified. [2] It is the Kuomintang that fabricated the rumour and slander. [3]

Mao Zedong

January 16

[1] On December 22, 1967, a student from the History Department of Peking University wrote to Mao Zedong, reporting that he had discovered material related to the 1932 issue of "Guochuang Weekly," "Shen Bao," and "Shishi Xin Bao" regarding the "Notice of Wu Hao and Others Leaving the Communist Party." Mao Zedong's comments are included in the summary of this letter. Wu Hao was another name for Zhou Enlai.

[2] In February 1932, the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic issued a notice signed by Chairman Mao Zedong, stating: "Shanghai's Shishi Xinbao, Shibao, and Shenbao, etc., published for several days around February 20, 1932, a false notice by 'Wu Hao and 243 others,' claiming to have resigned from the Communist Party. In fact, Comrade Wu Hao was serving on the Military Commission of the Soviet Central Government. Not only had he absolutely not resigned from the Communist Party, but he would certainly not have published the absurd and reactionary statements contained in that notice. This is clearly a slanderous fabrication by Kuomintang members who massacred workers, peasants, and soldiers and sold out China to imperialism." Yet, the Shishi Xinbao, Shibao, and Shenbao newspapers, which paid advertising fees in accordance with their regulations, completely refused to publish the corrections by Wu Hao and others. These newspapers, clearly exploiting the protection of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang Shanghai Municipal Government and the imperialist Shanghai Municipal Council, actively engaged in actions that harmed the revolution, opposed the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, and indirectly aided imperialism in its attack on the Chinese people's revolution. Based on this ground, the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal of the Chinese Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Conference (Soviet) pronounces death on the general managers of Shishi Xinbao, Shibao, Shenbao, and all other newspapers that published the so-called "Wu Hao and others" announcement and refused to publish corrections. On May 17, 1967, Jiang Qing submitted a "Notice of Wu Hao and Others Leaving the Communist Party," delivered by the Nankai University Red Guards, to Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai, and Kang Sheng. She also included a letter stating, "They have uncovered an anti-communist notice, led by Wu Hao (Zhou X), and request a personal interview with me." On the 19th, Zhou Enlai

commented on Jiang Qing's letter, stating, "The notice of Wu Hao and Others leaving the Communist Party is a pure enemy fabrication." To this end, he compiled the relevant events from 1931 to 1932 into a "Chronicle of Major Events" and submitted it to Mao Zedong. The letter stated, "It has now been clarified that the so-called 'Notice of Wu Hao and Others' is the forged notice of February 18, 1932." After reading it, Mao Zedong wrote, "Submit it to the comrades of the Cultural Revolution Group for review and preservation." On June 23, 1972, Zhou Enlai, acting on Mao's advice, delivered a special report entitled "On the Kuomintang's fabricated and slanderous publication of the so-called 'Wu Hao Announcement'" at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's meeting to criticize Lin Biao and rectify the style of work.

Comments on the Heilongjiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee's Report on the Work of Deeply Digging Out Traitors [1]

(January 30, 1968)

Comrade Kang Sheng [2]:

Please consider whether this report can be forwarded to various places to draw their attention. Please discuss this with the comrades at the meeting.

Mao Zedong

January 30

[1] The report submitted for review by the Heilongjiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee on January 25, 1968, stated that revolutionary committees at all levels across the province had fully relied on and extensively mobilized mass organizations to actively carry out the work of uncovering traitors, achieving remarkable results. Preliminary findings revealed leads on traitorous spies in over 20 provinces and municipalities nationwide, including those in the Central Cadre School and Beijing Public Security Bureau, and others who had infiltrated military institutions.

[2] Kang Sheng was then a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and an advisor to the Central Cultural Revolution Group.

Holding study classes is a good idea.

(1968)

Holding study classes is a good idea. Many problems can be solved in these classes [1].

[1] On February 5, 1968, the People's Daily and the Liberation Army Daily published an editorial titled "North China's Mountains and Rivers Are Red—Warmly Cheer for the Establishment of the Hebei Provincial Revolutionary Committee." The editorial quoted this sentence in boldface after "Chairman Mao Recently Taught Us."

The Vietnamese People's Victory is Certain [I]

(February 7, 1968)

In the past, many people always believed that Vietnam could not defeat the United States. Their main reason was that Vietnam had a small population and poor material resources, while the United States had a large industry and a large military. On the surface, this seemed correct, but in reality, it was not. The United States had too many weapons, but they had nowhere to use them. For example, if a Vietnamese fought an American in close combat, would their planes only kill the Vietnamese while leaving the Americans unscathed? Therefore, in close combat, their weapons were useless. In terms of courage and combat effectiveness, they are even more inferior to you. When a country invades another country, the people of the invaded country dislike it. The Vietnamese people dislike Americans, and even the puppet army dislikes them because they control the people. This way, they are alienated from the people and become extremely isolated. Your victory in this war is certain; it will just take some time, but not for long.

When the Geneva Accords were signed in 1954, the 17th parallel was drawn. In the five years between 1954 and 1959, they slaughtered over a hundred thousand of your people. You were forced to take up arms and engage in armed struggle. Initially, you had a guerrilla group of a dozen or so men, but through 1962, 1963, 1964, and 1965, your situation gradually developed to the present situation. Previously, you thought the enemy's defenses in major cities were tight, making it difficult to penetrate. But this time, with your attack, it seems you can penetrate them. Now is a favourable time. You can use this opportunity to expand your forces, expand your territory in the countryside, and annihilate more of the enemy's effective forces. The major cities can be put on hold, just as Hanoi and Haiphong were left alone during the war against the French, leaving them for later.

At the current stage of the South Vietnam War, I suggest you organize several field corps. Each corps should consist of 30,000 to 40,000 troops, and annihilate 4,000 to 5,000 enemy troops in each battle. After each victory, they would replenish their forces with ammunition, food, and medicine, and then fight again. A field corps should fight three or four battles a year (one every three months), annihilating the enemy's organized and effective forces. These corps should be able to fight far from their home bases, either in this tactical zone or in another. In this way, the enemy's organized and effective forces can be annihilated piecemeal. To defeat isolated enemy forces, tunnels can be dug to approach the enemy, engaging in close combat and night fighting, rendering enemy aircraft and artillery fire ineffective. Tunnels can be dug in three or four directions. Unlike underground tunnels, these tunnels can be excavated and should allow for troop movement and the transport of ammunition. A certain force should also be organized to attack enemy reinforcements. Therefore, a field corps should have a larger strength, perhaps 30,000 to 40,000. That is, the

purpose of fighting a battle like the one at Dien Bien Phu was to inflict a fatal blow on the enemy.

These opinions are for your reference. You will make your own decisions based on your circumstances. I believe the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party will find new solutions under new circumstances.

[1] This is part of a conversation between Mao Zedong and Ho Chi Minh, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Vietnam and President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Comments and revisions on the Central Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group's forwarding of the Jiangxi Military Region's instructions on the experience of the education corps [1]

(10 February 1968)

1

Sent to Lin and Zhou for review. A section has been added. Please consider it carefully.

[1]

Mao Zedong

10 February

2

We have a large number of local troops (independent divisions, regiments, battalions, and companies), major military regions, provincial military regions, and field armies. We have a responsibility to help them. Those who have made mistakes should be helped to correct them, and those who have achieved results should be commended for their achievements. We should regard them as class brothers just like ourselves. Of course, we must first ensure that we ourselves are correct. If we have made mistakes and have not yet corrected them, we cannot accomplish this task. This is a great task, and we must complete it within about a year.

[1] Zhou Enlai and others wrote a report to Mao Zedong and Lin Biao on 9 February 1968, stating: "In accordance with the Chairman's instructions, the meeting held this evening (the 9th) approved the draft directive on behalf of the Central Committee to forward the "Experience of the Jiangxi Military Region in Educating Troops with the Struggle Between the Two Lines as the Guiding Principle". We now submit it for your approval." The Central Committee's directive noted that the Jiangxi Provincial Military Region Party Committee "has vigorously promoted education on the struggle between the two lines, enabling some units that had once made mistakes during the support-the-left campaign to, on the basis of enhancing their understanding and raising their proletarian political consciousness, take on new support-the-left tasks in new regions, undergo training, and swiftly return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, where they have been warmly welcomed by revolutionary masses and achieved good results." "The Central Committee believes that this approach is correct, as it has created conditions for the troops to correct their mistakes and achieve new accomplishments." Following this, Mao Zedong added a paragraph, which constitutes Part Two of this article. On 10 February, the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party

of China and the Central Cultural Revolution Group issued this directive to all major military regions, military branches, provincial military regions, and military units.

Comments on Zhou Enlai and others' report on measures to stop railway sabotage [1]

(February 1968)

Completely agree. Returned to the Premier's Office and reported to Comrade Lin Biao [2].

[1] This comment was written on a report submitted to Mao Zedong on February 4, 1968, by Premier Zhou Enlai and others from the Production Command of the Ministry of Railways' Military Control Commission regarding the disruption of railway transportation in the Xuzhou area. The report reflected the serious damage to the railways in Xuzhou and other areas, pointing out that these rail and bridge destruction activities had gone beyond factionalism and were being carried out by counter-revolutionary spies who had infiltrated one or both factions. The Jinan Military Region must be instructed to mobilize mobile forces to carry out a pincer attack along the lines. Once such a counter-revolutionary group is discovered, it must be encircled and pursued. A combination of political offensive and military encirclement must be employed to force them to lay down their arms. Then, treatment must be differentiated, separating the bad leaders and counter-revolutionaries from the masses who were coerced into following them. A public notice must be issued locally, declaring these rail and bridge destruction activities to be completely counter-revolutionary and dictatorial measures must be implemented. This measure was to be implemented tonight, pre-emptively, without waiting for a nationwide military deployment to protect the railways and bridges. On February 6, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group issued an order stating that the very few bad leaders who incited, manipulated, and directed the sabotage of railways, the blowing up of bridges, the attacks on trains, and the killing and looting of goods were counter-revolutionaries and must be resolutely suppressed and brought to justice.

[2] Lin Biao was re-elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee at the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee and was soon named Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee.

Comments on the Draft Urgent Notice on Further Implementing Economy for Revolution and Resolutely Saving Expenditure [1]

(February 1968)

I have made a revision to one sentence in Article 6. Please consider it.

[1] This comment was written on an urgent draft notice submitted by Zhou Enlai and others for review on February 14, 1968, by the Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group. The draft notice consisted of eleven points, the sixth of which stated: "Any unit that has been split into two production leadership teams, two sets of financial accounting, two treasuries, or two bank accounts due to factional struggles must be quickly united before the end of February to implement unified leadership and management in accordance with the latest instructions of our great leader, Chairman Mao. Otherwise, military control personnel from higher levels, or personnel from the higher-level Revolutionary Committee (Revolutionary Preparatory Group) or Military Control Commission, will be assigned to take charge of unified leadership and management of production and operations." During Mao's review, he changed the phrase "before the end of February" to "within a month of the document." On February 18, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group issued this urgent notice, specifying that it could be read aloud at all grassroots units and posted internally.

Instructions on the Guangdong Issue¹

(February 1968)

The situation in Guangdong is very favourable. The Provincial Revolutionary Committee must seize the key and immediately establish a revolutionary committee to lead Guangxi, Yunnan, Fujian, Hunan, and other regions. This is because there are three black lines on the national defense front.

¹ The 1968 Wuhan Collection "Long Live Mao Zedong Thought" has this statement with three extra sentences added:

1. The Chairman is very critical of factionalism. The call for a grand unity has been made for a year, yet it's still being discussed. 2. The Chairman read the Wenhui Daily editorial, "On the Reactionary Nature of Factionalism," and declared it "very good." 3. (Premier Zhou Enlai conveyed the Chairman's latest instructions to Comrade Wen Yucheng, head of the Guangzhou Military Region, by telephone)

Instructions Regarding Revolutionary Committees, etc.

(February 1968)

We should organize study classes. We should use the methods of study classes to fight self and repudiate revisionism, improve our understanding, solve problems, and focus on ideological and organizational revolutionization. The revolutionary committees that have already been established should be consolidated and developed. The revolutionary committees are good. We should summarize our experience and liberate a large number of revolutionary cadres. As long as the cadres are not three-anti elements, capitalist-roaders, traitors, or spies, but have made mistakes in the movement and have seriously examined and recognized their mistakes, they can be combined into the three-in-one combinations. In the three-in-one combinations, we should pay attention to the class composition, but we cannot only focus on the class composition, and we should not combine with bad people. The three-in-one combinations should be combined with the old, the middle-aged, and the young. It is not okay to include little kids.

In general, the People's Liberation Army does not participate in the revolutionary committees of universities, but in special circumstances, it must be approved by the municipal revolutionary committee.

We must be vigilant against bad people and prevent sabotage. Those who have established revolutionary committees should cherish, respect, help, defend and maintain their proletarian authority, and strictly prevent class enemies from sabotaging them. The establishment of the Revolutionary Committee is not the completion of the work of the Three Supports and Two Militaries [1], but the entry into a new stage to consolidate and develop the proletarian authority of the Revolutionary Committee.

[1] On 23 January 1967, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group jointly issued the 'Decision on the People's Liberation Army Firmly Supporting the Revolutionary Leftist Masses,' marking the PLA's involvement in the local 'Cultural Revolution' and the launch of the 'Support the Left' campaign. On 19 March 1967, the Central Military Commission issued the 'Decision on Concentrating Efforts to Carry Out the Tasks of Supporting the Left, Supporting Agriculture, Supporting Industry, Military Administration, and Military Training,' known as the 'Three Supports and Two Armies.' For the first time, the 'Three Supports and Two Military' were presented as a unified concept to all military units. The 'Three Supports and Two Military' refer to the military's support for the leftist masses, support for industry, support for agriculture, military administration, and military training.

Following the issuance of the 'support the leftist masses' resolution on 23 January, the PLA's 'Three Supports and Two Military' initiatives gradually unfolded across the country.

Comments on the letter reporting on Ouyang Yi's² situation [1]

(March 2, 1968)

Comrade Lin Biao [2]: Please take a look at this and decide whether to hand it over to Chengwu and others for investigation and handling.

Mao Zedong

March 2

[1] On February 22, 1968, Chen Min, the wife of Ouyang Yi, former deputy political commissar of the Chinese People's Liberation Army's artillery, wrote a letter to Mao Zedong, reporting on the struggle against Ouyang Yi within the artillery. The letter stated that the recent criticism and struggle against Ouyang Yi had intensified, with severe physical and physical punishments. He had become a completely unrecognizable person. She pleaded with the Chairman and the central leadership to urgently save his life and grant him freedom. The letter also stated that Ouyang Yi was truly a good comrade and by no means a bad person, and urged the central government to conduct a thorough investigation into his case.

[2] Lin Biao, then Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China, issued a directive on March 2, 1968, to Yang Chengwu, Deputy Head of the Cultural Revolution Group and Acting Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army: "Please follow the Chairman's instructions and conduct a thorough investigation and handling of the case. I look forward to hearing from you when there are any results."

² Ouyang Yi joined revolutionary work in 1925, and the CCP in 1928. He was a Long March veteran. In time he became the deputy political commissar of the artillery of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. During the Cultural Revolution, he was detained for five years. On 1975, he was released and resumed work. He died on June 12, 2005 at the age of 96.

Comments on the article "The Great Depression of 1929" [1] in the Hong Kong Ta Kung Pao

(March 23, 1968)

1

For review by Lin Biao, Enlai [2], and comrades from the Central Cultural Revolution Group.

Mao Zedong

March 23

2

The conclusion may not be correct, but we will still fight.

[1] This article, published in Hong Kong's Ta Kung Pao on March 18, 1968, describes the economic crisis of 1929 in the capitalist world, arguing that the current financial panic in the West bears some resemblance to the Great Depression of 1929. Imperialism, in its quest to escape and shift the tide of crisis, often resorts to war. The article concludes: "Looking at the current situation from forty years ago, it's both similar and different. The West is facing a looming economic crisis, but whether it can find a way out through large-scale war is highly questionable. This is because New China, guided by Mao Zedong Thought, stands tall on the East Asian continent, a beacon to the world. Any invader who dares to tread upon it will inevitably be crushed. Furthermore, the favorable revolutionary situation worldwide, especially the fact that the US military has suffered a crushing defeat in Vietnam, has also made US imperialism wary. The open and covert struggles, the bickering and fighting among the imperialists, will inevitably continue. However, if they dare to embark on the path of all-out war in an attempt to resolve the crisis, their days of complete comfort will surely arrive even sooner!" Next to this passage, Mao Zedong wrote a comment, which becomes the second part of this article.

[2] Lin Biao was re-elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee at the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee and was soon named Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee. Enlai, also known as Zhou Enlai.

(March 23, 1968)

1

For review by Lin Biao, Enlai [2], and comrades from the Central Cultural Revolution Group.

Mao Zedong

March 23

2

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Comments and revisions to the editorial draft of two newspapers and one magazine, "The Revolutionary Committee is Good" [1]

(March 25 and 28, 1968)

1

Wait a few days, revise it, and then publish it.

Mao Zedong

March 25

2

Publish as is. There is a minor correction on page 2 [2].

Mao Zedong

March 28

3

The "three-in-one" revolutionary committee is a creation of *the working class and the masses during this Cultural Revolution*. Chairman Mao taught us: "We must trust and rely on the masses, trust and rely on the People's Liberation Army, and trust and rely on the majority of the cadres." The "three-in-one" revolutionary committee closely combines these three aspects, as proposed by Chairman Mao *after summarizing the masses' experience*, in an organizational sense, so as to better meet the needs of the socialist economic base, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and prevent the restoration of capitalism.

[1] This first part was written on the editorial drafts submitted by Chen Boda, head of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Yao Wenyan, a member of the group, for review on February 19, 1968, for the People's Daily, Red Flag, and Liberation Army Daily. Chen Boda and Yao Wenyan wrote on the draft: "Here is an editorial. It quotes your latest instructions. Please review and comment on their propriety." Mao Zedong's latest instructions can be found in Part 2 of "On the Reform of State Organs and the Basic Experience of the Revolutionary Committee." This second part was written on the revised draft of the editorial submitted by Chen Boda and Yao Wenyan on March 28. On this draft, Chen Boda and Yao Wenyan wrote: "This article has been revised. Can it be published soon? It can illustrate the favourable situation and play a positive guiding role." This third part is a revision of a passage in the draft submitted by Chen Boda and Yao Wenyan on March 28. This editorial was published in the People's Daily and

the Liberation Army Daily on March 30, 1968, and in the first issue of Red Flag magazine on July 1.

[2] The section in italics in the third part, "The 'three-in-one' revolutionary committee is a creation of the working class and the masses during this Cultural Revolution," originally reads, "The 'three-in-one' revolutionary committee is Chairman Mao's creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state."

Comments on Kang Sheng's Review of the Telegram Congratulating the Communist Party of Burma on its 20th Anniversary of Armed Struggle [1]

(March 28, 1968)

1

I've noticed that, that's good. There seem to be quite a few problems with foreign journals and publications. Could you please ask Comrades Kang Sheng, Boda, and Wen yuan (2) to hold one or two symposiums to discuss ways to improve them?

Mao Zedong

March 28

2

Comrades Lin, Zhou [3], Boda, and Wen yuan, read yourselves.

Return to Kang Sheng

[1] On March 27, 1968, Kang Sheng, a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and an advisor to the Central Cultural Revolution Group, wrote to Mao Zedong: "I have reviewed the draft of the congratulatory telegram drafted by the International Liaison Department on behalf of the Central Committee to the Communist Party of Burma on the 20th anniversary of its armed struggle. I approved it for review, and I bear responsibility." "After reading the Chairman's revisions and serious comments on the telegram, I deeply condemn myself. I have not resolutely implemented the Chairman's repeated instructions and have made another mistake. This is unacceptable. I hope the Chairman will give me a severe criticism. In the future, when drafting documents for external affairs, I will pay close attention and resolutely follow the Chairman's instructions." The first part was written on Kang Sheng's letter of self-criticism; the second part was written on the envelope that contained the letter of self-criticism.

[2] Boda, also known as Chen Boda, was then a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group. Wen yuan, also known as Yao Wen yuan, was then a member of the Central Cultural Revolution Group.

[3] Lin refers to Lin Biao, who was re-elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee at the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee and was soon named Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee. Zhou refers to Zhou Enlai.

Comments on the Heilongjiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee's Report on the Allocation of College and University Graduates [1]

(March 30, 1968)

Premier, Comrade Boda [2]:

I think this document is good. Can it be forwarded to various places for reference and decision? The problem of graduates sorting themselves out is a common one, not only in universities but also in a large number of middle and primary schools.

Mao Zedong

March 30

[1] This report, submitted by the Heilongjiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee to Mao Zedong and others on March 19, 1968, summarized the experience gained from the 1966 college and university graduate placement work, which began in September 1967. The key points were: 1. Regarding the direction of college and university graduate placement, we firmly adhered to the principle of focusing on the countryside, factories, and the grassroots, with a focus on rural areas below the county level, enabling graduates to truly integrate with the masses and grow through the three major revolutionary movements. 2. Regarding the ideological education of graduates, we organized large-scale Mao Zedong Thought study sessions in all colleges and universities, focusing on "fighting self and repudiating revisionism" as the guiding principle. With the goal of transforming our world outlook, we actively studied and applied the "Five Old Articles" and Chairman Mao's latest directives during the Cultural Revolution. Through class education, we raised our class consciousness and prepared them to serve where the Party needed them most. Third, in implementing the mass line, we must break away from the past practice of a few people sitting in a cold, secretive room, creating a highly secretive allocation process. Without disclosing Party and state secrets or confidential graduate allocation and transfer procedures, we must truthfully share the guidelines, policies, allocation plans, individual preferences, and allocation lists related to graduate allocation with the graduates, and then solicit their opinions through various channels. Fourth, regarding the authority over graduate allocation, while promoting the great revolutionary unity, we must establish and fully utilize the "three-in-one" graduate allocation team to ensure the smooth progress of the graduate allocation process. On April 4, 1968, the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group forwarded this report from the Heilongjiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

On the Reform of State Organs and the Basic Experience of the Revolutionary Committees

[1]

(1968)

1

The most fundamental aspect of the reform of state organs is to connect with the masses.

2

The revolutionary committees have three fundamental lessons: representation of revolutionary cadres, representation of the military, and representation of the revolutionary masses, thus achieving the three-pronged approach to revolution. The revolutionary committees must implement unified leadership, break down overlapping administrative structures, streamline administration, and establish a revolutionary leadership team that connects with the masses.

[1] The two passages were quoted in boldface in the People's Daily, Red Flag, and Liberation Army Daily editorial "Revolutionary Committees are Fine," published on March 30, 1968. The first passage was also published in the April 1, 1968, issue of the People's Daily's "Chairman Mao's Latest Instructions" column, and the second in the March 30, 1968, issue of the People's Daily's "Chairman Mao's Latest Instructions" column.

Comments on the draft directive of the Central Committee approving the establishment of the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee [1]

(April 6, 1968)

Returned to Zhou [2] for further review. I suggest that neither Yang Chengwu nor Zhang Pinghua [3] be mentioned in this document, leaving room for further discussion. It will not be too late to mention them in the future. Please decide.

Mao Zedong,

April 6

[1] In the March 30, 1968, request for instructions from the Hunan Provincial Drafting Committee Preparatory Group to Mao Zedong and others regarding the establishment of the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee, the group mentioned Yang Chengwu, Zhang Pinghua, and others when referring to the so-called "largest handful of capitalist roaders in power within the Party and their agents in Hunan." Zhang Pinghua's name was also mentioned in the comments of the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group on March 30, approving the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Preparatory Group's request. When Zhou Enlai submitted the draft for review, he added a note to the Central Committee's comments: "The Central Cultural Revolution Meeting and the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Preparatory Group representatives both advocate mentioning Zhang Pinghua's name. Please decide whether this is permitted." "There are two more references on page 5. Please decide." During his review, Mao deleted these three references and wrote this comment. When Zhou Enlai and others sent the draft of the Central Committee's comments and its attached report, the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Preparatory Group, to Mao Zedong for review, they also wrote that the Central Cultural Revolution meeting, while listening to and discussing the report of the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Preparatory Group, which included eight representatives from the military, cadres, and the masses, had proposed incorporating Comrade Long Shujin and appointing him as the first deputy director of the Provincial Drafting Committee. Mao Zedong, after reading it, wrote, "Act accordingly." On April 6, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China forwarded the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Preparatory Group's request.

[2] Zhou refers to Zhou Enlai.

[3] Yang Chengwu was formerly Deputy Head of the Cultural Revolution Group of the PLA, a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Military Commission and Deputy Secretary-General, and Acting Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army. In March 1968, Lin Biao and Jiang Qing conspired to fabricate a major case of false accusations

and persecution against Yang Chengwu, Yu Lijin (Political Commissar of the PLA Air Force), and Fu Chongbi (Commander of the PLA Beijing Garrison), known as the "Yang, Yu, and Fu Incident," resulting in the dismissal of their positions. In July 1974, with Mao Zedong's approval, they were rehabilitated, their reputations restored, and their jobs reassigned. On March 28, 1979, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Public Rehabilitation of the 'Yang, Yu, and Fu Incident,'" fully rehabilitating them. Zhang Pinghua, formerly Secretary of the Secretariat of the Central-South Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and First Secretary of the Hunan Provincial Committee, was transferred to the position of Executive Vice Minister of the Central Propaganda Department during the early stages of the Cultural Revolution. He was wrongly criticized during the Cultural Revolution. In 1971, he became Secretary of the CPC Shanxi Provincial Committee and Deputy Director of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee. In 1973, he became Second Secretary of the CPC Hunan Provincial Committee and Political Commissar of the Provincial Military Region.

A Remark on the Essence of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

(1968)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is, in essence, a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat under socialist conditions against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. It is a continuation of the long-standing struggle between the Communist Party of China and the broad masses of revolutionary people under its leadership and the Kuomintang reactionaries, and a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie [1].

[1] On April 10, 1968, the People's Daily and the Liberation Army Daily published an editorial titled "The Morning Sun Shines in the Land of Hibiscus: Warmly Cheer for the Establishment of the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee." The editorial quoted this passage in boldface after the line "Chairman Mao recently and profoundly pointed out."

Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Repression [1]

April 16

1

Some days ago, Martin Luther King [2], 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 [3], I said that "the evil system of colonialism and

imperialism arose and throve 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.

2

Send this to Comrade Lin Biao [4] for review. Please read it out at the meeting and approve it. There may be revisions.

Mao Zedong

April 16, 4:00 PM

[1] The first part is Mao Zedong's statement on April 16, 1968, supporting the African American struggle against violence in the United States, published in the People's Daily on April 17. The second part is a comment on the revised draft of Zhou Enlai's statement submitted for review at noon on April 16.

[2] Martin Luther King, Jr. was a leader of the American Civil Rights Movement and a nonviolent advocate. He was awarded the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize. On April 4, 1968, he was shot and killed by a racist in Memphis, Tennessee, sparking protests by black people in over 100 cities across the United States.

[3] Mao Zedong's statement was published on August 8, 1963, and was published in the People's Daily on August 9, 1963.

Comments on the Editorial Draft Celebrating May Day, "Advance with Victory" [1]

(April 29, 1968)

It is acceptable. Please consider whether it would be better to use the name of two newspapers and one journal. It should be read once at the meeting to solicit opinions.

Mao Zedong

April 29, 3:00 p.m

[1] This comment was written on a draft of a People's Daily editorial submitted for review by Chen Boda, a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and Yao Wenyuan, a member of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, on April 29, 1968. This draft was later published as an editorial in the People's Daily, Red Flag magazine, and the Liberation Army Daily on May 1.

Comments on the draft order posthumously awarding Men He the title of "Good Cadre Infinitely Loyal to Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line" [1]

(April 1968)

There are some modifications [2].

[1] Men He, formerly the deputy instructor of the Second Battalion, Fourth Regiment, Paili Division, Qinghai Provincial Military Region of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, was on a mission to support the Left at Bacang Farm on September 5, 1967. He used explosives to rig homemade rockets to dispel clouds and prevent hail. When the explosives unexpectedly exploded, he threw himself on them to protect the 27 other people present and heroically died. On April 7, 1968, the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China's working group submitted a draft of the "Order of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group to posthumously award Comrade Men He the title of 'Good Cadre Infinitely Loyal to Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line'" and a "Brief Information on Comrade Men He's Heroic Deeds" to Mao Zedong and others. On April 23, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group issued this order.

[2] Mao Zedong's revisions to the draft orders of the CPC Central Committee, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group, as well as the reports submitted by the Central Military Commission's working group for review, primarily involved changing "loyal to Chairman Mao" to "the Party" and "unlimited loyalty to Chairman Mao" to "unlimited loyalty to the people and unlimited loyalty to the Party."

Class analysis of factionalism is necessary - Several Latest Instructions

(April and May 1968)

Factionalism must be subjected to a class analysis [1].

There are parties outside the Party, and there are factions within the Party. This has always been the case [2].

Except in deserts, wherever there are people, there are leftists, centrists, and rightists. This will remain the case ten thousand years from now.

Factions are wings of a class [3].

[1] This sentence was quoted in the editorial "The Victory of the Proletarian Revolutionaries" published in the People's Daily and the Liberation Army Daily on April 20, 1968.

[2] This sentence was quoted in a commentary article in Red Flag magazine on April 26, 1968, titled "Class Analysis of Factionalism is Necessary."

[3] On May 1, 1968, the People's Daily published an editorial titled "Advance with Victory—Celebrating May 1, International Labor Day." The editorial, which was published in Red Flag magazine and the Liberation Army Daily, quoted Mao Zedong's words in bold.

We must trust more than 90 percent of cadres.

(May 8, 1968)

We must trust more than 90 percent of cadres as good or relatively good. Most people who have made mistakes can correct themselves [1].

[1] Mao Zedong spoke these words to members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group on May 8, 1968, while meeting with a Mao Zedong Thought study group in Beijing. On May 12, the People's Daily and the Liberation Army Daily published an editorial titled "The Northeast Land Blooms Red—Warmly Acclaim the Establishment of the Liaoning Provincial Revolutionary Committee," quoting these words in boldface.

A Conversation with Lin Biao [1] and Others

(May 11, 1968)

Whether to protect or suppress the broad masses of the people is the fundamental difference between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, the fundamental difference between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the fundamental difference between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie [2].

[1] Lin Biao was re-elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee at the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee and was soon named Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee.

[2] This is part of a conversation between Mao Zedong and Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda (then a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group), Kang Sheng (then a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and advisor to the Central Cultural Revolution Group), and Xie Fuzhi (then an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and director of the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee) on May 11, 1968. This passage was quoted in boldface in the June 2 People's Daily and Liberation Army Daily editorial, "Seventy Million Sichuan People March Forward—Warmly Acclaim the Establishment of the Sichuan Provincial Revolutionary Committee."

Comments on the Draft of the Editorial Board Article "A Landmark Document" [1] for Two Newspapers and One Journal.

(May 16, 1968)

It can be distributed.

[1] This article, written by the editorial offices of People's Daily, Red Flag, and Liberation Army Daily to commemorate the second anniversary of the publication of the "May 16 Notice," was submitted to Mao Zedong for review by Chen Boda, head of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's Cultural Revolution Group, and Yao Wenyuan, a member of the group, on the morning of May 16, 1968, and published on May 17.

Comments on the telegram entitled "The Experience of the Military Control Commission of the Beijing Xinhua Printing Plant in Mobilizing the Masses to Struggle Against the Enemy" [1]

(May 19, 1968)

Comrade Wenyan:

I suggest that this document be distributed nationwide. First, print a few copies and distribute them to the relevant comrades. Then read it once at a meeting, revise it, and issue it with comments. This is the best written document of its kind that I have read. I have heard about the situation at this factory twice from individual comrades. Would you like to go there to take a look and ask some questions?

Mao Zedong

May 19

[1] This report, published in the Xinhua News Agency's internal reference special issue, "Cultural Revolution Trends," on May 12, 1968, stated that the Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory Military Control Commission, in mobilizing the broad masses of revolutionary workers to wage the struggle against the enemy, guided the masses to correctly handle two different types of contradictions, uniting the majority while severely striking and isolating a handful of class enemies. This was done with stability, precision, and strength. Their experience is as follows: 1. We must firmly rely on the broad masses of revolutionary workers while also adeptly guiding them; 2. We must firmly demand strict measures from those who have committed serious errors while also maintaining unity; 3. We must severely strike at a handful of class enemies, but also disintegrate them and point out a way out. On May 25, 1968, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution Committee circulated this experience nationwide, requesting its implementation. On September 28, 1979, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved a report by the Beijing Municipal Committee and the National Press and Publication Administration regarding the complete rehabilitation of the Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory incident. The report stated that the false experience document fabricated by the "Gang of Four" at the Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory in 1968 should be repudiated; all false accusations levelled against the factory's cadres should be overturned; and all unjust, false, and wrongful convictions resulting from the incident should be redressed.

A Conversation on Strengthening Military Organization and Discipline [1]

(May 20, 1968)

There's a saying these days: We must resist erroneous leadership. This is acceptable among the masses, but not in the military. If everyone follows their own opinions, how can the army fight? If everyone in the military follows their own opinions, how can we possibly survive? That would be a mess. ... As you [2] said, "Those who understand must follow, and those who don't understand must follow."

[1] This passage was originally published in the "Notice on Thoroughly Disseminating and Resolutely Implementing the Important Instructions of May 20th by the Great Commander-in-Chief, Chairman Mao, and Vice Chairman Lin Biao, on Strengthening Military Organization and Discipline," issued by the General Office of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China on June 22, 1968. The notice stated: "The important instructions of Mao Zedong and Lin Biao on May 20th regarding strengthening military organization and discipline have been approved by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin for dissemination and education to all officers and soldiers of the army. This is of great and far-reaching significance for strengthening the centralized and unified leadership of our army and promoting the ideological and organizational revolutionization of our army. It is of extremely important practical significance for better accomplishing the glorious tasks of the 'three supports' and 'two armies' and achieving complete victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

[2] Refers to Lin Biao, Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China.

Comments on the draft statement [1] 'Decisively Support the Revolutionary Struggle of French Workers and Students'

(May 21, 1968)

The last slogan can be removed [2], and a few self-praising phrases in the middle [3] can also be removed.

[1] This refers to the statement issued on 21 May 1968 by the Standing Committee of the Beijing Revolutionary Workers' Representatives Conference, the Standing Committee of the Beijing Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants' Representatives Conference, the Committee of the Beijing Higher Education Institutions Red Guard Representatives Conference, and the Committee of the Beijing Secondary Schools Red Guard Representatives Conference, expressing their firm support for the revolutionary struggles of French workers and students. This statement was published in the People's Daily on 22 May.

[2] During the interrogation, Mao Zedong deleted the last slogan in the statement: "Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! Long live! Long, long live!"

[3] The statement reads: "The present era is a new era in which imperialism is heading toward complete collapse and socialism is advancing toward victory worldwide. It is a new era of world revolution with Mao Zedong Thought as its great banner. The widespread dissemination of Mao Zedong Thought worldwide and the great victory of our country's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have given immense encouragement and tremendous strength to the liberation struggles of oppressed nations and peoples around the world." During the interrogation, Mao Zedong deleted the phrase 'a new era of world revolution with Mao Zedong Thought as its great banner' and the subsequent text from this section.

Government employees should learn some production knowledge [1]

(May 1968)

Some of you working in government offices don't understand industry or agriculture, and your work is too simple. Your government offices should set up one or two small factories and learn some production knowledge.

[1] This passage was spoken by Mao Zedong in May 1968 and is included in the "Minutes of the Central Security Work Symposium," which was forwarded by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on September 7, 1972, and approved by Mao Zedong.

Comments on a Report on the Situation of Foreign Experts [1]

(June 8, 1968)

Agree to discuss it once at the meeting.

Mao Zedong

June 8

[1] A report compiled by the State Council's Foreign Experts Bureau on June 4, 1968, stated that for a long time, foreign experts had expressed dissatisfaction with the service at their residence, the Friendship Hotel, and with the lack of political and professional support for them. Some of these complaints were indeed due to our inadequate work and the influence of anarchist ideas on the part of some staff members. Some stemmed from a lack of understanding of specific issues, while others were attacks and accusations against the author. On June 7, Zhou Enlai submitted this report to Mao Zedong for review, writing, "I suggest that this matter be discussed first at a meeting of the Central Cultural Revolution Committee. Then, we can send personnel to all places where foreign experts are present. We must send representatives from the military control and Mao Zedong Thought propaganda teams to conduct study sessions for Chinese staff, to engage in the struggle to fight self and repudiate revisionism, and to cleanse the class ranks. Only then can good relations be established." Mao Zedong wrote this comment after reading it.

Comments on the July 3rd Proclamation [1]

(July 1968)

To be implemented.

Mao Zedong

[1] Refers to a notice issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Committee on July 3, 1968. The notice stated that over the past two months, a series of counter-revolutionary incidents had occurred in Liuzhou, Gualin, and Nanning, Guangxi. The Central Committee believed that these were counter-revolutionary crimes committed by a small group of class enemies to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle to resist the US and aid Vietnam, and the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." To promptly put a stop to these incidents, the Central Committee called on the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses in Guangxi, under the leadership of the Guangxi Revolutionary Preparatory Group, to strive to achieve the following: First, immediately cease armed fighting, dismantle fortifications, and evacuate strongholds. Primarily, evacuate all strongholds along the railway lines. Second, unconditionally and swiftly restore rail transportation along the entire Liuzhou Railway Bureau line, cease all interference and collusion, and ensure smooth transportation. Third, unconditionally return the aid supplies looted for Vietnam. Fourth, unconditionally return the looted People's Liberation Army weapons and equipment. Fifth, all non-local personnel and young people who have migrated back to the cities from the countryside or the mountains should immediately return to their respective regions and units. Sixth, any current counter-revolutionaries found guilty of murder, arson, sabotage of transportation, assault on prisons, theft of state secrets, or illegal radio stations must be punished according to law.

Comments on the State Council Working Group's Brief Report on the Grain Situation in 1967 [1]

(July 8, 1968)

Comrades Xiannian and Fuchun:

I have read this document. I hope the proposed policy will be resolutely implemented.

Mao Zedong

July 8

[1] This briefing from the State Council's working group on July 5, 1968, stated that although China's current grain situation is improving, overall, grain is still very insufficient. Therefore, we must closely rely on and maintain close ties with the masses, closely follow Chairman Mao's strategic deployment, and use proletarian politics to guide our work. We must continue to work hard, do a good job, increase production, and practice strict economy. We must resolutely and fully implement the Chairman's series of instructions on grain work. We must further focus on ensuring a reasonable burden, eliminate the practice of the same production team purchasing and selling simultaneously, promote agricultural production, and promote the development of the socialist collective economy. On the basis of developing production and practicing strict economy, we must continue to increase the production team's grain reserves. We must strictly control grain sales, further reduce rural sales, and gradually increase national grain reserves. We must pay attention to solving the problem of storage and management, implement a policy of generally decentralized storage with appropriate centralized storage, and strive to avoid losses, so as to facilitate preparations for war and famine, and serve the people. On July 7, Li Xiannian, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Vice Premier of the State Council, and Li Fuchun, a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Vice Premier of the State Council, sent this briefing to Mao Zedong for review. Mao Zedong's comments were inscribed on their letter.

Talk on University Education Reform [1]

(July 12, 1968)

Universities must continue to operate. I'm primarily referring to universities of science and engineering. However, the length of study must be shortened, education must be revolutionary, and proletarian politics must be in the driver's seat. We should follow the path of the Shanghai Machine Tool Factory, which trained technicians from among its workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and after a few years of study in universities, they should return to production practice.

[1] This is part of a conversation Mao Zedong gave with members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group's gathering at the Great Hall of the People on July 12, 1968. The People's Daily quoted this passage in boldface in an editorial accompanying the investigative report, "On the Path of Training Engineering and Technical Personnel from the Perspective of the Shanghai Machine Tool Factory," published on July 22, 1968. The editorial was sent to Mao Zedong for review before publication, and he revised the quotation. This article contains Mao's revised text.

**Comments on the forwarding of the Hunan Garrison Supporting the Left Leading Group's
"Propaganda and Implementation of the July 3rd Proclamation" [1]**

(July 18, 1968)

Lin, Zhou, and other Cultural Revolution comrades:

Please consider whether this document [2] can be forwarded to various places, and add a few words of encouragement.

Mao Zedong

July 18

[1] Refers to the proclamation issued by the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group on July 3, 1968.

[2] This refers to a report submitted by the Hunan Garrison's Leading Group for Supporting the Left to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and other organizations on July 15, 1968, regarding the promotion and implementation of the "July 3rd Proclamation." The report stated that the July 3rd Proclamation issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group was Chairman Mao's great strategic plan. The Hunan Garrison promptly disseminated and implemented it to the troops. A mass movement to study and publicize the "July 3rd Proclamation" quickly developed within each unit, achieving increasingly significant results. As a result of this publicity, some individuals voluntarily surrendered their weapons, withdrew from their fortifications, and ceased fighting. From practice, everyone realized that implementing the Proclamation required vigorous publicity, starting with political and ideological approaches and fully mobilizing the masses. On July 19, the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Committee forwarded this report from the Hunan Garrison Supporting the Left Leading Group to various regions, emphasizing the importance of extensively and thoroughly disseminating the July 3rd Proclamation to the masses. They demanded that all regions "immediately review the progress of propaganda work, tighten it up where it has been lacking, and quickly strengthen it where leadership is ineffective," and "strive to ensure that it reaches deep into the hearts of the people and is known to every household."

Comments on the July 24th Proclamation [1]

(July 1968)

Implement this.

[1] This refers to the July 24, 1968, proclamation issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group. The proclamation stated that, recently, a series of extremely serious counter-revolutionary incidents had occurred in certain areas of Shaanxi Province. The Central Committee believed that these were counter-revolutionary crimes committed by a small group of class enemies to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat, sabotage the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," and sabotage the country's socialist construction. In order to swiftly curb these acts, the Central Committee reiterated:

1. All mass organizations, groups, and individuals must resolutely, thoroughly, and conscientiously implement the July 3rd proclamation personally approved by our great leader, Chairman Mao. No disobedience is allowed.
2. Immediately cease armed struggle, disband all professional armed struggle teams, educate those who have been misled to return to production, and dismantle fortifications, strongholds, and checkpoints.
3. Looted cash and supplies must be promptly returned.
4. Disrupted transportation, shipping, and postal and telecommunications services must be immediately restored.
5. Looted People's Liberation Army weapons and equipment must be immediately returned.
6. The dictatorship of the proletariat must resolutely enforce and punish according to law those current counter-revolutionaries and their behind-the-scenes manipulators who have been proven guilty of murder, arson, robbery, destruction of state property, disruption of transportation and communications, illegal establishment of radio stations, attacks on prisons and labor camps, and the release of prisoners.

Comments and revisions to the investigative report "On the path of training engineering technicians from the perspective of the Shanghai Machine Tool Factory" and the editorial notes of the People's Daily [1]

(July 1968)

1

Distribute this.

2

It doesn't mean that you shouldn't read foreign books.

3

The integration of young students with workers and peasants and their participation in productive labour is an important way to transform their world outlook *and acquire practical technical knowledge*.

[1] On July 20, 1968, Chen Boda, head of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Yao Wenyan, a member of the group, wrote a report to Mao Zedong, stating: "According to your suggestion, we have organized reporters from Xinhua News Agency and Wenhui Daily to write an investigative report on the path taken by the Shanghai Machine Tool Factory to train engineering and technical personnel." "We have added an editor's note quoting your latest instructions. I am submitting this report for your review, revision, and approval!" The original text of the "latest instructions" quoted in the People's Daily editor's note submitted by Chen Boda and Yao Wenyan for review reads: "Science and engineering universities should still be established, but the length of study should be shortened. Education should be revolutionary, with proletarian politics in the lead, following the path of the Shanghai Machine Tool Factory in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from workers and peasants with practical experience, and after a few years of study in school, they should return to production practice." During his review, Mao Zedong changed the phrase "Universities of science and engineering should still be established" to "Universities should still be established. My main point here is that universities of science and engineering should still be established." Part 1 is a critique of the investigative report submitted by Chen Boda and Yao Wenyan and the People's Daily editorial note. Part 2 is a parenthetical commentary following the statement in the investigative report that a university graduate, upon first joining the factory, "spends all day holding a book on foreign thread grinders." Part 3 is a revision of a sentence in the investigative report, with the text in italics containing Mao Zedong's additions. Mao also changed the sentence in the editorial note from "We advise

the few who are short-sighted but not yet capitalist-roaders to broaden their horizons" to "We advise those who are short-sighted but not yet stubborn capitalist-roaders to broaden their horizons." He also changed the phrase "break through frameworks" in the investigation report to "break through inappropriate frameworks." He also changed the sentence from "High school and junior high school graduates with good political thinking and two or three years of practical work experience should be selected from the grassroots to "Junior high school and junior high school graduates with good political thinking and two or three years or four or five years of practical work experience should be selected from the grassroots to study in colleges and universities." This investigation report and editorial were published in the People's Daily on July 22.

**Comments on the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Military Control Commission's
"Report on the Study Classes for Released Student Prisoners" [1]**

(July 24, 1968)

1

For reading by Lin, Zhou [2] and all comrades of the Cultural Revolution.

2

This is absolutely correct. We should expand the scope of education for criminals and narrow the scope of punishment.

Mao Zedong

July 24th

[1] The Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Military Control Commission reported to the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the Garrison on July 16, 1968, stating that, in accordance with directives from the Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Committee, we held the first study session for released student prisoners from June 11 to July 6, which was very effective. Our findings are as follows: First, it is extremely necessary to conduct education and win over young criminal students; the vast majority can be won over through education. Second, starting with political enlightenment and prioritizing self-education, carrying out the "Four Major Activities" of "exposing, praising, criticizing, and analysing" is an effective way to encourage them to confess their crimes and win them over through education. Third, the outdated handling style and approach of the dictatorship organs must be completely shattered and reformed.

[2] Lin refers to Lin Biao, who was re-elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee and was soon named Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee. Zhou refers to Zhou Enlai.

Conversation with the “Five Leaders” of the Capital Red Guard Congress³ [1]

(July 28, 1968)

(Nie Yuanzi, Tan Houlan, Han Aijing, and Wang Dabin entered the reception room. Mao Zedong stood up and shook hands with each of them.)

Mao Zedong (hereinafter referred to as Mao): They're all young people!

Jiang Qing (hereinafter referred to as Jiang): Long time no see. You didn't put up big banners.

Mao: We met at Tiananmen Square, and we didn't talk. That's not good! You don't come here for no reason. But I've read all your tabloids, and I know all about your situations. Why didn't Kuai Dafu come? Is he unable to come, or does he not want to come?

Xie Fuzhi (hereinafter referred to as Xie): I'm afraid he just doesn't want to come.

Han Aijing (hereinafter referred to as Han): No. If he knew at this point whether the Central Cultural Revolution Group would come for the meeting, he would cry if he couldn't see the Chairman. He is definitely unable to come.

Mao: Kuai Dafu wants to catch the black hand [2]. So many workers are "suppressing" and "oppressing" the Red Guards. Who is the black hand? We can't catch him now. The black hand is me! Kuai Dafu won't come, so just catch me! I was originally the one who sent the Xinhua Printing Factory, the Knitting Factory, and the Central Guard Corps. I asked them how to resolve the armed conflict at the university. You guys go and do the work and see. Thirty thousand people showed up. Actually, they hate Beijing University, not Qinghua University. (To Nie) The workers and students are organizing a parade of tens of thousands of people, and I heard you're providing decent hospitality. Is it you, or the "(Beijing University) Jinggangshan" [3]?

Nie Yuanzi (hereinafter referred to as Nie): We set up water supply at the gate...

Wen Yucheng and Huang Zuozhen: It wasn't them. Beijing University and that unit were in conflict.

Nie: It was with the Academy of Agricultural Sciences. We were just having tea at the gate when they called us second-rate and conservative.

Mao: You didn't fight them?

Nie: They fought each other.

³ See also the translation in *Selected Works of Mao Zedong Vol 9* (pp. 352 – 384), Foreign Languages Press, Paris 2021. In the FLP's version, Han Aijing is incorrectly referred to as female, and several passages towards the end that were described as “illegible” are included here.

Mao: The black hand behind the Beijing University attack wasn't me, but Xie Fuzhi. I don't have such grand ambitions. I told you to send a small group of people to discuss matters with them. Kuai Dafu said there were 100,000.

Xie: Less than 30,000.

Chairman Mao: What do you think we should do about the armed fighting in the universities? One option is to withdraw everyone and leave the students alone. Anyone who wants to fight can fight. In the past, the Revolutionary Committee and the garrison command were not afraid of chaos when it came to the university fights. They didn't intervene, didn't rush, and didn't suppress them. This seems to have been the right approach. Another option is to offer some assistance. This approach has won the support of the workers, the peasants, and the majority of the students. There are over fifty colleges and universities, but only about five or six are aggressive. Let's test your abilities. As for how to resolve this, one of you lives in the south, and the other in the north, and both are called New Beijing University. In parentheses, New Beijing University (Jinggangshan) and New Beijing University (Commune), just like the Communist Party of the Soviet Union calling itself "Bolshevik". Either impose martial law, invite Comrade Lin Biao to take charge, and Huang Yongsheng. The problem must be resolved! You've been carrying out the Cultural Revolution for two years. Struggle, criticize, and transformation—now, we're saying, "No struggle, no criticism, no transformation." Struggle is struggle, but you're engaging in armed struggle. The people are unhappy. The workers are unhappy, the peasants are unhappy, the residents are unhappy, the majority of students in your school are unhappy, and most of the students in your school are unhappy. Even those who support you are unhappy. Are you going to unify the world just like that? In your "New Beijing University Commune," Old Buddha (Nie Yuanzi's nickname) is the majority, the philosopher. Are there no opponents in the "New Beijing University Commune" or during the Cultural Revolution on campus? I don't believe it! They won't say it to your face, but they'll still say strange things behind your back. Wang Dabin, is your situation going to be easier now?

Wang Dabin (hereinafter referred to as Wang): Those who opposed Xie Fuzhi fled.

Xie: His second-in-command, Nie Shuren [4], wanted to seize power, saying he was moving to the right.

Mao: He was just that left-wing, a Marx?

Wang: They're trying to sow discord. Nie Shuren is a good comrade, from a good family, with a deep and bitter history. He's a very upright man, full of revolutionary enthusiasm and a strong revolutionary spirit, but he's a bit impatient, not very good at uniting people, and his working methods are a bit rigid.

Mao: Can you unite with him? One is left-wing, the other is right-wing, so it's easy to unite! Come sit over here, sit next to me.

Lin Biao (hereinafter referred to as Lin): Come on!

Xie: Go! Go! (Wang Dabin sits down next to Mao)

Chairman Mao: Sit down, sit down. We need to leave some room for manoeuvre. They're all students. They're not involved in gangs. Recently, some schools have been fighting gangs and painting their portraits. The "New Beijing University Commune" has had dozens. Are they just a few gangs? I think there are more. The key lies in the two factions, who are busy fighting, their minds completely focused on it. Now they're not engaging in struggle-criticism-transformation, but in struggle-criticism-departure. The students are no longer talking, so they're just doing struggle-criticism-departure, struggle-criticism-dispersal. There are so many Xiangyao faction⁴ people now. There's more and more badmouthing Nie Yuanzi and Kuai Dafu in society. Nie Yuanzi didn't have many cannon fodder, and neither did Kuai Dafu. Sometimes there were 300, sometimes 150. It's nowhere near as many as Lin Biao and Huang Yongsheng. This time, I went all out, with over 30,000.

Lin: It's nowhere near as many as Huang Yongsheng.

Mao: As is the case with the world, long periods of division will inevitably lead to unification, and long periods of unification will inevitably lead to division. All the fortifications for armed struggle must be dismantled. All weapons, both hot and cold, must be stored. Nie Yuanzi, they call you "Old Buddha" and "Buddha's Nest." And you, Comrade Tan Houlan, with your pigtails, asked to be sent down to the countryside. You've been studying in school for over a decade, and everyone agrees. I'm afraid you won't be able to leave. If you leave, who will replace you?

Tan Houlan (hereinafter referred to as Tan): Everything has been arranged.

Mao: We are all protecting you, the five generals, including the mastermind behind the arrest of Kuai Dafu. We have our biases. The "(Beijing University) Jinggangshan" (the "Jinggangshan" opposition to Nie Yuanzi's "New Beijing University Commune"), the "April 14" (the "April 14" organization opposing Kuai Dafu's Tsinghua "Jinggangshan Corps"), and the "Corps" (the "Rebel Corps" opposing Tan Houlan's "Jinggangshan Commune") will have issues with us. I'm not afraid of being overthrown. The Qinghua "April 14" movement said, "The April 14 Thought Will Win." I was unhappy, saying, "Those who conquer the country cannot rule it. The proletariat conquers the world, but cannot rule it." "Prisoner of April 14"... There's a theorist named Zhou Quanying [5]. Why arrest him for being a theorist? He's a theorist of his own school. Why arrest him for writing an article? Release him. If someone has objections, let them write again! Otherwise, they'll say there's no freedom of speech. I

⁴ The Xiaoyao School is a fictional sect in Jin Yong's novel "Tianlong Babu", and its disciples (except Xu Zhu) are all elite people: extraordinary, handsome and beautiful, chic and elegant, and extremely intelligent. In the early years of the Northern Song Dynasty, the founding patriarch of the Xiaoyao School had three disciples: Tianshan Tongma, Wuyazi, and Li Qiushui. The three disciples are all top figures, but they are also enslaved by desire, selfish and persistent, and will do whatever it takes to compete for the leadership of the group.

say, you, the Buddha, please be more generous. You, Beijing University, had thousands of people on "Jinggangshan." If that river were released, the flood would flood the Dragon King Temple. Could you handle it? You, the Buddha, should impose martial law. The third method, following dialectics, is to not live in one city and split into three. Either move south, or "(Peking University) Jinggangshan" move south. One south, one north, they'll never see each other, so there won't be any fighting. Each will clean up its own mess and unify the world. Otherwise, you'll be afraid, and if you poke holes in your old Buddha's nest, you'll be unable to sleep. You'll be angry, and he'll be afraid too. Having a little reserve is necessary. Why be so nervous? If you're afraid of being attacked, and you don't have a backup plan, what will happen to them? They've said there's a murderer out to stab you, right? Even if you know who the murderer is, you don't have to catch him. Forget it. Even if you know it's him, don't tell them. But you should be careful in the future: don't wander around alone.

Jiang: She has bodyguards.

Nie: No.

Mao: Your elder brother is no good, and your elder sister is no good. Your mother's family is no good. If your elder brother is bad, he's still your elder brother, and if your elder sister is bad, she's still your elder sister. Why must they implicate the younger sister?

(Someone reported that they couldn't find Kuai Dafu.)

Did Kuai Dafu not want to come, or was he unable to come?

Xie: The broadcast said during the roll call that the Central Cultural Revolution Group was looking for Kuai Dafu and inviting him to a meeting. He simply refused to come.

Jiang: Did he not want to come, or was he unable to come?

Xie: I suspect someone is controlling him.

Yao Wenxuan (hereinafter referred to as Yao): It's possible.

Mao: I think Kuai Dafu is a good person, and he often appears in person. Those who manipulate him are bad people, while Kuai Dafu and those who appear personally are good people. We have experienced this many times. Wang Dabin, were there no fights there?

Wang: No. On September 22, 1966, we had a fight with the conservatives. Comrade Boda sent people to rescue us, and we were victorious.

Mao: That's good. From now on, you and Han Aijing shouldn't fight. Han Aijing, you're a descendant of Han Xin, very good at planning and a strategist!

Han: Our school has many children of workers and peasants, and they're relatively simple. There were differences of opinion, but we didn't split into two factions.

Yao: I don't believe it! Are there no differences of opinion among you, pure and simple?

Kang Sheng (hereinafter referred to as Kang): Han Aijing, that's not what you say, is it?

Mao: Don't speak so badly of Han Aijing; it makes him feel very uncomfortable.

Han: Kuai Dafu had a group of people around him, and they were quite complicated. The number of people who started out by writing big-character posters in the early days of the movement was very small. The number of people who engaged in armed struggle increased, demanding the reorganization of the headquarters, and Kuai Dafu couldn't control them.

Chairman Mao: Tan Houlan, the Cultural Revolution has been going on for two years now, and your army of a hundred or two hundred people has been keeping us awake. You can't leave just yet; you're a queen. Four of us are here today, two of us women—remarkable! I think you can't leave just yet. You need to give them food and free access. Those people are suffering. The Beijing Normal University "rebel army" is a hodgepodge, like the Hunan Provincial Anti-Japanese Federation [6], because they seized power [7]! Other schools have joined, too; you (referring to Han Aijing) and Kuai Dafu were involved.

Han: I joined, too.

Jiang: That was Han Aijing trying to overthrow Tan Houlan.

Chairman Mao: You're involved, and so is our commander-in-chief, Kuai Dafu. Young people are meant to do good things, but they can also do bad things. You say the Central Cultural Revolution Group didn't issue a warning, yet Comrade Lin Biao and Premier Zhou gave speeches on March 24th and 27th, and held a 100,000-person rally. This time, Comrades Huang Zuozhen and Wen Yucheng both gave speeches, yet the people below are still fighting, as if they were specifically targeting us. Our principle is, first and foremost, to engage in cultural struggle, not physical combat. If you want to fight, that's fine. The fighting is only getting bigger and bigger. Both sides have homemade artillery, so what kind of fight are you making? Your fighting methods are nothing. Use carbines and cannons, like they did in Sichuan, firing anti-aircraft guns into the sky.

Jiang: You're a prodigal son.

Chairman Mao: You, the Empress Dowager, have so much power, yet you can only mobilize two or three hundred soldiers. Where have your soldiers gone? We still have to rely on workers and demobilized soldiers as the main force. Without them, you still can't do it. Comrade Lin Biao has many more soldiers. If you were given a few thousand or tens of thousands, you could completely wipe out the "(Beijing University) Jinggangshan" movement. This question doesn't need to be answered here. Let's discuss it, or even hold a meeting to discuss it. But first and foremost, we must unite.

Lin: First, we must unite. The Chairman outlined four options: First, martial law; second, one divides into two; third, struggle-criticism-disperse; and fourth, if we have to fight, fight hard.

Mao: One divides into two. Because we're enemies, tensions are high, and neither side can sleep. Relocation is a problem. Finding a location will lead to arguments in Beijing. I see, this Great Hall is quite empty. Zhongnanhai is huge, accommodating 40,000 to 50,000 Red Guards. Wouldn't it be possible to open a school there? Either Nie Yuanzi should come, or Hou Hanqing should come. Aren't you calling it "killing the cow and monkey and stewing the mutton"? The cow is Niu Huilin⁵, the monkey is Hou Hanyu, and the sheep is Yang Keming⁶ (all three were leaders of Nie's opposition group, the "Jinggangshan" group at Beijing University). Of these three, I only know Yang Keming, and he's a young man too! He also attended the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee and helped with the big-character poster (referring to the big-character poster "What on earth did Song Shuo, Lu Ping, and Peng Jianyun do during the Cultural Revolution?").

Your big-character poster splits the two factions. This social phenomenon is beyond the control of human will. Who could have predicted such a fight? We originally planned to suspend classes for six months, and we published it in the newspaper. Then, if that didn't work, we extended it for a year. If that didn't work, we extended it for another year, two years, or three years. I said, if it doesn't work, give it as long as you want. After all, you're the president. You're in the first grade now, you're in the third. Two more years, four years, eight years, and you'll still be growing up every day.

Struggle, criticize, and disperse is also a solution. Didn't Tan Houlan want to leave? She'd be stripped bare, kicked out. Should universities continue? Should they enrol students? Not enrolling is not an option either. My speech (the "July 21st Directive") left some room for manoeuvre. Universities should continue. I mentioned science and engineering, but I didn't say we shouldn't have liberal arts programs. But the old system and methods are no longer effective. The academic system must be shortened, and education must be revolutionized. If we can't achieve anything, forget it. I think the basic courses in high school, elementary school, and junior high school are similar to those in university. They last six or ten years at most. High school repeats junior high, and university repeats high school. The basic courses are all repetitive. As for these specialized courses, the professors don't even understand the subject. If philosophers can't explain philosophy, what's the point of studying? Aren't you, Nie Yuanzi, a philosopher?

Nie: I'm not a philosopher.

⁵ Niu Huilin entered the Law Department of Beijing University in 1964, and during the Cultural Revolution, he was the leader of the mass organization "Jinggangshan Corps" at Beijing University. With the support of the Central Cultural Revolution Group headed by Jiang Qing, 22-year-old Niu Huilin dared to challenge Nie Yuanzi and formed the Jinggangshan Corps of New Beijing University. Niu Huilin had extraordinary organizational skills and was very popular at Beijing University. From 1968 to 1972, he was charged four times and detained, interrogated, criticized. On May 2001, Niu Huilin said: "I write a book. I will not write it to attack Nie Yuanzi. She is in her eighties, she came out of Qincheng Prison, and her life is not easy. But the truth of history still has to be returned to its original form. I have this responsibility." In early May 2006, Niu Huilin was interviewed by Asia Weekly in Taiyuan, Shanxi, and made it clear that he repudiated the Cultural Revolution.

⁶ "Niu" is Chinese for cow, "hou" is Chinese for monkey, and "yang" is Chinese for sheep.

Mao: What's the point of studying philosophy? Can it be learned in university? If you haven't been a worker or a peasant, what kind of philosophy is that if you study philosophy?

Lin: The more you study, the narrower it becomes. It's a "narrow study."

Mao: What about studying literature? Don't study literary history, but learn to write novels. Submit a manuscript to me every week. If you can't write, you can become an apprentice in a factory. As an apprentice, write about your apprenticeship. Those who study literature nowadays can't write novels. Hu Wanchun [8] from Shanghai used to write a lot, but I haven't seen much since.

Zhou Enlai (hereinafter referred to as Zhou): And Gao Yubao [9], they all went to university, but their minds became rigid.

Chairman Mao: Let me tell you about Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. Except for Marx and Lenin, no one else completed university. Lenin studied law for a year, while Engels only attended for a year and a half. Before he finished high school, his father asked him to work as an accountant in a factory. Later, the factory moved to England, where he came into contact with the workers. How did Engels learn the natural sciences? He studied at the London Library for eight years and never went to university. Stalin never went to university; he graduated from a missionary high school. Gorky only attended elementary school for two years, even less than Jiang Qing. Jiang Qing graduated from a high school and studied for six years, while Gorky only attended for two years.

Ye Qun (hereinafter referred to as Ye): Comrade Jiang Qing studied very diligently on her own.

Mao: Don't flatter her. Knowledge isn't acquired in school. I used to be a bit of a jerk in school, but I just didn't want to be expelled. For exams, scores above 50 or 60, below 80, and 70 was the standard. I didn't study several subjects. Sometimes I had no choice but to leave some exams blank. For geometry, I'd just draw an egg. Isn't that geometry? Because it's just one stroke, it's the fastest way to get it done.

Lin: I went to middle school for four years, but left before graduating. I dropped out. Without a high school diploma, I became an elementary school teacher. I enjoyed self-study.

Mao: Military academies these days are killing people. Do you know how long the Whampoa Military Academy was? Three months, six months!

Lin: The first, second, and third terms were only three months, but it got longer starting with the fourth term.

Mao: It was just training, to change my perspective. As for what I learned, not much. I just learned some practical military drills.

Lin: One thing is that once you learn something, you forget it. What you learn in a few weeks becomes crystal clear in a few days in the army. A single experience is worse than a hundred battles.

Mao: I never attended any military school, and I never read any military tactics. People say I relied on "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms" and "The Art of War" to fight. I say, "I haven't read "The Art of War," but I have read "Romance of the Three Kingdoms."

Lin: You asked me to find it for you, but I didn't.

Mao: During the Zunyi Conference, I was debating with XX, and he asked me if I had read "The Art of War." I asked him how many chapters there were in "The Art of War," and he didn't know. I asked him what the title of the first chapter was, and he still didn't know. Later, when I was writing about strategic issues, I took a quick look at "The Art of War." What is the art of war? Who studies English? "Atamir" is the art of war⁷. This is about learning English. Well, I started learning English late, so I'm at a disadvantage in foreign languages. Learning a foreign language well is best done when you're young. Tan Houlan, what are you studying? (He asked each person individually. Wang Dabin is studying Russian.) Geology requires a foreign language, so English is better! Learning a foreign language should start in elementary school.

Han: Chairman, now that the Cultural Revolution is over, let me join the army.

Mao: Six months is enough. Why so long? Six months of submission, followed by a year as a peasant and two years as a worker—that's the real university! The real university is the factory and the countryside. You said Comrade Lin Biao was still an intellectual, having attended middle school. What kind of intellectuals were Huang Yongsheng and Wen Yucheng? They were just country bumpkins. Comrade Huang Yongsheng, how many years of education did you have?

Huang Yongsheng: One and a half years.

Mao: What was your family background?

Huang Yongsheng: Lower-middle peasants.

Mao: Wen Yucheng, how many years of education did you have?

Wen Yucheng (hereinafter referred to as Wen): Three years.

Mao: What was your family background?

⁷ Written in stages between 1937 and 1949, *The Lord of the Rings* is one of the best-selling books ever written, with over 150 million copies sold. Prince Atamir was the son of King Gondor and the older brother of Faramir and Ferrer. They were born in the turbulent times of Gondor. The leader of the Eotheods, Fotehwini, warned King Ondohel that the Chariotmen were in action. Unsurprisingly, the kingdom was attacked from both the east and the south. Atamir and his father Ondorhel were the two leading commanders of the Gondor Northern Route Army.

Wen: Poor peasants.

Mao: They were all country bumpkins, with only this much knowledge. Huang Yongsheng, with that little knowledge, became Chief of the General Staff. Do you believe it?

Lin: There was a certain XXX at the Whampoa Military Academy. Chiang Kai-shek awarded him a watch. Later, in Nanjing, he was incompetent at fighting.

Ye: He opposed the Chairman.

Mao: How can you be without being opposed in the world? If he is opposed, let him oppose me.

Lin: At the Nanjing Military Academy, XXX could get five points in many subjects, but he couldn't achieve great talent.

Mao: Struggle, criticize, and disband is also a solution; it's Tan Houlan's approach. Isn't Tan Houlan trying to leave now? I'm not saying we shouldn't have liberal arts, but we should change the approach. Those who study literature should write novels and poetry, and those who study philosophy should write papers discussing the current course of China's revolutionary struggle. As for law, I'm afraid it's best not to study it. Xin said the Tian faction (7) was against Xie Fuzhi, but that was left unresolved, and the Tian faction stopped opposing. "Smash the public security, procuratorate, and courts, smash Xie Fuzhi." Actually, it was Xie Fuzhi who first proposed smashing the public security, procuratorate, and courts. The Beijing Public Security Bureau had 30,000 people, but only caught a few hundred or dozens of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists. Therefore, the proposal to smash the public security, procuratorate, and courts was put forward. Only a few dozen people were left at the Ministry of Public Security, and the rest were put into study sessions. You also raised slogans, saying that Xie Fuzhi was a member of the Central Committee and must be overthrown, and you hastily arrested him. The National People's Congress's "Three Reds" headquarters remained silent, but issued big-character posters in the name of a small combat team to overthrow Xie Fuzhi. When they investigated for responsibility, they said, "Our headquarters didn't overthrow Xie Fuzhi, we were just a combat team." He proposed overthrowing Zhao Guilin. I don't know Zhao Guilin. I've read the little material you have. How could Zhao Guilin be a counter-revolutionary? Nie Yuanzi and Hou Hanqing, you haven't called him a counter-revolutionary yet, have you?

Nie: They've formed a reactionary group in society, viciously attacking Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin.

Mao: It doesn't matter if they slander us. Niu Huilin's report wasn't well-written (one of the leaders of the Peking University Jinggangshan movement), but it wasn't a major political issue. The law doesn't necessarily need to be denied. A political and legal college, a political and legal commune, a political and legal corps—wouldn't they be upset if they heard about it?

There was an investigation at Anshan Iron and Steel, handled by the masses. Well-informed, they uncovered a case that hadn't been solved for years. The Public Security Bureau conducted a preliminary investigation, but they had no other choice but to beat people. The evidence obtained by the investigation was inaccurate.

Aren't the Military Control Commission soldiers? Wen Yucheng doesn't know many people, so how can we just base our investigation on the investigation? We say we should learn from the masses. First, we shouldn't execute him, and second, we shouldn't give him a long sentence. Just give him two or three years. The army used to put him in solitary confinement, but does it still happen? Do you still arrest deserters?

Wen: Confinement has been abolished, and deserters are no longer arrested.

Mao: If someone wants to desert, why would you bring him back? Struggle, criticize, and let him go, so be it. Why would he want to leave? Isn't it because he was struggled, criticized, and beaten, and he's uncomfortable? Or maybe something happened at home, or the military life was too hard for him to bear. Deserters aren't arrested or put in confinement, and there are fewer of them than before. We are the People's Liberation Army. Now, if they're arrested in schools, they're treated as prisoners, forced to confess, and beaten if they refuse. They're beaten to death or injured. I think intellectuals are uncivilized. You say intellectuals are the most civilized, but I think they're the least civilized. I think the unsophisticated are the most civilized. Huang Yongsheng and Wen Yucheng didn't arrest deserters or put them in confinement. Now a jet has been invented⁸, and I'm the main culprit. In my "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," I talked about "parading through the streets wearing dunce caps," but I didn't mention flying in airplanes. I'm the main culprit, and I can't escape responsibility! How are you today? Do you think we're arresting you to put you in confinement? What they did in Jinggangshan was not good. I'm referring to the Jinggangshan attack that weakened the commander. Four people were killed, and fifty were injured at the Knitting Factory. That's the social impact. I'm not just looking at one person; the losses must be minimized.

Lin: It's worth it, the losses are minimal.

Zhou: Vice Chairman Lin put it well: the losses are minimal, and the gains are maximal.

Mao: If workers come to your place in the future, you should be welcoming. Don't use the same tactics as Kuai Dafu.

Zhou: In the second half of 1966, when you went to the factory to organize a meeting, they welcomed you and didn't beat you.

⁸ This, and subsequent mentions of "jets", is in reference to the "jet plane position" used during struggle sessions against persons accused of being capitalist-roaders. The accused person was taken before a mass gathering and held with each arm pulled backwards, and his or her head forced down. In this position they resembled a jet plane.

Mao: Let them spread the word. Don't shoot. They're workers, sent by the Central Committee. Isn't it said that the working class is the leading class? The dictatorship of the working class is over the few bad people in your school. You are all well-known figures. You should be over the bad people in the school, not the workers, including Commander Kuai.

They are still holding meetings now, at Tsinghua University, at Beijing Aeronautical Institute, and even at Hepingli. Many are from other provinces, including the April 22nd movement in Guangxi, the anti-establishment movement in Sichuan, part of the August 31st movement in Liaoning, the "bad faction" in Jinzhou, the "bombardment faction" in Heilongjiang, and the "Qi faction" in Guangdong... Don't try to do that.

Lin: We haven't held the Ninth National Congress, but they did all of this.

Zhou: We haven't even held the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee either.⁹

Mao: Don't mention the Twelfth Plenary Session. It is all a complete mess, the struggle was intense, and they were saying things like, "Social struggle is a reflection of the struggle of the Central Committee." It's not that social struggle reflects the Central Committee; it should be that the struggle of the Central Committee is a reflection of social struggle.

Zhou: What about the defense system meeting held at Beihang University? Did it happen?

Han: I was so scared that I didn't dare hold it.

Zhou: Don't hold it. You know, it's a defense secret!

Chairman: Why didn't I seek out your opposition? I'm calling you here today to discuss this matter so you can prepare! I never record anything, but I'm doing it today. Otherwise, you can go back and take what you want. If you do, I'll play this recording. You can discuss it first. This puts many people in a passive position.

All these days of work don't count. We've held so many meetings, but Huang Zuozhen's initial speech doesn't count, and neither does the criticism of Kuai Dafu. We must let the Central Committee speak directly. We tried to intervene at first, but then things got too complicated and we couldn't. Beijing has Xie Fuzhi to take care of things. In the past, I wouldn't attend meetings with you, and neither would Comrade Lin Biao. I was acting like a bureaucrat. If you are a bureaucrat, you will be ousted. I have no desire to be one of them any longer. I was also the black hand behind the suppression of the Red Guards.

Lin: Yesterday, I was driving and said I was going to check out the big-character posters. I asked why there were no big-character posters from Beijing University and Qinghua

⁹ The Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee was held in Beijing on October 13, 1968 and was successfully concluded on October 31.

University. People said, "They're engaging in armed conflict." I said, "You're divorced from the masses. The masses are loudly demanding an end to the fighting."

Mao: The masses simply don't want a civil war.

Lin: You've divorced yourself from the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

Mao: Some say that Guangxi Proclamation [11] applies only to Guangxi, and Shaanxi Proclamation [12] applies only to Shaanxi, not to me. So, let's issue a nationwide proclamation: Anyone who continues to rebel, attack the People's Liberation Army, disrupt traffic, kill people, or set fires is committing a crime. If a few people refuse to heed warnings and persist in repenting, they are considered bandits and members of the Kuomintang. They must be surrounded. If they continue to resist, they must be annihilated.

Lin: Some are genuine rebels, while others are bandits and Kuomintang members, rebelling under our banner. A thousand houses were burned in Guangxi.

Mao: Write it clearly on notices and explain it clearly to the students. If they refuse to change, arrest them. That's the lightest punishment. The worst punishment is to encircle and suppress them.

Lin: A thousand houses were burned in Guangxi, and they wouldn't allow anyone to put out the fire.

Mao: The Kuomintang was just like that! This is a desperate struggle by the class enemy. Burning houses is a serious mistake.

Lin: When I entered Guangxi during the Long March and fought against Bai Chongxi, he also used this tactic: setting fire first to pretend to be a Communist. Now, the old tactic is being used again.

Han: Kuai Dafu is riding on a tiger's back and can't get off.

Kang: That's not the situation you describe!

Mao: If he can't get off the tiger, I'll kill it.

Zhou: The Guangxi people are hiding in your Beijing Aeronautical Institute. How can you, the National Defense Science and Technology Commission, convene a meeting?

Mao: You've hidden the Guangxi prisoners. The Guangxi students are staying at Beijing Aeronautical Institute.

Kang: They want to control the national movement.

Han: We didn't convene that meeting. You can investigate. It was Wu Huanbin from Guangdong. I was ill and was at the Sports University before being hospitalized. The university called and said I was hosting two members of the Standing Committee of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee. People say, "There's heaven above, and Beijing

Aeronautical Institute below." At the May Fourth Student Congress, I didn't warmly welcome many rebel leaders from other provinces. They said we were bossy and complacent, and they also said we were rich peasants and no longer revolutionary. So I said I would host them. When we were seeing him off, he said he wanted to hold a nationwide meeting to coordinate the situation. I said a meeting in Beijing was a shady one, and that there were divisions between the Heaven Faction and the Earth Faction in Beijing [13], making it very complicated. I agreed to talk to a few reliable rebel leaders and heads of the Revolutionary Committee, focusing on the situation, not on solutions. Kuai and I would both go. Later, I was hospitalized. When the meeting began, everyone felt something was amiss. Geology attended the preparatory meeting but didn't attend. Kuai Dafu ran away after listening for a while, and so did Jinggangshan. My classmates kept reporting the situation to me, and I told them to write a report quickly. But then the criticism had already come down.

Chairman Mao: You people have said too much about Han Aijing. He's only twenty-three!

Jiang: In the early days of the movement, whether it was Beijing Aeronautical Institute or Beijing University, you received petitioners from outside the province and did a lot of work. You hid them, and we entrusted them with our duties. Things have changed now. You must realize that this is no longer feasible. They are opposing the provincial revolutionary committees and the People's Liberation Army. Tan Houlan, who helped you stabilize the situation on September 7th?

Tan: Chairman Mao, the Central Committee, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group.

Xie: Comrade Jiang Qing.

Jiang: I don't necessarily have a favourable impression of the Division Corps. In such scorching heat, without water, electricity, or food, without sunlight for three months in the dog days of summer, how could you do that! It brings tears to my eyes. They were just a few hundred or a few dozen people, too. Han Aijing was wrong at the beginning, trying to subvert others.

Han: I was wrong.

Mao: It's quite anarchist. Anarchism is the opposite of government in the world. As long as there is government, anarchy cannot be eliminated. This is the opposite of what we used to call slavery and being a docile tool. The punishment for right opportunism is the punishment for the right opportunism of the Central Committee.

Jiang: I'm not confused by your opposition. It's said that the army corps is against us. We're not speaking for them, so you can let them go. Ba! The proletariat must uphold proletarian humanism. Even if there are a few dozen counter-revolutionaries, they're still young people. Hang me, I'm not afraid of others frying me in oil. Beijing University and Jinggangshan are saying they want to fry Jiang Qing in oil.

Yao: Frying is just talk.

Mao: What about hanging Kuai Dafu?

Xie: Niu Huilin is not good.

Jiang: Niu Huilin may have some problems, but he can be educated! Nie Yuanzi, do I still have a say? I privately feel bad for you! You are all fighting against each other now, and the bad guys are hiding. Did I say that April 14th would win? April 14th was specifically against the Central Cultural Revolution, as well as the Premier and Old Kang. But it was a mass organization!

You all know where I live. If they want to hang me, hang me. If they want to fry me, fry me. We have all been through hardships together, so why can't we tolerate them? How can you rule the country and bring peace to the world in the future? I see that you don't study the Chairman's works and don't learn his style. The Chairman has always united with those who oppose him.

Mao: We can forget about that. "Killing cattle, slaughtering monkeys, stewing mutton." Why would you slaughter cattle? You could plough the fields! What you've listed are nothing more than attacks on Jiang Qing and Lin Biao. I can write them off completely. They were just talking in a small room, not posting big-character posters outside.

Jiang: I'm not afraid of big-character posters.

Mao: Who were those people who opposed Comrade Lin Biao two years ago?

Zhou and Ye: It was Yilin and Dixi¹⁰, right?

Mao: Moreover, Liu Gongkai, the leader of the June 16th Incident at Beijing Foreign Studies University, opposed the Premier, and the Premier always protected him. Some say the Premier is incredibly lenient, and I agree with the Premier's actions. The initial arrests of these people shouldn't have been made; too many have been made because I nodded my approval.

Xie: This has nothing to do with the Chairman. I was the one who arrested them.

Mao: Don't try to excuse my mistakes. I agreed to release them.

Xie: You didn't ask me to arrest so many.

¹⁰ The Yilin and Dixi incidents, also known as the Yilin Dixi incident, were incidents in late 1966 when some Beijing students criticized Lin Biao's views and the Central Cultural Revolution Group. On November 15, 1966, Liu Zhenzhong and Zhang Licai, students of the Affiliated Middle School of Beijing Agricultural University, wrote an "Open Letter to Comrade Lin Biao" under the pseudonyms of Yilin and Dixi, which challenged Lin Biao's praise of Mao Zedong as "better than Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin." "much higher", and "In the classic works of Marxism-Leninism, we must study Mao Zedong's works 99%". They posted the "Open Letter to Comrade Lin Biao" poster in Qinghua University, and as a result, the big-character poster was immediately regarded as a "poisonous weed" and "counter-revolutionary" and was torn up that afternoon. On November 18, Yilin and Dixi printed the open letter as leaflets and distributed them everywhere.

Mao: After they were released, they went to Babaoshan and Tiananmen Square, riding bicycles for two months. They got bored. Some people act like hooligans, just to get some money and toy with a woman. Peng Xiaomeng¹¹ isn't that reactionary, is she?

Zhou and Yao: Not good. Her parents are very bad, and they're associated with Wu Xiuquan¹².

Jiang: The April 14th Movement specifically opposed the Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution, but they were a mass organization.

Mao: You can't get rid of a few thousand of them. Nor can you get rid of the few thousand people in Peking University's Jinggangshan. If there are bad guys, find them yourself. Don't mention "killing cows, slaughtering monkeys, and stewing mutton." Cows can plough the fields, but what are monkeys for?

Jiang: We have a political responsibility toward you. Political assistance isn't enough. You should do it yourselves, catch the black hands, and form a coalition.

Nie: Over a thousand people have come down from Jinggangshan and are currently attending study sessions.

Mao: Those who have come down from Jinggangshan are unreliable. Most of your Jinggangshan people are in Cao's camp, but their hearts are in Han. They are in the Empress Dowager's camp, but their hearts are in Jinggangshan. Don't go after Niu Huilin. Let him go to Jinggangshan and have his freedom. We won't force him, and don't insult him. You've made many mistakes in the past. This is your first offense, so I can't blame you.

Jiang: What about Fan Liqin¹³?

¹¹ Peng Xiaomeng (1950s-) was a well-known figure in the Cultural Revolution and the main leader of the Red Guard Organization "Red Flag" of the High School Affiliated to Beijing University.

¹² Wu Xiuquan (1908–1997), participated in the Long March and became director of the Eighth Route Army Office in Lanzhou. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he served as Director of the Soviet Eastern European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chinese Ambassador to Yugoslavia, and Deputy Director of the Foreign Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. He was struggled against during the Cultural Revolution and jailed for eight years. He was a member of the Steering Committee for the trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cases.

¹³ Fan Liqin befriended Deng Xiaoping's eldest son Deng Pufang during 1966 when both were at Beijing University. When the Cultural Revolution began, Fan took the side of the work teams sent by the Rightists and was struggled against. He has continued to be an opponent of the Communist Party from the Right. On May 4, 2018, the 99th anniversary of the May Fourth Movement and the 120th anniversary of Beijing University, Beijing University alumnus Fan Liqin posted a 24-page big-character poster in the triangle area of the school at about 1 noon on the same day, with the title "To uphold the Party Constitution, China must resolutely oppose the cult of personality and adhere to the Constitution, and national leaders must implement a term system, that is, a term limit" which was aimed at the violation of the Constitution by Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

Nie: They didn't do anything to him. He was involved with the Peng Yan¹⁴ counter-revolutionary group.

Mao: Did Niu Huilin investigate him?

Nie: He is under surveillance by his own people; some agreed to arrest him, some disagreed.

Mao: Was Hou Hanqing a student or a teacher?

Nie: He was a graduate student. His father engaged in speculation and profiteering in 1963.

Jiang: They weren't the worst. They were a coalition of several organizations. There were bad people inside and spies outside. They also had some sort of "single-line" connection.

Mao: That's not a good style.

You have two Earth Faction members and two Heaven Faction members here today. The Earth Faction members support the April 14th Incident at Qinghua University and the Jinggangshan Incident at Beijing University, while the Heaven Faction members protect Commander Kuai and the Empress Dowager. I can't quite separate the Heaven and Earth Factions; there are so many schools. In short, we know your five key leaders: Nie Yuanzi (a female general), Tan Houlan (a female general), Kuai Dafu, Han Aijing, and Wang Dabin. Each of the other schools has its own leaders, but these five are the most famous. You've done a lot of work. No matter how many shortcomings and mistakes you've made, we must protect you. Your work has indeed faced many difficulties. I didn't experience the Cultural Revolution, and neither did you. Most schools didn't fight, but the few that did, impacted the workers, the army, and internal unity. So why are there so many Xiangyao Faction members, but so few cannon fodder? Have you ever thought about this?

Xie: The Chairman cared about you as young Red Guards. Vice Chairman Lin, the Premier, the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and especially Comrade Jiang Qing cared about you. Speaking of this, the primary responsibility lies with me. I haven't helped you enough, and I can apologize to you.

Mao: The study sessions at the capital's colleges and universities were not reported to the Central Committee, which caused dissatisfaction among Nie Yuanzi and others. You held study sessions but didn't allow people to connect, so they held large-scale connection meetings. Prohibiting connections is wrong, but so is overthrowing Xie Fuzhi.

Xie: You helped me a lot.

Mao: There's a habit in Beijing: today they overthrow this person, tomorrow they overthrow that person.

¹⁴ Peng Yan was the father of Peng Xiaomeng. He was the vice president of the Red Cross Society of China at the time.

Lin: A heavy rain blew away the big overthrow slogans.

Mao: Children made big-character posters and sold them as waste paper. How much did they get per pound?

Xie: Seven cents per pound. The children made a fortune.

Mao: I don't believe that. The Chinese have one good point: if they have an opinion, they want to speak it out. It's right to say no to collusion, but it's not good to not allow it at all. People are still colluding. The "Smash the Three Olds" faction is colluding, and the "Anti-Smash the Three Olds" faction is also colluding. Why can't they collude a little? Why can't the "Heaven" faction and the "Earth" faction collude a little? I say it's okay to collude a little, and they are actually colluding. If you don't allow good people to collude, the bad people will. The majority are good, more than 90 percent. The bad people are a tiny minority.

(Huang Zuozhen reports that Kuai Dafu has arrived. Kuai Dafu bursts into tears when he enters. Mao stands up and shakes his hand. Jiang Qing smiles.)

Kuai Dafu (hereinafter referred to as "Kuai") cried and complained: Chairman, save me, Chairman, save me! "Yang, Yu, and Fu" [14] secretly mobilized tens of thousands of workers to suddenly surround Qinghua University. We tried to reason with the workers, but they wouldn't listen. As soon as we students left, they grabbed us and put us on trucks and took us away. We couldn't defeat the workers, and our people are now on the streets...

Han Aijing: (Tears) Don't talk nonsense! The workers and the People's Liberation Army were sent by Chairman Mao.

Kuai Dafu: Impossible! Every time the Chairman sent the People's Liberation Army to stop a fight, they didn't bring guns, didn't hit or curse, and kept the people separated. Why are you arresting our people this time?

Mao: (To Xie Fuzhi and Wen Yucheng) Did you arrest anyone? Who told you to arrest people? Release them all!

Kuai Dafu: Our second-in-command, Bao Changkang¹⁵, was also arrested.

Mao: (To Xie Fuzhi) Release everyone! Put Bao Changkang in front of the Great Hall of the People.

(Kuai Dafu cries, "Hmm!").

The entire atmosphere is affected by Kuai Dafu's emotions.

(Mao Zedong was a man of deep sentimentality. Mao Zedong shed tears, and Jiang Qing also wept.)

¹⁵ Bao Changkang was a member of the Headquarters Committee of Kuai Dafu's Jingganshan Combat Team at Qinghua University.

Jiang Qing: Kuai Dafu, calm down. Don't get excited. Kuai Dafu, don't get excited. Sit down.

Mao: (To Huang Zuozhen) Your name is Huang Zuozhen. Where are you from?

Huang Zuozhen: Ningdu, Jiangxi.

Mao: You're my cousin. I've heard of you for a long time. Comrade Huang Zuozhen's words don't count. Comrade Xie Fuzhi's words don't count. The Municipal Revolutionary Committee's meetings don't count. I wonder if our Central Committee's meetings count? I've become a black hand. Take me to the garrison!

Yao: Extend your red hand and promote Mao Zedong Thought. We will all follow closely.

Mao: Four methods. What are they?

Yao: Martial law, one divides into two, struggle-criticism-departure, and a massive fight.

Mao: First, martial law. Second, one divides into two. Third, struggle-criticism-departure. You don't fight, you don't criticize, and you don't transform. How many months has the fight lasted?

Zhou: It started last year.

Mao: Fourth, another massive fight. Involve ten thousand people. Withdraw the workers, return the guns, and fight like they did in Sichuan.

Jiang: Disgrace to the family.

Mao: I'm not afraid of fighting. I'm happy when I hear about it. The fighting in Beijing wasn't much of a fight; it was just cold weapons, a few shots fired. The fighting in Sichuan was real. Both sides had tens of thousands of people, guns and artillery, and I heard they even had radios. When this notice is issued, it must be widely publicized. Those who still don't obey will be arrested individually, surrounded and eliminated, as counter-revolutionaries!

Jiang: Guangxi has been under siege for almost two months.

Zhou: Have you ever thought about why the Guangxi notice was Chairman Mao's great strategic move? You claim to be concerned about national affairs, yet you five didn't issue a joint statement to express your stance and do some work?

Mao: They're busy!

Zhou: This is a national issue!

Mao: Stop dividing yourselves into factions.

Jiang: I hope you will unite. Don't divide us into the Heaven faction, the Earth faction, the Zhang family faction, the Li family faction. You're all Mao Zedong Thought factions!

Mao: Don't create two factions; just create one. Why create two factions? There are difficulties.

Chen Boda (hereinafter referred to as Chen): The educational revolution and reform cannot be carried out.

Mao: If the educational revolution cannot be carried out, then neither can we, let alone you. It's the old system that's harming you. Why can't it be carried out? Our comrade Chen Boda was anxious at the Central Committee meeting. I said, don't worry. In a few years, they'll be gone. Will it all be over? I think it's just these few points. What's the point of an educational revolution? If it doesn't work, just disband. This is what the students said. I got some information from the Xiangyao faction! I think it's unfair for us to take charge of these matters now. A little civil war is not a big deal. So if we have to fight one of the four points, we should do it vigorously.

Yao: I tend to think that some schools should be subjected to struggle, criticism, and disbandment. Fighting is better than leaving.

Chairman Mao: The earth rotates once a year, ten times ten. If the two factions continue like this, I think they'll have to break up. If they want to fight, let them fight hard and clear the territory. Let those who write novels study on their own. Those who study literature, write poetry and plays. Those who study philosophy, write family histories and history, and describe the process of the revolution. Those who study political economy can't imitate Beijing University professors. Who are the famous professors at Beijing University? These things don't need teachers. Teachers teaching is a harmful method. Organize small groups, study on your own, and study independently. Come and go, six months, a year, two years, or three years. Don't have exams. Exams are not the solution. One book has ten questions, one book has a hundred viewpoints. Wouldn't that only be one tenth? Even if you get them right, what about the other ninety percent?

Who will test Marx? Who will test Engels? Who will test Lenin? Who will test Comrade Lin Biao? Who will test Comrade Huang Zuozhen? The needs of the masses and Chiang Kai-shek were our teachers. We all do the same: middle schools need teachers, primary schools need teachers, and textbooks need to be simplified.

Yao: Build several libraries.

Mao: Giving workers, peasants, and soldiers time to study in libraries is a good idea. I spent six months at the Hunan Library and six months at the Peking University Library. I chose the books myself; who taught me? I only took one course, journalism. Universities shouldn't be so rigid; they should be more flexible.

Jiang: Now the universities are engaging in armed struggle.

Mao: Armed struggle has two advantages. First, it provides combat experience. Second, it exposes bad actors. We must conduct a comprehensive analysis of armed struggle. Social

phenomena are not subject to human will. Workers are intervening now. If that doesn't work, withdraw the workers and continue the struggle for another ten years. The earth will continue to rotate, and the sky won't fall.

Jiang: We're truly heartbroken for you. You're talking nonsense about not wanting university students. We do want you. Some of you sometimes listen to us, some do, and some say one thing to our faces and another behind our backs. We can't figure out what's going on behind your backs.

Mao: If you don't listen behind our backs, we have a solution: let the workers extend their "black hands"—let the workers intervene, let the proletariat intervene.

(Nie Yuanzi demands the PLA be sent to Peking University)

Mao: You want something that suits your taste. You must have the 63rd Army, and you don't want anything else. How about the 38th Army? If the 38th Army of "(Beijing University) Jinggangshan" truly supports it, I'll send you the 63rd Army. You should work with the 38th Army.

Jiang: Nie Yuanzi should work with the 38th Army. Would you welcome the 38th Army?

Mao: Half of the troops can come from the 38th Army and half from the 63rd Army. The 38th Army wasn't as bad as you say. The root of the problem lies with Yang Chengwu and the Beijing Military Region. The Beijing Military Region held two meetings. The first wasn't very good, but the second was much better. Zheng Weishan [15] made a self-criticism.

Tan Houlan, your focus has always been on Nie Yuanzi. A female general like you, Tan Houlan, fired a shot, and Zheng Weishan was quite nervous. Zheng Weishan happened to be away from Beijing, having gone to Baoding and Shanxi to resolve issues. Didn't we miss him? The various armies didn't know whether this commander was good or bad, and the generals were terrified. Did he cause you (Tan Houlan) any trouble?

Tan: No, the students had some issues with him.

Chairman Mao: There were historical reasons for this. There's some history. These things aren't accidental, they don't happen out of the blue.

Chen: Things were relatively good in the first half of 1966. Beijing universities and colleges were fanning the flames nationwide, and they were right to stir up a revolutionary storm. Now they've become arrogant, self-righteous, and want to unify the world. Kuai Dafu and Han Aijing are reaching out everywhere, yet they lack knowledge and learning.

Mao: They're only in their twenties. We shouldn't look down on the young. Zhou Yu¹⁶ was only sixteen when he started his rebellion. Don't flaunt your seniority.

¹⁶ Zhou Yu (175-210), was the primary commander of the Sun Wu camp at the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty, and he was also an outstanding military strategist, tactician, strategist, politician, and musician. At the age of

Jiang: We joined the revolution in our teens.

Mao: Don't get so arrogant! Don't let your whole body swell up, causing you to become swollen.

Chen: You, Han Aijing, haven't properly considered Chairman Mao's thoughts or the Central Committee's opinions. You've held secret meetings based on tidbits of information, putting yourself first and leading yourself down a dangerous path.

Mao: First, it's my bureaucracy. I haven't met you once. If they didn't want to find the black hand, I wouldn't have come looking for you. Let Kuai Dafu wake up.

Chen: Kuai Dafu, you should wake up and stop before it's too late. This is a dangerous path.

Lin: Stop before it's too late and admit your mistakes.

Mao: Don't even mention "admitting your mistakes".

Chen: Kuai Dafu doesn't respect the working masses. If you refuse to listen, you're disrespecting the Central Committee and Chairman Mao. This is a dangerous path.

Mao: It's quite dangerous. Now it's the turn of the young generals to make mistakes.

Zhou: The Chairman has long said that it's the turn of the young generals to make mistakes.

Lin: Kuai Dafu, our attitude toward you is communicated through the garrison and the Municipal Revolutionary Committee. You say you don't understand the Central Committee's attitude. Today, Chairman Mao personally showed concern for you and gave you the most important, correct, clear, and timely guidance. If you still turn a deaf ear to it, you'll make a serious mistake. You Red Guards played a significant role in the Cultural Revolution. Now, many schools across the country have achieved a great revolutionary unity. Regarding this great unity, some of your schools are lagging behind and need to catch up. You haven't understood what needs to be done in each period of the movement.

Mao: The opposition at Tan Houlan's place only numbered over 200, and it couldn't be subdued in a year. The opposition at other schools is even greater; how can it be conquered?

Cao Cao used force to conquer Sun Quan, but was defeated at Red Cliff. Liu Bei tried to conquer Sun Quan by force, but was also defeated. Kong Ming tried to conquer Sima Huo, but failed; he lost Jieting. Sima Ji tried to conquer Zhuge Liang, but failed; the first battle was long, and Zhang's army was left with only a thousand cavalry.

Lin: Fighting against the capitalist-roaders is a good thing. The monsters and demons in the literary and art circles must also be fought. Some people now aren't doing this, but are instead pitting students against students, and the masses against the masses. Most of these

twenty, he crossed the Yangtze River with Sun Ce to defeat Liu Yao, Yan Baihu, Wang Lang and other separatist forces from East of the river, and pacified that area with Sun Ce.

people are children of workers and peasants, being exploited by bad people. Some are counterrevolutionaries, while others started out as revolutionaries but gradually lost their revolutionary spirit and turned against them. Some subjectively want to be revolutionary, but objectively their actions are the opposite. There is a small group of people who are both subjectively and objectively counterrevolutionaries. You are divorced from the masses.

Mao: Workers and peasants make up over 90 percent of the total population. Over 90 percent of your schools are relatively good, with relatively few engaging in civil war. There are only six in Beijing.

Xie: Tsinghua had 20,000 students, but less than 5,000 participated in the fighting.

Lin: Those who didn't participate simply disagreed.

Mao: They've also climbed onto the tiger's back, and there's no good way to get off. Kuai Dafu could have stepped down. He could still be an official or an ordinary citizen. Kuai Dafu should have welcomed the workers.

Xie: The workers were unarmed, carrying only three weapons: Chairman Mao's Quotations, Chairman Mao's latest directives, and the July 3rd Proclamation.

Kang: Qinghua's guns were provided by the Beijing Aeronautical Institute, supporting Qinghua with two truckloads of guns. Kuai Dafu was the commander, and Han Aijing was the political commissar.

Han: That's not true, absolutely not true. The garrison inspected us several times, and not a single gun was missing.

Xie: You're always right, and you're all right again. I've criticized you several times, but you refuse to accept. You have no self-criticism.

Chen: Should his guns be taken back?

Han: Chairman, I have a request. Please assign a PLA unit to monitor me. Many things aren't quite right. I love Kuai Dafu dearly, and I know I'll be implicated in many matters with him. But I believe we must do our utmost to protect him and prevent his downfall. His fate is linked to the fate of the Red Guards nationwide. Sending me a PLA unit will make everything clear.

Chen: You lack the spirit of self-criticism.

Jiang: I made mistakes. I spoiled you. Xie Fuzhi, spoiled you even more than I did. He spoiled you to rottenness. Now it's drizzling. The Chairman's solution is the best.

Mao: Stop criticizing all the time. Yang Chengwu advocated for multiple centres, and the National Defense Science and Technology Commission promoted the theory of multiple centres. We could have thousands or tens of thousands of these centres across the country.

If they were all centres, there would be no centre. Everyone would think they were the best in the world, so what would be the centre?

Jiang: Han Aijing, I've criticized you several times, but you've never properly expressed your stance.

Mao: Don't criticize him. You only blame others, not yourselves.

Jiang: I'm saying he lacks the spirit of self-criticism.

Mao: Young people can't stand criticism. His personality is a bit like my own when I was young. Kids are just very subjective, very powerful, and can only criticize others.

Jiang: Kuai Dafu is smiling a little. Relax a little, don't be so nervous. (Kuai reports that Chen Yuyan, a female classmate from the "(Tsinghua) Jinggangshan" headquarters, was arrested by workers.) Has Chen Yuyan come out? Chen Yuyan is a girl, and she needs protection.

Kuai: Chen Yuyan is sleeping at the Beijing Aeronautical Institute!

Mao: You want to catch the black hand, and that black hand is me. We have no way to stop you. We lean towards your faction. I cannot accept the "April 14" movement's idea of inevitable victory. But we must win over the masses among them, including some of the leaders. Zhou Quanying's main point is that those who conquer the world cannot rule it, saying that Kuai Dafu had no choice but to hand over power to the "April 14" movement.

We asked the workers to carry out propaganda, but you refused. Huang Zuozhen and Xie Fuzhi spoke, but there was nothing we could do. The workers were unarmed, but you refused, killing and injuring five of them. Just like Beijing University, we lean towards Nie Yuanzi and you, the five great leaders. Don't you know what tens of thousands of people would do at Qinghua? Without a decision from the Central Committee, would they dare? You are very passive. The "April 14" movement welcomed it, while the "(Qinghua) Jinggangshan" movement did not. You are doing it wrong. There's no mention of "April 14th" here today. "(Beijing University) Jinggangshan" and "April 14th" are not the right ideas. "(Beijing University) Jinggangshan" and "Red Flag Flying" have more bad people, while Nie Yuanzi's group has more good people.

Nie: Yu, Guan, and Qi [16] all drank from it.

Mao: You're rebelling against Wang, Guan, and Qi, all right. Even if you try to collude, I can't stop you. Aren't Han Aijing and Kuai Dafu good friends? You two should continue to be good friends. Han Aijing should be helped in the future and implement better policies. Now the "April 14th" movement is jubilant, believing that "(Qinghua) Jinggangshan" is about to collapse. I don't believe that. I believe Jinggangshan will remain Jinggangshan. Two years ago, I went to Jinggangshan. I'm not talking about your "Old Buddha's" (Beijing University) Jinggangshan.

Yao and Xie: The revolutionary Jinggangshan!

Jiang: Don't leave us helpless to help you.

Mao: There are many workers from elsewhere, not just yours. I heard they're from other places.

Zhou: Are there any others there?

Kuai: Yes.

Mao: Go to bed tonight. You haven't slept yet, Kuai Dafu. You have nowhere to sleep. Go to Han Aijing's place. Han Aijing will treat you well. Han Aijing, you must treat him well. All of you gather together and go to Han Aijing's place. Rest for a while, and then have a meeting.

Zhou: Han Aijing, could you help him find a solution?

Mao: Kuai Dafu, you're such a coward! We put up a ladder for you to come down, but you refused. You've been defying the central government's policies. You ignored Huang Zuozhen's words, Xie Fuzhi's words, and the municipal party committee meetings. Only then did the central government intervene, extending its "black hand," to mobilize the revolution and stop the fighting. No matter how much propaganda there was, no matter how loud the gongs and drums were, you ignored them. You're divorced from the masses, from the workers, peasants, and soldiers, from the vast majority of students, and even from some of the people under your leadership. Many of the students under your leadership have spoken ill of you. Qinghua didn't directly warn you, but it indirectly did.

Wu: I spoke to Kuai Dafu yesterday, but he wouldn't listen.

Mao: The "April 14th" movement welcomed the workers, but you, the "(Qinghua) Jinggangshan," were so far away and so passive. I'm not happy about that "April 14th" movement.

Jiang: "April 14th" was insulting me.

Mao: They carried "corpses" in a parade, and they smashed the power cables. Even at that time, the April 14th group didn't know about it, so why were they welcoming them? This time, you're being foolish, letting the April 14th group welcome the workers.

Jiang: Even the people who were part of the April 14th group said Kuai Dafu was left-leaning, and Shen Ruhuai (the leader of the April 14th group) was right-leaning. Qinghua's grand coalition won't work without controlling Kuai Dafu.

Mao: Kuai Dafu, can you be the university's Chancellor? The "(Tsinghua) Jinggangshan" group has two members, the "April 14th" group has one, and Shen Ruhuai will be vice-Chancellor.

Kuai: I can't be Chancellor. I can't.

Mao: We still need a coalition, and we need Kuai Dafu. It won't work without controlling Kuai Dafu. Kuai Dafu is left-leaning, and the "(Qinghua) Jinggangshan" group has two members. The "April 14th" group is right-leaning.

Jiang: Now, the five of you should start. Anyway, don't fight yet.

Mao: First, martial law. Second, one divides into two. "April 14th" gets one, and you, Kuai Dafu, get one. Third, struggle, criticize, and leave. That's what was proposed. They don't want to do it anymore.

First, you don't struggle, second, you don't criticize, and third, you don't transform. Focus on fighting the civil war. Of course, the civil war will last for several months. Fourth, withdraw the workers and return all the guns to you. It's nothing but a massive fight. Fight hard if you want to. Should we continue to run liberal arts programs? We should continue to run liberal arts programs. As for how to do it, we need to find another way. The previous method fostered revisionism.

Tan: Should we continue to run normal universities?

Mao: If we don't, who will teach in high schools? Who will teach in technical secondary schools? How can we not run foreign language colleges? It can't just be a whim. A few years of this will do. The sky won't fall. The European war lasted for several years. Not only did the universities not run, but in fact, the middle schools and elementary schools didn't run either. It was a chaotic mess.

Jiang: Reform is hard work. You can't just sit still.

Mao: Knowledge isn't acquired in school. Didn't Lin Biao just say that? Where did they learn literature? Did they learn it at Whampoa University? Huang Yongsheng studied there for a year and a half. Wen Yucheng, you're lucky. You went there for three years. You're from Huanggang? You only know a few words. Society is the biggest university. How can you get by sitting in that building? Society as a whole is the biggest university. Lenin studied at the University for a year and a half, while Engels didn't finish high school. We two are much more talented than Gorky, who only went to school for two years. Mathematician Hua Luogeng was a high school student, self-taught. The Soviet satellite went into space, and its creator was a high school teacher. The person who invented the steam engine was a worker, not a university professor, but a worker. I see some of our children ruined by studying for more than a decade, unable to sleep. One child studied history but didn't understand the stages of struggle. History is the history of stage struggles, yet after years of studying, they still didn't understand class struggle.

Jiang: They read those thick books, dozens of them. The books by Marx, Engels, and Chairman Mao have become reference materials and supplementary material, while their teachers' books are the official textbooks.

Mao: Six years of primary school are too long, six years of high school are too long; they are wasted beyond measure. No exams! What's the point of exams? It would be better if we didn't have any! Abolish all exams. It's an absolute rule. Who will test Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin? Who will test Comrade Lin Biao? Who will test me? Comrade Xie Fuzhi, call them all back, send them all back to school. They may be a little angry, but don't force them. Keep the "April 14th" group in school, while the "(Qinghua) Jinggangshan" group is outside. That's not good. Let all the "(Qinghua) Jinggangshan" group come to the Great Hall of the People. The leaders of the "April 14th" group should be treated differently.

Han: Chairman, I have a question. If a civil war breaks out in China a few decades from now, a hundred years from now, and there are two factions both claiming to follow Mao Zedong Thought, and a situation of fragmented and chaotic fighting ensues, what will we do?

Mao: That's a good question. Han Aijing, you're still young, but since you're asking me, I can tell you it wouldn't be a big deal! Over the past hundred years, China fought for twenty years under the Qing Dynasty and for decades against Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese Communist Party has produced Chen Duxiu, Li Lisan, Wang Ming, Bo Gu, Zhang Guotao, Gao Gang, and Liu Shaoqi—many more. Having this experience is better than Marx.

Lin: We have Mao Zedong Thought.

Mao: The experience of the Cultural Revolution is better than not having one, but we promise to be better. You must stay with the people, with the producers, and eliminate them completely. As long as we have the people, it's enough. Even if we eliminate Lin Biao and everyone present, we can't eliminate the entire nation. We can't eliminate all of China. As long as we have the people, it's enough. The most worrying thing is being divorced from the workers, peasants, and fighters, from the producers, from reality, and not being sufficiently vigilant against revisionism. We must reform even if we don't want to. Look at Zhu Chengzhao [17], he was commander for just a few days before he fled abroad or "protected his parents." He quit. As for Nie Yuanzi, it's not good to attack her brothers and sisters, but you should attack her. Your sister isn't that bad, Nie Yuanzi. Why do the brothers and sisters have to be associated with her?

Zhou: My younger brother, Zhou Yongai¹⁷, was hanging out with Wang, Guan, and Cheng. I arrested him and sent him to the garrison.

¹⁷ Zhou Enlai's brother Zhou Enshou was a minor Party official and chief of the Beijing Iron and Steel Industry Bureau, the deputy manager of the Public Works Department of the North China Iron and Steel Industry Bureau, and the commissioner of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. During the Cultural Revolution, opponents of Zhou Enlai, not finding a basis for attacking the Premier, turned their attention to the third brother, claiming to have discovered "black materials" from his past. Zhou Enlai knew that the third brother was a "victim", and if he allowed the other party to mess around, the third brother's situation would be even worse. Fu Chongbi was then deputy of the Beijing Military Region Commander. He was also the commander of the Beijing Garrison, and he said to people many years later: Someone had already set their sights on Zhou Enshou, and if he was

Mao: My father wasn't very smart either. If he were alive today, he'd be flying in a jet.

Lin: Lu Xun's brother was a big traitor.

Mao: I wasn't very smart either. I just believed whatever I read. I studied for another seven years, including six months of capitalism in middle school. As for Marxism, I knew nothing about it. I didn't even know there was a Marx. I only knew about Napoleon and Washington. Studying in the library was much better than attending classes. A sesame bun was all I needed. I got to know the old guys in the library.

Chen: Han Aijing has raised this issue before. With Comrade Lin Biao, Chairman Mao's good successor, and Mao Zedong Thought, I'm not afraid of revisionism.

Mao: There's no guarantee that there won't be another Cultural Revolution after this one. There will still be ups and downs. Don't talk about a new stage or several new stages. I'm talking about the Shanghai Machine Tool Factory. What new stage is that? One cultural revolution may not be enough.

Yao: The Chairman has already addressed this issue.

Zhou: Comrade Lin Biao studied Chairman Mao's works well. Even the Soviet Union and elsewhere failed to fully grasp the works of Marx and Lenin, but Vice Chairman Lin did.

Mao: Just because Chen Duxiu emerged from the Party, does the Party cease to exist? Even if the Party makes mistakes, it still exists. The revolution still needs to be waged, and the army still needs to advance. Wang Ming's line lasted for so long, but it wasn't corrected the Fourth Time. Zhang Wentian's ten years of practice were ineffective. There have been countless disasters. How many more have occurred since liberation? Our Party is a great and glorious Party. Just because Liu Shaoqi, Wang Ming, and Zhang Guotao emerged doesn't make it any less great. You young people simply lack experience. God forgive you. Han Aijing, you asked me about this, and I answered you. Don't think we're anything special. Don't think we're all that matters, that without us, the sky would fall.

Jiang: Han Aijing has written to me several times, raising this issue. Why did Han Aijing raise this issue? First, he's divorced from the workers and peasants, and second, he's divorced from reality. Whenever he's in my presence, he thinks about the future, always talking about things decades from now. He even asked me when World War III would break out.

Mao: It's good to think far ahead. What a good person! What a good person! We have several ways to die: one is being killed by a bomb, two is dying of illness or being killed by

captured by them, he may be in danger of his life. So I said to the Premier that instead of letting these people fool around, it would be safer for the garrison to come forward and 'arrest' Zhou Enshou. So Zhou Enlai arrested his brother, but to save him from harm. He was released from prison in May 1979. (A second brother, Zhou Enpu, died in 1945 after being tortured by Guomindang jailers who unsuccessfully tried to force him to reveal Zhou Enlai's whereabouts.)

bacteria, three is being hit by a train or airplane, and four is dying from drowning, as I love swimming. It's nothing more than that. The last is dying of old age, or bacteria!

Bo Yibo nearly died, but I heard Liu Shaoqi was saved. He had pneumonia, a heart condition, and a kidney infection. Four doctors and two nurses worked on him, and he's out of danger. Did you hear about that [18]?

Everyone said, "I haven't heard of that."

Yao: The laws of historical development always progress, with twists and turns, and the future is bright. Believe in Mao Zedong Thought and trust the masses. Han Aijing, you're a pessimist and have no faith in communism.

Han: I believe communism will triumph. If I didn't have faith in communism, I wouldn't have devoted myself to the communist cause. However, I believe that history develops in waves, not in a straight line. Did the Chinese revolution, from democratic revolution to socialist revolution to communism, move in a straight line toward victory? Wouldn't there be setbacks? Isn't it a wave-like process? According to dialectics, there must be twists and turns.

Mao: There was no such thing as a single advance. History always advances in a zigzag pattern. We suffered setbacks in 1927, two or three more times. After victory, the anti-Party alliance of Gao and Rao emerged. After the Lushan Conference, Peng Dehuai emerged. Now there are capitalist-roaders, like Kuai Dafu's "completely smash the old Qinghua." The "April 14th" movement disagreed. They said, "There are good teachers, but when you say completely smash, you don't mean the good people, but a small handful of bad people." If you explain your meaning clearly, they won't be able to refute it. Quickly gather six or seven leaders and gather them together. You can sleep tonight. You can sleep tonight and reconvene tomorrow. Let's adjourn this meeting and come back later.

Han: (Shaking the Chairman's hand) Chairman, I will fight for your revolutionary line my whole life.

Kuai: (Shaking the Chairman's hand) Chairman, thank you. May you live a long and healthy life.

Chairman Mao: (After leaving, he returned to address the Central Leadership) I left, but I was worried that you would come back to oppress Kuai Dafu, so I came back. Don't come back to oppress Kuai Dafu. Don't oppress them again.

[1] At 3:00 a.m. on July 28, 1968, in the Hunan Hall of the Great Hall of the People, Mao Zedong met with the "five leaders" of the Capital Red Guard Congress. These "five leaders" were Kuai Dafu of Tsinghua University, Nie Yuanzi of Peking University, Han Aijing of the Beijing Institute of Aeronautics, Tan Houlan of Beijing Normal University, and Wang Dabin of

the Beijing Institute of Geology. The meeting lasted over five hours. Accompanying him were the Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council, Minister of National Defense Marshal Lin Biao, Premier Zhou Enlai, Head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group Chen Boda, Advisor to the Cultural Revolution Group Kang Sheng, Deputy Head of the Cultural Revolution Group Jiang Qing, Member of the Cultural Revolution Group Yao Wenyuan, Lin Biao's wife Ye Qun, Director of the General Office of the Central Committee and Head of the Central Guard Corps Wang Dongxing, Vice Premier of the State Council, Minister of Public Security, Director of the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee, and Political Commissar of the Beijing Military Region Xie Fuzhi, Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army Huang Yongsheng, Air Force Commander Wu Faxian, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, Commander of the Beijing Garrison Wen Yucheng, Political Commissar of the Beijing Garrison Huang Zuozhen, and Deputy Director of the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee Wu De.

[2] In the summer of 1968, the Cultural Revolution had essentially completed its task of fully seizing power politically. However, armed conflict between two factions at several Beijing universities continued. To address this persistent problem, under Mao Zedong's personal instructions, tens of thousands of Beijing workers formed the "Capital Workers' Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team" and began deploying to the capital's universities. However, their deployment encountered resistance. On the morning of July 27, as the thousands of workers' propaganda teams entered Peking University and Tsinghua University to confiscate weapons, dismantle fortifications, and quell the fighting, they encountered stiff armed resistance. At Tsinghua's East Campus in particular, the Jinggangshan Corps, led by Kuai Dafu, attacked the propaganda teams with long-range weapons, guns, and grenades, killing five and injuring hundreds. Their slogans, chanted through loudspeakers, were: "Down with the black hands who suppressed the student movement!" "There will be no good consequences for suppressing the student movement!"

[3] At that time, there were two opposing rebel Red Guard organizations at Peking University: one was the "New Peking University Commune" led by Nie Yuanzi, and the other was the "Jinggangshan Corps" led by Niu Huilin, Hou Hanqing and Yang Keming.

[4] The leaders of the "Eastern Red Commune," a rebel Red Guard organization at the Beijing Institute of Geology, were Wang Dabin, Nie Shuren, and others.

[5] Zhou Quanying: At the time, Tsinghua University had two opposing rebel Red Guard groups. One was the "Jinggangshan Corps," led by Kuai Dafu and Bao Changkang, known as the "Tuan Faction." The other was the "April 14th" group, led by Shen Ruhuai and others, known as the "Four Factions." Zhou Quanying was a theorist of the "Four Factions" and wrote the big-character poster "The April 14th Ideology Will Win." The Tiananmen Column of the Jinggangshan Corps published the article "Whoever Dares to Deny the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Will Fight to the Death (The April 14th Ideology Will Win)" in the Tsinghua newspaper Jinggangshan.

[6] The correct full name of the "Provincial Proletarian Revolutionary Federation" is the "Grand United Committee of the Hunan Provincial Capital Proletarian Revolutionary Faction." "Provincial Proletarian Revolutionary Federation" is its abbreviation. It was only a provincial organization, not a province-wide organization. It was merely a loose collection of factions of some mass rebel organizations, a joint conference-style meeting, and had no binding force on those who joined.

[7] On September 7, 1967, with the support and participation of Kuai Dafu and Han Aijing, leaders of the "Jinggangshan Rebel Corps," the opposition to Tan Houlan at Beijing Normal University, seized the opportunity of a meeting to launch a surprise attack. They handcuffed Tan Houlan and brought her to the podium, where they denounced her and declared a seizure of power. This incident, known as the "September 7 Incident," overturned the nascent Red regime of the Beijing Normal University Revolutionary Committee. Afterward, Kuai Dafu, Han Aijing, and others were severely criticized by Mao Zedong and the Central Cultural Revolution Group and forced to apologize to Tan Houlan.

[8] Hu Wanchun (1929-1998), a native of Guo County, Zhejiang Province, dropped out of school at an early age and became a child laborer at the age of 13. At 17, he joined the Shanghai Steel Works. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he served as a member and vice chairman of the factory union, head of the Party Committee's Propaganda Department, a representative to the Third and Fourth Shanghai Municipal People's Congresses, and a director of the Chinese Writers Association and its Shanghai Branch. He began writing in 1952 and published the short story "Youth" in 1955, which depicts a new type of romantic relationship between young men and women. In 1956, he wrote the autobiographical novel "Bone and Flesh," which depicts the tragic experience of a worker's family in the old society, experiencing the destruction of their family and the separation of their loved ones. It was well received and won an honorary certificate in the international literary competition held at the 1957 World Youth Festival. He became a nationally renowned writer at the time. His works are imbued with strong class sentiments and a rich sense of life.

[9] Gao Yubao, born in 1927, was a native of Wafangdian, Liaoning Province. He attended elementary school for one month at the age of eight, worked as a child laborer at the age of nine, worked as a laborer at the age of 15, and learned carpentry at the age of 17. He joined the People's Liberation Army in 1947 and began attending school in 1954. He graduated from the Journalism Department of Renmin University of China in 1962. He served as a literary and art officer, a teacher-level creator, a director of the Liaoning Provincial Folk Literature Association, and the honorary director of the Shenyang Military Region Creative Studio. His short stories "I Want to Read" and "The Cock Crows at Midnight" were selected for elementary school Chinese textbooks. His novel, "Gao Yubao," was published by China Youth Publishing House in April 1955. It was published in seven ethnic languages in China and translated into 15 foreign languages in more than 10 countries and regions, with over

4.5 million copies published in Chinese alone. It was also adapted into 24 comic strips. Zhou Enlai named him a "warrior writer."

[10] The Tian (Heaven) faction was a prominent Red Guard organization during the Cultural Revolution. It was so-called because one of its main organizations was the "Red Flag" at the Beijing Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, led by Han Aijing, who was associated with the heavens.

[11] The Guangxi Notice, also known as the "July 3" Notice, refers to the notice issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Committee on July 3, 1968. The notice stated that over the past two months, a series of counter-revolutionary incidents had occurred in Liuzhou, Gualin, and Nanning, Guangxi. The Central Committee believed that these were counter-revolutionary crimes committed by a small group of class enemies to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle to resist the US and aid Vietnam, and the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." To swiftly put a stop to these incidents, the Central Committee called on the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses in Guangxi, under the leadership of the Guangxi Revolutionary Preparatory Group, to strive to achieve the following: 1. Immediately cease armed fighting, dismantle fortifications, and evacuate strongholds, starting with those along the railway lines. 2. Unconditionally and swiftly restore rail transportation along the entire Liuzhou Railway Bureau line, ceasing all interference and collusion to ensure smooth transportation. 3. Unconditionally return the aid supplies seized to Vietnam. 4. Unconditionally return the weapons and equipment seized by the People's Liberation Army. 5. All non-local personnel and youth who have migrated back to the cities from rural areas or the mountains should immediately return to their respective regions and units. 6. Active counter-revolutionaries found guilty of murder, arson, sabotage of transportation, prison attacks, theft of state secrets, or illegal radio stations must be punished according to law.

[12] The Shaanxi Proclamation, also known as the "July 24th Proclamation," refers to the July 24, 1968, announcement issued by the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group. It primarily called for a strict halt to the increasingly widespread disruption of transportation, looting of military trains, attacks on PLA headquarters, the killing and injuring of PLA officers and soldiers, and large-scale armed conflict.

[13] The Earth Faction, a prominent Red Guard organization during the Cultural Revolution, was the antithesis of the Heaven Faction. The term "Earth Faction" was derived from the faction's name, "Eastern Red," which was affiliated with the Beijing Institute of Geology. The phrase "Earth" (地) was used to describe the two opposing factions in Beijing. The phrases "Heaven Faction" and "Earth Faction" were both evocative and popular, quickly gaining popularity. Among the "Five Great Leaders," Nie Yuanzi (female), Ju Dafu, and Han Aipin

belonged to the Heaven Faction, while Tan Houlan (female) and Wang Dabin belonged to the Earth Faction.

[14] Yang, Yu, and Fu. Yang refers to Yang Chengwu, formerly a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China and Deputy Secretary-General, Deputy Head of the Cultural Revolution Group of the PLA, and Acting Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army. Yu refers to Yu Lijin, formerly Political Commissar of the People's Liberation Army Air Force. Fu refers to Fu Chongbi, formerly Commander of the Beijing Garrison of the People's Liberation Army.

[15] Zheng Weishan was the commander of the Beijing Military Region at the time.

[16] Wang, Guan, and Qi refer to Wang Li, Guan Feng, and Qi Benyu. After 1966, Wang Li, Guan Feng, and Qi Benyu successively became deputy editors-in-chief of Red Flag and members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group. Wang Li was appointed head of the Central Propaganda Group, Guan Feng became deputy director of the General Political Department and deputy head of the Military Commission's Cultural Revolution Group, and was entrusted by Lin Biao to oversee the People's Liberation Army Daily. Qi Benyu was deputy director of the Secretariat of the General Office of the Central Committee and acting director of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee.

[17] Zhu Chengzhao, an early leader of the "Dongfanghong (East is Red) Commune" at the Beijing Institute of Geology, and his girlfriend, Ye Xiangzhen, daughter of Ye Jianying, organized the arrest and denunciation of Peng Zhen from his home in December 1966, and the arrest of Peng Dehuai from Chengdu to Beijing. In early 1967, Zhu Chengzhao's father, then a deputy director, was also labelled a gangster in Shanghai. Zhu Chengzhao's ideology began to be pro-monarchy, opposing the Central Committee's Cultural Revolution and the Great Cultural Revolution. On February 4th, he publicly attacked the Central Committee's Cultural Revolution, and Wang Dabin took over as the head of the "Dongfanghong Commune." In July 1967, Zhu Chengzhao and Ye Xiangzhen were attempting to illegally cross to Hong Kong when they were recaptured by Zhou Enlai's men. On August 20th, Zhu Chengzhao and Ye Xiangzhen were formally arrested by the Ministry of Public Security on charges of organizing a "counter-revolutionary group."

[18] The rescue of Liu Shaoqi refers to the critically ill Liu Shaoqi in mid-July 1968. After more than 10 days of emergency treatment, he was out of danger. The four doctors were Tao Huanle, Huang Wan, Dong Changcheng, and Gu Yingqi, and the two nurses were Li Liuzhuang and Ma Xiaoxian.

Comments on a request from the International Liaison Department [I]

(July 1968)

A few words have been deleted.

[1] The Mao Zedong Thought Study Group of Malaysian revolutionaries requested the public publication in China of the article "Adhering to Mao Zedong Thought Is the Path to Victory for the Malaysian People's Revolution." The International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China submitted a request for instructions to the Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Committee on July 2, 1968, stating that "it is inconvenient for us to publish it." The report twice mentioned the line differences within the Malayan Communist Party, expressing the hope that these differences could be resolved within the Party "on the basis of the principles of Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought." Upon reviewing the report, Mao Zedong deleted the reference to "Mao Zedong Thought" in both instances and wrote this comment.

Comments on the PLA Daily's "Propaganda Points for August, September, and October"

(August 5, 1968)

After Comrade Lin Biao read it, he sent it to the responsible comrades of the People's Daily for review. It was then returned to the PLA Daily editorial team. This document [1] can be implemented on a trial basis, and lessons learned, errors corrected, and plans revised at any time. The People's Daily should also try to formulate a plan. To have a decent plan, it is necessary to solicit the opinions of a number of basic readers.

Mao Zedong

August 5, 9:00 p.m.

[1] This refers to the "Main Propaganda Points for August, September, and October," submitted to Mao Zedong for questioning by the PLA Newspaper's temporary editorial team on August 5, 1968. The seven main points were: 1. Emphasize propaganda on the army's assistance to the consolidation and development of the Revolutionary Committee; 2. Vigorously publicize the active study and application of Mao Zedong Thought throughout the army, and strengthen education on the two-line struggle; 3. Thoroughly publicize the great victories of Chairman Mao's literary and artistic thought and literary and artistic line; 4. Publicize the favourable domestic and international situation; 5. Strengthen propaganda on the great criticism of the revolution; 6. Closely integrate the current class struggle situation with Chairman Mao's strategic deployment, publicize the second anniversary of the publication of the "Bombard the Headquarters" poster, the Sixteen Articles, the Communiqué of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, and the tenth anniversary of the inscription on the establishment of the militia divisions; 7. Strengthen public opinion and write good editorials and other articles. Along with these propaganda points, submitted to Mao Zedong was the "Brief Report on the Symposium to Solicit Opinions on the Newspaper's Propaganda Points for August, September, and October," dated August 1, by the newspaper's temporary editorial team. The briefing stated that we recently invited 14 comrades from 10 units to the newspaper office for a discussion to solicit their opinions on the newspaper's recent propaganda priorities. We will hold such meetings every three months to further enhance the performance of the PLA Daily.

Comments on the Beijing Municipal Government's Arrangements for Further Propaganda and Implementation of Mao Zedong's Latest Instructions [1] and the Central Committee's Two Announcements [2]

(August 5, 1968)

- (1) I fully agree.
- (2) Zheng Weishan [3] should join the leadership group
- (3) The leadership group should hold regular meetings to summarize experiences and correct mistakes.

Mao Zedong,

August 5, 1968, 10:00 PM

[1] Mao Zedong's latest directive refers to the key points of his conversation on July 28, 1968, with Nie Yuanzi of Peking University, Kuai Dafu of Tsinghua University, Tan Houlan of Beijing Normal University, Han Aijing of Beijing Institute of Aeronautics, and Wang Dabin of Beijing Institute of Geology regarding stopping armed conflict. Mao Zedong said: "Today I have called you here to discuss stopping armed conflict in universities. The Cultural Revolution has been going on for two years, and you are now: first, not fighting; second, not criticizing; and third, not reforming." Fighting is fighting, and a few of your colleges and universities are engaging in armed conflict. The workers, peasants, soldiers, and residents are unhappy. The majority of students are unhappy, and even some who support your faction are unhappy. You have alienated yourself from the majority of workers, peasants, soldiers, and students. Some schools have engaged in struggles against gangs, but they are far from enough, precisely because they have split into two factions and are preoccupied with armed conflict. There are so many free-spirited people now, and instead of engaging in struggle-criticism-reform, you're promoting struggle-criticism-to-leave and struggle-criticism-to-disband. I said universities must continue. We've talked about science and engineering, but not liberal arts. But the old system and methods are no longer effective. The school system must be shortened, and education must be revolutionized. We still need cultural struggle, not armed struggle. I said you're divorced from the masses; the masses simply don't want civil war. Some people say, "The Guangxi proclamation only applies to Guangxi, and the Shaanxi proclamation only applies to Shaanxi; it doesn't apply here." So, let's issue a national proclamation. Anyone who continues to violate these proclamations, attacking the People's Liberation Army, disrupting traffic, killing people, or setting fires, will be punished. I hope you won't divide into heavenly and earthly factions. Just be one faction. Why create two? The two central proclamations refer to the July 3, 1968, proclamation

issued by the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group (the Guangxi proclamation) and the July 24, 1968, proclamation issued by the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group.

[2] This comment was written on a report submitted to Mao Zedong and others by the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the Beijing Garrison of the Chinese People's Liberation Army on August 4, 1968. Zhou Enlai revised the report. The revised report pointed out that Beijing and the troops stationed in the capital should learn from the experience of Guangxi. In promoting Chairman Mao's latest directive on July 28 and the two central government notices, the army should not only create momentum and public opinion, but more importantly, conduct painstaking and meticulous ideological work among students and the masses. Based on Chairman Mao's instructions and drawing on the experience of Guangxi and other places, we have proposed the following arrangements for the next step: First, the Beijing Garrison and the Beijing Garrison have organized propaganda teams of tens of thousands to 100,000 people to go deep into universities, factories, streets, and rural areas, mobilizing the masses to publicize and implement Chairman Mao's latest directives and the two central government notices. Second, propaganda work should be integrated across a wide range of areas, with a focus on universities and several factories, government agencies, and guesthouses with numerous problems and significant impacts. Third, we should establish exemplary models. Fourth, mobilize the three armed forces to adopt appropriate means to vigorously support the Workers' and Peasants' Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team. Fifth, the Municipal Draft Committee and the Garrison Command jointly form a leading group to strengthen leadership. Sixth, this mass movement should be integrated with public security efforts in preparation for National Day to ensure the continued security of the capital and revolutionary order.

[3] Zheng Weishan was then the deputy director of the Beijing Revolutionary Committee and deputy commander of the Beijing Military Region of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

A Remark on the Working Class as the Leading Class

(1968)

Our country has a population of 700 million, and the working class is the leading class. We must give full play to the leading role of the working class in the Cultural Revolution and in all other work. The working class should also continuously raise its political consciousness in the struggle [1].

[1] On August 15, 1968, the People's Daily and the Liberation Army Daily published an editorial titled "Warmly Cheer for the Establishment of the Yunnan Provincial Revolutionary Committee," which quoted Mao Zedong's words in boldface. The editorial also stated: "Chairman Mao's latest instruction is extremely important and has great significance for us in completing the various tasks we face." On August 14, when Chen Boda, head of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Yao Wenyuan, a member of the group, submitted the draft editorial to Mao Zedong for review, they noted next to Mao's words: "This quotation appears in print for the first time." During his review, Mao made some minor revisions to the text and wrote: "Publish as is."

Comments on the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee's Report on Solving "Long-Term Problems" in Work Units

(August 16, 1968)

This material [1] is very specific and persuasive. I recommend that it be circulated to all localities.

Mao Zedong

August 16

[1] This refers to the report submitted by the Shanghai Municipal Draft Committee to Mao Zedong and others on August 14, 1968, regarding the implementation of the two proclamations and the resolution of the problems of over 400 "difficult-to-solve" units. The report stated that in the practice of publicizing, studying, implementing, and carrying out the July 3rd and July 24th proclamations personally approved by Chairman Mao, confiscating weapons, and resolving the problems of "difficult-to-solve" units, we have gained the following insights: 1. To resolve the problems of "difficult-to-solve" units, we must use Chairman Mao's latest instructions as a weapon and conduct in-depth and meticulous ideological work among the masses. 2. The key to resolving the problems of "difficult-to-solve" units lies in mobilizing and relying on the masses, allowing them to rise up and lead. 3. The revolutionary committees of "difficult-to-solve" units must adopt an active and cautious attitude and handle them appropriately. 4. We must pay attention to promoting the advanced elements within "difficult-to-solve" units and encourage them to change their backwardness. On August 18, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution Group forwarded this report.

Comments and Revisions on the Editorial Draft "Unite to Fight the Enemy Together" in the People's Daily and the Liberation Army Daily [I]

(August 20, 1968)

1

Publish as is.

2

Under the leadership of the Revolutionary Committee, Mao Zedong Thought propaganda teams, composed primarily of workers and with PLA officers and soldiers participating, systematically entered schools *and other units where struggle, criticism, and transformation had not yet been properly implemented*. This promoted the great unity of the revolution, the purifying of the class ranks, and the educational revolution. *The earnest implementation of struggle, criticism, and transformation* was a revolutionary initiative based on Chairman Mao's great strategic deployment.

[1] This editorial, originally titled "Unite to Face the Enemy," was written to celebrate the establishment of the Fujian Provincial Revolutionary Committee. It was revised during Mao Zedong's review to "Unite to Face the Enemy Together." Part I of this article is a comment on a draft submitted for review on August 20, 1968, by Chen Boda, head of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Yao Wenyan, a member of the group. Part II of this article is a revision of a passage in the draft, with text added by Mao Zedong in italics. This editorial was published on August 21.

Comments on the Telegraph Report "Reasons for the Formation of Two Leadership Teams at Beijing Erqi¹⁸ Locomotive Works"

(August 25, 1968)

1

Comrades Kang Sheng and Wen Yuan [1]:

Please study material [2] from the Erqi Factory. Add this to the materials from other factories in Beijing and see if you can compile a document on Party rectification to urge implementation in all localities.

Mao Zedong

August 25

2

The main reason for the failure seems to be the failure to attract outstanding rebel elements to join the party organization and the excessive number of original members in the branch [3].

3

Since there are too few Party members in the workshop revolutionary committee to play a core role, yet the Party branch is required to strengthen its leadership, isn't that a contradiction [4]?

[1] Kang Sheng was then a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and an advisor to the Central Cultural Revolution Group. Wen Yuan, also known as Yao Wen Yuan, was a member of the Central Cultural Revolution Group.

[2] This refers to a Xinhua News Agency report titled "Reasons for the Formation of Two Leadership Teams at the Beijing Erqi Locomotive Works," published in the 1383rd issue of

¹⁸ The date is significant as the name of a locomotive factory and refers to the massive railway workers' strike which occurred along the railway line from Beijing to Hanzhou in February 1923. At 9 a.m. on February 4 railway workers went on strike, and over the next several days every major city along the line was convulsed by strike action. On February 7, Wu Peifu mobilized more than 20,000 military and police officers, and with the cooperation of the director of the Beijing-Hanzhou Railway Bureau, suppressed striking workers in Hankou, Zhengzhou, Changxindian and other places along the Beijing-Hanzhou Railway, resulting in 52 deaths, more than 300 injuries, more than 40 arrests, and more than 1,000 railway workers being fired. The deceased included Lin Xiangqian, a Communist Party member who led the strike. When he was ordered to call the strike off, he said: "Without the order of the Federation of Trade Unions, work cannot be resumed." After being asked and answering three times, the head of his captors ordered the executioner to slash several times and behead Lin Xiangqian.

the Xinhua News Agency's internal reference special issue, "Cultural Revolution Trends," published on August 24, 1968. This report states that the Beijing Erqi Locomotive Works currently has two factory revolutionary committees and two leadership teams. One is the old revolutionary committee established last October and the revolutionary committees of each workshop, supported by members of the former "Red Creation League." The other is the new draft committee, re-established on June 20 of this year, and the Party branches of each workshop, supported by the "proletarian revolutionary faction," composed of the majority of Party and League members. Due to the deepening divisions within the factory, both revolutionary committees are now paralyzed.

[3] The Xinhua News Agency report stated that, according to the "Red Corps," the Erqi Locomotive Factory hastily restored its Party organization during the Party rectification process, without fully engaging in mass criticism, absorbing the opinions of the masses, or recruiting rebels. Over 60% of the cadres in the restored Party branch were the same personnel from before the Cultural Revolution. The "proletarian revolutionaries" argued that the Erqi Factory's Party rectification and Party building process did not commit any errors in direction or line, but rather that the Party branch committee was elected without involving the masses. Mao Zedong underlined these two paragraphs and wrote this comment.

[4] The Xinhua News Agency report stated that the Military Control Commission of the Erqi Locomotive Factory believed that "there were too few Party members in the Revolutionary Committees of each workshop to play a core role, so the Party branches had to be allowed to strengthen leadership, resulting in the formation of two centres." Mao Zedong underlined this passage and wrote this comment.

Comments and Revisions on the Draft Notice on Sending Workers' Propaganda Teams to Schools [1]

(August 25, 1968)

1

Publish as is.

2

The number of workers drafted should generally be around one-tenth of the local industrial workforce, *or even less, so as not to hinder production*. They can be rotated. Propaganda teams should not be armed, and workers from factories that have not yet achieved the Great Revolutionary Alliance *and the Three-in-One Combination*, or those that have not yet cleansed their class ranks, should not participate.

[1] On August 25, 1968, Zhou Enlai and others wrote a report to Mao Zedong and others, stating: "Comrade Yao Wen Yuan, following the Chairman's instructions, drafted this notice and made some revisions at the Central Cultural Revolution meeting." "Please approve it, Chairman." This first paragraph appears in the report Zhou Enlai and others submitted. This second paragraph is a revision of a paragraph in the draft notice submitted by Zhou Enlai and others for review by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group regarding the dispatch of workers' propaganda teams to schools. The text, printed in Song typeface, contains additional text by Mao Zedong. The draft notice submitted by Zhou Enlai and others stated that the Beijing Workers' Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Teams, stationed in universities in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, had achieved remarkable results and had a huge impact nationwide. The Central Committee believed that the time had come to rectify education. All regions should follow Beijing's example and gradually take control of universities, middle schools, and primary schools in large and medium-sized cities. In large and medium-sized cities where revolutionary committees have been established, where a great revolutionary alliance has been established among workers, and where the work of purging the class ranks has achieved remarkable results, Mao Zedong Thought propaganda teams, primarily composed of outstanding industrial workers and in collaboration with members of the People's Liberation Army, should be formed under the leadership of the revolutionary committees. These teams will be sent to schools in batches and phases. Pilot programs should be implemented first, experiences summarized, and then gradually universalized. Universities should be advanced, followed by middle and primary schools. Schools without factional organizations or armed conflict should also be visited. Before and after entering schools, members should earnestly study and correctly grasp

Chairman Mao's policies. Chairman Mao's latest directives and the July 3rd and July 24th Announcements should be widely and thoroughly publicized. Careful ideological work should be conducted to help promote the two revolutionary mass organizations in those areas where a great revolutionary unity has not yet been achieved, and to achieve a great revolutionary unity based on Mao Zedong Thought. Where armed conflict occurs, it should be resolutely stopped. Investigations and research should be conducted regarding both factional organizations, and positions should not be hastily or rashly expressed. Once Mao Zedong Thought propaganda teams enter schools, they should be adept at identifying and uniting active individuals among students, teachers, and workers who are determined to carry the proletarian educational revolution through to the end, working together to advance the educational revolution. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Communist Party of China, and the Central Cultural Revolution Committee issued this notice that day.

In preparation for the publication of the investigative report ‘Shanghai Workers and Technical Personnel Grow Through Struggle’ [1], the editor of the magazine Red Flag wrote the following editorial note

(31 August 1968)

1

This document is an investigative report submitted by the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee on 29 August to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution Group. It is now published in this journal. We request that the revolutionary committees of major, medium-sized, and small industrial cities across the country pay attention to this matter, conduct investigations into the situation of engineering and technical personnel in your areas, and submit the results to the Central Committee in a timely manner. We will select and publish the key points. Fundamentally speaking, the path of selecting engineering and technical personnel and other ideological workers (professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers, artists, and Marxist theorists) from among workers, peasants, soldiers, and their descendants has already been determined. At the same time, the Party, the working class, the poor peasants, and the People's Liberation Army have a responsibility to enthusiastically and seriously assist some of the graduates and current students of higher education institutions who still do not understand or have not yet decided to combine with workers, farmers, and soldiers and serve them, gradually changing their mindset. Those who have already united or are willing to unite should be encouraged, and their inspiring stories and the process of change should also be investigated and summarised for publication. The stubborn capitalists or others who are considered bad by the broad masses are only a small minority of our population. For such people, we must also start with education in order to transform them despite their stubbornness and make them better despite their badness. In summary, a path forward must be provided. Policies that do not offer a path forward are not the policies of the proletariat. These are the consistent traditional policies our Party has upheld for a long time, and they should be clearly explained to everyone. The Cultural Revolution is a serious class struggle and also a great educational movement.

Red Flag Magazine Editorial Board

September 1968

2

One draft article and commentary to be published, sent to Lin, Zhou [2], and all comrades involved in the Cultural Revolution for review, returned to comrade Yao Wenyan [3] for processing.

3

Comrades Lin, Zhou, and others involved in the Cultural Revolution: Please read this document and submit it to the Prime Minister for discussion at the meeting for revision. It is recommended that it be published in the third issue of Red Flag.

Mao Zedong

31 August

[1] This refers to the investigative report titled 'The Growth of Shanghai Workers and Technical Personnel in Struggle,' submitted for review on 29 August 1968 by Zhang Chunqiao, Deputy Head of the Central Committee's Cultural Revolution Group and Director of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. This investigative report states that recently, we investigated the situation of workers and technical personnel on the industrial front in Shanghai and found that a large number of workers and technical personnel are distributed across large, medium, and small factories in Shanghai. Among the numerous small factories, workers and technical personnel account for 80% of the total number of technical personnel in their respective units. They, along with the vast majority of workers, are the main force in the development of science and technology. This powerful workforce of workers and technical personnel will be an important force in the proletarian educational revolution and the primary source of faculty for science and engineering universities. To carry out an educational revolution, schools must transform the existing faculty. The workforce of technical personnel in Shanghai possesses a high level of proletarian political consciousness, extensive experience in the three great revolutionary movements, and an understanding of how to cultivate successors for the proletarian revolutionary cause. Therefore, it is entirely possible to select a group of outstanding people from among them to serve as university teachers. Among the workers' propaganda teams that have recently entered universities, there are a group of workers and technicians. It is certain that with the deepening of struggle, criticism, and reform in schools, the leading role of the working class in the educational revolution will become increasingly prominent. When Mao Zedong reviewed the report, he deleted the word "unprecedented" from the sentence "Chairman Mao personally launched and led the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution"; he deleted the three words "in human history" from the sentence "the workers and technicians who led the scientific and technological work prepared the conditions for our country to carry out a new industrial revolution in human history".

[2] Lin, referring to Lin Biao, was re-elected as a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee at the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee and was soon appointed Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee. Zhou, referring to Zhou Enlai.

[3] Yao Wen Yuan, then a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's Cultural Revolution Group and deputy director of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee.

Comments and Revisions on the People's Daily Editorial Draft "Resolutely Embark on the Path of Integration with Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers" [1]

(August 1968)

1

Publish as is.

Each has its own changes [2].

2

In the July 22nd edition of this newspaper's editorial note, article [3], it said: "We advise those university students who despise the workers and peasants and think they are so great to put down their arrogance." Is that wrong? Absolutely right. It refers to the small number of university students who "despise the workers and peasants" and yet are arrogant, not the majority of university students who value the workers and peasants and are willing to learn from them. Shouldn't *this extremely wrong attitude* of despising the workers and peasants and yet thinking oneself so great be *completely corrected*?

[1] This editorial, written to commemorate the second anniversary of Mao Zedong's first review of the Red Guards, was submitted to Mao Zedong for review by Chen Boda, head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group of the Communist Party of China, and Yao Wen Yuan, a member of the group, on August 16, 1968. It was published in the People's Daily on August 18.

[2] This refers to the second part of this item. The text printed in italics contains text that Mao Zedong added and revised. Furthermore, he changed the phrase "inciting workers, peasants, and students to fight against each other" to "inciting the masses to fight against each other."

[3] This refers to the editorial note added by the People's Daily on July 22, 1968, to the investigative report "On the Path of Training Engineering and Technical Personnel from the Perspective of the Shanghai Machine Tool Factory."

Comments and revisions on Yao Wen Yuan's article 'The Working Class Must Lead Everything' [1]

(August 1968)

1

It should be decided that Hongqi will be a bi-monthly publication, published on schedule, with you writing one commentary per issue. This article will be signed by you, first published in Hongqi, then reprinted by various newspapers and broadcast on Radio [2]. Please read it aloud at the meeting to solicit opinions.

Mao Zedong

8 p.m. on the 22nd of August

2

Don't say 'unprecedented' in the future. The greatest cultural revolutions in history were the invention of fire, the invention of the steam engine, and the establishment of Marxism-Leninism, not our revolution. [3]

3

That's pretty much it.

4

Except for the two paragraphs I have written myself, the rest does not need to be edited. [4]

5

Send as is.

6

A great upsurge of struggle, criticism, transformation is about to unfold. The recent instructions issued by Chairman Mao signal the arrival of this upsurge, as the vast army of industrial workers, under leadership and in an orderly manner, advances into schools and other units where struggle, criticism, and reform have not yet been properly carried out. This upsurge emerges after a series of tasks, including the establishment of revolutionary committees in provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, large-scale criticism, the rectification of class, and other tasks. It will bring about profound changes in all fields, fiercely challenge all superstructures that are incompatible with the socialist economic base, *educate the masses, crush the reactionary forces in the dark corners*, and lead to the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, greatly promoting the development of social productive forces.

Since the mid-19th century, when Marxism began to take shape, the slogan of replacing bourgeois dictatorship with proletarian dictatorship has been put forward. Today, it has been 120 years since then. Only imperialism, the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, and their agents—both old and new revisionists—oppose this thoroughly revolutionary slogan. The Chinese Communist Party has adopted this slogan as its basic programme. To realise this slogan, it is necessary to unite the broad masses outside the working class, primarily the peasant masses, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the intellectuals who can be transformed, and to lead them forward.

The entire process of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was carried out *solely* under the leadership of the working class. Our Party is the vanguard of the proletariat.

This 'independent kingdom' [5] has been completely destroyed by the storm of revolution. The historical lessons of its class struggle should be remembered by all revolutionaries. *Citizens of all the large and small independent kingdoms across the country that are controlled by bourgeois elements should also study this lesson.*

The entry of the Workers' Propaganda Team into the educational arena is a momentous event. Since ancient times, schools have been monopolised by the exploiting classes and their children. *After liberation, the situation improved somewhat, but schools were still largely monopolised by bourgeois intellectuals. Some of the students who graduated from these schools, some students, for various reasons (these reasons are likely: either the individual is more well-rounded, or the teachers are more competent, or they are influenced by family, relatives, or friends, but primarily by societal influences), can integrate with the workers, peasants, and soldiers and serve them, while others cannot. Within the dictatorship of the proletariat, there exists a serious phenomenon of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat competing for leadership.* During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards rose up to oppose a small group of capitalists within the Party, and the reactionary forces of the bourgeoisie in schools were *temporarily* dealt a heavy blow. *However, soon afterwards, some people began to engage in secret activities, inciting the masses against the masses, undermining the Cultural Revolution, disrupting the struggle, criticism, and reform campaigns, sabotaging the great unity and revolutionary three-in-one alliance, and obstructing the work of purging the class ranks and rectifying the Party. This situation aroused widespread dissatisfaction among the masses.* The current reality tells us: under such circumstances, relying solely on students and intellectuals cannot accomplish the tasks of struggle, criticism, and transformation on the educational front, *nor can it carry out the*

series of tasks required. It is essential to have the participation of workers and the People's Liberation Army, and it is imperative to have the strong leadership of the working class.

11

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "To achieve the proletarian educational revolution, it is essential to have the leadership of the working class, the participation of the working masses, and the cooperation of People's Liberation Army soldiers. This should be combined with the revolutionary tripartite alliance of active members among students, teachers, and workers in schools who are determined to carry the proletarian educational revolution through to the end. Worker propaganda teams must remain in schools on a long-term basis, participate in all struggle, criticism, and transformation tasks within schools, and permanently lead the schools. In rural areas, schools should be managed by the most reliable allies of the working class—the poor and lower-middle peasants."

Chairman Mao's instructions pointed out the direction and path of the educational revolution in schools and were a sharp weapon for completely destroying the bourgeois educational system. The broad masses of young students should warmly welcome the working class's occupation of the school front, participate in struggle, criticism, transformation, *and forever lead the schools.*

12

All genuine proletarian revolutionaries, *rather than those who merely pay lip service to the cause,* regard the working class as 'their own people,' as the most advanced and most conscious segment of the masses. The 'three-in-one' combination of workers, peasants, and revolutionary activists in schools is the most reliable guarantee of the masses' self-liberation. Those who regard workers as an alien force outside of 'themselves' are either deluded or are themselves class enemies of the working class, and the working class has every reason to overthrow their rule. *Some intellectuals who proclaim themselves to be 'proletarian revolutionaries' oppose the working class whenever it threatens their petty 'independent kingdom.'* There are still quite a few of these hypocrites in China. *These are the people who despise the workers and peasants, love to show off, and think highly of themselves, but in reality, they are nothing more than a modern version of hypocrites. Wherever intellectuals gather in large numbers, whether in schools or other institutions, workers and the People's Liberation Army should be sent in to break the intellectuals' monopoly, to occupy those large and small 'independent kingdoms,' and to occupy the places where those who advocate the 'many centres mean no centre' theory have taken root. In this way, the unhealthy atmosphere, style, and ideas among the bloated intellectuals can be changed, and they may also be transformed and liberated.*

13

In this process [6], the working class itself will undergo profound class struggle training, and a group of outstanding worker cadres will emerge to fill various positions in state organs and at all levels of the Revolutionary Committee, *not just managing schools*.

14

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: 'Establishing the three-in-one revolutionary committees, conducting the Great Criticism Campaign, purging the ranks of the class enemy, rectifying the Party, streamlining institutions, reforming unreasonable regulations and systems, delegating departmental personnel, and carrying out the struggle, criticism, and reform in factories—these are the main stages we have gone through.'

Chairman Mao's remarks summarise the development of the mass movement during the struggle, criticism, and transformation phase, and clearly outline the path for us to complete the tasks of struggle, criticism, and reform in factories and enterprises.

The first task is to establish a revolutionary committee combining the three elements, ensuring that the leadership of factories and enterprises is truly in the hands of the proletariat. This is often carried out in conjunction with the tasks of large-scale criticism and the general rectification of the class ranks.

15

The great criticism and cleansing of the class ranks created the best conditions for the rectification of the Party. After the rigorous test of class struggle in politics, ideology and organization, the political consciousness of the majority of Party members has been greatly improved, the relationship with the masses has been greatly improved, the very few bad people in the Party have been eliminated, the political and organizational conditions of the Party members have been basically clarified, *and a group of active elements who emerged in the movement have been absorbed into the Party organization, so that the Party has added fresh blood* and gradually formed a leadership core that firmly implements Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In this way, we can rectify the Party organization and achieve the great goal of rectification pointed out by Chairman Mao: "The Party organization should be composed of advanced elements of the proletariat and should be a vigorous vanguard organization that can lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses to fight against class enemies." [7]

The movement in industrial and mining enterprises is like this, as is the movement in cultural and educational undertakings, and the movement in party and government agencies is also largely the same.

[1] This article, Sections 1 and 2, are comments on the draft submitted for review by Yao Wen Yuan, a member of the Central Committee's Cultural Revolution Group, on 22 August 1968. Parts 3 and 4 are comments on Yao Wen Yuan's draft submitted for review on 23

August; Part 5 is comments on Yao Wenyan's draft submitted for review on 24 August; Parts 6 to 15 are revisions to these three drafts submitted for review, with Mao Zedong's additions and revisions printed in italics.

[2] Yao Wenyan submitted this article to Mao Zedong for review on 22 August 1968. The two excerpts from Mao Zedong's speeches compiled in the article were further revised by Mao Zedong during the review process, specifically the text enclosed in quotation marks in sections 11 and 14 of this article. When the article was submitted for review, the original title was "Under the Leadership of the Working Class, Seriously Carry Out Struggle, Criticism, and Transformation." Mao Zedong changed it to "The Working Class Must Lead Everything" during his review and added Yao Wenyan's byline. The article was published in the second issue of the Red Flag magazine on 25 August 1968.

[3] In his manuscript submitted for review on 22 August 1968, Yao Wenyan said, "It is under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao that we can launch such an unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution involving hundreds of millions of revolutionary masses." When Mao Zedong reviewed the manuscript, he deleted the word "unprecedented" and wrote this comment.

[4] Yao Wenyan wrote on the manuscript submitted for review on 23 August 1968: "This is the manuscript prepared for reading at the meeting. The paragraphs you added are in bold so that comrades can understand and learn from them. If you think any parts should not be used directly when published, please indicate so." Mao Zedong drew a line under the words "not used directly" and wrote this comment. The two paragraphs referred to in the comment are the two quotations in sections 11 and 14 of this article.

[5] Refers to the so-called "Pai Li Kingdom" of the "Old Beijing Municipal Committee" mentioned above.

[6] This refers to the process mentioned above of "workers' propaganda teams going to primary and secondary schools in a step-by-step and planned manner to promote struggle, criticism and transformation there."

[7] Text in quotation marks was printed in bold type when published.

Comments on the Editorial Board Article "Carrying the Great Revolution on the News Front Through to the End" by Two Newspapers and One Magazine [1]

(August 1968)

This article is acceptable. However, the two sections starting on page 13 are rather dull, with too much empty talk and too little new ideas. They should be revised and edited. They should also address current political struggles.

[1] This article, submitted by Yao Wenyuan, a member of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, to the editorial offices of People's Daily, Red Flag, and Liberation Army Daily for review on August 18, 1968, consisted of five sections. During his review, Mao Zedong deleted the following passage from the fourth section: "Mao Zedong Thought is the third milestone in the development of Marxism-Leninism and a universal truth. The widespread dissemination of Mao Zedong Thought worldwide has profound historical significance for the international communist movement and for the entire world revolution. Vigorously promoting Mao Zedong Thought and spreading Chairman Mao's great voice throughout the world through various media outlets is our greatest support to the fighting proletariat and oppressed peoples and nations of all countries." The article was published in the second issue of Red Flag on August 25, 1968, and in the People's Daily and Liberation Army Daily on September 1. The "two sections starting on page 13" mentioned in Mao Zedong's comments refer to sections 4 and 5 of the article, which underwent some deletions and revisions before publication.

Comments on the Deployment of Workers to Accompany Military Control Personnel into Military Academies [1]

(August 1968)

If conditions are ripe, workers should be sent to all military academies to accompany military control personnel. This will break the monopoly of intellectuals.

[1] This comment appeared on a report from the Central Military Commission's Working Group on August 20, 1968, recommending the imposition of military control on some military academies. The report recommended the imposition of military control on 53 military academies that "had not yet established revolutionary committees, had not implemented a grand revolutionary unity, had been engaged in a long-term 'civil war,' and had numerous serious problems." In addition to sending leading cadres and general cadres to participate in the military control, a group of active students of Chairman Mao's works and selected "Five Good" soldiers would be drawn from the military to form a strong Mao Zedong Thought propaganda team to enter the academies. On September 2, 1968, the Central Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group issued the "Notice on the Entry of Workers into Military Academies and the Implementation of Military Control in Military Academies That Have Not Yet Been Unified," quoting Mao Zedong's comment.

Comments and Revisions to the Investigation Report "The Rural Education Revolution Must Rely on Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants" [1]

(August 1968)

1

Implement this.

2

The educational revolution in the schools of Shuiyuan Commune in Yingkou County, Liaoning Province, was quite successful. Their most important experience was the integration of revolutionary teachers and students with the poor and lower-middle peasants, relying closely on them to launch a mass movement for educational revolution. *This movement was managed primarily by the poor and lower-middle peasants, in conjunction with the teachers and students.*

[1] This investigative report by the People's Daily criticism group was published in the 593rd issue of "A Compilation of Situations During the Cultural Revolution," compiled by the People's Daily Editorial Office on August 24, 1968. On August 31, Yao Wenyuan, a member of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, submitted this report to Mao Zedong, saying, "I think this report is good. It contains some very valuable experiences, especially in the areas of empowering poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionizing the education system. Could you please publish it in the next issue of Red Flag and add a comment?" Upon reviewing it, Mao Zedong changed the subtitle of the report to "Record of the Experience of the Shuiyuan Commune in Yingkou County in Carrying out the Educational Revolution" and wrote a comment which is Part I. Part II is a revision of the report, with Mao's additional text printed in italics. The article was published in the third issue of Red Flag on September 10, 1968, and in the People's Daily on September 16, 1968, under the name "Investigator of the People's Daily and Red Flag."

Telegram from Mao Zedong and others congratulating the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on its 23rd anniversary of independence

(September 1, 1968)

Hanoi Comrade Ho Chi Minh, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Vietnam and President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Comrade Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Comrade Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam:

On the 23rd anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China, and the Government of the People's Republic of China, we extend our warmest congratulations to the Vietnamese people, the Workers' Party of Vietnam, and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The heroic Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Vietnam headed by President Ho Chi Minh, achieved a great victory in the War of Resistance Against U.S. Aggression and National Salvation. This was the result of the Vietnamese people's fearless sacrifice, arduous struggle, and persistence in the people's war, waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the aggressive U.S. imperialism. The victory of the Vietnamese people in the War of Resistance Against U.S. Aggression and National Salvation has contributed to the struggle of peoples around the world against U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism's ambition to occupy South Vietnam and divide the Vietnamese nation remains unwavering. To achieve this goal, it is simultaneously expanding its aggression against Vietnam and engaging in a massive peace negotiation scheme. The Soviet modern revisionist leadership is collaborating in this effort, striving to abort the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against the U.S. and national salvation. The Soviet modern revisionist leadership has long been the number one accomplice of U.S. imperialism in its aggression against Vietnam.

However, even the combined might of US imperialism and Soviet revisionism cannot save the American invaders from inevitable defeat in Vietnam. Their arrogant attempt to collude with each other to redivide the world is meeting with increasingly fierce resistance from the people of all countries. The more US imperialism and Soviet revisionism collude, the more clearly the people of the world see that they are of the same ilk.

The situation in the Vietnamese people's war against the US and for national salvation is excellent. Although we will encounter various difficulties and twists and turns on the road ahead, we firmly believe that the 31 million Vietnamese people, long-tested by war, will

achieve final victory in the war against the US and for national salvation as long as they carry forward their thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit and persevere in the protracted struggle.

The 700 million Chinese people will, as always, firmly support the Vietnamese people in their war to resist the United States and save their nation.

Long live the fighting friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples!

Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Lin Biao, Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Zhou Enlai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Beijing,

September 1, 1968

Editorial note for the magazine Hongqi written for the publication of the investigation report 'The Educational Revolution in Science and Engineering Universities as Seen from the Struggle between Two Lines at Shanghai Mechanical College' [1]

(September 3, 1968)

1

Editor's note from Hongqi Magazine: This is another investigative report from Shanghai, now published for reference. What is the current situation of engineering and technical personnel in factories across major, medium, and small industrial cities nationwide? What is the status of the educational revolution in engineering and science universities and secondary schools? We hope that revolutionary committees in various regions will organise some people to conduct typical investigations and report to the Central Committee. This magazine will select and publish the highlights. Here, we raise a question: attention should be paid to re-educating the large number of graduates from higher and secondary schools who have already started working or are currently working, so that they can integrate with the workers and peasants. Among them, there must be those who have integrated well and made inventions and innovations, and they should be reported on to serve as encouragement. Those who are truly irredeemable—the so-called die-hard capitalist roaders and bourgeois technical authorities who have aroused great public anger and must be overthrown—are only a tiny minority. Even for these individuals, we must provide an outlet. A policy that offers no outlet is not the policy of the proletariat. The aforementioned policies should apply equally to both new and old intellectuals in the humanities and sciences.

2

Comrade Yao Wenyan:

This piece is still useful and can be published. Please bring up the question of whether the commentary I wrote is appropriate at the meeting.

Mao Zedong

2 September

[1] This is another investigative report submitted by the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee following the report titled 'The Growth of Shanghai Workers and Technical Personnel in Struggle' submitted on 29 August 1968. The report states that when the Shanghai Mechanical Engineering College, formerly known as the Shanghai Machine Manufacturing School, was established, the first batch of over 2,000 students were all selected from workers, farmers, and a portion of rural grassroots cadres. These students, selected from workers and farmers with practical experience, had clear learning objectives, high class

consciousness, and applied their knowledge to practice, thereby challenging the old educational system, curriculum content, and teaching methods. Recently, some engineering and technical personnel from the Shanghai Machine Tool Factory who graduated from this school in the past, along with workers and faculty and students from the school's affiliated factory, summarised the positive and negative experiences since the school's establishment and put forward some suggestions for the educational revolution at science and technology universities.

1. For science and engineering universities to follow the path of the Shanghai Machine Tool Factory, they must resolve the issue of which class will hold leadership power.
2. The academic system of science and engineering universities should be two to three years.
3. Science and engineering universities should also take on the task of providing good part-time technical education.
4. A proletarian teaching staff must be established. The future teaching staff should adopt a three-pronged approach combining workers with high proletarian political consciousness and practical experience, peasant-worker students, and revolutionary intellectuals. A large number of workers and technical personnel in society who have made inventions and innovations in practice should be systematically and regularly invited to give lectures in schools. Students also have practical experience and can take to the podium to exchange ideas with one another. Existing teachers should be sent in phases to the workers and peasants to follow the path of combining with the workers and peasants. This investigative report and Mao Zedong's editorial note for the Red Flag magazine were both published in the third issue of the Red Flag magazine on 10 September 1968.

Suggestions for holding general heart-to-heart talks to support the army

(September 4, 1968)

It is suggested that this matter be communicated to the entire army and that general heart-to-heart talks be held. [1]

Mao Zedong

September 4

[1] This refers to a "letter and petition summary report" compiled by the Central Military Commission's Office on August 28, 1968. The summary reported that recent letters from mass organizations in Gejiu, Yunnan, Baoding, Hebei, Neijiang, Sichuan, Fu'an, Fujian, and Xiamen reported that they had invited local troops stationed there to hold heart-to-heart talks or symposiums supporting the army before August 1st. At these meetings, representatives of the mass organizations praised the troops' achievements and proactively examined some of their erroneous attitudes toward the troops. Military comrades, in turn, "took the initiative to examine their shortcomings in their work with the 'three supports' and 'two armies,'¹⁹ as well as some of their erroneous attitudes toward the masses, and sincerely apologized to them." Through these support activities, military-civilian relations were further strengthened, and unity between the military and the people was enhanced. On October 4, 1968, the Central Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Committee circulated this letter and petition summary report to the entire army, demanding that all troops serving in the "three supports" and "two armies" follow Chairman Mao's instructions, hold heart-to-heart talks, and treat people with differing views with sincerity. We should engage in more self-criticism, further strengthen the relationship between the military and the people, and better accomplish the tasks of the "three supports" and "two armies."

¹⁹ The "three supports" and "two armies" refers to the tasks of "supporting the left, supporting workers, supporting agriculture", and "military management, and military training" carried out by the Chinese People's Liberation Army during the Cultural Revolution.

**Comments on the Report on the Meeting of Workers and PLA Mao Zedong Thought
Propaganda Team Leaders in Beijing [1]**

(September 4, 1968)

Lin, Zhou, and Comrades of the Cultural Revolution:

Now we need to formulate some specific policies. I think this document is good and suggest that it be circulated to various places for reference. Please make your decision.

Mao Zedong

May 4th

[1] This refers to a report submitted to Mao Zedong and others by the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the Beijing Garrison of the Chinese People's Liberation Army on September 3, 1968. The report stated that workers' and PLA Mao Zedong Thought propaganda teams had been stationed in all 59 colleges and universities in Beijing by August 29. On August 31, we convened a meeting of the leaders of these schools' propaganda teams to convey the directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution Committee. The meeting focused on addressing the following issues: First, the propaganda teams must exercise proletarian political leadership over the schools, effectively carry out struggle-criticism-transformation, and avoid becoming overly formalistic. The workers' and PLA propaganda teams must exercise unified leadership, and any stance on important issues must be expressed through collective discussion. Second, school leaders must first trust the majority of the masses; they must correctly assess the contributions and demerits of the revolutionary youth during the Cultural Revolution; they must live and eat with the students, engage in heart-to-heart conversations with them, and help them resolve their ideological problems. The best way to do this is to run study sessions in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings. 3. On the issue of the great revolutionary alliance, we must strengthen students' education on the two-line struggle through great revolutionary criticism and raise their class struggle consciousness. On the basis of effective ideological work among the masses, we should promote the great revolutionary alliance and the "three-in-one" approach by class, department, and department. 4. We must strengthen investigation and research. Regarding school issues, we should not be hasty in expressing our views, let alone rashly. 5. Workers' propaganda teams can take in those arrested by various factions. If, after investigation, they are confirmed to be bad individuals, we should implement mass dictatorship. For the general public, we can first organize intensive training sessions. On September 6, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution Group forwarded this report.

Comments on the People's Daily and Liberation Army Daily editorial, "Long Live the Complete Victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" [1]

(September 6, 1968).

Publish as is.

[1] This editorial was written by the People's Daily and the Liberation Army Daily to celebrate the establishment of revolutionary committees in all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions across the country (except Taiwan Province). After being reviewed by Mao Zedong, it was published on September 7, 1968.

Comments and revisions [1] on the investigative report ‘On the Direction of the Medical Education Revolution as Seen from the Growth of “Barefoot Doctors”’ [2].

(September 1968)

1

To build such a team of proletarian intellectuals, it is necessary to carry out a thorough proletarian educational revolution, take the revolutionary path of cultivating technical personnel and other intellectuals from among the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and select students from among workers, peasants, and PLA soldiers with practical production experience. At the same time, it is also necessary to re-educate a large number of intellectuals who graduated from the old schools in the past, and to win over and unite the broad masses of intellectuals.

2

Issue and send out.

[1] This first version is Mao Zedong's revision of the article, with the text he added or revised printed in italics. This second version is his commentary written on the table of contents page of the third issue of the Red Flag magazine submitted for review by Yao Wen Yuan, a member of the Central Committee's Cultural Revolution Group, on 10 September 1968. Yao Wen Yuan stated in his submission report: "Submitting the table of contents for the third issue of the Red Flag magazine for approval. If the editorial article is not suitable, please cross it out. There is an important passage by the Chairman in the article "The Barefoot Doctor," which we propose to highlight in bold. We are attaching it for your approval." The editorial article, titled 'On the Re-education of Intellectuals,' and the article 'The Barefoot Doctor,' titled 'On the Direction of the Medical Education Revolution as Seen from the Growth of the Barefoot Doctor,' were both published in the third issue of the Red Flag magazine in 1968.

[2] This commentary article in the People's Daily and Hongqi magazine was written to accompany the publication of Mao Zedong's 'Editor's Note for Hongqi Magazine.' The original title was 'An Extremely Important Issue,' but Mao Zedong changed it to 'On the Re-education of Intellectuals' when he reviewed it. It was published in the third issue of the Red Flag magazine on 10 September 1968 and in the People's Daily on 12 September.

Revisions and Comments [1] on the Article "On the Re-education of Intellectuals" [2]

(September 10, 1968)

1

To build such a contingent of proletarian intellectuals, we must carry out a thorough proletarian educational revolution, taking the revolutionary path of training technicians *and other intellectuals* from among workers, peasants, and soldiers, selecting students from workers, peasants, *and PLA soldiers* with practical production experience. At the same time, we must re-educate a large number of intellectuals who have graduated from the old schools, winning over and uniting the vast majority of intellectuals.

2

Publish as is.

[1] This commentary for the People's Daily and Red Flag magazine was written to coincide with the publication of Mao Zedong's "Editor's Note for Red Flag Magazine." Originally titled "A Very Important Question," it was revised by Mao Zedong to "On the Re-education of Intellectuals" during his review. It was published in the third issue of Red Flag magazine on September 10, 1968, and in the People's Daily on September 12.

[2] The first section contains Mao Zedong's revisions of this article, with the text printed in italics containing his additions and revisions. The second section contains his comments on the table of contents for the third issue of Red Flag magazine, submitted for review by Yao Wenyan, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's Cultural Revolution Group, on September 10, 1968. In his report, Yao Wenyan stated: "Here is the table of contents for the third issue of Red Flag magazine for your approval. Please tick off any commentary articles that are not applicable. There is an important passage from the Chairman in the article 'Barefoot Doctors,' which I would like to boldface. I have attached it for your approval." The commentary article, "On the Question of Re-Education of Intellectuals," and the article "Barefoot Doctors," "The Direction of the Revolution in Medical Education from the Growth of 'Barefoot Doctors,'" were both published in the third issue of Red Flag magazine in 1968.

Comments on Yao Wenyuan's Report on the Investigation Meeting on Party Rectification and Party Building at Shanghai No. 17 Cotton Mill [1]

(September 17, 1968)

1

Lin, Zhou, and other comrades from the Cultural Revolution have read this. If he wants to call back, please send him a call in the name of the Cultural Revolution. Let them know that they have received the letter of the 15th and agree with their opinions.

Mao Zedong

September 17th

2

I think it's OK!

Chairman Mao

[1] This article was written in a report submitted to Mao Zedong on September 15, 1968, by Yao Wenyuan, a member of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Deputy Director of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. The report stated that Zhang Chunqiao (then Deputy Head of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Director of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee) and I had visited the No. 17 National Cotton Mill today to hold an investigation meeting on the issue of Party rectification and Party building. This mill was a key revolutionary stronghold in Shanghai, and the leadership had undergone a major overhaul. Of the seven previous Party committee members, four had been overthrown, two had been merged, and one had been sidelined. Of the current 13 Standing Committee members of the Revolutionary Committee, ten were Party members, seven of whom rose from ordinary Party members to rebel against the capitalist-roaders, were tested in the movement, and were elected to the Draft Committee by the masses. Because the leadership core had been replenished with fresh blood, they were able to find better candidates for recruitment. The current problem was who approved new Party members seeking admission? Comrade Chunqiao and I both agreed: "In units with such conditions, with the approval of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee, the Party organization within the Revolutionary Committee (i.e., 10 Party members among the 13 Standing Committee members) could perform the functions of a Party committee or a temporary Party committee and have the authority to approve new members. I wonder if this could be tried as an experiment. Please advise." Next to this passage, Mao Zedong wrote a note, which is the second part of this article.

Mao Zedong and others' reply to Hoxha and Shehu's telegram congratulating China on the establishment of revolutionary committees in 29 provinces, municipalities, and districts

(September 17, 1968)

Tirana

Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor,

Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania:

On the occasion of the establishment of revolutionary committees in all 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions of our country, excluding Taiwan Province, we received your warm congratulatory messages. This is a great encouragement and tremendous support to the Chinese people as they strive for complete victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We express our heartfelt gratitude and greatest respect to you.

The heroic Albanian people, under the wise leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor, headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha, are carrying out a revolutionization movement of profound socialist revolutionary significance, achieving one great victory after another. This year, Comrade Enver Hoxha's proposals for an educational revolution and working-class supervision have enriched the content of this movement and given it a boost. We extend our warmest congratulations to the fraternal Albanian people on their increasingly brilliant victories on the road of revolutionization. These victories enable Albania, the great beacon of socialism in Europe, to shine even brighter.

A few days ago, the People's Republic of Albania solemnly announced its decision and decree to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact [1]. This is another heavy blow to the Soviet revisionist traitor clique and a great encouragement to the people of Eastern Europe in their struggle against it. The Warsaw Pact has long been a tool used by the Khrushchevite clique [2] to promote great-power chauvinism and national egoism, to control and plunder the people of Eastern Europe. It has also long been a tool used by the Soviet revisionist traitor clique to negotiate with the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) [3] controlled by US imperialism and to promote US-Soviet cooperation for world domination. Recently, the Soviet revisionist traitor clique, rallied its revisionist allies in Poland, East Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria, and, openly exploiting the Warsaw Pact, launched an armed invasion of Czechoslovakia, committing heinous crimes against the Czechoslovak people. This has thoroughly exposed the aggressive and reactionary nature of the Warsaw Pact to the people of the world. The Czechoslovak revisionist clique adopted a policy of treason and capitulation towards the invaders, shamefully betraying the Czechoslovak people. The

Albanian people, under the leadership of their outstanding leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian Party of Labor, have long waged a resolute struggle against the various criminal activities perpetrated by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique exploiting the Warsaw Pact. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people deeply admire the high degree of principled Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism demonstrated by the Albanian Party of Labor and the Albanian people in this struggle.

We firmly support the revolutionary action of the People's Republic of Albania and the fraternal Albanian people in withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact. We firmly support the just struggle of the peoples of Eastern Europe against the Soviet-revisionist-controlled Warsaw Pact. We firmly support the just struggle of the peoples of Western Europe and the world against the US-controlled North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other aggressive treaty organizations. We firmly support the revolutionary struggles of all peoples worldwide who are subject to the aggression, control, enslavement, and threats of US imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

The great proletarian fighting friendship forged between the Chinese and Albanian peoples in the storm of revolution will withstand severe tests. The 700 million Chinese people, tempered and strengthened by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, will always and unwaveringly stand by the fraternal Albanian people at all times and under all circumstances. If US imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism, and their running dogs dare to touch Albania, they will suffer only complete, shameful, and irreparable defeat.

Dear comrades, the Soviet revisionists and American imperialists have colluded with one another, committing countless evil and scandalous deeds. The revolutionary people of the world will not forgive them. The people of all countries are rising up. A new historical period of opposition to American imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun. Let us raise the revolutionary red banner of Marxism-Leninism higher and march forward hand in hand in the great struggle against imperialism headed by American imperialism, modern revisionism headed by Soviet revisionism, and all the reactionaries who follow their lead!

Long live the great, unbreakable fighting friendship between the Chinese and Albanian peoples!

Long live the heroic Albanian people!

Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Lin Biao, Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Zhou Enlai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Beijing,

September 17, 1968

Comments on the report of the 12th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee [1]

(September 20, 1968)

Comrade Lin Biao will read it first, and I will read it later. We will discuss it at the first or second meeting before making a decision. I think it is not appropriate to establish a Central Revolutionary Committee for the time being, and the number of members of the Central Plenary Session should not be increased too much. More than 100 people will be enough.

Mao Zedong

September 20

[1] This report refers to a report submitted to Mao Zedong and others on September 19, 1968, by Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda (then a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group), Kang Sheng (then a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and advisor to the Central Cultural Revolution Group), and Jiang Qing (then deputy head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group). The report reported on the discussions held by the Central Cultural Revolution Group on the evening of September 1-5 regarding the convening of the 12th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee. It stated that one of the agenda items of the plenary session was the election of the Central Revolutionary Committee, which would serve as the temporary highest authority of the Party and state before the Ninth National Congress. The number of participants in the 12th Plenary Session, including members and alternate members of the Central Committee who were able to attend, was approximately 300. The 12th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee was held in Beijing from October 13 to 31, 1968.

Comments on the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee's Report on Developing New Party Members Among Industrial Workers

(23 September 1968)

Comrades Lin, Zhou [1], and all comrades involved in the Cultural Revolution:

This [2] is a reply to the meeting request.

Please consider distributing this reply and this document to all localities for reference, and take appropriate action.

Mao Zedong

23 September

[1] Lin, referring to Lin Biao, was re-elected as a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee at the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee and was soon appointed Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee. Zhou, referring to Zhou Enlai.

[2] This refers to the report submitted by the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee to Mao Zedong and others on 22 September 1968. The report states that, after more than two years of the Cultural Revolution movement, there are now conditions and a necessity to absorb a group of outstanding members from the rebel factions into the Party, thereby injecting fresh blood into the Party. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions that "it is essential to pay attention to the step-by-step admitting of politically conscious workers into the Party and expanding the working-class composition of the Party organisation," we have decided to first develop a group of outstanding revolutionary rebels from among Shanghai's industrial workers to join the Party. Those admitted into the Party must be vibrant, advanced proletarian elements who seriously study and implement Mao Zedong Thought, possess a high level of awareness in the struggle between the two lines, and be capable of engaging in resolute struggle against class enemies both within and outside the Party alongside the revolutionary masses. They must persist in the struggle to fight self and repudiate revisionism, engage in self-criticism, and continuously transform themselves with the proletarian worldview. On 29 September 1968, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution Group endorsed this report, stating: "We urge revolutionary committees in all regions to earnestly implement Chairman Mao's instructions on party rectification and the development of new Party members, conduct thorough investigative research, handle matters appropriately based on local conditions, and formulate appropriate plans to be reported to the Central Committee."

Letter to Zhou Shizhao

(29 September 1968)

Dear Brother Yuan:

I received your letter today and was very pleased. Unfortunately, I did not receive the previous two letters [1]. My poetry and lyrics are of no significance, so please do not bother with them [2]. I do not agree with commemorating individuals, so please inform the school. The couplet is even more poor and cannot be used [3]. I will respond to this matter here. Best wishes!

Mao Zedong

29th of September

[1] The first two letters were never received. One was a letter written by Zhou Shizhao to Mao Zedong in Chongqing in 1945, and the other was a letter sent by Zhou Shizhao to Mao Zedong in Beijing in 1968. As a result, Mao Zedong expressed his regret.

[2] In 1968, Zhou Shizhao read various annotated editions of Mao Zedong's poems and letters and wrote to Mao Zedong asking how they should be handled and which annotated editions were better.

[3] This refers to 1918, when Mao Zedong was the principal of the affiliated primary school of Hunan First Normal School. He wrote a couplet by hand, which was carved by students onto bamboo and hung in the grand hall: "The world is ours; everyone must work together." In 1968, someone suggested writing another couplet and carving it. Mao Zedong expressed his unwillingness to create a personal memorial. Thus, the matter was dropped.

Comments on the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee's Report on the Workers' Propaganda Teams Entering Primary and Secondary Schools

(September 29, 1968)

This document [1] is very useful and may be circulated to other places for reference. Please send it to Lin, Zhou, and other comrades of the Cultural Revolution for their consideration.

Mao Zedong,

September 29

[1] This refers to the report submitted by the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee to Mao Zedong and others on September 27, 1968, regarding the work of the Workers' Propaganda Teams in primary and secondary schools. The report stated that from September 5 to 12, we organized over 31,000 industrial workers to enter 513 middle schools and 1,249 primary schools across ten districts. Under the leadership of the Workers' Propaganda Team, all primary and secondary schools in the city reopened on September 16, with teachers and students flocking to the schools. After the reopening, various Mao Zedong Thought study sessions were held in various schools. Under the leadership and assistance of the Workers' Propaganda Team, some schools and classes that had previously been stagnant in the Great Revolutionary Unity were able to unite. For schools that had resumed classes and were doing well in the revolution, the Workers' Propaganda Team focused on strengthening political and ideological work to address existing problems. Furthermore, the Workers' Propaganda Team has done extensive work to rectify school ethos and establish a new revolutionary order. Currently, to address existing problems, we are organizing the Workers' Propaganda Team to carefully study Chairman Mao's latest directives and launch the "Four Good Companies" and "Five Good Soldiers" campaigns²⁰. At the same time, we conducted in-depth investigations and research to prepare for the launch of a major revolutionary criticism campaign and the cleansing of the class ranks, exploring experiences, establishing models, and gradually expanding our efforts. On October 7, 1968, the Central Committee of

²⁰ The five good soldiers were those who were "studying hard, taking good care of weapons and equipment and all public property, eliminating accidents, producing and saving well, and exercising well." These criteria were introduced in 1958. In December 1961, Lin Biao proposed in the "Instructions on the Political Work of the Army in 1961" that the company's work mainly focuses on four aspects, namely: grasping political work and revitalizing ideology; grasping the style is the style of 3-8; grasp military training; grasp life. The "3" of the 3-8 style was: firm and correct political direction, hard and simple work style, and flexible strategy and tactics; the "8" comprises the words unity, tension, seriousness, and liveliness (each written with two characters in Chinese). The words come from the school motto of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political University in Yan'an. Mao Zedong was the chairman of its Education Committee. In September 1971, the Four Good Company Movement was terminated.

the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution Committee forwarded this report.

Comments on the article ‘The Liuhe “May 7th” Cadre School Blazes a New Trail for the Revolutionisation of Government Agencies’

(September and October 1968)

1

Comrade Yao Wenyan [1]:

This document [2] seems suitable for publication in the People's Daily. "Since a large number of cadres have been sent down to work in the countryside, this is an excellent opportunity for them to relearn. All cadres, except for the elderly, the infirm, and the disabled, should do so. Cadres who are still in office should also be sent down to work in the countryside in batches. Please raise the above points for discussion and decision at the meeting.

Mao Zedong

30 September

2

Can be used. [3]

[1] Yao Wenyan, then a member of the Central Committee's Cultural Revolution Group.

[2] The article titled ‘The Liuhe “May 7th” Cadre School Blazes a New Trail for the Revolutionisation of Government Agencies’ was published in the ‘Compilation of Cultural Revolution Developments’ No. 628, compiled and printed by the Editorial Office of the People's Daily on 29 September 1968. The article states that on 7 May this year, marking the second anniversary of Chairman Mao's ‘May 7th’ directive, the Heilongjiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee organised a large number of government officials to be sent down to work in the countryside, establishing a farm in Liuhe County, Qing'an County, named the ‘May 7th’ Cadre School, paving a new path for the revolutionary transformation of government agencies and reforming the superstructure. The cadre school had a total of 141 students, primarily former provincial and municipal government officials and staff members of the Revolutionary Committee. Government officials establishing a farm and taking the path of combining with workers and farmers has been warmly welcomed by the vast majority of poor and lower-middle peasants. Many officials, after arriving at the Cadre School, personally visited the front lines of the Three Revolutions, came into close contact with poor and lower-middle peasants, and strengthened their ideological and emotional connection with the working people. At present, the Cadre School cultivated over 3,000 acres of land, with agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side industries, and fisheries all developing comprehensively, and it also established small-scale factories and enterprises through self-reliance. Practice has proven that the ‘May 7th’ Cadre School is an excellent place for the transformation and cultivation of cadres, and a good method for achieving the

revolutionary transformation of government agencies and conducting the struggle, criticism, transformation campaign. On 5 October 1968, the People's Daily On 5 October 1968, the People's Daily published this article, with the title changed to 'The Liuhe "May 7th" Cadre School Provides New Experience for the Revolutionisation of Government Agencies,' and the editor's note quoted the main content of Mao Zedong's comments.

[3] This comment was written on the draft of the editor's note that Yao Wenyuan submitted to the People's Daily for review on October 2, 1968, for the publication of the article "Liuhe "May 7th" Cadre School Provides New Experience for the Revolutionization of Institutions". The draft notes said that Mao Zedong's comments on the experience of the Liuhe "May 7th" Cadre School "are of great significance to opposing revisionism, preventing revisionism, and carrying out struggle, criticism, and transformation, and should be taken seriously by our revolutionary cadres at all levels and the broad masses of the revolutionary people. We hope that the broad masses of cadres (except the old, weak, sick, and disabled), including those who have made mistakes, will follow Chairman Mao's instructions and relearn in the process of being sent down to work, so that their mental outlook can be more thoroughly revolutionized. The new and old revolutionary cadres working in the revolutionary committees should also follow Chairman Mao's instructions and be sent down to work in stages and batches, so that they will not be separated from the working people and will be both "officials" and ordinary people. New cadres should pay special attention not to be infected with the bad style of the exploiting class of being separated from the masses, separated from labor, relying on secretaries for everything, and being officials and masters, and should maintain the vigorous revolutionary youth of the proletariat."

Comments on the Report on the Request for Instructions on Convening a Conference of Workers and PLA Propaganda Team Members [1]

(September 1968)

There are too many.

One in ten seems better.

[1] On September 11, 1968, Zhou Enlai and others wrote a report to Mao Zedong and Lin Biao, Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. They stated, "We have reviewed some materials and feel it is necessary to convene a meeting of workers and members of the PLA's Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team." They stated, "We would like to greet them and share their experiences with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, primarily with regard to the experiences of the Cultural Revolution in schools, the mainstream role played by the Red Guards, and their mistakes and shortcomings." They also stated, "Please, Chairman, consider whether such a meeting is necessary and timely." The report also noted that Beijing currently had 37,923 workers' and military propaganda team members, and that one in four would be selected to attend the meeting. Mao Zedong's comments were in response to this.

Comments on Lin Biao's Speech at the 19th National Day Celebration Meeting [1]

(September 1968)

1

Delete the sentence at the end of page two.

2

Don't say this.

[1] On September 28, 1968, Zhou Enlai and others submitted Lin Biao's speech (re-elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee at the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and soon to be named Vice Chairman of the Central Committee) for the celebration of the 19th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. The last paragraph of the second page reads: "Tens of thousands of industrial workers throughout the country, working in conjunction with the People's Liberation Army's Mao Zedong Thought propaganda teams, have or are entering universities, middle schools, primary schools, and all places where intellectuals gather, entering the political arena of struggle, criticism, and reform in all areas of the superstructure. This is a great event of the 1960s. This is a great pioneering effort in the history of the communist movement since the publication of the Communist Manifesto in 1848." When Mao Zedong reviewed the speech, he deleted the final sentence, "This is a great pioneering effort in the history of the communist movement since the publication of the Communist Manifesto in 1848," and wrote two comments, which are listed in Parts 1 and 2 of this article. On October 1, Lin Biao delivered the speech at the celebration in Tiananmen Square based on this speech. The speech was published in the People's Daily on October 2.

Comments on the editorial "March Forward Bravely on the Road to Victory" [1] published by two newspapers and one magazine

(September 1968)

Publish as is.

[1] This editorial, written by the People's Daily, Red Flag, and Liberation Army Daily to celebrate the 19th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, stated that the working class sent propaganda teams directly into schools and various areas of the superstructure to lead the struggle, criticism, and transformation there. "This is a great innovation in the history of the proletarian revolution and a new development of Marxism-Leninism." When Mao Zedong reviewed it, he deleted the phrase "a new development of Marxism-Leninism." The editorial was published in the People's Daily and Liberation Army Daily on October 1, 1968, and in the fourth issue of Red Flag on October 14.

Speech at the Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

(13th and 31st of October 1968)

The meeting will last approximately seven to ten days. Think about what issues need to be raised. Specific matters: One domestic, one international. Domestically, we need to summarise the work done since the last plenary session over two years ago. Two years of the Cultural Revolution have essentially resulted in two opinions: one is that it was not bad and was basically correct; the other is that some people say it was not necessarily so. At the 11th Plenary Session, I already mentioned that at the October Work Conference, I had also made a point: Do not assume that everything approved at the meeting can be implemented. Raising your hand at the meeting is one thing, but actually raising objections is another matter. Later, it turned out that some people still did not understand, and some encountered problems. (13th and 31st October 1968)

There was a comrade named Zhang Dingcheng [1] who also did not discover any traitors, spies, or counter-revolutionaries. Why didn't he come to the meeting? What was the reason? You are very familiar with Deng Lao [2].

(Zhou Enlai: He attended the Dalian meeting. Gao Gang, Rao Shushi, Xu Haidong, and the other four people—Xu Haidong and Gao Gang embraced and wept, saying that the Central Committee had wronged him, and that without his contributions in Shaanbei, the Central Committee would not have been able to stand firm. This was precisely when Gao Gang was appointed as Vice Chairman, and his alliance with Gao Gang deserves investigation.)

Tan Qilong [3] from Shandong was a Red Army soldier from a young age. He had no other issues, only work-related mistakes. Shandong does not understand him, and the issue cannot be resolved at present. Shandong wants to drag him back for a struggle session, but we will not allow it.

(Zhou Enlai: He has been dragged back and is now in Jinan.)

Our comrades in Shandong must do persuasion work.

Zhang Tixue [4] from Hubei was a good comrade who made a mistake. He returned to Hubei and made a good self-criticism, so the masses forgave him. The masses welcomed him. He wanted to make another self-criticism, but the masses said there was no need. Wang Renzhong [5] was a traitor and a member of the Kuomintang. Tao Zhu also had problems with his history.

Hunan's Wang Yanchun [6]. This man is no good. Deng Xiaoping had not yet discovered any historical issues with him, only that he had deserted from the Seventh Army. (Zhang Yunyi: When he was political commissar of the Red Seventh Army, the situation became tense, so

he used the excuse of going to the Central Committee to report on his work, but instead deserted in Chongyi. Comrade Ye Jizhuang also exposed this incident before his death.)

The main issue was that after arriving in Beijing, he sought to establish an independent kingdom. He was dissatisfied and claimed he did not seek power, but in reality, he was the one shaking the goose feather fan²¹ in Liu Shaoqi's headquarters. However, I occasionally spoke with him, and during the War of Resistance Against Japan and the Liberation War, he fought against the enemy. No evidence was found of him having defected to the enemy, betrayed his country, or surrendered in the past. This individual made significant mistakes, and he wrote an autobiographical self-criticism that can be shared with everyone [7]. He requested not to be expelled from the Party and hoped to find some work. When the topic of work came up, many comrades shook their heads. Even major tasks were difficult to accomplish, but I suggested that tasks like organizing materials indoors might be feasible! The Party Committee decided to assign him to the Party School for further study and education.

Comrades have a lot of experience. We can imagine, should the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution be carried out, or not? Are the achievements the main thing, or are the shortcomings the main thing? Can the Great Cultural Revolution be carried out to the end? Let's discuss it. For example, the Zhejiang issue, the 'Red Terror' has not yet been resolved, which is also a work issue.

The Fujian issue is very serious. Han Xianchu [8], isn't it chaos in your area?

(Han Xianchu: The situation is good now.)

I see. Your report is good. Once the work is done, isn't the problem solved? Problems can be solved, so why can't this one be solved?

We must summarise our experiences. In the past, the Liberation War was relatively straightforward. Like autumn winds sweeping away fallen leaves, it was completed in three and a half years. At that time, the enemy was relatively clear. Now, with the Great Cultural Revolution, there are many difficulties, and the battle is not easy to fight. The Cultural Revolution is faster than the past. In the past, it took twenty-two years, from 1927 to 1949, but the Cultural Revolution only took two and a half years.

The problem is that ideological errors are mixed with contradictions between us and our enemies, making it difficult to understand the situation at a glance.

²¹ "Shaking a goose feather fan" is an idiom used in Chinese to metaphorically plan and strategize behind the scenes, derived from the legend of Zhuge Liang of the Three Kingdoms period holding a feather fan to command the battles.

We can only solve the problem province by province. For example, the three major factions in Liaoning Province fought for eight months [9], causing chaos throughout the country. Hasn't the problem been solved? It is still clear.

We must take on more responsibility ourselves to lighten the burden on those below us. The main issue is ideological, a contradiction within the people. There are also some enemies within, but they are a minority, and it is a matter of doing a good job.

Xiao Ke has been in battle before. He went to Tiananmen Square for National Day, but he didn't go this time. I'm not sure what his issue is.

(Zhou Enlai: There's a part of his history that's unclear. He fought in a village in Huan County, surrendered his weapons to the enemy, and even established a party. This time, the rebels found out about it.)

Which one is Li Desheng [10]? You handled the Anhui incident well. You did a good job with Wuhu.

(Li Desheng: It was the Chairman's approval of the "July 3rd" proclamation that made a difference. The public opinion was well-managed.)

It's all about creating public opinion. It's like an invention that has been worked on for decades without understanding how to create public opinion. It's been worked on for decades, and it's all about creating public opinion. Otherwise, how could the Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army have been formed? Without the masses, how could there be a dictatorship of the proletariat? Without the masses and without an army, who would accept your party?

The 11th Plenary Session of the Central Committee stated that we should engage in ideological struggle, not armed struggle, but they wanted armed struggle, not ideological struggle. Two factions fought each other in a school, each with their own weapons. Two factions fought each other in a factory, with two centres of power. Two factions also fought each other in a ministry.

The basic masses are still workers, peasants, and soldiers, and soldiers are also workers and peasants. Then come the intellectuals. We must strive to unite and educate the majority of intellectuals. The shortcoming of intellectuals is that they are easily swayed, mainly because they have not combined with the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

We cannot simply label them as stinking intellectuals, but it is okay to be a little stinky. Intellectuals are indispensable, but they should not get too big for their boots.

Do not enrol students for two years. Let them all graduate and go work with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Do not enrol students for two years, and the sky will not fall. Start afresh in the future and select high school students who have performed well in rural areas and factories to enrol in school.

Who knew that a military academy would have 210 "momomo" students, and among them there were indeed "monsters." It's our own fault for creating so many. No one was in charge of them. Ye Jianying, weren't you in charge? The Four Cleans campaign didn't work, so send them all to work with the workers and the People's Liberation Army.

Can this great proletarian cultural revolution be carried through to the end? We say that it must be carried through to the end, but what does 'to the end' mean? That is the question. I estimate that it will take about three years, until next summer. To the end means including the great criticism campaign, the purge of the class ranks, the rectification of the Party, streamlining the army, and reforming unreasonable rules and regulations.

Look at the state of the factories. How could we have avoided the Great Cultural Revolution? Take a timber factory in Beijing, for example. It had a thousand or so employees and was run by two capitalists. Some of the factories had been around for three dynasties, while others had been around for four. There's also the Xinhua Printing Factory, which printed currency during the Beiyang warlord era and printed newspapers and leaflets for the Japanese when they arrived. It was taken over by the Kuomintang, and when the Communists came, it still operated smoothly. It operated smoothly, with some third- and fourth-generation cadres, some of whom were hidden counter-revolutionaries. Our people weren't capable either, and their ideological state and mental condition weren't good. If we don't clean out the hidden counter-revolutionaries, whose factory is it really?

As expected, rural areas are better, but there are still issues. Communes and production teams that have not been properly organised need to be tightened up. Rely on the People's Liberation Army and the provincial, prefectural and county revolutionary committees. One province organised a propaganda team of one million people, while the People's Liberation Army only had a few tens of thousands, 90% of whom were poor peasants and lower-middle peasants. That was Guangdong. Jiangxi is also not bad. Jiangxi is a medium-sized province with 22 million people. Some areas have too many people. The provincial government has only 7,000 staff members, so at least 6,000 need to be reduced. Where will they be reduced to? Within China, of course. One factory, one rural area, or mainly sent to rural areas. Factories cannot accommodate so many people.

[1] Zhang Dingcheng, then Prosecutor General of the Supreme People's Procuratorate.

[2] Deng Lao, referring to Deng Zihui, had worked with Zhang Dingcheng for a long time in Central China and the Huaihai Field, and they knew each other well. At that time, he was the Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and also the Deputy Director of the State Planning Commission, in charge of banking.

[3] Tan Qilong, then First Secretary of the Shandong Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China.

[4] Zhang Tixue, then Governor of Hubei Province.

[5] Wang Renzhong, former First Secretary of the Hubei Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China.

[6] Wang Yanchun, former Standing Committee Member and Second Secretary of the Hunan Provincial Party Committee, and Acting First Secretary.

[7] Deng Xiaoping's autobiographical self-criticism: In July and August 1968, Deng Xiaoping wrote a self-criticism letter titled "My Autobiography" and sent it to the Central Committee and Mao Zedong. The full text is divided into four parts: 'The Red Seventh Army Period,' 'More Than Three Years in the Central Soviet Area,' 'The Daxing Period,' and 'The Beijing Period.'

[8] Han Xianchu was then the director of the Fujian Provincial Revolutionary Committee. On 19 August 1968, the Fujian Provincial Revolutionary Committee was established.

[9] The Three Major Factions in Liaoning: At the time, Liaoning was divided into three factions: the 'Liaoning Provincial Revolutionary Rebellion United Committee' (abbreviated as 'Liaoning United Committee'), the 'Liaoning Proletarian Revolutionary Liaison Station' (abbreviated as 'Liaoning Revolutionary Station'), and the 'August 31st Revolutionary Rebellion Headquarters' (abbreviated as 'August 31st'). After merging, the Liaoning Revolutionary Committee was successfully established in Liaoning on 10 May 1968, with Chen Xilian as its main leader.

[10] Li Desheng, then head of the Anhui Provincial Revolutionary Committee, established the Revolutionary Committee in Anhui on 18 April 1968.

Comments on the Red Flag magazine editorial, "Absorbing Fresh Blood of the Proletariat"

[1]

(October 14, 1968)

It can be published now. There are changes in the diary [2].

[1] This comment was written on a draft editorial submitted for review by Yao Wenyuan, a member of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on October 14, 1968. The editorial's subtitle was "An Important Issue in Party Rectification Work." In his report for review, Yao Wenyuan wrote: "On page 10, I have added a paragraph of your latest instructions, which have profound guiding significance for the current movement. I am submitting it herewith for your review." This editorial was published in the fourth issue of Red Flag magazine, published on October 14.

One of the basic principles of the Communist Party is to rely directly on the broad masses of the people.

(1968)

1

Unite all the broad masses that can be united and establish the comprehensive rule of the proletariat over the minority of bourgeois elements. [1]

2

Who gave us our power? It was given to us by the working class, by the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants, and by the vast majority of the working people, who make up more than 90% of the population. We represent the proletariat and the people. We have defeated the enemies of the people, and the people support us. One of the basic principles of the Communist Party is to rely directly on the broad masses of revolutionary people.

[1] In the editorial of the fourth issue of the Red Flag magazine published on 14 October 1968, titled "Absorbing Fresh Blood from the Proletariat — An Important Issue in Party Rectification Work," this sentence was printed in bold type.

[2] In this editorial in Red Flag magazine, the phrase 'Chairman Mao recently pointed out' is followed by a quotation in bold type. On 16 October 1968, the People's Daily reprinted this editorial; on 17 October, the People's Daily published this passage on its front page.

Telegram Congratulating Hoxha on His 60th Birthday

(October 15, 1968)

Tirana

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor

Dear Comrade Enver Hoxha:

On your 60th birthday, on behalf of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people, and in my own name, I extend my heartfelt, warm, and fraternal congratulations.

You are the founder of the glorious Albanian Party of Labor and the great leader of the heroic Albanian people. Albania's transformation from a poor and backward country into an advanced and strong socialist state is closely linked to your correct leadership.

You creatively integrated the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Albanian revolution. You led the Albanian people in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat through armed struggle, building socialism through self-reliance, and carrying out the revolutionary movement in a thorough and sustained manner, waging tit-for-tat struggles against imperialism headed by the US imperialists, modern revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionists, and reactionaries in various countries. You have made outstanding contributions to the cause of the world proletarian revolution and to the enrichment and development of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, your glorious history proves you are truly a great and heroic fighter for Marxism-Leninism.

The revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Albanian peoples has been tested by the fierce international class struggle. The power generated by this friendship is boundless and truly invincible. Let our two parties and peoples unite more closely with the true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of all countries throughout the world, and fight shoulder to shoulder to completely bury the common enemies of the world's people, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism!

I wish the Albanian Party of Labor and the Albanian people new victories and new achievements. I wish the friendship between the two parties and peoples of China and Albania everlasting. I wish you, the great leader of the Albanian people and the closest friend of the Chinese people, good health and longevity.

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

October 15, 1968

Comments on the Publication of the Investigative Report on the Management of Schools by Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants [1]

(October 1968)

Implement this [2].

[1] This refers to the investigative report, "How Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants Manage Schools: A Look at the Practice of the Educational Revolution in Three Brigades," compiled by the Heihe Prefecture Revolutionary Committee, the Aihui County Revolutionary Committee, and the Aihui Commune Revolutionary Committee on September 15, 1968. The report stated that poor and lower-middle peasants from the three production brigades of Layaozi, Songshugou, and Waisandaogou in Aihui Commune "entered the schools last November, reclaiming control of rural education in one fell swoop and breaking the monopoly of bourgeois intellectuals." They resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's instructions on the educational revolution, giving the schools a completely new look. Their approach to school management was: 1. Holding high one banner—the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought; 2. Adhering to one path—the path of integrating with the workers and peasants; 3. Building a team—rectifying, reforming, and rebuilding the rural teaching force; 4. Implementing a unified universal education system—making it easier for the children of poor and lower-middle peasants to attend school; and 5. Forming a leadership group—a leading group for the educational revolution composed primarily of poor and lower-middle peasants.

[2] This is a commentary on a report submitted by Yao Wen Yuan, a member of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on October 25, 1968, and an editorial note from the People's Daily. The report stated: "Two materials were sent from Heilongjiang. This one has been selected. I think both its content and writing are superior. I plan to publish it in the People's Daily in three or four days." The People's Daily's editorial note accompanying the publication of this investigative report stated: "This report is vividly written, with comparisons, supporting materials, and summaries. It gives people a concrete understanding of the harmful effects of bourgeois rule in schools and the benefits of poor and lower-middle peasants managing them. The poor and lower-middle peasants say, 'Now, 'the schools are our schools.' Isn't this the greatest praise for the educational revolution?'" This investigative report and editorial note were published in the People's Daily on October 28.

Comments on the Draft Communiqué of the Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China [1]

(October 1968)

1

Distribute to all comrades at the plenary meeting for discussion.

2

This sentence is not appropriate here. [2]

3

There is one modification. [3]

[1] Parts I and II of this article were written on the draft communiqué of the 12th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which was submitted for review on 28 October 1968. Part III was written on the draft communiqué submitted for review on 30 October. This communiqué was adopted by the plenary session on 31 October and published in the People's Daily on 2 November.

[2] On 28 October 1968, the draft communiqué submitted for review stated: "The plenary session believes that the great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution further proves that Mao Zedong Thought is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism and further proves the profound significance of Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." When Mao Zedong reviewed the draft, he deleted the sentence 'further proves that Mao Zedong Thought is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism' and wrote this annotation. Additionally, the section of the communiqué draft also stated that Mao Zedong Thought 'is the sole guiding ideology for all work of our Party, military, and nation.' When Mao Zedong reviewed it, he deleted the word 'sole.' The final version of the communiqué was approved by the Central Committee on 28 October 1968.

[3] Mao Zedong's revisions to the draft submitted for review on 30 October 1968 mainly involved deleting the following sentence: 'The widespread dissemination of Mao Zedong Thought among the people of the whole country is a very great achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.'

Comments and Revisions on the Draft Constitution of the Communist Party of China [1]

(1968, 1969)

1

Printed and distributed to all comrades of the 12th Central Committee [2] as a basis for discussion. With some modifications [3].

2

It has been printed and distributed, so that everyone can discuss it.

Mao Zedong

October 14

3

There are some modifications [4], pending.

4

A slight revision was made on page 4 [5], because Trotsky and Qu Qiubai also talked about continuous revolution [6].

5

I have read it. Return to Comrade Kang Sheng.

6

Three words were added on page seven.

7

Under the leadership of the Chairman, Vice Chairman, and the Central Standing Committee, *a number of necessary and efficient organizations* [7] will be established to uniformly handle the day-to-day work of the Party, government, and military.

[1] On October 12, 1968, Kang Sheng, an advisor to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's Cultural Revolution Group, Zhang Chunqiao, its deputy group leader, and Yao Wenyuan, a group member, wrote a report to Mao Zedong, stating: "According to the Chairman's instructions and the opinions of various localities and units, we have drafted a Party Constitution. We have discussed it twice at the Central Cultural Revolution huddle and have made several revisions. The comrades at the Central Cultural Revolution huddle suggest that we first submit it to the Chairman to see if it is basically

acceptable. Please review, revise, and approve it." Parts 1 and 2 of this article are Mao Zedong's comments on the draft Party Constitution submitted by Kang Sheng and others for review on October 12; Part 3 is Mao Zedong's comments on the draft of the "Decision of the 12th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Draft Constitution of the Communist Party of China" submitted by Zhou Enlai and others for review on October 26; Part 4 is Mao Zedong's comments on the draft decision submitted by Zhou Enlai and others for review on November 2; Part 5 is Mao Zedong's comments on the draft Party Constitution submitted by Zhou Enlai and others for review on March 1, 1969. Chapter 6 contains Kang Sheng's comments on the draft Party Constitution submitted for review on April 9, 1969. Chapter 7 contains revisions to the draft Party Constitution submitted for review on October 12, 1968, and April 9, 1969. The text printed in italics contains Mao Zedong's revisions. The Constitution of the Communist Party of China was adopted at the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on April 14, 1969, and published in the People's Daily on April 29.

[2] Refers to the 12th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in Beijing from October 13 to 31, 1968.

[3] Mao Zedong's revisions to the draft Party Constitution submitted by Kang Sheng and others for review on October 12, 1968, included the deletion of the three adverbs "geniusly, creatively, and comprehensively" from the sentence "Mao Zedong geniusly, creatively, and comprehensively inherited, defended, and developed Marxism-Leninism"; and the addition of "Marxism, Leninism" before the phrase "Mao Zedong Thought" in two instances.

[4] Mao Zedong's revisions to the draft of the "Decision of the 12th Enlarged Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Draft Constitution of the Communist Party of China," submitted by Zhou Enlai and others for review on October 26, 1968, primarily involved changing "Chairman Mao" to "Comrade Mao Zedong" and "Chairman Mao's instructions" to "Comrade Mao Zedong's suggestions." He also made some revisions to the draft Constitution of the Communist Party of China, submitted at the same time. He primarily deleted the phrase "the Communist Party of China is the party founded and nurtured by Comrade Mao Zedong, a great, glorious, and correct party"; deleted the phrase "our great leader, Comrade Mao Zedong, is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time"; and again deleted the three adverbs "geniusly, creatively, and comprehensively" from the phrase "Mao Zedong inherited, defended, and developed Marxism-Leninism brilliantly, creatively, and comprehensively." Furthermore, he added "Marxism, Leninism" before "Mao Zedong Thought" in the sentence "Party grassroots organizations must hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought."

[5] This refers to the revision of the "Draft Constitution of the Communist Party of China." The draft stated that "these contradictions in socialist society can only be resolved through continuous revolution." During Mao's review, the draft was amended to read, "These contradictions can only be resolved through the Marxist theory and practice of continuous

revolution." The "Decision of the 12th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Draft Constitution of the Communist Party of China" was adopted on October 31, 1968, and distributed to the entire Party along with the Draft Constitution of the Communist Party of China on November 3.

[6] Trotsky, formerly Chairman of the Soviet Revolutionary Military Committee and a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, proposed the "Theory of Permanent Revolution" in 1905, advocating skipping the bourgeois-democratic revolution and proceeding directly to socialist revolution. Qu Qiubai, one of the early leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, co-chaired the August 7th Conference with Li Weiham at the critical moment following the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927, ending Chen Duxiu's rightist capitulationist rule within the Party. Following the conference, he served as a member of the Standing Committee of the Provisional Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and presided over its work. In November 1927, he presided over an enlarged meeting of the Provisional Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, which accepted the erroneous "left" view of Comintern representative Rominaz, who argued that the nature of the Chinese revolution at the time was a so-called "permanent revolution." This view blurred the distinction between democratic and socialist revolutions, and constituted a "left" blind activism.

[7] The original sentence read: "Establish an institution such as the Central Cultural Revolution Committee that emerged during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

A passage on the necessity of the Cultural Revolution

(1968)

This Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and extremely timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing the restoration of capitalism, and building socialism. [1]

[1] This sentence was quoted in boldface after the phrase "As Comrade Mao Zedong said" in the "Communiqué of the 12th Enlarged Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," adopted on October 31, 1968. This communiqué was published in the People's Daily on November 2.

Speech at the closing session of the 12th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee

(October 30, 1968)

Does anyone have any opinions? If you do, please speak up. I have nothing more to say. Comrade Lin Biao has already spoken, and many comrades have spoken. I think this meeting has been very successful. It has been very good! Perhaps some comrades were not familiar with the 'February Countercurrent' incident, but after eighteen days, they now understand it better than before. In the past, even senior cadres were unclear about it, and we did not disclose any information. In the past, when provinces came to resolve issues, there was no time to discuss these matters. At this meeting, comrades who made mistakes explained the issues, and comrades questioned them and received responses. Through questioning and responses, the matters became clearer. This matter is not insignificant, but it is also not particularly remarkable, in my opinion. It is a natural phenomenon. They have opinions, and they will inevitably express them. When several people are together, including members of the Political Bureau, vice-premier, and vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission, so it's permissible for them to speak out. Party life also permits this; it's done openly. The two major incidents were also discussed openly. Some details, I wasn't very clear about in the past. Details like how many times they met, what kind of interactions they had—don't dwell too much on these details; don't let party life get bogged down in trivialities. Not paying attention to major issues is problematic. This isn't a minor matter. Are you saying the sky will fall?! The Earth won't spin?! It will still spin—how could it not spin?! I admire Comrade Deng for standing firm. If it were me, I wouldn't have responded, but you still wrote a self-criticism. He had already engaged in self-criticism, for example, at the Beidaihe meeting. Some old comrades may be able to work in the future. Tan Qilong and Jiang Weiqing [1] were overthrown, but after a few years, when everyone has calmed down, they can also do some work. They may not do major work, but there are other people who are strong and healthy, and they will have to be given something to do in the future! Deng Hua [2] has arrived, hasn't he? (Deng stood up) It's been a long time since we last saw him. In Sichuan, no one said anything bad about him, but I don't know if the Red Guards have locked him up again. You made a mistake with Peng Dehuai, but correcting your mistake is enough. In Beijing, there are Huang Kecheng, Tan Zheng, and others who made mistakes. Allow them time to correct their mistakes, even if it takes many years. Because the masses still need to see their performance.

We are currently conducting a major criticism campaign to purge the ranks of the class. This task must be carried out swiftly and with careful attention to policy. We must be steady, accurate, and ruthless, right? Steady, but if there are rightists, then being steady means not being steady. Ruthless means going too far to the left and overdoing it. The key is to be accurate. Otherwise, without accuracy, neither stability nor decisiveness can be achieved.

We must conduct investigations and research, focus on evidence, and avoid hanging black signs, forcing people to do the jet plane, or beating people. In 1927, I wrote an article about Hunan Province, where wealthy landlords and corrupt officials were forced to wear high hats and parade through the countryside, but this practice has not been used for decades. The Red Guards gradually escalated their tactics, hanging black signs, conducting jet-style beatings, and engaging in various other activities. For spies, traitors, and unrepentant capitalists, investigations should be conducted with a focus on evidence, without relying on confessions, beatings, wearing high hats, or jet-style beatings. This approach did not yield good results. In Beijing, there were Du Zhangming and Wang Yaowu [3]. Even prisoners of war were not treated this way in the past.

Some people are unrepentant. No matter how much you punish them, they will not repent. Feng Youlan [4], if you don't call him out on his idealism, I don't think it will be easy. There is also a certain professor at Peking University, a historian, a bourgeois authority on history. It is difficult to prevent him from discussing emperors and generals. For these people, do not use methods that disrespect their dignity. For example, pay them only twenty-four yuan a month, with a maximum of forty yuan, and do not deduct too much. These people are no longer of much use. There is also Wu Han, who may still have some use. If you want to ask about idealism, or about emperors and generals, you should ask them. Among those present, Fan Lao [4] also deals with emperors and generals, and Guo Lao [5] can be counted as one as well. At that time, there were no other books to read, only the Twenty-Four Histories and the like. To oppose emperors and generals, one must first understand what emperors and generals are. Otherwise, when people ask you, you won't be able to answer. I'm not advising you all here to study emperors and ministers. You should follow what the Premier said and follow those documents. I also don't agree that young students should study it. Only a few people should study it. For example, Fan Lao, if you don't study it, won't emperors and ministers become extinct? It's not about producing more emperors and ministers, but about history needing people to study it.

When cleaning up the ranks, you should pay attention to these people. There are three types: the good, the middle, and the extreme right. I am talking about the right wing. How should we treat them? There will always be left, middle, and right in the world. Without the right, where would the left come from? It's not that extreme. I don't agree with everyone being left-wing. That's not the case. Such purity isn't necessarily good either. Our party has become more pure through this Cultural Revolution, I think. We've never done it this way before. But too much purity isn't good either. For example, for the delegates to the Ninth National Congress, it would be a shortcoming for the comrades who participated in the February Counter-current not to participate. So we still recommend that they be elected as representatives in various regions. Comrade Chen Yi said he wasn't qualified, but I think you are qualified—as the right-wing representative of the left, centre, and right. You don't fully meet the second of the three criteria for the Ninth National Congress delegates, but we can negotiate. Having a few people participate is beneficial.

The situation now is very different from what it was two years ago at the 11th Plenary Session of the Central Committee. The movement is not over yet, even though the big events have passed, and it is unlikely to end immediately. This is because it involves every factory, every school, and every government agency. That is all I have to say today.

Pay attention to policy, and pay attention to the word 'accurate' in 'accurate, precise, and ruthless.' There are still some who are not so accurate, who are too ruthless, and who are too cautious to be ruthless.

For example, Shanghai comrades say that there are still some 'difficult' issues. In a city of several million people, imbalance exists everywhere. Imbalance is a natural phenomenon, and Beijing is no exception.

Don't be overly concerned with academic authority.

For older comrades who have made mistakes and do not fully meet the criteria, we should use consultation to select them as representatives to the Ninth Congress. It is a good thing for a congress to have different opinions. As long as the basic part reflects the opinions of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, that is fine. If any of you have something to say, please speak up. (At the time, Li, Zhu, and Chen expressed their views, but the details are omitted.) Teng Dayuan led the peasant movement in Hunan. What kind of county chairman are you? As the county chairman, you were the one who ordered the execution of the head of the Japanese-affiliated organisation. This person was a former imperial scholar. For such a prominent intellectual, I believe execution was not the most appropriate course of action. Each province has such cases, and I have always wanted to find an opportunity to discuss this with the comrades. Let us discuss it this time.

We must give intellectuals a way out. Ruan Bozan and Feng Youlan are poisonous, so we must criticise them. Criticism is necessary, but we must also protect them, give them a bowl of rice to eat, and re-educate them through the workers, peasants and soldiers.

There are also the "XXX", who are also authorities. We protect these people. Don't go too far with them. Just talk about them at meetings. Don't talk about them individually, and don't write editorials about them in newspapers, because once you do, they will pass muster. You can't criticise them, but you still have to criticise them, and you still have to protect them. The principal may not necessarily remain in office, but he can still be a professor and receive a salary. In Guangdong, there are Yang Guorong and Zhao Jianan, who are both Confucianists. Among those present, Guo Lao also supports Confucius. I believe Fan Lao is also a Confucianist, as there is an image of Confucius in your book. Feng Youlan also supports Confucius. I am somewhat of a representative of the emerging class. He represents the slave owners. I disagree with Guo Lao on this point. I do not agree with your "Ten Criticisms Book." Fan Lao regards Confucius as a representative of the emerging class. This is outdated. I advise comrades not to study this stuff.

People say that Laozi was a materialist, but I disagree. There is a man named Yang XX in Tianjin who says that Laozi was an idealist, so I took note of this person and investigated who he was. It turns out that he is a big right-wing figure. Zhou Gucheng and Liu Dajie in Shanghai, Liu wrote a history of Chinese literature, and Zhou wrote a general history of China. Tan Jiazhen is a geneticist. You must have fought him fiercely, right? This person is from the Morgan school. If he can be reformed, that's fine; if not, that's fine too. There are not many bourgeois geneticists in the whole country. Su Buqing, a professor at Fudan University and a mathematician, should not be treated too harshly either. That is my point.

Clean up the ranks, pay attention to investigation and research, and pay attention to accuracy. For old comrades, first criticise, second protect, third observe. Protect means help, observe means observe his performance. I think it can be changed, but it can also be left unchanged. You can't force people to change. The earth will still turn, and you can't pull the strings too tight. Pay attention to academic authorities; if you give students seven or eight *dou*, they will lose their lives. After salary deductions, some receive only twenty yuan, others forty yuan. They have families to feed. The proletariat must still support a group of intellectuals with reputations from the old society.

As for the democratic parties, some have suggested that they should be abolished. Why should they be abolished? It would be better to retain some of them. This is because the problem does not lie with the democratic parties, but with the Communist Party. Even if the democratic parties have problems, they are secondary. If the Communist Party does not produce figures like Liu, Deng, and Tao, the democratic parties cannot even stage a rebellion. Rather than having them operate secretly, it is better to allow them to operate openly. The CPPCC and the democratic parties have not yet been abolished. As for whether to abolish them, there is no time to discuss this now. Some have suggested abolishing them, so consider it and discuss it at the next meeting. If you do not want to abolish them, consider it. The people we send to do the work are not very good either. For example, Li Weihan and Xu Bing from the United Front Work Department. A few people study emperors and generals, and in order to oppose emperors and generals, they need to do something, such as the Academy of Sciences and universities. The issue of opening social science disciplines in universities has not yet been resolved. Political economics, philosophy, literature, etc., these things have not been solved for 18 or 19 years, and there is no good result. After studying for four or five years in college, studying social sciences but not understanding Marxism-Leninism and class struggle, it is better to work and train for a few years. First engage in class struggle, and then go back to study for two years. There are still two or three years in college, not five years? It's already two years, and if you do it for another two or three years, they will be gone. I quite agree with struggle, criticism, and departure. They have to leave anyway. This is their method of criticism. They didn't work, nor did they farm. The university didn't recruit students for two years so that they could be transformed among the workers and peasants.

What are the opinions of the comrades from Shanghai? And Beijing?

This person is Wang Hongwen. Please stand up. He is the head of the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions and the chairman of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. He was behind the Anning incident two years ago. It is good that young comrades are participating in this meeting, but there are too few of them. There is also Wei Fengying (Wei stood up and was asked his age). Which one is Liu Dianying? (Liu stood up.) How old are you? (Liu answered: 32 years old.) You seem to be a soldier, but he is still young. You three are the representatives of the young ones. Are there any other young people? (Zhou Enlai: There is also Daluo from Qinghai, 38 years old, Tibetan.) Can you speak Mandarin? (Daluo stood up and answered: Yes.) Are you a real Tibetan or a fake Tibetan? (Daluo answered: A real Tibetan.)

Xinjiang, I've told you that your place is closed off, and there are still some issues there. Which one is Long Shujin? (Long stands up) You're still my fellow villager. And Wang Enmao. Some of your methods are very clumsy. Why did you go to the airport to do that welcome thing? As a result, some people agreed, and some disagreed. There are always people giving you advice, waving their goose feather fans²².

There was also Chen Yonggui (Chen immediately stood up). Your attire still reflects your peasant roots. Dazhai also experienced disasters. With 10,000 visitors daily, does this not impact grain production? (Chen replied: It is beneficial; it promotes our efforts.)

Xi Henghan, you're from Guangxi, right? Do you know Wei Guqing? (Xi replied: I don't know him.) You are all from the Red Seventh Army, how come you don't know each other? (Xi replied: We are all soldiers.) Don't just keep to yourselves.

Zhang Jianglin from Qinghai, I have heard of your name, but have never met you. Where are you from? (Zhang replied: Daxian, Sichuan.) How old are you? (Zhang replied: Fifty-two.) You can't be that old, you're lying about your age.

Don't think that just because the Fourth Army produced a Zhang Guotao, there are no good people in the Fourth Army. Who said there are no good people in the Fourth Army? There are many members of the Fourth Army here at this meeting, so that is not the case.

Don't think that just because Chen Duxiu appeared in the central government, there are no good people. Just because Gao Gang appeared in Shaanxi, there are no good people. Many people knew Chen Duxiu when he appeared in the Communist Party, and the Premier knew him too. (Zhou Enlai: Kang Lao also knew him.) It would not be good to omit Chen Duxiu's name when writing the history of the Party in the future.

²² "Shaking a goose feather fan" is an idiom used in Chinese to metaphorically plan and strategize behind the scenes, derived from the legend of Zhuge Liang of the Three Kingdoms period holding a feather fan to command the battles.

It started with him, but later things went wrong. His entire ideology was that of the Social Democratic Party. Do not think that because our party produced Chen Duxiu, Qu Qiubai, Wang Ming, Li Lisan, Zhang Guoquan, Gao Gang, Rao Shushi, Peng Dehuai, Zhang Wentian, He Long, and others, we are not honourable, great, or correct. I don't think we can say that. There are bad people, but they didn't start out as bad people. The two division commanders Fan XX and Yang XX on Jinggangshan, along with two other division commanders, all defected. With so many defections, did Jinggangshan become any less significant? No. I visited there a few years ago, and it was still the same as before, still as significant as ever.

This time, Liu, Deng, Tao, Peng, Lu, and Yang were purged again. Everyone wants to expel Deng Xiaoping, but I have some reservations. It should be said that Deng Xiaoping is different from Liu Shaoqi. In fact, there is some difference. It is easy to expel someone; it is not difficult for us to raise our hands! If you want to expel him, you can do so later. I have reservations. As for fearing he might rebel, I don't think we should be afraid. He can't stir up a rebellion. Deng Xiaoping's characteristic is that he is too detached from the masses. My thoughts may be a bit conservative and not to your liking. I'll say a few good things about him. Deng is just waving a feather fan; the real decision-maker is Liu Shaoqi. At the Eighth Congress, they recruited defectors, and at the Seventh Congress, they reviewed delegates. It was Liu Shaoqi and Peng Zhen who did that. They held a white zone work meeting in Yan'an.

In the past, we said that He Long was a second-rate leader because he was a representative of the Second Front Army. Now it seems that we cannot protect him because we did not know about the things he did before. From the materials exposed by Cheng Jun, Xu Guangda, Liao Hansheng and others, it seems that he was undermining our army. He did have plans to usurp the army and oppose the Party behind the scenes, but he did not have time to carry them out. There are He Long, Liu Zhen, Wang Shangrong, and Xu Guangda among them. Let's not stray too far from the topic; we'll stop here. The meeting is adjourned.

[1] Tan Qilong, after his return in 1970, served as Deputy Director of the Fujian Provincial Grassroots Committee, Provincial Party Secretary, and from April 1972, served as Zhejiang Provincial Party Secretary (in charge of work), Deputy Director of the Provincial Grassroots Committee, Zhejiang Provincial Party First Secretary, Director of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee, and First Political Commissar of the Provincial Military Region. Jiang Weqing returned to active duty at the end of 1974. The Central Committee assigned Jiang Weqing to work in Jiangxi Province, where he served as First Secretary of the Jiangxi Provincial Party Committee, Director of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee, Political Commissar of the Fuzhou Military Region, and First Political Commissar of the Jiangxi Provincial Military Region.

[2] Deng Hua, in August 1959, at the Lushan Conference, was stripped of all his party and government positions due to the Peng Dehuai case. In 1960, he transferred to local government and served as deputy governor of Sichuan Province, in charge of agricultural machinery.

[3] Huang Kecheng, in August 1959, at the Lushan Conference, Huang Kecheng and Peng Dehuai were labelled as members of the 'anti-Party group' and removed from their positions as Chief of the General Staff of the Central Military Commission. In 1965, Huang Kecheng served as Deputy Governor of Shanxi Province, in charge of agriculture. Tan Zheng, formerly Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, was subject to a resolution passed at an expanded meeting of the Central Military Commission in September-October 1960 titled 'Resolution of the Expanded Meeting of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China on the Errors of Comrade Tan Zheng,' which characterised him as having 'formed an anti-Party factional group within the General Political Department.' After January 1961, he was stripped of his positions as a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Military Commission and Secretary of the Central Secretariat. In November 1965, he was appointed Deputy Governor of Fujian Province, and in August 1975, he was reinstated as an advisor to the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China.

[4] Du Xingming, a renowned senior Nationalist Party general, was captured during the Huaihai Campaign in January 1949. He was granted amnesty in 1959, and his son-in-law is Dr. Yang Zhenning, a Chinese-American Nobel laureate. Wang Yaowu, a prominent Nationalist Party general with outstanding military talent, was captured during the Battle of Jinan and granted amnesty in 1959. Both were captured by General Su Yu.

[5] Feng Youlan, courtesy name Zisheng, was born in Tanghe, Henan Province. In 1912, he enrolled in the preparatory programme at the University of Shanghai. In 1915, he entered the Department of Chinese Philosophy at Peking University. In 1919, he went to the United States to study abroad, and in 1924, he obtained a doctoral degree from Columbia University. Upon his return to China, he served as a professor at Zhongzhou University, Guangdong University, and Yenching University, and as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and Head of the Department of Philosophy at Tsinghua University. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he served as a professor in the Department of Philosophy and Dean of the College of Arts at the Southwest Associated University. In 1946, he went to the United States as a visiting professor. From late 1948 to early 1949, he served as Chairman of the University Council at Tsinghua University. He received honorary Doctor of Letters degrees from Princeton University in the United States, Delhi University in India, and Columbia University in the United States. From 1952, he served as a professor in the Department of Philosophy at Peking University. During his tenure at Yenching University, Feng Youlan taught the history of Chinese philosophy, completing the two volumes of A History of Chinese Philosophy in 1931 and 1934, respectively. These works were later

adopted as university textbooks, making a significant contribution to the development of the discipline of Chinese philosophy. From 1939 to 1946, Feng Youlan published six books in succession, collectively known as the 'Works Written During the Zhenyuan Period': *New Neo-Confucianism* (1937), *New Worldly Instructions* (1940), *New Discourse on Affairs* (1940), *New Original Man* (1942), *New Original Doctrine* (1945), and *New Words of Knowledge* (1946). Through the 'Zhenyuan Six Books,' Feng Youlan established the New Neo-Confucianism philosophical system, becoming the most influential philosopher in China at the time. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Feng Youlan abandoned his New Neo-Confucianism system, embraced Marxism, and began to study the history of Chinese philosophy guided by Marxism. His works include *Essays on the History of Chinese Philosophy*, *Essays on the History of Chinese Philosophy, Volume II*, *Preliminary Draft of the History of Chinese Philosophy*, *A Retrospective of Forty Years*, and the seven-volume *New Compilation of the History of Chinese Philosophy*.

[6] Fan Lao refers to Fan Wenlan.

[7] Guo Lao refers to Guo Moruo.

Historical Experiences Worth Noting

(November 4, 1968)

Historical experiences are worth noting. A line, a viewpoint, must be frequently and repeatedly taught. It's not enough to limit it to a few; the broad revolutionary masses must know it [1].

[1] This is a portion of Mao Zedong's speech at the Central Cultural Revolution Conference on November 4, 1968. It was quoted in boldface in the editorial "Study the History of the Two-Line Struggle Seriously" published in People's Daily, Red Flag, and Liberation Army Daily. It appeared in the fifth issue of Red Flag, November 24, 1968, and in People's Daily and Liberation Army Daily, November 25.

It is very dangerous for a country to rely solely on foreign countries for weapons [1]

(November 10, 1968)

1

One is steel, one is machinery, and one is the military industry. If we are short of raw materials, we may import some, but we will primarily rely on our own resources. With steel, we can develop the machinery industry; with both the steel and machinery industries, we can build military factories. It is very dangerous for a country to rely solely on foreign countries for its weapons.

2

If we develop it ourselves, within ten to eight years, or at most a dozen years, we can lay a rudimentary foundation. We must cultivate the mindset of self-reliance. Relying on foreign consultants for everything and importing everything is not a viable option, in my opinion. Our country has suffered this loss. During Chiang Kai-shek's time, he did nothing and relied on foreign countries for everything. During that time, including the last years of the Qing Dynasty, he only produced a few tens of thousands of tons of steel annually for decades. This is why he lost the support of the people. Whether he was fighting the Japanese or us, he relied primarily on the United States. In the past, he relied on Britain, and later on the United States. Now, living in Taiwan, he sometimes criticizes the United States, but in reality, he couldn't survive a single day without it.

3

We have made some progress compared to when Chiang Kai-shek ruled, but compared to other industries, we still lag far behind. In many areas, we're still lagging behind, not to mention industrial output per capita compared to countries like Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, the United States, Canada, and the Soviet Union. While we've made progress in some areas, we still have a long way to go in others. If war breaks out, there's nothing we can do but fight and see what happens next.

4

I hope that in a few decades, you will not rely on foreign countries politically, but also economically and militarily—not on any foreign country at all—but on yourselves. I mean, basically on yourselves. If you can't do that in a dozen years, a longer period will be fine. As long as imperialism exists, there will always be trouble. When your foreign minister came, I said to him, "You're a diplomat. What do you mean by complete and thorough disarmament? Is there such a thing?" The truth is, on the contrary, there is no such thing as complete and thorough expansion or disarmament.

[1] Parts 1 to 4 are part of Mao Zedong's conversation with a friendly delegation from the Pakistani armed forces.

Comments on a Briefing Report [1] Forwarded by the Military Commission's Working Group

(November 14, 1968)

Military leaders do not condone the misdeeds of their troops and seek justice for the victims. This attitude is a sign that our country is flourishing.

[1] This briefing report, forwarded to Mao Zedong and others by the Central Military Commission's Office on November 13, 1968, reported on a "serious political incident" in which the Fifth Company of a certain Chinese People's Liberation Army unit opened fire, killing and injuring civilians in a certain location, and the results of the unit's leadership's thorough investigation. This report was published as a meeting document at the "Criticize Lin Biao and Rectify Work Style" conference held by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in May and June 1972.

Comments on the "Important Newspaper" covering Mu Zhongyue's compilation of a history of Chinese wars [1]

(November 15, 1968)

1

To Comrade Huang Yongsheng [2] for his consideration.

Mao Zedong

November 15th

2

If possible, please look for it.

[1] This article was published in the "Important Letters Digest" issue 408, published by the Letters and Visits Office of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee, on November 14, 1968. The diary reports that Mu Zhongyue, a researcher at the Wuhan Municipal Advisory Office (a former major general in the Kuomintang government army who revolted in western Sichuan), wrote to Mao Zedong: "I have committed many crimes against the people. To atone for my sins by performing meritorious service to the Party, I began researching the history of Chinese wars in 1957. By August 1966, I had compiled a draft of the major battles of each dynasty, from the Eastern Jin-Chucheng Campaign to the Zhenrong Campaign, the Northern Song Dynasty's war against the Western Xia. This draft, totaling 31 volumes and over 2.7 million words, covers the major battles of each dynasty." He also stated, "The draft of the battles was confiscated by Red Guards in the early days of the Cultural Revolution. I have now compiled my memory of each volume into a table and a brief summary of the compilation of 'A History of Chinese Wars,' to report to the Chairman." When Mao Zedong read it, he wrote a comment next to this sentence. This is the second part of this item.

[2] Huang Yongsheng was then the Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Supporting Vietnam's policy of both fighting and negotiating [1]

(November 17, 1968)

Because there haven't been any recent wars, you want to negotiate with the United States. You can, but negotiating it out would be difficult. The United States also wants to negotiate with you because it's in a very difficult situation. It has three regional issues to consider: America—the United States, Europe, and Asia. However, it has been heavily concentrating its forces in Asia for several years, creating an imbalance that has displeased American capitalists with European investments. Furthermore, the United States has a history of letting other countries fight, only joining in mid-fight. It was only after World War II that it fought the Korean War and then the Vietnam War, where it led the charge, with other countries rarely participating. Whether it's a special war or a localized war, the United States is committed to it with all its might. Now, it can't afford to pay attention to other countries. For example, its troops in Europe are complaining about being short-staffed, having lost experienced soldiers and commanders, and their good equipment. Isn't the same trend happening with its troops in Japan, Korea, and elsewhere in Asia? Doesn't it claim to have a population of 200 million? Yet it can't withstand a war and can only deploy a few hundred thousand troops, a limited force.

After fighting for over a decade, you should stop focusing solely on your own difficulties and recognize the enemy's. Twenty-three years have passed since Japan's surrender in 1945, and your country still exists. Three imperialist powers once invaded you: Japan, France, and the United States. Yet, your country still exists and has even developed.

Of course, imperialism must fight. Its purpose is, first, to put out fires. If a fire breaks out in your area, it will put it out. Second, it's to generate arms capital. To put out fires, they need to manufacture fire-fighting machinery, which makes money. The United States spends over \$30 billion annually in your area.

The American rule is that they don't want prolonged wars. Their wars usually last about four years. In your area, the fires can't be put out, and instead they burn even wider. Their capitalists are divided into factions, with some groups profiting more and others less. Unequal distribution of the spoils leads to internal unrest. These contradictions can be exploited. Monopoly capitalists who profit less are unwilling to persist in the war. This is evident in the campaign speeches of both factions. In particular, an American journalist named Lippmann recently published an article warning against falling into another trap. He said they had already fallen into one in Vietnam, and the question now was how to climb out of it. He also feared falling into another. Therefore, there is hope for your cause.

In 1966, I spoke with President Ho Chi Minh in Hangzhou. At that time, the US had already resumed fighting against North Vietnam, but had not yet resumed bombing. I said that the

US would probably continue the war until this year, as it was an election year. Whichever president came to power would face this question: would it continue the war, or withdraw now? I thought continuing the war would only increase its difficulties. All of Europe had stayed out of the war, unlike the situation during the Korean War. Japan probably wouldn't join the war, though it might offer some economic assistance; it makes money manufacturing arms. I think the Americans overestimated their own strength in the past. Now they're repeating their past behaviour, over-dispersing their forces. This wasn't just our opinion; even Nixon said the same thing. They're spreading their forces thin not only in America and Europe, but also in Asia. I originally didn't believe they would attack North Vietnam, but then they bombed North Vietnam, and that stopped working. Now that they've stopped bombing, that's working again. Perhaps they'll resume bombing, and my words won't apply again. But one day it will finally work, and the bombing will cease. So I think it's a good idea for you to make some plans.

In short, for all these years, the US Army did not attack North Vietnam, nor did it blockade Hai Phong or bomb downtown Hanoi. It was holding back. At one point, it said it would "pursue you relentlessly," but even when your planes flew in and out of our country, it didn't "pursue you relentlessly." So, those were empty words. Your planes flew in and out of our airports, but it didn't even mention it. For another example, it knew that so many Chinese were working in your country, but it didn't mention it a single word, as if nothing had happened. As for those of us who are currently no longer needed in your country, we can withdraw them. Have you discussed this? If they come again, we'll leave again! Think about which ones you can keep and which ones you can't. Keep those that are useful to you, and withdraw those that aren't. We'll return when they're needed again. It's just like your planes using Chinese airports: use them when you need them, and you don't need to now. That's basically it.

I support your policy of both fighting and negotiating. Some of our comrades are concerned that you might fall for the Americans' deception. I doubt it. Aren't these negotiations just like fighting a war? It's in the midst of war that we gain experience and discover new principles. Sometimes we're bound to be deceived. As you say, Americans don't keep their promises. Johnson [2] publicly stated that even treaties sometimes don't hold water. But there are always rules. For example, are your negotiations going to last a hundred years? Our Prime Minister said that if Nixon doesn't resolve the issue in two more years, it would be difficult for him to be president again.

Another point is that the puppet government in South Vietnam was deeply afraid of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Some Americans claimed that the truly effective and influential force within South Vietnam was not the Saigon government, but the National Liberation Front. This statement wasn't made in the US Congress, but by journalists. However, the person who made the statement didn't mention the name, only that it was a so-called US official. This raises the question: Who was the truly authoritative government in

South Vietnam? Was it Nguyen Van Thieu or Nguyen Huu Tho? So, while the US nominally praised Nguyen Van Thieu's prominence and said he wouldn't attend the Paris negotiations, the reality was different. The US knew that without the participation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the issue could not be resolved.

[1] This is part of a conversation between Mao Zedong and Prime Minister Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

[2] Johnson (1908-1973), a US Democrat, served as US President from 1963 to 1969.

[1]

(November 17, 1968)

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[2] Johnson (1908-1973), a US Democrat, served as US President from 1963 to 1969.

Telegram from Mao Zedong and others congratulating the 24th anniversary of the liberation of Albania

(November 28, 1968)

Tirana

Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania,

Comrade Hanci Rehi, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania,

Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania:

On the glorious occasion of the 24th anniversary of the liberation of your heroic country, on behalf of the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China, and the Chinese people, we extend our warmest congratulations to you, to the great Party of Labor of Albania, to the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, and to the fraternal Albanian people.

For twenty-four years, the heroic Albanian people, under the wise leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor, headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha, have carried forward the proletarian spirit of thoroughgoing revolution and the glorious tradition of arduous struggle, shattered the various schemes and machinations of class enemies at home and abroad, and achieved one great victory after another in the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In recent years, the Albanian Party of Labor has consistently carried out a mass revolutionization movement, pushing the socialist revolution to a more extensive and intensive stage of development. This movement has greatly promoted the revolutionization of people's thinking, advanced the revolution in culture, education, science, and technology, accelerated the development of production, strengthened defense, and further consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. You have made outstanding contributions to enriching and developing Marxism-Leninism.

Socialist Albania has consistently upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, firmly supported the world revolution, and unremittingly waged tit-for-tat struggles against imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism centred on Soviet revisionism, and reactionaries in various countries, setting a glorious example for the revolutionary people of the world.

When the Soviet revisionist renegade clique invaded Czechoslovakia, you ruthlessly exposed the aggressive nature of the Soviet revisionists and their evil conspiracy of collusion between

the United States and the Soviet Union, and resolutely declared your withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact [1], which had become aggressive and anti-socialist and was controlled by the Soviet revisionists. This revolutionary action greatly inspired the revolutionary struggles of the Soviet people and the peoples of Eastern Europe and dealt a heavy blow to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

Heroic Albania, the great beacon of socialism in Europe, radiates ever brighter light and has become a staunch bulwark against imperialism and modern revisionism. The Chinese people express their boundless admiration for the revolutionary heroism of the Albanian people and warmly congratulate you on your tremendous achievements in all fields.

Dear comrades! The world revolution has entered a great new era. The people's revolutionary movement is surging worldwide, launching a fierce offensive against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are beset with internal and external crises, and face numerous crises. We firmly believe that if the peoples of China and Albania unite, and if all those oppressed by U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism, and their running dogs unite, and form a broad united front, we will surely crush the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists' scheme to dominate the world and overthrow the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism, and their running dogs. Victory will surely be ours; victory will surely belong to the revolutionary people of the world.

The great fighting friendship between the Chinese and Albanian parties, peoples, governments, and armies was consolidated and developed amidst the storms of international class struggle, in the struggle against ideologies, revisionism, and various reactionaries. It can withstand any severe test. We reiterate to you: The 700 million Chinese people, who have undergone the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, will serve as the staunch backing of the Albanian people and will unwaveringly support your anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggle at all times and under all circumstances. Let our two parties, peoples, governments, and armies encourage each other, support each other, learn from each other, and advance hand in hand in our common struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism, and their running dogs!

Long live the heroic Albanian people!

Long live the eternal, unbreakable great friendship between the Chinese and Albanian peoples!

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Mao Zedong

Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Lin Biao

Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Zhou Enlai

November 28, 1968

[1] The Warsaw Pact refers to the treaty signed in Warsaw on May 14, 1955, by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, and Albania. It entered into force on June 4 of the same year and remained in effect for 20 years. The treaty pledged to promote "international peace and security" and "the peaceful settlement of international disputes." When the treaty came into effect, the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) was established, with its headquarters in Moscow. In August 1968, the Soviet Union, under the guise of the Warsaw Pact, sent troops into Czechoslovakia. In September of the same year, Albania announced its withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact.

On the Question of War and Revolution [1]

(November 28, 1968)

1

Mao Zedong (hereinafter referred to as Mao): I would like to ask you a question. Do you have this feeling: What should be done with imperialism? In other words, should it start a world war? Or should it hold off for now and fight later? Do you have this feeling in your contacts with your country and European powers?

Hill (hereinafter referred to as Hill): I don't think they have made up their minds yet. They are facing enormous difficulties. It seems they won't fight for the time being, at least they don't have the power to launch a world-wide war. Most people share this view. On the other hand, because they have lost their ability to make judgments, there is a risk of a major conflict. But overall, they are not in a position to launch a major war for the time being.

Mao: If we have to fight, we can fight the two big powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Next are the defeated powers, Japan, West Germany, and Italy. As for Britain and France, they don't really want to fight.

Zhou Enlai (hereinafter referred to as Zhou): Charles de Gaulle's [2] military budget has been reduced a bit.

Mao: Even Japan and West Germany don't seem to want to fight. West Germany wants to annex East Germany and unify Germany. Japan wants to take back Okinawa. In fact, Japan is not yet independent.

Zhou: The United States controls them militarily, with numerous military bases there.

Mao: The situation after World War II seems somewhat different from that after World War I. I'm not sure if these views are correct. After World War II, the defeated countries could not separate themselves from the victorious powers, not only in finance and investment, but also in international politics and military affairs. This is different from the situation after World War I. After World War I, Hitler rose to power within a few years.

Zhou: He did not recognize the Treaty of Versailles.

Mao: He did not recognize the Treaty of Versailles. At the time, the workers, intellectuals, and students in these countries still obeyed the government. Yet, Germany's large Communist Party collapsed in an instant.

Zhou: The Italian Communist Party collapsed even more rapidly.

Mao: The Social Democratic Party is finished. Hitler established the National Socialist Party [3] and the SA. As for the United States, following the pattern of the past two world wars, it

always waited two years before engaging in the conflict. Right now, the United States is bearing the brunt of the fighting in both Korea and Vietnam, and still has 200,000 troops in Europe, primarily in West Germany. The United States has 500,000 troops in South Vietnam, two divisions totaling over 70,000 in South Korea, and also in Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Thailand. Its forces are already very dispersed. It has two hands stretched out, one in Europe and the other in Asia, engaging in minor battles. Of course, the monopoly capitalists still have their own plans.

Zhou: They can make money.

Mao: If there's no war for a long time, the monopoly capitalists will be unhappy. The monopoly capitalists, including those in Australia, would like to contribute some troops, but the numbers are limited.

2

Mao: It seems they are preparing to expand the war, whether it's the United States, the Soviet Union, or other countries. Judging from these circumstances, it seems war is imminent. I'm unsure about this question, so I'd like to ask you for your advice. I'm not expecting a quick answer. Could you please observe this issue? We can discuss it again when we meet again within a year. However, we must also take into account the people's awareness.

The US halted its bombing of North Vietnam, and the American troops in South Vietnam were delighted and cheered. This suggests their morale is not very high.

Twenty-three years have passed since Japan surrendered in 1915. In fact, wars of all kinds have never ceased since World War II. As Lenin said, imperialism is war. It simply cannot do without war.

There are two major powers in the world. They possess not only conventional weapons but also atomic bombs. These weapons are not easy to tread, and they know it. Khrushchev's [4] theory is that a nuclear war would destroy the earth, leaving no winners. The United States agrees. These two major powers are nuclear powers. Our country can still be considered a non-nuclear power, but our small number of nuclear weapons doesn't count. If we were to fight, we would have to use conventional weapons. Because we are neither the US nor the Soviet Chief of Staff, we have no idea what they are planning; we can only judge based on their actions. The two countries have comparable populations, and even if a major war were to take place, they would still feel a shortage of manpower. Even in a medium-sized war, such as the one being fought in Vietnam today, the United States faces manpower constraints, especially for pilots.

3

Mao: How long does it take to get from your home to Hong Kong?

Hill: The flight takes over ten hours. Australia to Hong Kong is 4,500 miles, about 7,000 kilometres.

Mao: I think the world needs to be unified. There are miles, nautical miles, kilometres, and so many languages. But it's not easy to unify languages all at once. Once the world is unified, things will be much easier. This planet will eventually be unified.

In the past, the Mongols, the Roman Empire, Alexander the Great, Napoleon, and the British Empire in the West, and now the United States and the Soviet Union, all sought world unification. Hitler also wanted world unification, and the Japanese sought Pacific unification, but none of them succeeded. I don't think this possibility has been eliminated. Capitalism forces people around the world to accept capitalism, which is one way to achieve unification. A second option is for the people of all countries to rise up in revolution and then unite. I think that will achieve unification. It probably won't be easy for internal imperialism or revisionism to unify the world. Could we wage a world atomic war, annihilate the world's population almost completely, and then have the two giants, the United States and the Soviet Union, unify the world? But these two countries have small populations, and if they were to disperse, they wouldn't have enough. They'd also be afraid of atomic war. They wouldn't be afraid of annihilating other countries' populations, which would be a waste of their own. Secondly, the countries in the intermediate zone—Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, and Italy—would probably not be willing to fight. Ultimately, we'd probably have to take the Marxist path, with revolution by the people of each country and then free union. What about the US dollar, British pound, Australian dollar, franc, mark, and ruble? Just lump them all together. Why bother with all these distinctions?

The Vietnam War differed from the Korean War in that all of Europe did not participate. In the Korean War, Britain, France, Türkiye, and Belgium all participated.

I've only posed this question. I'd like to think about it. Should I also ask you to consider this world issue, the issue of war, the question of war and peace? Is it war, or revolution? Does war lead to revolution, or can revolution prevent war?

[1] Chapters 1 to 3 are part of the conversation between Mao Zedong and Hill, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist).

[2] Charles de Gaulle, then President of France.

[3] The National Socialist Party, also known as the National Socialist German Workers' Party, is abbreviated as the Nazi Party.

[4] Khrushchev, former First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was removed from his leadership position in October 1964.

Comments on the Beijing Military Region's implementation of the directive "Practice Thrift in Making Revolution" [1]

(November 1968)

May be forwarded.

[1] The report of the Beijing Military Region Party Committee of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, dated October 29, 1968, stated that the vast majority of officers and soldiers in our military region resolutely responded to Chairman Mao's great call to "practice thrift in making revolution" and carried out a widespread and in-depth mass thrift campaign. This campaign further tempered the troops' unwavering loyalty to Chairman Mao, promoted the ideological revolutionization of personnel, and carried forward the glorious tradition of hard work of our Party and Army, achieving new successes in thrift and diligence. This year, the entire military region froze, compressed, and reduced over 73 million yuan in funds. During the past winter and Spring Festival, approximately 90,000 tons of coal were used for heating. A number of small and medium-sized industries were built at a high speed and with high quality. On November 19, when the Central Military Commission's working group sent this report to Mao Zedong and others for questioning, it wrote: "The Military Commission's working group has discussed this report and believes it is excellent. It intends to circulate it to the entire army." Mao Zedong underlined this and wrote this comment.

Comments on the article "The Cooperative Medical System Deeply Welcomed by Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants" published in the People's Daily [1]

(1968)

This should be done.

Furthermore, the question of whether urban primary and secondary schools can be jointly run by factories and neighbourhood committees should also be discussed. [2] Both Shanghai and Beijing have some materials that can be published. Wu Yanyin's letter [3] seems like it could also be published.

[1] On November 30, 1968, Yao Wenyuan, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's Cultural Revolution Group, wrote a report to Mao Zedong, stating that after verifying a report on the cooperative medical system in Leyuan Commune, Changyang County, Hubei Province, two symposiums were held in the suburbs of Beijing, and that materials had been compiled. "Could the commentary, the report, and the symposium summary be published in the newspaper in a couple of days to initiate discussion? Please approve." Mao Zedong's comments were written on Yao Wenyuan's report. On December 5, the People's Daily, with an editorial note, published an article by the Investigation Team of the Zhichang District Revolutionary Committee, the Changyang County Revolutionary Committee, and the Changyang County People's Armed Forces Department, titled "The Cooperative Medical System Deeply Welcomed by Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants," and "Opinions of the Huangcun and Liangxiang Communes on the Implementation of the Cooperative Medical System in Leyuan Commune—Minutes of a Symposium with Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants, Rural Grassroots Cadres, and Commune Medical Personnel."

[2] On November 14, 1968, the People's Daily published a letter from the public titled "Suggesting that All Public Primary Schools Be Decentralized to the Brigade." The following day, a special column titled "Discussion on Decentralizing Public Primary Schools to the Brigade" was launched. Starting with the seventh issue, published on December 2, 1968, the column added discussion on how urban primary and secondary schools should be run, beginning with the question of whether they could be jointly managed by factories and neighbourhood committees. This discussion column continued until August 1976, totalling 197 issues.

[3] Refers to the letter from the famous educator Wu Yanyin entitled "My Views on 'Suggestions'."

Comments on the Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory's experience report on implementing the 'give them a way out' policy in the struggle against the enemy [1]

(December 1, 1968)

1

Comrades Lin, Zhou, and others involved in the Cultural Revolution:

It is recommended that this document be forwarded to all localities for reference. When dealing with counter-revolutionary elements and those who have made mistakes, it is essential to adhere to policy guidelines: the scope of repression should be narrow, while the scope of education should be broad. Emphasis must be placed on evidence, thorough investigation and research, and strict prohibition of coercion, extortion, and false confessions. For those who have made mistakes but are otherwise good people, more educational work should be conducted, and once they have gained awareness, they should be promptly released.

Mao Zedong

December 1st

2

This factory [2] has 3,000 workers, with a total of 10,000 people including family members.

3

There are many comrades like this, and they should all be liberated and given work. - Mao's note [3]

[1] This refers to the experience report by the Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team of the 8341st Unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed at the Xinhua Printing Factory in Beijing and Xinhua News Agency reporters on the experience of the Revolutionary Committee of the Xinhua Printing Factory in resolutely implementing the Party's 'give them a way out' policy in the struggle against enemies. The report states that the Revolutionary Committee of the Xinhua Printing Factory in Beijing "resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's "give them a way out" policy. For the 68 class enemies who had been identified throughout the factory, they mobilised the masses, relied on the masses, and, based on repeated investigations, repeated studies, and repeated verifications, made appropriate decisions and dispositions based on the severity of the crimes of the class enemies, the quality of their confessions, and their expressions of repentance and reform. They gave them different ways out. On 29 November 1968, the Beijing Revolutionary Committee submitted this report to Mao Zedong and others. This article consists of Mao Zedong's

comments on the review report submitted by the Beijing Revolutionary Committee; the second and third parts are two notes added by Mao Zedong to the experience report of the Xinhua Printing Factory. On 3 December, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution Group issued the 'Report on the Beijing Revolutionary Committee's Forwarding of the Xinhua Printing Factory's Experience in Firmly Implementing the Party's "Give Way" Policy in the Struggle Against the Enemy' for reference by localities. Regarding the issue of the Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory identifying so-called '68 class enemies,' the report approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on 28 September 1979, submitted by the Beijing Municipal Committee and the State Publishing Bureau on the complete exoneration of the Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory, stated that the 'Gang of Four' in 1968 fabricated a false experience document at the Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory, which should be rejected; all the slanderous and false accusations imposed on the factory's cadres should be overturned; and all the wrongful cases caused should be rectified.

[2] Refers to Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory.

[3] In the report titled 'Experience Report on the Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory Revolutionary Committee's Resolute Implementation of the Party's "Give Them a Way Out" Policy in the Struggle Against the Enemy,' it is mentioned that the factory had a deputy party secretary who was previously labelled as a capitalist roader during the movement and subjected to criticism and struggle. 'After repeated verification and study, it was determined that he had merely followed the revisionist line and committed serious errors.' However, this individual came from a very difficult background and had once begged for food in the old society. Everyone believed that he was essentially a good person. After being subjected to criticism by the masses, he gained a relatively profound understanding of his mistakes. During his re-education process, he performed well, so it was determined that he could be released. At a meeting attended by representatives from each company, he made a self-criticism, and the majority agreed to release him. The Revolutionary Committee also planned to have him make a self-criticism across the entire factory." Following this, Mao Zedong added this note in brackets.

Telegram from Mao Zedong and others congratulating the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam on its eighth anniversary

(December 19, 1968)

Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam:

On the eighth anniversary of the founding of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China, and the government of the People's Republic of China, we extend our warmest congratulations to the people of South Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, who stand at the forefront of the anti-U.S. struggle.

For eight years, the heroic people of South Vietnam have unleashed a revolutionary spirit of courage, tenacity, and perseverance. Under extremely difficult conditions, they have persevered in the people's war, annihilating large numbers of the effective forces of the U.S. puppet and vassal forces, and leaving the U.S. invaders completely defeated and cornered. The great victory achieved by the people of South Vietnam in the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Save the Nation has laid the foundation for the final defeat of U.S. imperialism and the realization of the great goals of liberating the South, defending the North, and ultimately reunifying the motherland. It has also made a contribution to the revolutionary struggles of oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world.

The practice of the Vietnamese people's war to resist U.S. aggression and save the nation has once again proven that U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger, strong on the outside but weak on the inside. Its strength is limited, and it cannot withstand the blow of the people's war and can be completely defeated.

Unwilling to resign itself to its defeat in Vietnam, U.S. imperialism is waging a desperate struggle, resorting to the counter-revolutionary tactics of military adventures and political deception. The traitorous Soviet revisionist clique is intensifying its dirty political dealings with the U.S. imperialists to help them extinguish the revolutionary flames of the Vietnamese people. However, all the machinations and schemes of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists will not prevail against the time-tested Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people's war against the US and for national salvation is a just war. We believe that the 31 million heroic Vietnamese people, under the leadership of their great leader, President Ho Chi Minh, will persevere in the people's war and overcome the difficulties on the road ahead, drive the US and its invaders out of Vietnamese territory, and achieve final victory in the war against the US and for national salvation.

The 700 million Chinese people firmly support the Vietnamese people in carrying the war against the US and for national salvation to the end!

Final victory will surely belong to the heroic Vietnamese people!

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Mao Zedong

Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Lin Biao

Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Zhou Enlai

December 19, 1968

Comments on a Central Military Commission reply [1]

(December 1968)

Please be careful not to write this kind of statement in the future.

Chairman Mao

[1] At the end of the December 1968 draft of the Central Military Commission's reply to the National Defense Science and Technology Commission and the Air Force approving the use of aircraft in nuclear testing, the words "Respectfully wish our great leader Chairman Mao a long life!" were written. During the review, Mao Zedong deleted this slogan and wrote this note instead.

Comments on the Shenyang Military Region Party Committee's Report on the Investigation of Rural Commune and Brigade Leadership Teams

(December 1968)

It is recommended that this document [1] be forwarded to various locations for reference.

[1] This refers to a report submitted by the Shenyang Military Region Committee of the Communist Party of China to Mao Zedong and others on November 30, 1968. The report stated that in preparation for the rural struggle, criticism, and reform campaign this winter and next spring, the various units of the military region organized over 1,100 investigation teams to conduct field investigations. Based on the surveyed leadership teams of 3,598 communes and teams in 34 counties, they can be roughly divided into three categories: the first category is good, accounting for approximately 20%; the second category is intermediate, accounting for approximately 60%, with leadership in these teams essentially held by poor and lower-middle peasants; and the third category is bad, accounting for approximately 13% to 15%. These teams are seriously impure, with bad elements generally in power. The investigation shows that the fundamental issue in the struggle between the two lines in rural areas is the leadership team. Resolving this issue is the focus of the rural struggle, criticism, and reform campaign this winter and next spring. The agricultural support units should adopt different approaches based on the different situations of the leadership teams, highlighting key points and concentrating their efforts on a decisive battle. On December 7, the CPC Central Committee, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group forwarded this report based on Mao Zedong's instructions.

Comments on the National Defense Science and Technology Commission's request for instructions on launching the Dongfeng-3 medium-range surface-to-surface missile [1]

(December 1968)

Implement this.

[1] On December 7, 1968, Wang Bingzhang, Deputy Director of the National Defense Science and Technology Commission, and others submitted a report to the Central Military Commission's Office Group, stating that, in accordance with the "Dongfeng-3" surface-to-surface missile test plan approved by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin Biao in April 1968, full-range flight tests should continue using two test missiles. The vast majority of workers and technicians were confident that the quality of assembly could be guaranteed and requested that flight tests be conducted as soon as possible as a tribute to the Ninth National Congress. "We hereby report this and request your approval." Mao Zedong's comments were written on the report forwarded by the Central Military Commission Office Group on December 12.

Comments on the People's Daily's report on urban residents in Huining County settling in rural areas [1]

(December 1968)

This can be distributed [2].

[1] This refers to a report published in the Gansu Daily on December 10, 1968. The report stated that, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, some urban residents in Huining County, Gansu Province, long separated from the workforce, had flocked to the front lines of agricultural production, settling in rural areas and determined to become workers with socialist consciousness. Currently, 178 households and 932 people in the county have settled in production teams in 13 communes. On December 22, the People's Daily reprinted this report with an editor's note.

[2] This comment was written on a report submitted to Mao Zedong for review by Yao Wenyan, a member of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on December 19, 1968. In his report, Yao Wenyan wrote: "This material was originally published in the Gansu Daily on December 10th. I find it quite good. After verification, I have added a note and have compiled and quoted a passage from your latest directive to implement the 'mobilization'." The editorial note from the People's Daily, submitted by Yao Wenyan for review, noted: "Some urban residents of Huining County, Gansu Province, who have long been out of work, including a group of educated youth, have flocked to the socialist countryside to settle down there. This is a new trend worthy of vigorous promotion. They say, 'We have two hands too; we won't live off the land in the city!' This is quite true." "I hope that the vast majority of educated youth and urban residents who have been out of work will enthusiastically respond to Chairman Mao's great call and go to the front lines of agricultural production!" The Gansu Daily report originally stated: "Urban residents who have been out of productive labour to settle down in the countryside and participate in agricultural production is a century-long plan to prevent and combat revisionism and is the correct way to gradually eliminate the urban-rural divide." During Mao Zedong's review, he deleted the phrase "is the correct way to gradually eliminate the urban-rural divide." When the People's Daily reprinted this sentence, it was amended to read, "This is the correct path to gradually narrow the urban-rural gap."

Call for educated youth to go to the countryside

(1968)

It is very necessary for intellectuals to go to the countryside to receive re-education from the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants. We must persuade urban cadres and others to send their children who have graduated from junior high school, high school, and university to the countryside, and launch a campaign to mobilise them. Comrades in rural areas should welcome them. [1]

[1] In a note published on 22 December 1968, the People's Daily reprinted an article from the Gansu Daily about urban residents in Huining County settling down in rural areas, quoting Mao Zedong's words in bold type.

Comments and revisions on the draft notice from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution Group regarding the need to pay attention to policy in the struggle against the enemy. [1]

(December 1968)

1

There is one modification, please discuss.

2

Among those who have committed capitalist errors, only a minority refuse to repent, while the majority can be educated and corrected. Do not assume that all 'capitalist roaders' are bad people.

3

Even the children of counter-revolutionaries and unrepentant capitalists should not be called 'children of the black gang,' but rather should be regarded as part of the majority or large majority who can be educated (referred to as 'children who can be educated'), to show that they are different from their families. In practice, there will be a small number of people who remain stubborn, but the majority can definitely be won over.

[1] These comments were written on the draft notice submitted for review by Yao Wenyuan, a member of the Central Committee's Cultural Revolution Group, on 17 December 1968. The second clause of the draft notice states: "When referring to the names of enemies, one should adhere to the terminology explicitly stipulated in the Central Committee's previous documents, such as: traitors, spies, unrepentant capitalists, unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists who have not been properly re-educated, current counter-revolutionaries, etc. Do not use vague terminology that blurs the distinction between the two types of contradictions and broadens the scope of re-education." Following this, Mao Zedong added a sentence, which constitutes Part Two of the comments. The fourth clause of the notice states: "For the children of counter-revolutionary elements and those who have made mistakes, more ideological education work should be conducted to gradually persuade the majority to accept re-education by the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and isolate the few who persist in opposing the people." Following this, Mao Zedong added a paragraph, which is Part Three of the comments. On 26 December 1968, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution Group issued this notice.

Opinion on the Grand Alliance of the Two Factions of Mass Organisations in Xuzhou [1]

(1968 to 1969)

1

Both factions in Xuzhou are revolutionary mass organisations and should unite.

2

Xuzhou has already been turned upside down several times, and it can no longer be turned upside down again.

3

One faction is ineffective, but two factions are effective. One faction cannot rule alone, but two factions can rule together.

4

If you explain the policy clearly, most people will accept it.

[1] This article consists of four consecutive directives issued by Mao Zedong between 1968 and 1969 in response to the prolonged failure to achieve a revolutionary alliance in the Xuzhou-Haizhou region of Jiangsu Province. In a report dated 26 July 1969 requesting the reorganisation of the Xuzhou Revolutionary Committee, the Party Committee of the 68th Army of the Chinese People's Liberation Army quoted these four directives in bold type in its request for approval to reorganise the Xuzhou Municipal Revolutionary Committee. This report was later submitted as an appendix to the 68th Army Party Committee's 'Report on Several Issues Regarding the Implementation of the Spirit of the Ninth National Congress' titled 'Request for Approval to Reorganise the Xuzhou Municipal Revolutionary Committee' for review by Mao Zedong and others. On 29 July 1969, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved the 68th Army Party Committee's 'Report on Several Issues Regarding the Implementation of the Spirit of the Ninth National Congress' and its appendix. When reviewing the Central Committee's comments, Mao Zedong wrote: 'Proceed as instructed.'

1968: Writings and Speeches

Mao Zedong

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