

## APPENDIX

### MAO TSE-TUNG'S PRIVATE LETTER TO CHIANG CH'ING\* (July 8, 1966)

Chiang Ch'ing:

Your letter of June 29 has been received. It is better for you to stay there longer as suggested by Comrade Wei (1) and Comrade Ch'en. (2) This month I shall have to give audience to two foreign guests. I will tell you my schedule after the audience. Since I left Wulin on June 15, I stayed in a cave in the west for some ten days. There the communication was not very good. I arrived at Paiyun Huang Ho on June 28. Since then, ten days have elapsed. Here I read materials every day; it is an interesting work. The situation changes from a great upheaval to a great peace once every seven or eight years. Ghosts and monsters jumped out by themselves. Their destiny being decided by their own class, they had to jump out. The Central urged me to publish the address of my friend [Lin Piao] (3), and I have prepared to agree with it.

His address was devoted entirely to a political coup. There has never been any address like his before. I was quite uneasy at some of his thinking. I have never believed that the several booklets I wrote would have so much supernatural power. Now,

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\*"Mao Tse-tung chih Chiang Ch'ing ssu-han," an appendix to the "top-secret" document Chung-fa, No. 25 (September 1972), issued by the Central Committee as study material for the campaign against Lin Piao. The text was released by Taiwan sources and published in Chung-yang jih-pao [Central Daily], November 4, 1972. This translation, and notes, is taken, with permission, from Issues & Studies, IX:4 (January 1973), 94-96.

after he exaggerated them, the whole nation has exaggerated them just as Wang P'o bragged about the melons she sold. I was driven by them to join the rebels of the Liangshan Mountain. (4) It seems that I have to concur with them. It is the first time in my life that I unwillingly concur with others on major questions. I have to do things against my own will! Yüan Chi (5) of the Chin dynasty was opposed to Liu Pang. (6) Yüan traveled from Loyang to Chengkao. A humble man as he was became renowned because there were no heroes in the world at that time. Lu Hsün had corrected his own articles. He and I are of one mind; I like his straightforwardness. He said that he "anatomized himself more strictly than others." After having fallen down several times, I often do as he did. But our comrades often do not believe it. I have self-confidence but also some doubt. I once said when I was in my teens that I believed I could live two hundred years and sweep three thousand lis. (7) I was haughty in appearance and attitude. But somewhat I doubt myself and always feel that when tigers are absent from the mountain, the monkey there professes himself a king. I have become such a king. But it does not mean eclecticism. In my mind there is some air of tiger which is primary, and also some air of monkey which is secondary. I once quoted Li Ku's letter (8) to Huang Ch'ung (9) of the Han dynasty as saying "A tall thing is easy to break; a white thing is easy to stain. The white snow in spring can hardly find its match; a high reputation is difficult to live up to." The last two sentences refer exactly to me. I have also read these passages at one of the standing committee meetings of the Central Politburo.

It is valuable to know oneself. At the Hangchow Conference (10) held in April this year, I expressed my opinion, which was different from that of my friend's [Lin Piao's]. I could do nothing else. In the conference held in May in Peking, he spoke in the same manner. The press spoke even more so, describing me as a god. In that situation, I could only go up to Liangshan. I guessed that their very intention was to strike the ghosts by the help of Chung K'uei. (11) I became Chung K'uei of the Communist Party as early as in the 1960s. Things always go to-

ward the opposite side. The higher a thing is blown up, the more serious it is hurt at the fall. I am now prepared to be broken to pieces. This does not bother me. For the matter can never be destroyed; I may become pieces, that's all. There are more than one hundred parties (12) in the world. Most of the parties no longer believe in Marxism. Even Marx and Lenin have been smashed by them, much less we. I suggest that you should also pay attention to this problem and should not become dizzy with success. (13) You should remind yourself often of your weak points, shortcomings, and mistakes. On this I have talked with you numerous times, and I did so last April in Shanghai. The above seem to be black words. But don't the anti-Party elements say so? I feel that some methods of their presentation are not very appropriate; I mean the effect on me. What they want to do is overthrow our Party and myself. This is the difference between me and the black gang. These words cannot be made public at the present time since all the Leftists say so now. Publication of these words will mean pouring cold water on them, which helps the Rightists. Our current task is to overthrow a part of (it is not possible to overthrow all of) the Rightists in all the Party and throughout the country. We shall launch another movement for sweeping up the ghosts and monsters after seven or eight years, and will launch more of this movement later.

I cannot determine when we should publish these words, for the Leftists and the broad masses of people do not welcome my saying so. Maybe we should wait until I die when the Rightists come to power, and let them do the publication. The Rightists may attempt to use my words to hold high the black banner. By so doing, they would get behind the eight ball. In China, after the emperor was overthrown in 1911, reactionaries could not hold power long. If there arises an anticommunist rightist political coup in China, I am certain that it will not be peaceful, and very probably would be short-lived. For all revolutionaries, who represent the interest of 95 percent of the people, would not tolerate it. At that time, the Rightists may prevail for some time by using my words, but the Leftists may also organize some of my other words to overthrow the Rightists. The Cul-

tural Revolution this time is a large-scale and serious maneuver. In some areas (such as Peking Municipality), the revolutionaries resurrected overnight. Some units (such as Peking University and Tsing Hua University) collapsed quickly because of their involved and complicated ingredients. As a rule, where the Rightists are more rampant, the worse they will be defeated and more vigorous the Leftists will be. This is a nationwide maneuver in which the Leftists, Rightists, and the staggering fence-sitters will absorb useful lessons. The conclusion is, and still is: our future is bright, but the road before us is twisted.

### Notes

1) Comrade Wei refers to Wei Wen-po, secretary of the CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee and concurrently secretary of the Eastern China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee during the Cultural Revolution.

2) Comrade Ch'en refers to Ch'en P'i-hsien, first secretary of the CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee, and concurrently secretary of the Eastern China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee and first political commissar of the Shanghai Garrison District Command. Both Wei Wen-po and Ch'en P'i-hsien were criticized, struggled against, and paraded by the Red Guards and rebels during the power-seizure struggle in January 1967.

3) The "friend" refers to Lin Piao, and the "address of my friend" to Lin Piao's address at the enlarged meeting of the CCP Central Politburo held on May 18, 1966. In the address, Lin dealt with the crisis of a possible political coup at the highest level of the Communist regime and Mao's efforts to put the clamp on it. Lin also flattered Mao as being a "genius" of modern Marxism-Leninism and called for a mass movement for living study and application of Mao's works.

4) "Driven to join the Liangshan mountain rebels" — an old Chinese saying derived from the Chinese classic novel All Men Are Brothers. Most of the characters in this novel were good men originally, but later joined the bandits on Liangshan because of persecution by corrupt government officials.

5) Yüan Chi, one of the noted scholars in Chin Dynasty (265-419 A.D.).

6) Liu Pang, the first emperor of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.).

7) Li — A unit of Chinese measure equal to about 600 meters.

8) Li Ku alias Tzu Chien, defense minister during the reign of Emperor Chung (145-146 A. D.).

9) Huang Ch'ung alias Shih Ying, a noted statesman during the reign of Emperor Shun (126-144 A.D.).

10) "Hangchow Conference" refers to the Enlarged Meeting of the Standing Committee, CCP Central Politburo, held in April-May 1966. The meeting was first presided over by Mao in Hangchow, and later removed to Peking and was chaired by Lin Piao. It was in these two conferences that the criticism in the press was transformed into actions. Resolutions adopted in the meeting included (1) rescinding the "February Outline" drafted by P'eng Chen and others, deactivating the five-man "Cultural Revolution Group" and establishing the "Central Cultural Revolution Group" under the Standing Committee, Central Politburo; (2) reorganizing the CCP Peking Municipal Committee and dismissing P'eng Chen and others from the Party offices; (3) reorganizing the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee, dismissing Lu Ting-i and others from office, and reorganizing the People's Daily; and (4) determining the crimes of "counterrevolutionary revisionists" P'eng Chen, Lu Ting-i, Lo Jui-ch'ing, and Yang Shang k'un.

11) Chung K'uei, a character in Chinese legend, said to be a chin-shih that Emperor Hsüan Tsung (713-742 A.D.) met in his dream. According to the emperor, Chung K'uei had power to repel ghosts and evil spirits. After he awoke, the emperor ordered a painter to draw Chung K'uei's picture based on his impression in the dream. The picture later was reproduced and adopted by civilians who posted it on their doors on the eve of the New Year to protect their houses against the invasion of ghosts.

12) The "parties" here refers to Communist parties.

13) "Success" refers to the victory of the Cultural Revolution.