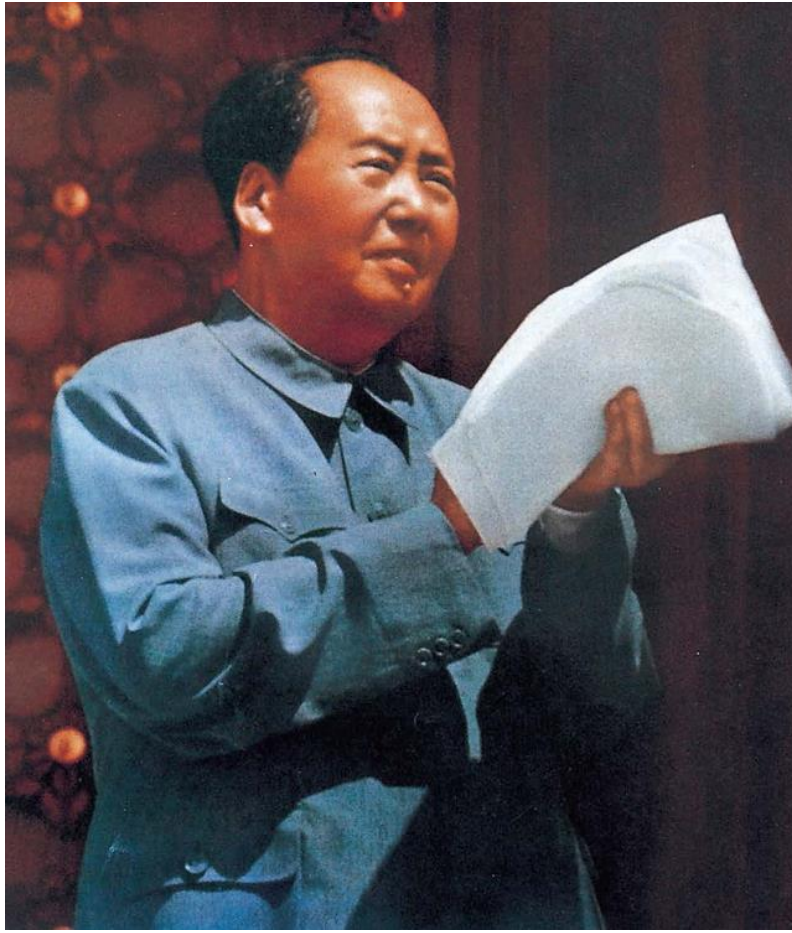




On May 20, 1970, Mao Zedong issued a statement titled "People of the World Unite to Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs."

1970:

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 50 and 51 that span the year 1970. 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 Jiang Qing's Not Needing to Serve as Honorary Principal of the Beijing May 7th Art School [1]

(January 1970)

Jiang Qing [2] is not required to serve as Honorary Principal.

[1] This comment was written in a letter Zhou Enlai sent to Mao Zedong and others on January 22, 1970. The letter stated: "According to the two letters sent by Comrade Jiang Qing, discussions were held at the relevant Politburo meeting on the 21st. Comrade Jiang Qing also explained that the May 7th Art School currently under preparation is intended to be located in Beijing, using the former Labor University as its campus. There are over 400 acres of farmland nearby, which can be used for agricultural labour training. At the same time, a Shanghai May 7th Art School is also planned to be established in Shanghai."

"Regarding the organizational structure, academic system, enrolment plan, and leadership of the Beijing May 7th Art School, we agree with the opinions put forward in the two reports. Chairman, please give your approval on whether it is appropriate." The January 21 report of the May 7th Art School Provisional Preparatory Committee, which Zhou Enlai attached, proposed that Jiang Qing be appointed Honorary President of the Art School and Xie Fuzhi (then a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Vice Premier of the State Council, and Director of the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee) be appointed Honorary Political Commissar.

[2] Jiang Qing was then a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

Comments on Kang Sheng's report forwarding Chen Yuan's letter [1]

(January 1970)

Agree. We must win over intellectuals like these.

[1] On January 25, 1970, Kang Sheng, a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, relayed a letter from Chen Yuan, former president of Beijing Normal University, to Mao Zedong. He wrote that Chen Yuan's former secretary and waiter had returned to the university to participate in the Cultural Revolution, leaving Chen without a caregiver. After consultation with the university, Chen's secretary and waiter had been assigned back to Chen's place. Chen, therefore, wrote to express his gratitude for the Party Central Committee's concern for him. Chen wanted to donate his books and 40,000 yuan in royalties to the Party. We exchanged views at a Politburo meeting and decided to write a letter to encourage his spirit. We also explained that the Beijing Library was currently undergoing a struggle, criticism, and transformation campaign, and that it would be best for his books and documents to remain in his own care for the time being. We also suggested that he be persuaded to keep his royalties to support his livelihood. Mao Zedong, after reading the letter, wrote this comment.

Comments on the Central Committee's Draft Directive on Combating Counter-Revolutionary Sabotage Activities [1]

(January 1970)

To be carried out.

[1] The draft directive submitted by Zhou Enlai and others for review on January 30, 1970, stated that in order to implement war preparations and consolidate national defense, all sabotage activities by counter-revolutionaries must be resolutely cracked down on. First, the masses must be mobilized vigorously. Second, key areas must be highlighted. The focus of the crackdown must be on active counter-revolutionaries. Third, a strict distinction must be made between contradictions of different natures, distinguishing between friend and foe, and between minor and major offenses. Fourth, extensive and in-depth propaganda and mobilization must be carried out. Fifth, approval authority must be unified. Killings must be approved by the provincial, municipal, and autonomous region revolutionary committees and reported to the central government for record. Sixth, leadership must be strengthened. Zhou Enlai wrote in his report for review: "After much discussion, we believe it is necessary to issue this directive to crack down on the sabotage activities of a small group of counter-revolutionaries during war preparations and mobilization." Mao Zedong, after reading it, wrote this comment. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued this directive on January 31.

Long March

To the tune of Charm of a Maiden Singer

(January 1970)

The grandeur of ten thousand miles
is not far away,
the smoke of war is shaking the five rivers.
Snow-capped mountains,
desolate grasslands,
scattered and fleeing across several countries.
Behind the Wei Mountain pass,
unknown to the world,
conspiracies emerge in youth.

Looking back, how much work do I have now?
Look at my precious sword,
there will never be a day of peace.
My early years were wasted,
but now I am turning stones into gold.
an old horse, resting in his slumber,
I am even more vigorous.
I must do things thoroughly.
The country is now settled,
who dares to boast about achievements?

Comments on the Outline of the Speech Criticizing Wang Ming's Capitulationism [1]

(February 4, 1970)

Comrade Kang Sheng:

This document can be handled according to your opinion. In a sentence, “praise the emperor” was written as “annoy the emperor”. Please correct it.

Mao Zedong

February 4, 1970

[1] This is a comment on a report submitted to Mao Zedong on January 30, 1970, by Kang Sheng, a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. In his report, Kang Sheng wrote: "Last year, when compiling the fifth volume of Mao's Selected Works, I recalled that at the September 1941 Politburo meeting, the Chairman had written an outline for a speech criticizing Wang Ming's capitulationism." "At the Politburo meeting on January 26 of this year, I reported this matter. Upon hearing of this outline, the comrades unanimously requested that several copies be printed for the Politburo comrades to review." "I have now prepared a draft and am sending it to the Chairman for review. I also ask whether it should be printed and distributed to all Politburo comrades for their perusal. I hope to receive the Chairman's approval." In 1941, Mao Zedong, in response to Wang Ming's tendency to compromise on the issue of the united front, wrote: "He knows how to praise the emperor without proposing any tasks." "He does not make class analysis and has no Leninist spirit." "He adheres to the principle of the masses, and compromises as well as the principle of struggle." In the speech outline Kang Sheng submitted for review, the phrase "praise the emperor" was printed as "annoy the emperor." Mao Zedong corrected this during his review.

Comments on the Central Committee's Draft Notice on Opposing Extravagance and Waste

[1]

(February 1970)

Implement this.

[1] The draft notice, submitted for review by Zhou Enlai and others on February 1, 1970, pointed out that some units were engaging in large-scale construction, displaying extravagance, entertaining guests and giving gifts, and squandering state funds. This extravagant and wasteful bourgeois style must be taken seriously. To this end, the Central Committee reiterated: 1. The construction, expansion, and renovation of buildings, halls, libraries, and institutions are strictly prohibited; 2. No high-standard urban construction projects are permitted anywhere, and the arbitrary demolition of houses is prohibited; 3. All non-productive buildings and living facilities in new or expanded enterprises and "May 7th" Cadre Schools must be kept simple; 4. All government agencies, military units, enterprises, and institutions must cease purchasing non-productive equipment, and when necessary, they must be replaced by internal adjustments; 5. The use of public funds for entertaining, giving gifts, and watching movies is strictly prohibited. Unnecessary celebrations and extravagance are strictly prohibited; 6. Those who violate the above regulations and continue to engage in extravagance will be subject to Party and administrative discipline, and in extremely serious cases, criminal penalties; 7. Fiscal regulations and financial discipline must be strictly observed, and expenditures must be frugal. On February 5th, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued this notice, along with materials on extravagance and large-scale non-productive construction in several cities, including Xi'an and Liuzhou.

Comments on the Central Committee's Draft Notice on Convening a Symposium on Party Rectification and Building [1]

(February 1970)

Implement this.

[1] The draft notice, submitted for review by Zhou Enlai and Kang Sheng, a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, on February 5, 1970, stated that the Central Committee had decided to convene a symposium on Party rectification and Party building in late February to implement Chairman Mao's series of instructions, promote the experiences of Beijing's six factories and two schools (Beijing Knitting Factory, Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory, Beijing Chemical Plant No. 3, Beijing Nankou Locomotive and Rolling Stock Works, Beijing Erqi Locomotive and Rolling Stock Works, Beijing North Suburbs Timber Factory, Tsinghua University, and Peking University), study the policy of "discarding the old and embracing the new," unify thinking, strengthen leadership, and further improve Party rectification and Party building work. Attached to the draft notice was a report by Guo Yuyu of the Central Organization Department's Operations Group on the current situation of Party rectification and Party building in various regions. The CPC Central Committee issued this notice on February 10.

Comments on the request for the establishment of the State Council Cultural Group [1]

(March 13, 1970)

Agreed.

March 13

[1] On March 11, 1970, Zhou Enlai and others wrote a report to Mao Zedong and others stating that the Central Political Bureau meeting the previous day had agreed: 1. A Cultural Group will be established under the State Council to manage work related to literature, art, film, publishing, books, and museums. 2. The ideological and political leadership of the Cultural Group will be under the Central Political Bureau, and the Political Bureau's division of labour will be handled by the Central Cultural Revolution Group. Administrative leadership of the Cultural Group will be under the State Council, and the Party Central Committee's instructions and decisions regarding the Group will be implemented by the State Council. 3. The Cultural Group will have a leader, deputy leaders, and several members. It was proposed that Wu De be the leader, Liu Xianquan the deputy leader, and Shi Shaohua and seven others be members. 4. The Cultural Group will establish a small working organization. Mao Zedong reviewed the report and wrote this comment.

Comments on Zhou Enlai's Report on the Convening of the Fourth National People's Congress and Other Issues [1]

(March 14, 1970)

Agree with the Central Committee's arrangements.

On the afternoon of March 14th

[1] This comment was written on a report Zhou Enlai submitted to Mao Zedong and others on March 14, 1970. The report stated that after Wang Dongxing returned to Beijing, he conveyed the Chairman's instructions regarding preparations for the convening of the Fourth National People's Congress. The Politburo comrades in Beijing unanimously supported the instructions and immediately began work. The work was divided into several areas: First, regarding the quota and election of deputies to the Fourth National People's Congress, a working group consisting of five people, including Enlai, has drafted and revised a decision. It was discussed and approved at a relevant Politburo meeting on the evening of the 13th. It is now submitted for your review and approval. Regarding matters that are inconvenient to include in this document, we plan to discuss them with comrades from various provinces who have come to Beijing. The draft decision submitted by Zhou Enlai for review includes five sections: the guiding ideology of the Fourth National People's Congress, the qualifications for deputies, the quota, the proportion, and the election method. Second, regarding the constitutional revision working group, which has been formed by Kang Sheng and five others, it plans to draft the main points of the revision in three days. After discussion and submission for review, we will begin revising the text. We aim to complete this work within a month. Third, regarding the government work report, we plan to organize a draft after comrades from all regions come to Beijing for consultation. Fourth, regarding the preparatory work, we will ask Wang Dongxing to report to us in person upon his return.

Comments on the Hunan-Guizhou Railway Route Selection [1]

(March 1970)

Act according to the Premier's advice.

[1] On March 8, 1970, Premier Zhou Enlai, in submitting the Ministry of Railways' Military Control Commission's report on the comparison of options for the Hunan-Guizhou Railway to Mao Zedong and others for review, wrote: "After careful study and comparison of the Hunan-Guizhou Railway route, as well as field surveys and review of materials, and after consulting the Hunan and Guizhou Provincial Revolutionary Committees and Military Commands, the Ministry of Railways unanimously agreed that the 'Guiyang connection option' was superior to the 'Zunyi connection option.' The State Council's working group and the Military Commission's office group also agreed with this option." Mao Zedong, after reading the report, wrote this comment.

Comments on Constitutional Amendment and Other Issues [1]

(March 1970)

I agree with the amendments proposed in the first item. At the same time, please submit your revision suggestions. Attached is the document for your reference.

[1] This comment was written on a report Zhou Enlai submitted to Mao Zedong and others on March 17, 1970. The report stated that the Central Political Bureau meeting on March 16th carried out two tasks. "First, the request for instructions on constitutional amendment and its attachments were discussed and approved. They are now submitted to the Chairman for review and approval, so that the amendment can proceed." Second, the list of responsible persons from provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, major military regions, headquarters, and military services who would come to Beijing to discuss the number of deputies and the election of representatives to the Fourth National People's Congress was approved.

Comments on the Date of the Sino-US Talks [1]

(March 1970)

It is possible to postpone the dates of 11 and 12 by a few days, with April 15 being the preferred date? Please allow the Premier to decide.

[1] This comment was written on a report submitted by Premier Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others on March 24, 1970. The report stated that the United States, "due to tensions in the Middle East, the Cambodian coup, and US-Soviet tensions, and our direct request for it to come to Beijing to discuss key Sino-US issues, was unable to respond, and it was inconvenient to schedule a meeting in March. Therefore, on March 23rd, it proposed talks in early April." "It is foreseeable that the United States believed it was premature to publicly send a special envoy to China (it had already hinted at this in early March), but was also concerned that we would intensify our anti-US stance due to the Cambodian coup. Therefore, first there was Yahya's message conveying the intention to open a direct channel, and then there was the US Embassy's notification of talks in early April." Therefore, "it is proposed to postpone the Sino-US talks to April 11th, 12th, or 13th, that is, after the Chinese Premier's visit to North Korea and before the US-Soviet nuclear talks (in mid-April). I wonder if this idea is appropriate. Please comment, Chairman."

Comments on the Central Committee's Draft Notice on the Investigation of the "May 16" Incident [1]

(March 1970)

Follow the instructions.

[1] This comment was written on the draft notice of the CPC Central Committee submitted by Zhou Enlai and others for review on March 25, 1970. The draft notice contained four main points: 1. The "May 16" counter-revolutionary conspiracy group "launched a frenzied attack on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and committed heinous crimes. Some believe that the "May 16" counter-revolutionary group" never existed and are extremely opposed to the investigation of the "May 16" group, even attempting to reverse its verdict. This is completely wrong." 2. "Now that the investigation of the "May 16" group has begun, some units have shown a tendency to expand the scope of the investigation." "Special vigilance and attention must be exercised." "In exposing the "May 16" counter-revolutionary conspiracy group, the focus should be on exposing its core members and the manipulators behind the scenes. We must distinguish between core members and ordinary members, and between those who participated in the organized conspiracies and sabotage activities of the "May 16" group and those who were influenced by social trends and made mistakes. All forms of extreme "left" and right bourgeois reactionary ideologies that violate Chairman Mao's revolutionary line must be thoroughly criticized, and in this criticism, we must strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions: contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people. Those who made mistakes due to deception should not be labelled counter-revolutionaries if they honestly confess their crimes. Even core members should be given different options based on their individual circumstances after confessing their crimes. Those who have performed well may also be treated leniently. In short, we should expand the scope of education and narrow the scope of repression." "Third, some units, in the struggle to investigate the May 16 incident, resorted to coercion, forced confessions, and even resorted to corporal punishment or disguised corporal punishment. This is completely wrong and violates Chairman Mao's consistent teachings. It must be resolutely stopped. Coercion, and forced confessions not only fail to identify true counter-revolutionaries, but instead confuse class lines, harm the revolutionary masses, and shield the real enemy."

Elegy on a wreath dedicated to Strong [1]

(April 2, 1970)

Dedicated to Ms. Anna Louise Strong, a friend of the Chinese people and a progressive American writer.

[1] Strong, also known as Anna Louise Strong, was an American progressive writer and journalist who visited China several times starting in 1925. During her fifth visit in 1946, she visited Yan'an and other liberated areas. During a meeting with her, Mao Zedong coined the famous statement, "All reactionaries are paper tigers." She settled in China in 1958 and died in 1970.

Comments and revisions to the article submitted for review by the editorial department of two newspapers and one magazine, "Leninism or Social Imperialism?" [1]

(April 3, 1970)

1

This article is well written. I have read it. I am waiting to read the other one. This one seems to be enough. It can be published under the name of two newspapers and one magazine. Regarding my words, several paragraphs have been deleted [2], which are useless and offensive to others. Don't write such words. I have said it a hundred times, but no one listened. I don't know why. Please study it. I have kept several paragraphs of useful words that will not cause offensiveness, but not the whole book. Please consider the above.

Mao Zedong

April 3, 1970

Because several paragraphs have been deleted, please rearrange the footnote numbers.

2

But history has twists and turns. Just as the revisionism of Bernstein-Kautsky [3] emerged after the death of Engels, the revisionism of Khrushchev-Brezhnev emerged after the death of Stalin.

Eleven years after Khrushchev [4] came to power, a split occurred within the revisionism, and Brezhnev replaced Khrushchev. He lived for more than five years, and now in the Soviet Union, it is such a person who is presiding over the "commemoration" of the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth.

3

The old tsar's "Slavic Empire" has long been a bubble. The tsarist rule itself was destroyed by the great October Revolution led by Lenin in 1917. The old tsar's rule is over. In today's era of total collapse of imperialism, the new tsar's attempt to re-establish a larger empire that dominates the world can only be a dream.

[1] "Leninism, or Social Imperialism?" was written to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth. The revised draft sent by Zhou Enlai and others to Mao Zedong for review on April 1, 1970 was originally titled "Leninism and Soviet Revisionist Social Imperialism". When Mao Zedong reviewed it, it was changed to "Leninism, or Social Imperialism?". This first part is Mao Zedong's comments on the draft; this second part is two paragraphs he added to the draft; this third part is his revision of a paragraph in the draft, and the text he added and revised is printed in italics. This article was later published as an editorial article of the

People's Daily, Red Flag Magazine, and Liberation Army Daily on April 22, 1970, and the third issue of Red Flag Magazine published on May 1.

[2] Mao Zedong deleted the following paragraph on the first and second pages of the draft submitted for examination on April 1, 1970: "Chairman Mao, the greatest contemporary Marxist-Leninist and our great leader, pointed out: 'Leninist doctrine has developed Marxism. In what areas has it developed it? First, it has developed it in terms of world outlook (that is, materialism and dialectics); second, it has developed it in many issues such as revolutionary theory, revolutionary strategy, party, class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. Lenin has a doctrine on world outlook, a doctrine on proletarian dictatorship, and a doctrine on socialist construction. Lenin had seven years of experience in socialist construction, which Marx did not have.'"

On pages 2 and 3, the following four paragraphs were deleted: "Over the past half century, Comrade Mao Zedong, in leading China in the great struggle to complete the new democratic revolution, in leading China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, in the great struggle of the contemporary international communist movement against imperialism, modern revisionism, and reactionaries in various countries, combined the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution, inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, and raised Marxism-Leninism to a brand-new stage, namely, the stage of Mao Zedong Thought." "Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism in an era when imperialism is heading for a total collapse and socialism is heading for world victory." "Comrade Mao Zedong is the Lenin of our time." "It is precisely because of the successive victories of the proletarian world revolution and the dying struggle of imperialism that the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism in our time is more intense than at any other time in history. When Khrushchev revisionism first emerged, our great leader Chairman Mao saw through the serious harm that modern revisionism posed to the proletarian revolutionary cause. Chairman Mao led our Party, together with the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian Party of Labor, and the true Marxist-Leninists of the world, to repeatedly repel the countercurrent of modern revisionism and defend Marxism-Leninism. This has extremely far-reaching historical significance for the cause of the world proletarian revolution and the liberation of oppressed nations."

On page 5, the following three paragraphs have been deleted: "Comrade Mao Zedong also pointed out incisively: One word can make a country prosperous, and one word can make a country perish. 'Marx's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is one word that makes a country prosperous; Khrushchev's theory of a world in which there is "peaceful coexistence", "peaceful competition", and "peaceful transition", and a state of the whole people and a party of the whole people is one word that makes a country perish.'"

The terms "prosperity" and "perish" used by Comrade Mao Zedong here refer specifically to a socialist nation. Without proletarian dictatorship, there can be no socialism; without proletarian dictatorship, there is no socialism." "Comrade Mao Zedong comprehensively summed up the historical experience of both the positive and negative aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat, creatively applied dialectical materialism, analysed the

contradictions of socialist society, exposed the laws of socialist society, and established the theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He personally launched and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in my country, and solved theoretically and practically the most important contemporary issue of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. This is a great epoch-making contribution to the cause of the world proletarian revolution."

[3] Bernstein, leader of the right wing of the German Social Democratic Party and the Second International, and a major representative of revisionism. After Engels' death in 1895, he openly tampered with Marxism. After 1896, he published a series of articles entitled "Socialist Issues" in the New Era edited by Kautsky, which comprehensively "revised" Marxism. Since 1902, he has served as a member of parliament for many times. Kautsky, an activist in the German and international workers' movement, and a theorist of the Second International. He was a Marxist in his early years, but later turned to reformism. He served as the editor-in-chief of the German Social Democratic Party's theoretical journal "New Era" for a long time, and represented the German Social Democratic Party in the Second International Congress many times, becoming one of the leaders of the Second International. Since 1910, he openly turned to centrism. In 1917, he participated in the establishment of the German Independent Social Democratic Party. In November 1918, he served as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Socialization Committee in the provisional government composed of the right and centrist factions of the German Social Democratic Party.

[4] Khrushchev, former First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. He was dismissed from his leadership position in October 1964. Brezhnev, then General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

Comments on no longer serving as the President of the country [1]

(April 12, 1970)

I can no longer do this, this proposal is inappropriate.

[1] On April 11, 1970, Lin Biao, vice chairman of the CPC Central Committee, proposed to establish the position of president and said that Mao Zedong should serve as president again. On April 12, the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau reported Lin Biao's opinion to Mao Zedong for instructions, and Mao Zedong wrote this comment. On December 11, 1971, the CPC Central Committee forwarded the "Struggle to Smash the Counter-Revolutionary Coup of the Lin and Chen Anti-Party Group (Material 1)" compiled by the Central Special Case Group, which quoted Mao Zedong's comments. When Mao Zedong reviewed the material forwarded by the Central Committee, he wrote: "Send it as is."

Comments on the Report on the Launch of China's First Man-Made Satellite [1]

(April 24, 1970)

Approved.

[1] This comment was written on a report Zhou Enlai submitted to Mao Zedong at 7:00 a.m. on April 24, 1970. The report stated that my country's test launch of its first satellite using a three-stage rocket had been approved by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin Biao as early as early 1968, but all preparations were not completed until this spring. By the end of March, the carrier rocket and satellite had arrived at the base, and after inspection and testing, they were deemed feasible. A meeting was held in Beijing in mid-April, and after discussion among all parties, it was deemed feasible for launch. Currently, the rocket and satellite have been erected at the launch site, and after inspection and testing, all identified problems have been resolved. "We now intend to approve the launch tonight, requesting the Chairman's approval." Zhou Enlai also submitted to Mao Zedong the launch request from the Chinese People's Liberation Army's National Defense Science and Technology Commission dated April 23. On the evening of April 24, China's first artificial earth satellite, Dongfanghong-1, was successfully launched.

Conversation with Le Duan [1]

(May 11, 1970)

1

Mao Zedong (hereinafter referred to as Mao): When was the last time I saw you?

Le Duan (hereinafter referred to as Le): In 1964. We were very happy to see Chairman Mao in good health. The current situation in Vietnam and Indochina is rather complicated, and there are some difficulties.

Mao: Every country has difficulties, including the Soviet Union and the United States.

Le Duan: We desperately need Chairman Mao's guidance. If our Central Committee and the Politburo knew that Chairman Mao was giving us feedback on our work, they would be very pleased.

Mao: You are doing an excellent job, and you are getting better and better.

Le Duan: We are doing our best. We are able to do this well because we are following the three points Chairman Mao once taught us: First, do not be afraid of the enemy; second, defeat them one by one; and third, fight a protracted war.

Mao: Yes, a protracted war. You should be prepared for a protracted war, but wouldn't it be better if it were shorter?

Who is really afraid of whom? Are you Vietnamese, Cambodians, and the people of Southeast Asia afraid of American imperialism, or is American imperialism afraid of you? This is a question worthy of consideration and study. Or is it that the big countries fear the small ones, becoming panic-stricken at the slightest sign of trouble? In the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident [2], you tricked them, but you didn't intend to attack the US Navy. In fact, you didn't really attack them, but they got nervous, saying Vietnamese torpedo boats were coming and opened fire. Later, the Americans themselves couldn't tell whether this was true or not. Journalists across the country were certain it was a false alarm. Since the war had already started, it had to be fought. It was beneficial to the arms dealers. [Since then], American presidents have slept very little each night. As we've already said, Nixon's [3] main focus was on dealing with Vietnam.

Now there's another person, Prince Sihanouk. He's not easy to mess with either. If you mess with him, he'll jump out and start cursing.

I think some of our embassies need to be rectified. Some of our Chinese embassies exhibit a great power chauvinism, focusing too much on others' shortcomings and ignoring the overall situation. Who was the last Chinese ambassador to Vietnam?

Zhou Enlai (hereinafter referred to as Zhou): Zhu Qiwen.

Mao: Zhu Qiwen and you had a very bad relationship. Actually, Zhu Qiwen was a Kuomintang member and was planning to flee abroad. We didn't know he was a Kuomintang member. Since you were dealing with the Kuomintang, why wouldn't he cause trouble for you? We didn't know then, but we were displeased when we saw the telegrams he sent back.

Le: We Vietnamese people hold Chairman Mao's kindness in our hearts. During the nine-year war against the French, without the support of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, we would not have been able to achieve victory. Why were we able to persevere in this protracted war, especially in the south? Why did we dare to continue this long-term struggle? It was primarily because we relied on Chairman Mao's writings.

Mao: Not necessarily.

Le: Of course, that's true. We also need to be adept at applying it in the actual circumstances of Vietnam.

Mao: You have your own creativity. How can you say you don't have creativity or experience? Ngo Dinh Diem killed 160,000 people. I heard the report, and I don't know if it's accurate, but I know that over 100,000 were killed.

Le: Yes, 160,000 people were killed, and many more were imprisoned.

Mao: I think that's good. You come to kill me, so why can't I kill you?

Le: Exactly. In 1969 alone, we killed and wounded 610,000 enemies, 230,000 of whom were Americans.

Mao: The Americans were under-allocated their manpower because they were spread too thinly across the globe. So, when their men were killed, they were heartbroken. The loss of tens of thousands of people was a major event for them. As for you Vietnamese, whether North or South Vietnamese, I believe that death is inevitable.

Le: Our current fighting style results in very few casualties. Otherwise, we wouldn't be able to hold out for long.

Mao: Yes. I'm afraid Laos will be a little more difficult. Are there any Laotians in China?

Zhou: Yes, a few.

Mao: Where do they live?

Zhou: In Yunnan Province, on the border with Laos.

Mao: In Xishuangbanna?

Huang Yongsheng: There are some in Xishuangbanna as well.

Zhou: Our Zhuang people are very similar to them.

Mao: When we win the battle in Laos, we can recruit some Zhuang people from Guangxi and some Dai people from Yunnan. The Zhuang are very good fighters. In the past, warlords Bai Chongxi and Li Zongren relied on the Zhuang. How many Zhuang people are there now? Eight million?

Zhou: There are more now, over ten million.

Mao: This is Wei Guoqing's [4] clan, but he himself denies it. I once asked him what ethnic group he belonged to. A minority ethnic group, right? He said he was Han. Later, he admitted he was Zhuang.

Zhou: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom's warriors were all very skilled fighters, and some of them were Zhuang.

Mao: Some of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom's troops were from Guangxi.

Le: The Nung people of Vietnam were also very good fighters. They and the Zhuang people of Guangxi belong to the same ethnic group.

Mao: Southeast Asia is a hornet's nest. The people of Southeast Asia are awakening day by day. Some pacifists think it's just roosters getting aggressive. How can there be so many roosters? Now even hens are aggressive!

Le: If we don't fight, there's no way out.

Mao: Yes, we have to fight. You've forced them into a corner, you're bullying them!

Le: Cambodians and Laotians are both Buddhists, so they're not easy to fight. Now they're fighting.

Mao: Exactly. Don't say Buddhists aren't militant. China also believes in Buddhism. The Xinhai Revolution lasted seventeen years, and then there was internal fighting between two factions. This educated the people. Then came the Northern Expedition, which led to the Red Army. Then the Japanese invaded China. After the Japanese surrendered, Chiang Kai-shek fought us. He quit after less than four years and fled to Taiwan. He now claims in the United Nations that he represents all of China. He had a very close relationship with several of us. I met Chiang Kai-shek several times, including at the Kuomintang Central Committee plenary session in Guangzhou. I am a Kuomintang member, a cross-party member. I am both a member of the Communist Party Central Committee and an alternate member of the Kuomintang Central Committee. At that time, several of us participated. Our Prime Minister was Chiang Kai-shek's director of the Political Department of the Whampoa Military Academy and the acting Party representative of Chiang Kai-shek's First Army. Comrade Lin Biao, needless to say, was Chiang Kai-shek's student, having spent nine months at Whampoa. In China, there are very few people of the older generation who have not had dealings with him.

Le: Recently, Nixon declared that the United States had never been defeated in the past 190 years. This implies that he doesn't want to be defeated by Vietnam this time either.

Mao: Never been defeated?

Le: Actually, it has been defeated several times. In China, Korea, and the Indochina War against France, it spent 80 percent of its military expenditure on the French, yet it was still defeated.

Mao: Exactly! The first point I just made is not to be afraid of imperialism. Who is really afraid of whom? Small countries and some small ethnic groups have this problem. Try it slowly, and after a few years, you'll understand.

3

Mao: ...At that time, I told you that if the Americans didn't come to the Chinese border, we wouldn't send troops unless you invited us.

Le: We thought so too. While we still had the strength to fight, we wanted our "rear area" to be more stable. When we, the Vietnamese people, fought the Americans, China was our "rear area." Therefore, we once issued an order that even if our aircraft were attacked, they should not land at Chinese airports.

Mao: That's fine, we're not afraid. If the US Air Force wants to attack the Vietnamese Air Force's "safe haven," let them do it.

Le: Although we issued such an order, we still needed your support. At that time, the several divisions you sent to Vietnam also attacked American aircraft.

Mao: That's right. The Americans are afraid of war; they lack the courage. You can negotiate. I'm not saying you can't negotiate, but your main focus should be on fighting. Who sabotaged the two Geneva Conferences? You and we both honestly abided by the agreements, but they didn't do anything! It would have been better if they didn't. Therefore, even Soviet Premier Kosygin, in his public speeches, had to say that any international conference would require consultation with Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. I'm not familiar with many of their current leaders. I know Kosygin and have spoken with him. Western newspapers are always spreading rumours about them, saying there's discord among their leadership. I don't understand either. I hear the people are quite interested in Kosygin as a leader.

Le: We've heard that, too.

Mao: You've heard about it, too? I think Stalin has come alive again. The main trend in the world today is revolution, and that includes the entire world. The possibility of a world war between major powers exists, but with the addition of a few more atomic bombs, no one dares to act. It's mainly two major powers; now people are talking about the three major powers, but China doesn't count. China's atomic weapons research is still in its infancy, and

it's still in the research stage. What's so scary about that? China has a large population, so they're afraid of it. But we're afraid too, because a large population needs food and clothing, which creates a lot of problems. That's why we're also studying birth control to reduce the population.

4

Le: We were able to continue our fight because Chairman Mao said that the 700 million Chinese people were the staunch support of the Vietnamese people, and the United States was afraid. This was very important.

Mao: What is there to be afraid of? You invade others, and I can't even serve as their rear support? You send hundreds of thousands of navy, army, and air forces to bully the Vietnamese people, and China can't even serve as their rear support? Which law stipulates this?

Le: The Americans said they could mobilize 12 million troops, but they could only send 500,000 troops to Vietnam. If they crossed this limit, they would be afraid.

Zhou: They were afraid of the Chinese because they were numerous.

Mao: Even if we have a large number of people, we still have nothing to fear. Let's fight. Anyway, I have nothing to do with you. You occupied my Taiwan, but I did not occupy your Long Island [5].

[1] This is part of a conversation between Mao Zedong and Le Duan, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Le Duan (1917-1986) was a Vietnamese proletarian revolutionary. After Ho Chi Minh's death, Le Duan assumed leadership of North Vietnam and subsequently unified Vietnam. He was then First Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

[2] The Gulf of Tonkin Incident occurred in late July 1964, when US warships, in coordination with the Saigon Navy, carried out Operation 34A, a naval attack on North Vietnam. On August 1, the destroyer USS Maddox of the US Seventh Fleet, intruding into the territorial waters of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to gather intelligence, engaged in a firefight with the Vietnamese navy the next day, sinking a Vietnamese torpedo boat. The US government quickly issued a statement claiming the US Navy had been provoked. On the 4th, the US announced that US warships had been attacked by torpedo boats from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the so-called "Gulf of Tonkin Incident." Using this as an excuse, on the 5th, the US Air Force bombed Nghe An, Hong Gai, and Thanh Hoa areas in Northern Vietnam. On July 7th, the US Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, authorizing the president to use armed force in Southeast Asia. This incident marked a significant milestone in the US's strategy of escalation during the Vietnam War, expanding the conflict to both North and South Vietnam.

[3] Nixon, then President of the United States.

[4] Wei Guoqing was then the director of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Revolutionary Committee.

[5] Long Island is located off the Atlantic coast of North America and is administratively part of the U.S. state of New York. Long Island is 190 kilometres long and approximately 20 to 30 kilometres wide, jutting out from New York Harbor into the North Atlantic Ocean.

People of the world unite to defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs [1]

(May 20, 1970)

A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world. Ever since the Second World War, U.S. imperialism and its followers have been continuously launching wars of aggression and the people in various countries have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.

Unable to win in Vietnam and Laos, the U.S. aggressors treacherously engineered the reactionary coup d'état [2] by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, brazenly dispatched their troops to invade Cambodia and resumed the bombing of North Vietnam, and this has aroused the furious resistance of the three Indo Chinese peoples. I warmly support the fighting spirit of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, in opposing U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. I warmly support the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indo Chinese Peoples [3]. I warmly support the establishment of the Royal Government of National Union under the Leadership of the National United Front of Kampuchea. Strengthening their unity, supporting each other and persevering in a protracted people's war, the three Indo-Chinese peoples will certainly overcome all difficulties and win complete victory.

While massacring the people in other countries, U.S. imperialism is slaughtering the white and black people in its own country. Nixon's [4] fascist atrocities have kindled the raging flames of the revolutionary mass movement in the United States. The Chinese people firmly support the revolutionary struggle of the American people. I am convinced that the American people who are fighting valiantly will ultimately win victory and that the fascist rule in the United States will inevitably be defeated.

The Nixon government is beset with troubles internally and externally, with utter chaos at home and extreme isolation abroad. The mass movement of protest against U.S. aggression in Cambodia has swept the globe. Less than ten days after its establishment, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia was recognized by nearly twenty countries. The situation is getting better and better in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The revolutionary armed struggles of the people of the South-east Asian countries, the struggles of the people of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, the struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors, the national-liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of North America, Europe and Oceania are all developing vigorously. The Chinese people firmly support the

people of the three Indo-Chinese countries and of other countries of the world in their revolutionary struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its deathbed struggle. In the world of today, who actually fears whom? It is not the Vietnamese people, the Laotian people, the Cambodian people, the Palestinian people, the Arab people or the people of other countries who fear U.S. imperialism; it is U.S. imperialism which fears the people of the world. It becomes panic-stricken at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind. Innumerable facts prove that a just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history.

People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!

[1] This statement was issued by Mao Zedong in support of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries in their struggle to resist the US and save the nation. On May 19, 1970, Zhou Enlai and others wrote a report to Mao Zedong, stating, "The draft statement was prepared by several comrades from the People's Daily, Xinhua News Agency, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was discussed at the Politburo meeting on the evening of the 17th, and everyone raised some opinions, primarily focusing on highlighting the ideas expressed in the Chairman's conversation with Comrade Le Duan." Upon reviewing it, Mao Zedong instructed, "Do as directed." This statement was read out by Lin Biao, Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, at the Conference in Support of the World People's Struggle Against US Imperialism, held in Beijing on May 21. It was published in the People's Daily that day and included in the Selected Diplomatic Works of Mao Zedong, published by the Central Literature Publishing House and the World Knowledge Publishing House in December 1994.

[2] On March 18, 1970, at the instigation of the United States, the former Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of the Kingdom of Cambodia, Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces, Lon Nol, and Prime Minister Sirik Matak, while Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk was abroad, launched a coup d'état. They declared the "dethronement" of Prince Sihanouk and the establishment of Lon Nol as Cambodia's Head of State, thus transferring power in Cambodia to the pro-American Lon Nol-Sirik Matak-Cheng Heng clique.

[3] From April 24 to 25, 1970, the Indochinese People's Summit Conference was held in the border area between China, Laos, and Vietnam. The leaders of Cambodia, Laos, the Republic of South Vietnam, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, each leading a delegation, attended the conference and issued a joint statement condemning the United States for

expanding its aggression against Vietnam and Laos and launching a coup in Cambodia. The statement reiterated the leaders' solemn position on resolving the Indochinese issue and called on the Indochinese people to unite, defend their national rights, defeat the US invaders and all their running dogs, and make Indochina a truly independent and peaceful region that truly meets the aspirations of the peoples of the three countries and the world.

[4] Nixon, then President of the United States.

Comments on the Wuhan Military Region Party Committee's Report on the Situation of Focusing on the Field (1)

(May 1970)

1

Hubei's pilot experience can be forwarded to other provinces for reference.

2

Distribute as is.

[1] This item is a commentary on a report submitted by the Wuhan Military Region Committee of the Communist Party of China to Mao Zedong, Lin Biao (then Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee and Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission), the Central Committee, and the Central Military Commission on May 14, 1970. The report stated that, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction to "grasp exemplary cases," we began to target six factories and one university: Wuhan Heavy Machinery Plant, Wuhan Boiler Plant, Wuhan Shipbuilding Plant, Wuhan Iron and Steel Machinery Plant, No. 1 National Cotton Mill, Second Automobile Works, and Wuhan University, starting in June of the previous year. With the exception of Second Automobile Works, these units were known as "tough and difficult" units in the Wuhan area. Prior to the targeting, five of these factories had been unable to carry out the struggle, criticism, and transformation campaigns, resulting in paralyzed production. After the military propaganda teams arrived at various locations, they held high the red banner of Mao Zedong Thought, adhered to the path of political development of factories and schools, and disseminated and implemented Chairman Mao's latest directives and the Party Central Committee's calls. They united and educated the broad revolutionary masses, isolated and attacked a handful of class enemies, and brought unprecedented heightened consciousness and a profound change in their morale, transforming the previously "difficult" conditions of these units. Our main approaches were: 1. Standing Committee members personally took charge; 2. Study and implement the experience of the Sixth Factory and the Second School in Beijing; 3. Summarize this experience and apply it to the wider community; and 4. Build military propaganda teams. This article (Part 2) is a comment on the Central Committee's draft directive on the experience of the Wuhan Military Region Party Committee, submitted by Zhou Enlai for review on May 26, 1970. The directive required that the core groups of the provincial, municipal, and district Party committees, as well as the major military region and provincial military region Party committees, after reading the report of the Wuhan Military Region Party Committee, submit a summary report to the Central Committee on their respective pilot projects. If you wish to conduct a pilot program, you can refer to the experience of the

second school of the Sixth Factory in Beijing and the first school of the Sixth Factory in Hubei, conducting pilot programs and integrating them into a comprehensive approach to facilitate promotion.

Comments on the Central Committee's Draft Instructions on the Report on Party Rectification and Party Building at Beijing Erqi Locomotive Works and Shanghai No. 17 National Cotton Mill [1]

(May 1970)

Implement accordingly.

[1] Refers to the Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team stationed at the Beijing Erqi Locomotive and Rolling Stock Works and the 8341st Unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The report of March 12, 1919, and the report of the CPC Shanghai No. 17 Cotton Mill Committee of April 2, 1929, emphasized that Party rectification and Party building must "vigorously grasp the struggle between the two lines," "vigorously mobilize the masses and carry out open-door Party rectification," "do a good job of discarding the old and bringing in the new," "strengthen the revolutionization of the leadership," and "rectify and build the Party through struggle." The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved and forwarded these two reports on May 29. Before forwarding them, the draft directive and the two reports were sent to Mao Zedong for review, and Mao Zedong wrote this comment.

Comments on the Central Committee's Draft Directive on Launching a Campaign to Increase Production and Practice Thrift (1)

(May 1970)

Implement accordingly.

[1] This directive issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on May 29, 1970, stated that the Central Committee had decided to launch a massive, in-depth, and long-lasting nationwide campaign to increase production and conserve resources. Specific requirements were: 1. Strive to increase production; 2. Focus on capital construction projects to achieve a decisive victory and quickly establish production capacity; 3. Promote comprehensive utilization; 4. Increase labour productivity; 5. Significantly reduce consumption quotas; 6. Improve transportation efficiency; 7. Improve product quality; 8. Improve business management; 9. Carry out extensive inventory clearance and inventory inspections, paying attention to repairing, recycling, and saving. The directive stated that while the above points primarily addressed the industrial front, they also applied to agriculture, finance, trade, and other sectors.

Comments on Two Documents [1] on Teaching Reform in Science and Engineering Universities

(June 5, 1970)

I have read both and find them very good. Upon your return, please print and distribute the Tsinghua Experience and the Shanghai Minutes. After review by all comrades in the Politburo and discussion and revision, they can be published. Furthermore, regarding the reform of liberal arts education, how should we proceed? Could Shanghai convene a symposium? Please discuss this with Comrade Chunqiao [2].

Mao Zedong,

June 5

[1] These documents refer to "Striving for the Establishment of a Socialist University of Science and Technology" and "Minutes of the Symposium on the Educational Revolution at Shanghai University of Science and Technology," submitted by Yao Wen Yuan, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Deputy Director of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. The former, written by workers stationed at Qinghua University and members of the PLA Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team, focused on how to follow the Shanghai Machine Tool Factory's path of training technicians from among its workers and establish a socialist university of science and technology. The "Minutes of the Symposium on the Educational Revolution at Shanghai University of Science and Technology" described the symposium on educational revolution at universities of science and technology held in Shanghai on June 2, 1970. The meeting primarily addressed two issues: first, reflections and opinions on the summary of the educational revolution at Qinghua University; and second, the experiences and insights gained from educational revolution at relevant universities and factories in Shanghai, as well as issues requiring research and discussion. These two documents were later published in the eighth issue of Red Flag magazine on July 21, 1970, and in the People's Daily on July 22, 1970.

[2] Chunqiao, namely Zhang Chunqiao, was then a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and director of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee.

Modern weapons cannot scare the people [1]

(June 11, 1970)

As long as a small country can fight back, the big country will be afraid. If a small country does not fight back, it will not be afraid of you. Look at Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. They have no tanks or planes. They just use light weapons to fight and can shoot down planes.

In the past, tanks appeared at the end of World War I, and they were terrifying. Things are different now. Tanks and air forces won't frighten the people. We are preparing now. If the enemy wipes out our air force, we will rely on our infantry. If you occupy half of China, we still have half. If you occupy our major transportation routes and major cities, we still have our villages, medium-sized cities, and small cities. First, we're not fighting you; you're fighting us. Second, this is a great way to train our people. We haven't fought a war in twenty years. If you fight, I fight. The fighting I'm talking about is defensive warfare. We're digging holes and tunnels everywhere.

[1] This is part of a conversation between Mao Zedong and a delegation of the Romanian Grand National Assembly and Council of State led by Emil Podnarasi, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and Vice Chairman of the Council of State of the Romanian Socialist Republic.

Minutes of a conversation with Mahagoub, head of the Sudanese government friendship delegation (1)

(June 24, 1970)

Minister Mahagoub said that before Britain completely withdrew from Sudan, the United States came in again. However, due to the unity and struggle of the people, Britain's star has already set, and the star of the United States will also set.

Chairman Mao expressed his appreciation for the speech of Sudanese friends. Chairman Mao said that there are many people in the world who are afraid of the British and Americans, but in recent years they are no longer afraid and dare to say what you just said. You Sudanese people are amazing!

Chairman Mao said that the American people and the American rulers should be viewed separately. I have hope for the American people, that is, the American workers and other poor people. One day they will stand on the same front with you and us.

Chairman Mao said that when the United States gained independence, it had a population of only over 3 million. At that time, Britain had a population of nearly 20 million and was in its heyday, but it lost the war. It lasted for eight years. It was just some weapons that were worse than yours now. You have a population of over 14 million in Sudan. Minister Mahagoub said that the people have risen up and Chairman Mao's teachings have spread all over the world.

People have learned Chairman Mao's teachings, understood Chairman Mao's words, and realized that the truth should belong to them, so the people will definitely rise up.

Chairman Mao said that China's experience can be used as a reference, and it should be combined with the experience of each country. We also look for foreign experience and combine it with China's experience, such as the experience of the Paris Commune, the experience of the October Revolution, etc.

Chairman Mao said that we should develop our own industry and agriculture and not rely on foreign countries. We can import foreign technology and use foreign technicians to help you train scientists and engineering technicians. But we must do it ourselves. If we don't have this determination, imperialism will still punish you.

Minister Mahagoub thanked China for its friendly assistance to Sudan, especially the friendly spirit that permeated the negotiations.

Chairman Mao said that material aid counts only if it is in hand and effective. If it is not in hand and the factory is not built, it does not count. If your own engineers and scientists are not trained and the Chinese do not withdraw, it does not count. Then, what is imperialism? It does not help others to build. It refuses to leave. There is no other way but to revolt.

Chairman Mao said that Africa is boiling, making a commotion, making a big commotion! For more than half a century, more than 50 years, and after two world wars, imperialism has cultivated people who oppose it and a group of running dogs to support itself.

Chairman Mao said that the people of the world do not like American imperialism, and the American people do not like it either. This American imperialism specializes in uniting those people who are considered bad by the people of various countries. It likes to be friends with that kind of people, and we like people like us.

When talking about the conspiracy activities of imperialism against African nationalist countries, Chairman Mao said that imperialism is trying to carry out conspiracy activities to harm the leaders and famous politicians of the people of various African countries, and we must be vigilant.

(1) On June 4, 1970, Mao Zedong met with a Sudanese friendly delegation led by Sudanese Finance Minister Mansur Mahagoub. On June 25, Premier Zhou Enlai sent the minutes of the meeting to Mao Zedong for review and wrote: "The minutes of the conversation with the Sudanese delegation have been sorted out by comrades from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Comrade Kang Sheng and I have read them." "We think it can be sent to the other party, and we ask that if it is published, please use the full text. After reading it, Mao Zedong instructed: "Return to the Premier." This article is an excerpt from the minutes of the conversation.

Comments on the Minutes of the National Symposium on Key Steel Enterprises and the Report on the Coal Industry Conference [1]

(June 1970)

Both items are excellent and can be forwarded.

[1] This refers to the minutes of the Ministry of Metallurgy's June 10, 1970, symposium on key steel enterprises nationwide, and the report of the Ministry of Coal Industry's military representative on the June 4th National Coal Industry Conference. The minutes submitted by the Ministry of Metallurgy stated that from May 13 to June 10, the Ministry of Metallurgy convened a symposium on key steel enterprises nationwide to convey and implement the spirit of the National Planning Conference, implement the 1970 steel production and construction plan, and study the steel industry development plan for 1971 and the Fourth Five-Year Plan. This year, steel production must be guaranteed at 17 million tons, reaching 40 million tons by 1975. The Third Front steel base would be essentially completed, and a relatively complete steel industry system with varying levels and characteristics would be established in each economic zone. To this end, 15 measures were proposed, including combining soaring revolutionary enthusiasm with a pragmatic and scientific spirit; continuing to vigorously address the struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines in the economic sphere; decentralizing enterprises to lower levels, fully mobilizing local initiatives, accelerating the construction of the Third Front; and earnestly implementing the principles of developing both large, medium, and small enterprises, developing both local and foreign industries, and relying on self-reliance. The report of the military representative of the Ministry of Coal stated that from April 10 to 22, a national coal industry conference was held in the Anyuan mining area in Pingxiang, Jiangxi Province, to discuss the 1970 coal industry production increase and conservation plan and the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The economic and industrial sectors must be discussed and studied. The 1970 coal production plan is set at 318 million tons, an increase of 2 million tons over the national plan. By 1972, coal production will have increased significantly, the Third Front coal supply base will be basically completed, and the nine provinces south of the Yangtze River will be basically self-sufficient in coal. We will strive to become the world's largest coal producer by 1975. To this end, we must mobilize the masses, launch socialist revolutionary competition and a campaign to increase production and practice thrift, specifically address class struggle and line struggle in the economic sphere, carry out in-depth revolutionary mass judgments, tap the potential of existing mines, increase coal production, focus on addressing weak links in current production, and accelerate the construction of mines. These are 13 tasks. On June 26, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in its comments forwarding these two documents, pointed out: "Steel and coal production is not only related to the

speed of national economic development, but also to war preparations. We urge all provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, major military regions, and provincial military regions to strengthen their leadership over steel and coal enterprises, further mobilize the masses, carry forward the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard work, launch a campaign to increase production and save money, and strive to achieve the 1970 production increase targets set out at the conference."

Temporarily withhold publication of Mao Zedong's remarks on healthcare work [1]

(June 26, 1970)

Not published for now, to be discussed later.

Mao Zedong

June 26

Return to Comrade Dongxing [2] for keeping.

[1] On June 26, 1970, Zhou Enlai instructed Wang Dongxing to write a letter requesting that he submit to Mao Zedong for review a revised transcript of Mao Zedong's June 26, 1965, conversation on medical and health work. The main points of the revised transcript included: "Medical education must be reformed," "The current hospital examination and treatment methods are completely unsuitable for rural areas," "The focus of medical and health care should be placed in rural areas," and that medical and health institutions "should allocate significant human and material resources to addressing the most pressing issues facing the people," and "Doctors and nurses should participate in the Four Cleanups Movement."

[2] Dongxing, namely Wang Dongxing, was then an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and director of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee.

Inscription for the Staff of the Railway Corps Headquarters

(June 27, 1970)

Serve the People.

Mao Zedong

June 27

Imperialism is afraid of the Third World (1)

(July 11, 1970)

The Commonwealth is like a club, and China used to be a member of this club. Britain was okay during the First World War, but after the Second World War, it could no longer care about China and gave it to the United States. So after Japan surrendered, the United States helped Chiang Kai-shek fight us. And we were called Communist "bandits", different from ordinary bandits, we were Communist "bandits". In this way, we were not qualified to join the United Nations. How could "bandits" join the United Nations? We also thought about it, our country is also a United Nations! It's okay for me not to go to your United Nations! Imperialism is not happy with us. Whether it's your two presidents or us, we don't really meet their expectations. So what can we do? You didn't inform Britain and the United States when you came to Beijing, right?

In fact, the imperialists in the world are not having a good time now. They are afraid of the Third World, and they are afraid of you as well as us. We must get rid of superstition and stop believing in imperialism. Of course, I am not saying that the people of imperialist countries must oppose it, nor am I saying that we cannot learn the technology of imperialist countries. What I am saying is that we must get rid of the superstition of imperialist politics and their deception. It is not easy to get rid of this superstition of imperialism, which is deeply rooted in some people. You see, imperialism is so great, they have so many atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs, planes flying everywhere, navies running everywhere, and occupying other countries everywhere, such as the United States sending troops to Cambodia. But their method is the method of the old imperialist Britain. Didn't Britain occupy everywhere? Now it is more obedient.

[1] This is part of Mao Zedong's conversation with the Tanzanian and Zambian government delegations.

International affairs should be resolved through consultation (1)

(July 13, 1970)

The world is not peaceful now. It is one thing for you to love independence, and it is another thing for others to always interfere with you. I told you last time that there are a few countries in the world that like to interfere with the independence of other countries. You say that Hitler is gone, Japanese imperialism has been defeated, France is independent, and China has been liberated. But the world is still not peaceful now! Of course, no one is invading France now; except for Taiwan, no one has invaded China. But I want to tell you that we have to prepare for war, not to fight it ourselves, but to destroy it when other countries invade us. It is not like decades ago, when anyone could shit and piss on China.

I advise you to prepare for civil defense in addition to the Maginot Line (2) and the atomic bomb. Do you know how the world changes? We are not the chiefs of staff of those big countries. You are also bullied by other countries.

The current situation in Europe makes it difficult for you and even Britain to start a war. It is hard to say about the so-called allies now. They can talk to each other on some issues, but not on others. It is easier for us to talk to each other, but it is more difficult to talk to the United States and the Soviet Union. You, France, have not occupied any part of China, and we, China, have not occupied the French island of Corsica.

The affairs of the world must be discussed. Domestic affairs should be resolved by the people of the country themselves, and international affairs should be resolved by everyone through discussion, and cannot be decided by two major powers.

[1] This is part of a conversation between Mao Zedong and the French government delegation.

[2] The Maginot Line was a defensive position system built by France on its northeastern border in the 1930s to guard against German attack. It was named after its main designer, Maginot, the then Minister of War. In May 1940, the German army bypassed this line of defense from Belgium and invaded France, rendering the line ineffective.

We need to study the reasons for our navy's backwardness (1)

(July 29, 1970)

Our navy isn't up to scratch. It'll probably take a hundred years for us to catch up with some countries. I'm not sure about the other aspects, but the shipyard [2] I just mentioned isn't doing well either. Compared to Japan, it simply can't build as many ships on the same scale. What's the reason for this? We need to study it and find the reason.

[1] This is part of a conversation during which Mao Zedong met with a North Korean military delegation led by General Wu Zhenyu, Chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army.

[2] Refers to Jiangnan Shipyard.

Comments on the Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei Special Investigation Team's [1] Report on the Handling of Wang Guangmei (2)

(July 1970)

It is not appropriate to impose a sentence yet. In all cases of this nature, the criminals should be investigated rigorously and dealt with leniently. Protect the prisoners and make them feel they have a way out, thereby preserving living evidence for future benefit. I invite the Central Committee to deliberate on this matter.

[1] Refers to the investigation team set up during the Cultural Revolution specifically to try Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei.

[2] This is Mao Zedong's comment on the report of the Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei special task force regarding the handling of Wang Guangmei.

Telegram from Mao Zedong and Others Congratulating Romania on the 26th Anniversary of its Liberation

(August 22, 1970)

Bucharest

General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Chairman of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu;

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Ion Gheorghe Maurer:

On the 26th anniversary of Romania's liberation, we, on behalf of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese government, and the Chinese people, extend warm congratulations to the Romanian Communist Party, the Romanian government, and the Romanian people.

Twenty-six years ago, under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, the Romanian people launched the glorious August 23rd armed uprising, overthrew the reactionary rule of Antonescu, and made their own contribution to the anti-fascist struggle. Since liberation, the hardworking and courageous Romanian people have upheld independence and self-reliance, achieving tremendous success in building their homeland. Undeterred by violence, the Romanian people resolutely opposed foreign control, interference, and threats of aggression, heroically defending national independence and sovereignty. Not long ago, Romania suffered unprecedentedly severe floods. The people of all ethnic groups in Romania united in a tenacious struggle, overcame numerous difficulties, and achieved a significant victory in flood control and disaster relief. The Chinese people are deeply pleased with the victories achieved by the brotherly Romanian people in building and defending their homeland, and sincerely wish the Romanian people new and greater achievements in the future.

Throughout their long revolutionary struggles, the Chinese and Romanian peoples have consistently sympathized with and supported each other, forging a profound friendship based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are pleased to see that in recent years, the friendly and cooperative relations between our two parties and two countries have been increasingly strengthened and developed. The Chinese people will, as always, firmly support the just struggle of the Romanian people.

Long live the unbreakable friendship between the Chinese and Romanian 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, August 22, 1970

My Opinion [1]

(August 31, 1970)

This material was fabricated by Comrade Chen Boda [2], and it deceived many comrades. First, there are no quotes from Marx. Second, only one sentence from Engels was found [3], and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* is not Marx's primary work. Third, five excerpts from Lenin were found [4]. The fifth of these excerpts states that we must have leaders who have been tested, received specialized training and long-term education, and who can coordinate well with one another. These four conditions are listed. Putting aside others, even among our Central Committee comrades, not many meet these requirements. For example, Chen Boda, a brilliant theorist, and I worked together for over 30 years, but we never cooperated on major issues, let alone very well. Take, for example, the three Lushan Conferences [5]. During the first, he went to Peng Dehuai's [6] place. The second time, during the discussion of the Seventy Articles on Industry [7], he went up the mountain for a few days and then came down. No one knows why he went down, or where he went after that. This time, he cooperated perfectly, launching a surprise attack and fanning the flames, desperate for chaos, as if he was going to blow up Mount Lushan and stop the Earth's rotation. These words of mine are merely an attempt to describe the vastness of the heart (what kind of heart, I don't know; it's probably conscience, but definitely not ambition) of our genius theorist. As for whether the proletariat will bring chaos to the world, whether Mount Lushan will be flattened by bombs, or whether the earth will stop rotating, I doubt it will happen. An ancient man [8] who visited Mount Lushan once said, "The Qi people worry about the sky collapsing when there's nothing to worry about." "We should not learn from that Qi countryman. My last words [9] certainly would not help him much. I said that the rise and fall of people is not due to their genius, but to their social practice [10]. I exchanged views with Comrade Lin Biao [11], and we both agreed that this issue, which historians and philosophers have been arguing about endlessly, is usually said to be whether heroes create history or slaves create history, whether human knowledge (talent also belongs to the category of knowledge) is innate or acquired, whether it is the idealist a priori theory or the materialist reflection theory, we can only stand on the position of Marxism-Leninism and must not be mixed up with Chen Boda's rumours and sophistry. At the same time, we both believe that we need to continue studying this issue of Marxist epistemology and do not consider the matter to be concluded. We hope that comrades will adopt this attitude with us, unite together, strive for greater victory, and not be deceived by those who claim to understand Marx but in fact do not understand him at all.

Mao Zedong

August 31, 1970

Comments on the Politburo's Report on the Discussion of the Central Committee's Draft Directive on the Socialist Transformation of Tibet [1]

(August 1970)

This is good.

[1] On August 8, 1970, Zhou Enlai and others wrote a report to Mao Zedong stating that, after discussion at a relevant Politburo meeting, the draft directive from the Central Committee on socialist transformation in Tibet had been adopted. It was agreed that, for the sake of prudence, the Central Committee would dispatch two teams, each consisting of several members from the Chengdu Military Region and the core group of the Tibetan Party, to conduct on-site research in two communes in Tibet (one inland, one on the border; one old, one new) to determine whether the draft directive could address relevant policy issues within the local communes. The on-site research would last two months, with the draft directive returning to the Central Committee for further discussion around this year's National Day. If applicable, it would be officially issued immediately. If amendments were necessary, they would be reviewed by the Central Military Commission and approved by the Chairman before being issued. On November 22, Zhou Enlai reviewed the draft directive, stating that "basically achieving 'people's communes' within two to three years would not be considered slow," and that "we should proceed more steadily and do a more solid job. The scale of ownership of the people's communes should be determined according to local conditions." On December 7, Zhou Enlai reported to Mao Zedong and others on the discussion and revisions of the draft directive. On December 8, after Mao Zedong's approval, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the directive.

Telegram from Mao Zedong and Others Congratulating the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the 25th Anniversary of its Declaration of Independence

(September 1, 1970)

Hanoi

Comrade Sun Duc Thang, Chairman of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Vietnam;

Comrade Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

Comrade Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam:

On the 25th anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, we, on behalf of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese government, and the Chinese people, extend our warmest congratulations to the Workers' Party of Vietnam, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Vietnamese people.

Over the past 25 years, the Vietnamese people have experienced a glorious journey of struggle. Under the wise leadership of President Ho Chi Minh [1], the great leader of the Vietnamese people, and the Workers' Party of Vietnam, the Vietnamese people have continuously defeated imperialist wars of aggression through revolutionary war, achieving one glorious victory after another. In particular, over the past decade or so, the people of South Vietnam have unleashed revolutionary heroism to resist the most brutal wars of aggression launched by U.S. imperialism, inflicting a crushing defeat on the American invaders. The people of North Vietnam have also successfully resisted U.S. imperialist aggression and achieved remarkable achievements in socialist construction. The great victory of the Vietnamese people's war against the U.S. for national salvation has set a shining example for the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of people throughout the world.

The war of resistance against the US and for national salvation by the peoples of the three Indochinese countries has now entered a new phase, and the situation is improving. Under the call to arms issued by the Supreme People's Conference of Indochina, the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have united closely and grown stronger with each battle. Throughout the Indochinese battlefield, they have dealt a heavy blow to the US invaders and their running dogs, continuously achieving new victories. The excellent situation in the war of resistance against the US and national salvation by the peoples of the three Indochinese countries has greatly inspired and supported the revolutionary struggles of peoples around

the world. A new upsurge in the struggle against the US invaders and all their running dogs is emerging worldwide.

To escape its predicament in Indochina, U.S. imperialism is increasingly pursuing a counter-revolutionary two-handed strategy. On the one hand, it insists on expanding the war, while on the other, it is plotting various schemes and intrigues in a vain attempt to extinguish the fervent flames of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries fighting against the U.S. and for national salvation. However, the seasoned peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia cannot be intimidated or deceived. All of U.S. imperialism's schemes and intrigues are doomed to failure.

The Chinese people have always considered supporting the peoples of the three Indochinese countries in their war to resist the US and save the nation as their internationalist duty. We believe that by strengthening unity, mutual support, and persisting in a protracted people's war, the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia will surely overcome the difficulties on the road ahead and completely drive the US invaders out of Indochina. The Chinese people, the Vietnamese people, the Lao people, and the Cambodian people are brothers and comrades-in-arms. We will forever unite, fight together, and triumph together.

Victory will surely belong to the heroic Vietnamese people and the peoples of Indochina!

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

September 1, 1970

[1] Ho Chi Minh, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Vietnam and President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Died in 1969.

Comments on the Report on the Discovery of a Large Salt Mine in Jiangxi [1]

(September 2, 1970)

1

A large salt mine has been discovered in Jiangxi, with reserves of 1.9 billion tons, possibly even more. Printed and distributed to all members of the plenary session.

Mao Zedong

September 2

2

That is, pure salt, which is a combination of these two elements.

[1] The first part of this article is a commentary on a report from the Jiangxi Provincial Revolutionary Committee. The report states that, following Chairman Mao's instructions, the people of the old revolutionary base areas in Jiangxi and the staff of the 99th Geological Team, after more than three months of hard work, reported, searched for, and explored for minerals. On March 3rd of this year, a large salt mine was discovered in Zhoutian Commune, Huichang County. Preliminary estimates indicate a geological reserve of 1.9 billion tons. Chemical analysis indicates excellent quality, with 97.7% sodium chloride. From discovery to production, it took only 47 days, ending the history of salt shortages in the three western regions. Currently, an annual salt production capacity of 15,000 tons has been established, with nearly 1,000 tons of cooking materials produced. Mao Zedong included a parenthetical commentary after the word "sodium chloride" in the report, which forms the second part of this article. On September 2, 1970, the General Office of the CPC Central Committee distributed Mao Zedong's comments, along with the report of the Jiangxi Provincial Revolutionary Committee, to the comrades attending the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee in Lushan.

Speech at the closing meeting of the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee" (1)

(September 6, 1970)

(On September 6, the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party successfully concluded. At the closing meeting, Mao Zedong gave important instructions on the Party's line education, the study of senior cadres, and the unity inside and outside the Party. When talking about the issue of senior cadres reading several books by Marx and Lenin):

Now people don't read Marx and Lenin's books. If they don't read them, they will bring out the third edition (2) and brag about it. So, have you read them? If you haven't, you will be fooled by these black scholars. Some of them are red scholars. I advise comrades who have reading ability to read a dozen books. It's just a basic start, and it won't interfere with work. You should read a few books on the history of philosophy, the history of Chinese philosophy and the history of European philosophy. If you talk about reading the history of philosophy, that's terrible. How can I work today? Actually, there is time. If you don't read a little, you won't know. This time, I was fooled and learned a lesson. They told me which version and which edition it was, but when I asked, I didn't read it myself.

(When talking about the struggle of the Lushan Conference, they were about to blow up Lushan and stop the earth from turning):

Lushan Mountain cannot be blown up, the earth will still turn. To put it in the extreme, it just has that flavour. I said you can blow up Lushan Mountain, I will not listen to you. You represent the people? I have not represented the people for more than ten years. Because they think that the symbol of representing the people is to be the president of the country. I stopped being the president more than ten years ago, doesn't that mean I have not represented the people for more than ten years? I said who wants to represent the people, you can be the president, I won't do it. You can blow up Lushan Mountain, I won't do it. What can you do?

(When talking about the unity inside and outside the party):

"It is not good not to talk about unity. If we don't talk about unity, we won't get the approval of the whole party, and the masses won't be happy." "What is unity? Of course, it is unity based on Marxism-Leninism, not unity without principles. It is always better to raise the slogan of unity, because there are more people. Including some of the comrades present here, who have always been at odds with each other in the past, and are still doing so now, I think it is still permissible. Such people are indispensable. You know, there are such people in the world, what can you do? Do you have to make it so clean, so that you can feel comfortable and sleep well? I don't think so. At that time, it will be divided into two again. We must unite the majority inside and outside the party, so that things can be done well."

[1] This article is excerpted from the “Struggle to Smash the Counter-Revolutionary Coup of the Lin Biao-Chen Anti-Party Group (Material 1)” compiled by the Central Special Case Group and forwarded by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on December 11, 1971. The draft of the notice forwarding this material by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was sent to Mao Zedong for review, and Mao Zedong instructed: “Distribute it as is.”

[2] Refers to the preface written by Engels for the third German edition of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. In his collection of Quotations from Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao on Genius, compiled during the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee, Chen Boda quoted a sentence from this preface written by Engels: "This is a work of genius." Chen Boda was then a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. During the Cultural Revolution, he actively participated in the conspiracy of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary groups to seize the highest power of the party and the state. After the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee in 1970, he was placed under investigation in isolation. In September 1973, the First Plenary Session of the Tenth CPC Central Committee passed a resolution to expel Chen Boda from the party and revoke his all-party duties. In January 1981, the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China confirmed that Chen Boda was the main culprit in the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary group case and sentenced him to 18 years in prison and deprived him of political rights for 5 years.

Comments on the Draft Communiqué of the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee

(September 6, 1970)

Remove the word "complete" on page 3. No comments on the rest.

[1] This comment was written on the report submitted by Zhou Enlai and others to Mao Zedong on September 6, 1970 for review of the draft report of the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Zhou Enlai and others wrote in their report: "After 11 o'clock, we gathered the heads and deputy heads of each major group and conveyed the main spirit of the Chairman's instructions: strengthen unity, fight the enemy together, support the army and love the people, read a few books, make self-criticisms, and strictly abide by party and military discipline." "In the afternoon, the major groups unanimously passed the draft communiqué and basically passed the draft constitutional amendment and the 1970 National Economic Plan. "The draft communiqué is now submitted for approval. The third page of the draft communiqué reads: "As Chairman Mao pointed out: 'The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must be prepared. However, the main trend in the world today is revolution.' In the past few months, the development of the international situation has completely proved Chairman Mao's scientific conclusion. When Mao Zedong reviewed it, he deleted the word "completely" in the last sentence. The communiqué of the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was passed on September 6 and published in the People's Daily on September 10.

Telegram from Mao Zedong and Others Congratulating the 22nd Anniversary of the Founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

(September 8, 1970)

Pyongyang

Comrade Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, and Prime Minister of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;

Comrade Choi Yong-kun, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea:

On the occasion of the 22nd anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on behalf of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese government, and the Chinese people, we extend our warmest congratulations to the Workers' Party of Korea, the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the fraternal Korean people.

The founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the great achievement of the Korean people's protracted revolutionary struggle. For 22 years, the heroic Korean people, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, have traversed a glorious journey. In the three-year Korean Fatherland Liberation War against U.S. imperialist aggression, the Korean people, fearless of violence, fought valiantly and defeated the American invaders, not only safeguarding their own independence and security but also making a significant contribution to the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people of the world. In the struggle to build socialism, the Korean people, through self-reliance, hard work, and unwavering revolutionary will, have achieved tremendous success. The Chinese people are heartfully happy for the achievements of the fraternal Korean people. We sincerely wish the Korean people continued and even greater success in their future revolution and construction.

The current world revolutionary situation is extremely favorable, and a new high tide is rising in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. To escape its internal and external predicament, U.S. imperialism is intensifying its collusion with Japanese militarism and frantically pursuing its policies of aggression and war. The resurgence of Japanese militarism poses a serious threat to the Chinese people, the Korean people, the peoples of the three Indochinese countries, and the peoples of Southeast Asia and other Asian countries. In the face of this formidable enemy, it is of paramount importance to continuously strengthen the close unity between the peoples of China, Korea, the three Indochinese countries, and the peoples of all Asian countries. This revolutionary unity is invincible and a reliable guarantee for defeating the aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism.

The Chinese people have always deeply cherished the great friendship and fighting unity forged and developed with the fraternal Korean people in the long struggle against common

enemies, and will, as always, continue to work hard to further consolidate and strengthen this friendship and unity. The Chinese people most firmly support the Korean people's just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the reunification of their motherland. If the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries dare to launch a new war of aggression in Korea, the Chinese people will firmly support the Korean people in fighting the aggressors until complete victory is achieved.

Long live the great friendship and fighting unity forged with blood between the Chinese and Korean 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 8, 1971

Comments on the Central Committee's Notice on Organizing Extensive Mass Discussion of the Draft Constitutional Amendment [1]

(September 1970)

Distribute this.

[1] On September 12, 1970, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice to the Party core groups of provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions and the Central Military Commission to organize the masses to widely discuss the "Draft Amendment to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China". The notice pointed out that this draft amendment to the Constitution was a continuation and development of the 1954 Constitution. In March 1970, Chairman Mao proposed to convene the Fourth National People's Congress and amend the Constitution, and proposed not to establish a president. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee began to prepare for the amendment of the Constitution in March, and on July 12, the Central Committee Drafting Committee for the Amendment of the Constitution was established with Chairman Mao as the director. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Drafting Committee studied in detail the opinions of the people on the amendment of the 1970 Constitution, put forward the "Draft Amendment to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China", and submitted it to the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee for review on February 23. On September 6, the plenary session basically approved the draft and decided to mobilize the people of the whole country to discuss and amend it. The Revolutionary Committees of provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions and the Central Military Commission were asked to collect the opinions of the masses and report to the Central Committee by the end of September.

On issues such as naval warfare (1)

(September 25, 1970)

1

Now some big countries are bullying us, for example in the navy and air force. They have occupied the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, so we have to build up a navy. China was a poor country and had no industry in the past. Now we have some, but not much. In about fifteen or twenty years, things may get better.

2

Imperialism is not to be feared. Our own experience, your experience, and the current experience of fighting in Southeast Asia have all proved this. These experiences have proved that imperialism is very powerful, but it is afraid of small countries and medium-sized countries. Some countries say that our country is a big country, but I say no, it is a medium-sized country, just like you. They are afraid of us, but they are afraid of our future, not our present. This is the so-called "potential power". The so-called "potential" means that the "power" is still sleeping there. I don't know when it will wake up, but they will be nervous.

3

Our navy and air force were formed by people drawn from the army, so they are not experts and have never done it. There is no enemy attack yet. If the enemy attacks, how can we fight? We can fight guerrilla warfare. We have experience in the army's guerrilla warfare in the past. The method is to fight if we can win, and run if we can't win. There are only two sentences, and there is no other way. Once we run, the enemy will chase us. When the time is right, it will be easy to fight, that is, we can win, so we will fight. China is a large country, and the people are on our side. It is difficult for the enemy to scout. There is no other way. We can only station troops everywhere. If we station too many, we can't deploy them. If we station too few, we will be eaten up. I think the same method is used on the sea. It's just that this military port is not good. We can't run from the military port. We have to think of other ways.

(1) Parts 1 to 3 of this item are part of a conversation between Mao Zedong and Pakistani Navy Commander Muzaffar Hassan.

Comments on the reading problem of senior party cadres (1)

(September 27, 1970)

Nine books are a bit too many, it is better to read less for the first time, and it is better to read selected books (such as the Anti-Dühring. (2)

September 27

[1] On September 18, 1970, Zhou Enlai and others wrote to Mao Zedong, saying, "We are sending you the Chairman's instructions and catalogue on the selection of 32 books by Marx, Engels and Lenin in 1964. We have selected nine books from them and five books from Chairman Mao's works." "Please approve them." The nine books by Marx, Engels and Lenin selected by Zhou Enlai and others are: 1. The Communist Manifesto; 2. Critique of the Gotha Programme; 3. Anti-Dühring; 4. Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy; 5. Imperialism is the Highest Stage of Capitalism; 6. The State and Revolution; 7. The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky; 8. "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder; 9. On Marx, Engels and Marxism." The five selected works of Mao Zedong are: 1. On Practice; 2. On Contradiction; 3. On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People; 4. Speech at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Communist Party of China; 5. Where Do Correct Ideas Come From? Mao Zedong's comments were written on the report submitted by Zhou Enlai and others for examination. On January 6, 1971, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a circular on the study of senior cadres reviewed by Mao Zedong. The circular quoted Mao Zedong's comments and pointed out that "Recently, Chairman Mao once again instructed at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party that senior party cadres, no matter how busy they are at work, must squeeze out time to read some books by Marx and Lenin to distinguish true Marxism-Leninism from false Marxism-Leninism."

[2] Refers to Engels' Anti-Dühring.

A Review of the Decision to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea [1]

(October 10, 1970)

Mao Zedong (hereinafter referred to as Mao): When your army retreated to the north, the losses were considerable, and the remaining forces were not large. At that time, I seem to remember telling you, "You are now stronger, stronger than before."

Kim Il-sung (hereinafter referred to as Kim): That's what you said.

Chairman Mao: At that time, although we had five armies stationed along the Yalu River, our Politburo was always unable to make up its mind. It flip-flopped here and there, but ultimately a decision was made. If you didn't help, what would we do? Not only would you have no say, but we would have no say either.

I once spoke with a Chinese journalist who had accompanied your army to South Korea. I asked him which was more lethal, the American artillery or the air force. He said the main lethality was not the air force, but the army. I said that made it easier, because we had no air force, only the army.

Besides, it would simply be us going in and being driven out by the Americans. So, I'd have fought you¹ once. After being driven out by you, I'd have returned to the west of the Yalu River. Then, if you, the Americans, occupied the area east of the Yalu, they'd always be worried. We could always go in again. Later, we could combine forces, organize guerrilla warfare, and then sneak in and occupy the area east of the Yalu. If you don't do anything, there will be no reason for you to do anything.

Unfortunately, there were only five armies at the time, and those five weren't very powerful. Seven would have been better. That was the first batch. Twenty percent of the soldiers and cadres were active and willing to fight. This was based on their local surveys. After mobilization, they conducted a survey that revealed that 20 percent of the soldiers and cadres were willing to fight, while 20 percent were unwilling.

Zhou Enlai (hereinafter referred to as Zhou): That was at the beginning.

Mao: Besides that 40%, there's another 60% who can fight or not, just follow the crowd. I said that was enough. Because 60% can follow the crowd, can support fighting, and add the 20% who are willing to fight, doesn't that make 80%? So we can fight. They also combined internationalism with patriotism, calling it "Resist the U.S. and Aid Korea, Defend the Homeland and the Country." If you didn't mention "defend the homeland and the country," they wouldn't agree. They said, "Is it okay if it's only for the Koreans and not for the

¹ The US imperialists.

Chinese?" So I said, "It's for defending the homeland and the country. If you want to defend your homeland and your country, you have to go wherever you want to defend it."

Kim: Yes. It was a very good slogan, very correct.

Mao: If you don't support the Korean people in defending Korea, how can you defend your homeland and your country? That way the soldiers would understand, and the first battle was won.

So things always take a tortuous turn like this. At that time, because China was wavering, Stalin lost his temper and said, "Forget it!" Didn't the Premier [2] go there later? Didn't he go with the idea of not sending troops?

Zhou: There were two opinions, and he had to choose. If we sent troops, we wanted their air force to support us.

Mao: We only wanted their air force to help, but they refused.

Zhou: When the campaign began, Molotov [3] agreed. Later, Stalin called him again and said that air force support was not allowed and could only reach the Yalu River.

Mao: The decision was finally made. A telegram was sent from China, saying that regardless of whether the Soviet Union could deploy its air force, we would go. I think we should be grateful to the Soviet Union. They always provided us with weapons and ammunition, half price, and also provided us with a fleet of vehicles. So, it can be said that the Asians had some experience fighting the Americans. As for the Soviet Union's reluctance to fight at the time, it had its reasons. They said that the losses during World War II were too great, with 20 million able-bodied men alone lost. And I'm afraid it wasn't just the able-bodied men, since women were not included in the able-bodied men.

[1] This is part of a conversation between Mao Zedong and Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and Prime Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

[2] This refers to Zhou Enlai.

[3] Molotov, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR in 1950.

Comments and annotations on Wu Faxian's self-criticism letter [1]

(October 14, 1970)

1

I have read this. I would like to see the opinions of other speakers.

Mao Zedong

October 14

2

As a Communist, why do you lack the courage to be upright? A few people launched an attack and tried to deceive more than 200 Central Committee members. This has never happened since the founding of the Party. [2]

3

These words seem untrue. [3]

4

He is a suspicious person. I have exposed him at the Politburo meeting. I have also informed an individual comrade about him. [4]

5

The comrades in the working group (except for a few comrades such as Li Desheng) have forgotten the Party Constitution adopted at the Ninth National Congress and Comrade Lin Biao's report. What genius problem is this? It is just a mistake. [5]

6

He is simply trying to deceive you once again in an attempt to save himself. [6]

7

What great modesty? On matters of principle, I have never been polite. We must dare to go against the tide. Going against the tide is a principle of Marxism-Leninism. In Lushan, my attitude was a counter-trend. [7]

8

This statement is not wrong. The Central Committee has serious struggles. Struggles are a normal part of life. [8]

9

That's right. [9]

Lin, Zhou, Kang (10) and other relevant comrades read it. After reading, it will be kept in the General Office of the Central Committee.

[1] Wu Faxian was then a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, deputy head of the Central Military Commission's office group, deputy chief of the People's Liberation Army's general staff and commander of the Air Force. On September 29, 1970, he wrote a letter to Mao Zedong, reviewing his words and deeds at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee. The letter said: "At the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party, I made serious mistakes and interfered with the Chairman, who personally presided over the Second Plenary Session. I also disrupted the Chairman's teaching that the plenary session should be a meeting of unity and victory." "The Chairman's 'My Opinion' is a brilliant document of Marxism-Leninism that is the most incisive." "It is a sharp and profound exposure of Chen Boda's reactionary nature. After studying it, I received a great education and woke up. I recognized the true face of Chen Boda, an ambitious, conspirator, hypocrite, and fake Marxist, and his evil conspiracy to launch a surprise attack, fan the flames, and attempt to split the party and seize the power of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee." "I realized that I had been fooled by the big bad guy Chen Boda. The letter also exposed some of Chen Boda's anti-party activities in Lushan. Chen Boda was a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee at that time. During the 'Cultural Revolution', he actively participated in the conspiracy activities of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary groups to seize the highest power of the party and the state. After the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee in 1970, he was isolated for investigation. In August 1973, the First Plenary Session of the Tenth CPC Central Committee passed a resolution to expel Chen Boda from the party and revoke all his posts inside and outside the party. In January 1981, the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China confirmed that Chen Boda was the main culprit in the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary group case and sentenced him to 18 years in prison and deprived him of political rights for 5 years. Parts 1 and 10 of this chapter are Mao Zedong's comments on Wu Faxian's letter of self-criticism; Parts 2 to 9 of this chapter are Mao Zedong's comments on this letter of self-criticism. Wu Faxian actively participated in the conspiracy of the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary group to usurp the party and launch a coup during the 'Cultural

Revolution". In September 1972, the CPC Central Committee decided to expel Wu Faxian from the party and revoke all his posts inside and outside the party. In January 1981, the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China confirmed that Wu Faxian was the main culprit of the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary group and sentenced him to 17 years in prison and deprived him of his political rights for 5 years.

[2] Wu Faxian said in his letter that he had not verified the material on genius quoted in his speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee, "without formal consultation and discussion with the other party, and without preparing a draft. Because I had a wrong understanding and wrong emotions, I started to talk more and more, which caused serious consequences." He also said: "At the solemn Second Plenary Session, I talked about such a major principled issue that concerns the overall situation without consulting the comrades of the Political Bureau in advance, and even less with the Chairman and Vice Chairman Lin. This is a serious lack of organization and discipline." Mao Zedong underlined the latter sentence and wrote this comment.

[3] Wu Faxian said in his letter that his speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee "did not consider the overall situation, did not stimulate the impact, and did not consider the consequences. This is an extremely irresponsible attitude that is not serious, cautious, or careful." Mao Zedong underlined these words and wrote this comment.

[4] Wu Faxian said in his letter that "the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party has uncovered the great careerist, great conspirator, and anti-Party element Chen Boda". Mao Zedong drew a line under "great careerist, great conspirator, and anti-Party element" and wrote this comment. The "individual comrade" mentioned in the comment refers to Lin Biao.

[5] Wu Faxian mentioned in his letter that at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee, he "printed several copies of the seven statements on genius by Engels, Lenin, and Mao Zedong that Chen Boda had told him over the phone, and gave them to several comrades in the working group." Mao Zedong underlined these words and wrote this comment.

[6] Wu Faxian's letter mentioned that Chen Boda called him on August 26, 1970, saying that the Chairman wanted Chen Boda to talk to his female colleagues Tong Peng and Qiu Huizuo. During the conversation, Chen Boda said that the Chairman criticized him, and also said, "The Chairman also criticized you." "We asked him what the Chairman criticized, but he refused to say." "At that time, Chen Boda's expression was very strange, and he was hesitant to speak." Mao Zedong drew a line under these words and put a question mark next to them, and wrote this comment.

[7] Wu Faxian's letter mentioned that Chen Boda had asked him during the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee whether he had said "some people took

advantage of the great modesty of the great leader Chairman Mao to belittle Mao Zedong Thought". Mao Zedong drew a line under the four words "great modesty" and wrote this comment.

[8] Wu Faxian said in his letter that he saw a rumour in Chen Boda's speech on the evening of August 27, 1970 that "there was also a horse-fighting movement in the Central Committee." Mao Zedong drew a line under this sentence and wrote this comment.

[9] Wu Faxian quoted in the letter that Chen Boda called him on the evening of August 24, 1970, and asked his secretary to tell him that Chen Boda "wanted to send a copy of his opinions on constitutional amendments to the Chairman. Wu Faxian told his secretary "don't reply to him." Mao Zedong drew a line under the words "don't reply to him" and wrote this comment.

[11] Lin refers to Lin Biao. Zhou refers to Zhou Enlai. Kang refers to Kang Sheng, who was then a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

Comments and annotations on Ye Qun's self-criticism letter [1]

(October 15, 1970)

1

I have read this document.

Mao Zedong

October 15, 1970

2

The correctness of the ideological and political line determines everything. [2]

3

She likes to praise but not criticize, loves to listen to gossip, and cannot withstand the storm. [3]

4

These are Marx's words, I am just repeating them. [4]

5

One tendency conceals another tendency. The victory of the Ninth Congress, becoming a member of the Central Committee, is great, and the line of the Ninth Congress has been thrown out of the window. The Chen Boda [5] network line against the Ninth Congress has gained the upper hand among some comrades. Comrades, please study this and see if it is true. [6]

6

Why do comrades who have been against reading Marx and Lenin for many years now seek help from them? The topic is so-called on genius. Didn't we discuss it at the Ninth National Congress? Why are we so forgetful? [7]

7

The materials are used directly, so there is no need to analyse them. The materials are the same, no matter who makes them, they are the same. Doesn't it count as being cheated if someone else makes them? [8]

8

Have you ever fought against him? How can you fight him when you listen to him ideologically and politically? [9]

9

If you don't get fooled, you won't turn around, so being fooled is a good thing. Chen Boda is a very suspicious person. [10]

10

This is extremely important. How can a Communist Party member not read a little Marx and Lenin? I am mainly referring to those who hold senior positions. [11]

11

They didn't mention the Ninth National Congress or the Party Constitution. They didn't listen to me. Once Chen Boda started talking, they got excited. Many comrades in the Military Commission's office group were like this. [12] The Party's policy is to learn from past mistakes to avoid future mistakes, and to cure the sickness to save the patient. Except for Chen Boda, who is still under investigation, this is applicable to all those who were deceived by him.

12

Lin, Zhou, Kang and other relevant comrades were invited to read it. After reading, it will be returned to the Central Office for storage.

[1] Ye Qun was then a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, a member of the Central Military Commission's Office, and the director of Lin Biao's office. On October 13, 1970, Ye Qun wrote a letter to Mao Zedong to criticize her support for Chen Boda's advocacy of the "genius theory" and the establishment of a state president at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee. Chapters 1, 11, and 12 of this chapter are Mao Zedong's comments on Ye Qun's letter of criticism; Chapters 2 to 10 of this chapter are his comments on this letter of criticism. During the "Cultural Revolution", Ye Qun actively participated in the conspiracy of the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary group to usurp the party and launch a counter-revolutionary coup, and was the main culprit of the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary group. In September 1971, she was killed in a fire accident when she defected with Lin Biao. In February 1973, the CPC Central Committee decided to expel Ye Qun from the party and remove all her posts inside and outside the party.

[2] Ye Qun said in her letter: "The mistake I made this time was serious and it was a line-breaking mistake." Mao Zedong drew a line under the words "was a line-breaking mistake" and wrote this comment.

[3] In her letter, Ye Qun mentioned that Huang Yongsheng and Wu Faxian called Lin Biao and her in mid-August 1970 to reflect the debate on the "genius" issue at the Central Committee's Constitution Revision Group Meeting. She said: "When we were in Beidaihe, we

received several calls on this issue. They were out of love for the Chairman at the time." Mao Zedong drew a line under "received several calls on this issue" and wrote this comment.

[4] Ye Qun wrote in her letter: "Chairman has said: 'When studying a problem, avoid being subjective, one-sided, and superficial.' All conclusions are drawn at the end of an investigation, not at the beginning. Mao Zedong drew a line under "All conclusions are drawn at the end of an investigation, not at the beginning," and wrote this comment.

[5] Chen Boda was then a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. During the Cultural Revolution, he actively participated in the conspiracy of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's anti-Mao group to seize the highest power of the party and the state. In 1970, he was re-examined at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee. In August 1973, the First Plenary Session of the Tenth CPC Central Committee passed a resolution to expel Chen Boda from the party and revoke all his positions inside and outside the party. In January 1981, the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China confirmed that Chen Boda was the main culprit in the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary group case and sentenced him to 18 years in prison and deprived him of political rights for 5 years.

[6] In her letter, Ye Qun wrote: "Chairman has said that 'contradictions should be exposed as much as possible. Contradictions should be exposed and resolved. Covering up contradictions is not in line with dialectics. Since I did not mention political and organizational principles to understand this issue, I always used superficial views to persuade Comrade Lin Biao not to get angry, to smooth things over, and to try to keep things quiet. As a result, I did more harm than good." Mao Zedong underlined the quotation and the sentence "I did more harm than good" and wrote this comment.

[7] In her letter, Ye Qun mentioned that on the evening of August 24, 1970, she participated in the discussion of the Central South Group of the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee. She said, "When I arrived at the meeting that day, I happened to receive a copy of the Quotations on Genius sent to me by the comrades of the working group. In order to save trouble, I partially quoted a few sentences when I spoke. "After I finished speaking, I learned from the phone call of the comrades of the working group that it was Chen Boda who did it. " Mao Zedong drew a line under the first sentence and "I learned from the phone call of the comrades of the working group" and wrote this criticism.

[8] Ye Qun wrote in her letter, "Although I did not participate in the compilation of the quotations, I did not analyse them because I had a poor sense of smell. This indirectly allowed me to be used by the bad guy Chen Boda and I fell for him, a counter-revolutionary fake theorist." Mao Zedong drew a line under the words "did not analyse" and "indirectly", put a question mark next to the three words "indirectly", and wrote this comment.

[9] Ye Qun wrote in her letter, "Because of my low level of political awareness, I did not fully understand Chen Boda's reactionary nature and was not vigilant enough, so my struggle

against him was not strong enough in the past." Mao Zedong drew a line under "My struggle against him was not strong enough in the past" and wrote this comment.

[10] In her letter, Ye Qun wrote, "According to recent revelations, Chen Boda may be a traitor, a spy, and a colluder with foreign countries"; he came to see Lin Biao without saying hello on August 23, 1970, "Now it seems that he came this time with ulterior motives and was plotting a conspiracy"; Chen Boda's wife "firmly refused to join the work of the Yan Weibing special case team at the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution", which is also very suspicious." Mao Zedong drew a line under these sentences and wrote this comment.

[11] In her letter, Ye Qun wrote, "In the future, I must strive to learn and apply Chairman Mao's works (especially Chairman Mao's philosophical works) and read several works of Marx, Engels, and Stalin carefully according to Chairman Mao's instructions." Mao Zedong drew a line under "read several works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin carefully" and wrote this comment.

[12] Refers to Huang Yongsheng, the head of the Central Military Commission's office group, Wu Faxian, the deputy head, and Ye Qun, Li Zuopeng, and Ting Huizuo. They are all the main culprits in the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary group case.

Comments on the Central Committee's Draft Notice on Convening Local Party Congresses at All Levels [1]

(October 1970)

Agreed.

[1] The draft notice submitted by Zhou Enlai and others for review on October 18, 1970, pointed out that the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party called on the whole Party to "earnestly complete the task of Party rectification and Party building, and strengthen the Party's ideological and organizational construction." To this end, all localities should, on the one hand, focus on the rectification and construction of grassroots branches; on the other hand, they should, in accordance with the provisions of the new Party Constitution, promptly convene local Party congresses at all levels and establish Party committees at all levels. The draft notice also stipulated specific issues regarding the convening of local Party congresses at all levels. Mao Zedong wrote this comment after reading it. On October 28, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued this notice.

Comments on agreeing to meet with American writer Edgar Snow [1]

(October 1970)

Yes, I'd like to hear more from him about international affairs.

[1] This comment was written on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' proposal on the arrangement of Mao Zedong's meeting with Snow, which Zhou Enlai submitted for review on October 12, 1973. When submitting it for review, Zhou Enlai wrote: "It is suggested that the Chairman meet with Snow in the next few days. Snow was originally scheduled to go out on October 15. If the Chairman agrees to meet with him in the next few days, his departure can be postponed. Please let him know which day the Chairman will meet with him, whether his wife will attend, who will accompany him, and whether photos can be taken." The meeting between Mao Zedong and Snow was later arranged on December 18, 1970.

Condolence Message on the Death of Charles de Gaulle [1]

(November 11, 1970)

Paris

Mrs. Charles de Gaulle:

Upon learning of the untimely passing of General Charles de Gaulle, I express my sincere condolences and respect for this indomitable fighter against fascist aggression and for the defense of French national independence.

Mao Zedong

Beijing, November 11, 1970

[1] Charles de Gaulle was a French general and politician. During World War II, he led his troops to fight against the German invaders. After the fall of France, he led the "Free France" (later renamed "Fighting France") movement in London, England. He later organized the French National Council and the French National Liberation Committee to lead the anti-German struggle both at home and abroad. In June 1944, he became the head of the French Provisional Government. In June 1958, he became the head of the French Parliament. From December 1958 to April 1969, he served as President of the French Fifth Republic. He died on November 9, 1970.

Conversation with Pakistani President Yahya [1]

(November 13, 1970)

In recent years, our steel production has been fluctuating between 10 million and 18 million tons. For about a decade, we haven't been able to increase it. Through this Cultural Revolution, many people have awakened, and it's possible that we'll see an increase in the next decade.

[1] On November 13, 1970, Mao Zedong met with Pakistani President Yahya Khan at the Great Hall of the People. This is part of a conversation between Mao Zedong and Yahya Khan. This passage was quoted in bold in Mao Zedong's comments on the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on April 14, 1975, on striving to complete this year's steel production plan.

Comments on the Publication of "My Opinions" [1]

(November 1970)

1

Please read it again, Lin [2], and return it to Zhou Enlai and Kang Sheng [3].

2

A slightly wider range is better, such as the prefecture level and division level. The central government should issue a directive [4].

3

To be distributed.

[1] On November 7, 1970, Zhou Enlai and others wrote a report to Mao Zedong and others, saying that in handling the Chen Boda case, we found that if we did not let more responsible comrades and comrades handling the case know about the Chairman's article "My Opinion", it would be difficult to obtain more true revelations and denunciations. Now, both inside and outside the Party and foreign public opinion have gradually realized that Chen Boda has not appeared since the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, and that something may have happened. Therefore, we propose to print and distribute the Chairman's "My Opinion" to the core groups of the Party in each province, city, and autonomous region, the Standing Committees of the Party Committees of each major military region, provincial military region, each army, each headquarters, and each service branch, and the leading groups or core groups of each department of the Central Party and government. We also need to inform the leading comrades of the above-mentioned units about Chen Boda's anti-Party and anti-Marxism, revisionist Mao Zedong Thought, and personal ambition conspiracy activities, so as to obtain more revelations about this suspicious person. The first part was written on the envelope of the report submitted by Zhou Enlai and others; the second part was written on the report; and the third part was written on the draft directive from the Central Committee regarding Chen Boda's anti-Party activities, submitted by Zhou Enlai and others for review on November 14th. Chen Boda, then a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, actively participated in the conspiracy of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique to seize supreme power in the Party and the state during the Cultural Revolution. He was placed under incommunicado investigation after the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee in 1970. In August 1973, the First Plenary Session of the Tenth CPC Central Committee passed a resolution expelling Chen Boda from the Party and removing him from all positions within and outside the Party. In January 1973,

the Special Tribunal of the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China confirmed Chen Boda as the principal offender in the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique case and sentenced him to 18 years' imprisonment and five years' deprivation of political rights.

[2] Lin refers to Lin Biao, then Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee and Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission.

[3] Kang Sheng, then Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Head of the Central Organization and Propaganda Group.

[4] The draft directive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on conveying information on Chen Boda's anti-Party activities, drafted based on Mao Zedong's instructions, stated that at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, Chen Boda resorted to despicable tactics, including surprise attacks, inciting trouble, spreading rumours, and deceiving comrades, in an attempt to split the Party. Chairman Mao, perceiving all this, immediately wrote "My Opinion," which shattered Chen Boda's anti-Party plot and set the course of the plenary session in the right direction. After the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, Chen Boda's anti-Party activities were orally communicated to a number of senior Party cadres. To educate cadres and increase understanding of this issue, the Central Committee decided to publish "My Opinion," requesting that it be immediately read and disseminated to members of regional core groups within the Party, members of division-level Party committees in the military, responsible Party cadres at the same level, and members of the various Central Committee special task forces. The content of the dissemination should be based primarily on "My Opinion." The draft directive also noted that Chen Boda had a complex history and was a suspicious individual, and that the Central Committee was currently investigating his case. When disseminating this information, all units should call on comrades who are familiar with his situation and problems to report and expose him. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued this directive on November 16.

Comments on the Beijing Garrison's Summary Report on the Troops' Combat Readiness Camping and Training [1]

(November-December 1970)

1

Comrade Lin Biao [2]:

I think this document is very good. Please discuss with Comrade Huang Yongsheng [3] whether the entire army should conduct a long-distance camping training during the winter. Each army can be divided into two groups (or not), each group for two months, to promote unity between officers and soldiers, and between the army and the people. Those in the three supports and two armies are not included. However, can university, middle school, and elementary and middle school (senior grades) students also conduct a one-month camping training during winter vacation? Can factories select a small number of workers (for example, a quarter, but production cannot be reduced) for camping training? Please discuss this with the comrades in the Central Committee.

2

If we do not train in this way, we will become pampered soldiers.

3

Published as requested.

Mao Zedong

November 24th

[1] This report, submitted to Mao Zedong and others by the Beijing Garrison of the Chinese People's Liberation Army on November 17, 1970, stated that from July of the previous year to August of this year, the Garrison had organized 13 regiments in four batches to conduct 1,000- and 2,000-mile combat readiness field marches. Simultaneously, six regiments were stationed in mountainous rural areas. Combined with combat readiness evacuations, these field marches focused on training in "hiding" and "fighting." Building on combat readiness education, these field marches promoted the revolutionary and combat-oriented development of the troops, strengthened their combat readiness awareness, and enhanced the cadres' organizational and command capabilities and the troops' combat effectiveness. Parts 1 and 2 of this report were included in this report; Part 3 of this report is a comment on the draft Central Committee notice submitted by Zhou Enlai on December 8th, regarding the implementation of Chairman Mao's important instructions on implementing field marches. The draft central notice specifically urged that "people of all ethnic groups

throughout the country should take Chairman Mao's important instructions of November 24 as their guiding principle and immediately launch a wave of 'implementing field training.'"

[2] Lin Biao was then Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee and Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission.

[3] Huang Yongsheng was then a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, head of the Central Military Commission's working group, and chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Telegram from Mao Zedong and Others Congratulating the 26th Anniversary of the Liberation of Albania

(November 28, 1970)

Tirana

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

Comrade Haci 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;

Dear Comrades:

On the glorious occasion of the 26th anniversary of the liberation of Albania, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, and the Chinese people, we extend our warmest congratulations to you, to the glorious Party of Labor of Albania, to the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, and to the fraternal Albanian people.

Since liberation, the heroic Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor, headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha, have withstood the severe trials of class struggle at home and abroad and traversed a glorious path fraught with battle. The Albanian Party of Labor and the Albanian people have consistently held high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, adhered to the principles of revolution, dared to struggle and to win, and with fearless heroism, waged a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism. This has greatly inspired the fighting spirit of revolutionary people worldwide and made significant contributions to the cause of world revolution.

The Albanian people have overcome numerous obstacles erected by imperialism, revisionism, and reactionaries, unwaveringly following the socialist path and achieving one great victory after another. The past year has been a year in which the Albanian spirit of self-reliance and hard work has flourished, and in which Albania's socialist revolution and socialist construction have achieved even greater success. Heroic Albania is stronger than ever.

At present, the world enjoys a favorable revolutionary situation, and a new high tide is rising in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. The ugly faces of the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism, colluding with each other, competing with each other, and attempting to divide the world, are becoming increasingly apparent. They are trapped in

unprecedented difficulties, and the day when they will be completely buried by the people of the world is not far away. Let us, the Chinese and Albanian parties and peoples, unite more closely with the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the world and fight together to defeat the U.S. invaders and all their running dogs!

Warm congratulations on the 26th anniversary of Albania's liberation!

Long live the great revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Albanian parties, two countries, and two 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, November 28, 1971

Don't ask foreigners to accept Chinese ideas [1]

(December 6, 1970)

As for all foreigners, we do not ask them to recognize Chinese ideas, but only to recognize the combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the revolution in their country. This is a basic principle. I have said it many times. As for whether they have other bad ideas besides Marxism-Leninism, they will become aware of it themselves, and we do not need to discuss it with foreign comrades as a serious problem. We can see that our party has gradually got on the right track after many wrong line educations, and there are still problems today, that is, great power chauvinism both at home and abroad, which must be overcome.

[1] This is Mao Zedong's comment on the "Request for Invitation of the Dutch Communist Unity Movement (Marxist-Leninist) to Send a Delegation to Visit China" issued by the Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Comments on the Central Committee's Draft Notice on Strengthening Work Safety [1]

(December 1970)

Issue as is.

[1] The draft notice submitted by Zhou Enlai for review on December 7, 1970, stated that since the beginning of this year, especially since the second half of the year, major accidents have occurred repeatedly in some places, causing serious damage to people's lives and property and bringing adverse political impacts. Therefore, the notice put forward five specific requirements for strengthening production safety. Zhou Enlai wrote in his submission that this document was discussed and revised at the Politburo meeting in November. Currently, all localities still pay insufficient attention to production safety, and accidents continue to occur. Therefore, issuing this notice is still necessary. Mao Zedong wrote this comment after reading it. On December 11, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent this notice to county-level and enterprise-level units.

Comments on the 38th Army's report on Chen Boda's [1] anti-Party crimes

(December 16, 1970)

Lin, Zhou, Kang and all the comrades of the Central Committee and the Military Commission:

Please discuss this report [2] once. It is suggested that the Party Committee of the Beijing Military Region hold a meeting to discuss it. People from all divisions should attend the meeting and more time should be given to discuss why Chen Boda was allowed to run around and talk nonsense. He has no position in the Beijing Military Region, and the Central Committee has not appointed him to solve the military and political problems of the Beijing Military Region. Why did Chen Boda become the emperor of the Beijing Military Region and North China? Comrade Lin Biao told me that it was inconvenient for him to talk to people from the 38th Army. The Beijing Military Region did not hold a centralized meeting on the Chen Boda issue, but only conveyed it to the provinces and armies. Therefore, it did not work well to get through the thinking and unite the whole army better. Please decide whether the above suggestions are feasible.

Mao Zedong

December 16

[1] Chen Boda was then a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. During the Cultural Revolution, he actively participated in the conspiracy of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary groups to seize the highest power of the party and the state. After the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee in 1970, he was isolated for investigation. In August 1973, the First Plenary Session of the Tenth CPC Central Committee passed a resolution to expel Chen Boda from the party and abolish the two-party relationship inside and outside the party. In January 1981, the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China confirmed that Pi Youda was the main culprit in the Mu Biao counter-revolutionary group case and sentenced him to 18 years in prison and deprived him of political rights for 5 years.

[2] Refers to the report submitted by the 38th CPC Military Commission on December 10, 1970 to the Central Military Commission Office Group and the CPC Central Committee, which exposed Chen Boda's anti-Party crimes.

Minutes of a Meeting with Edgar Snow [1]

(December 18, 1970)

Snow (hereinafter referred to as Snow): I have often thought of writing to you, but this is the only time I have actually bothered you by writing.

Mao Zedong (hereinafter referred to as Mao): How can it be considered a disturbance? Last time, in 1965, I told you to come to me. If you had come to me and cursed me, I would have told you to come and see China's Cultural Revolution, to see the all-round civil war². I've learned that phrase myself. Fighting everywhere, dividing people into two factions. Every factory was divided into two factions, every school was divided into two factions, every province was divided into two factions, every county was divided into two factions, every ministry was divided into two factions, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was divided into two factions. You had to do this. First, there were counter-revolutionaries, and second, there were capitalist-roaders. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in complete chaos. For a month and a half, we lost control. Power was in the hands of the counter-revolutionaries.

Snow: Was it during the burning of the British Consulate [2]?

Mao: It was that period. July and August 1967. It was terrible. The whole world was in chaos. This is good. He's been exposed. Otherwise, who would have known?! The majority were good, but a few were bad. This enemy was called the "May 16th Group" [3]

Snow: There's one thing I'm not quite sure about. Is the Chairman telling me these things for public publication, as background material, as a conversation between friends, or a combination of all three?

Mao: Not for publication. As a scholar and researcher, studying social conditions, the future, and history. I think it's better for you to publish your conversation with Premier Zhou Enlai, and not the one with me. I've read this article in an Italian magazine [4]. I read it translated from a foreign language into Chinese.

Snow: Do you think it's well written?

Mao: That's fine. What's the big deal about your mistakes? For example, you say I'm a personality cult. You Americans are the ones who have the most personality cult! Your capital is called Washington. The place where your Washington is located is called the District of Columbia.

Snow: Every state has at least a town called Washington.

² Mao spoke the phrase "all-round civil war" in English.

Mao: That's disgusting! I support scientific inventions, for example, Darwin, Kant, [5] and even your American scientists, mainly Morgan [6], who studied primitive society. His books were very popular with Marx and Engels. That's when we learned about primitive society.

There has to be someone to worship! Are you happy if no one worships you, Snow? Are you happy if no one reads your articles or books? There has to be some personality cult, and you have it too.

How can every governor, president, and minister in America survive without a group of people worshipping them?

I don't like the Democratic Party; I prefer the Republican Party. I welcome Nixon's [7] presence. Why? He's also deceptive, but to a lesser degree, believe it or not? He often uses force, but he also uses soft tactics. If he wants to come to Beijing, just send a message and tell him to do it secretly, without making it public. He can just hop on a plane and come. It doesn't matter if the talks fail or succeed. Why keep things so tense? But in America, there are no secrets. A president traveling abroad can't be secretive. If he were to come to China, he'd definitely brag about it, saying his goal is to get China to retaliate against the Soviet Union. That's why he doesn't dare to do that yet. Attacking the Soviet Union isn't good for the United States right now; tackling China isn't good for the United States either.

You say my policy was correct, that I decided not to send troops five years ago, and that's why Nixon didn't attack China. I say no. We sent one million troops to Korea, called the Volunteer Army. MacArthur [8] was determined to bomb Manchuria, meaning Northeast China, but Truman [9] withdrew him. Later, MacArthur became a pacifist. Isn't that strange? People in the world change this way. There are also those who remain constant, like us two.

I think your visit this time is more in-depth than your previous ones. You've visited factories, rural areas, and schools—that's studying society.

Snow: China's agriculture is doing very well right now.

Mao: China's agriculture still relies on manual labour, hoes, and oxen.

Snow: This time, I visited some of the communes I visited ten years ago. They've made great progress.

Mao: There has been some progress, but it's still very backward. Not many people are literate, and not many women practice birth control.

Snow: It's still quite good, compared to ten or five years ago.

Mao: I agree that there has been some progress; I can't say how much progress there has been. We need to be cautious.

Snow: But now no one opposes birth control.

Mao: You've been deceived! Rural women, after their first child is a girl, want a boy. Their second, also a girl, wants a boy again. Their third, also a girl, wants a boy again. ... After giving birth to nine children in total, all girls, they're already forty-five, so they just give up.

Snow: Yes, but now there are fewer people opposing birth control. Young people don't oppose it anymore.

Mao: There's a preference for sons over daughters. This custom needs to change. I think you in the United States may also favour sons over daughters, and it will take time to change.

Snow: There's a large women's liberation movement in the United States right now, and they're demanding complete equality for men and women.

Mao: You want complete equality, but that's impossible now.

Today, there's no distinction between Chinese and Americans. I place my hopes on the people of these two countries, and I place my greatest hopes on the American people. First, Asia, Africa, and Latin America; second, Europe, America, and Oceania.

The United States alone has a population of 200 million. If the Soviet Union fails, I place my hopes on the American people. I would be delighted if a leading party could emerge in the United States to carry out the revolution. America's industry is superior to any other country in the world, and its culture is widespread.

Our current policy is to not allow Americans to come to China. Is this correct? The Ministry of Foreign Affairs should study this. We should allow the left, centre, and right. Why should the right be allowed? Nixon, for example, represents the monopoly capitalists. Of course he should be allowed to come, because the centre and the left can't solve the problem. Right now, we have to work with Nixon.

He's been writing letters everywhere saying he'd send representatives, but we haven't published them, keeping it a secret! He's "not interested" in the talks in Warsaw, Poland [10], and wants to come face to face. So, I said, if Nixon is willing to come, I'm willing to talk with him. It doesn't matter if the talks succeed or not, if we argue or not, if he comes as a tourist or as the president. In short, anything is fine. I don't think I'll argue with him. Criticism is necessary. We also need to engage in self-criticism, which means talking about our mistakes and shortcomings. For example, our production level is lower than that of the United States. We don't engage in self-criticism for anything else.

You say China has made great progress, but I say otherwise. There has been some progress. I'm happy that the American Revolution made progress. I'm not satisfied with China's progress; I've never been satisfied. Of course, that's not to say there hasn't been any progress. Compared to 35 years ago, there has been some progress, right? 35 years!

Back then, we were very backward, with only 8,000 troops. The Second and Fourth Front Armies hadn't yet joined forces. After joining forces, we recruited and only managed to pull

together 25,000 men in Shaanxi and Gansu. I say we travelled 25,000 miles, leaving only 25,000. But that's still more than the 300,000 men and several bases before the Long March. Policies have changed, and the "Wang Ming" [11] line has been criticized.

Snow: There are two things I'd like to discuss with you. First, regarding Nixon's visit to China. Can it be understood this way: his visit is unrealistic at the moment, but Nixon's visit is considered ideal?

Second, regarding Americans visiting China, I'm particularly pleased to be an exception to this question.

Mao: But you cannot represent the United States; you are not a monopoly capitalist.

Snow: Of course, that's what I was just about to say.

Mao: Nixon wanted to send representatives to China for negotiations. That was his own initiative, and there are documents proving it. He said he was willing to talk face-to-face in Beijing or Washington, without letting our Ministry of Foreign Affairs know, nor through the US State Department. He was very mysterious, asking not to make it public and saying that such information was highly confidential. What year was his election?

Snow: 1972.

Mao: The US had its general election in 1972. I think Nixon might have sent representatives in the first half of that year, but he wouldn't come himself. He wanted to negotiate then. He was reluctant to give up Taiwan. Chiang Kai-shek was still alive. What did Taiwan have to do with him? Taiwan was created by Truman and Acheson [12], and then there was another President [13], who also had a hand in that. Then there was Kennedy [14]. Nixon was Vice President for a long time [15]. He visited Taiwan at that time. He said there were over 10 million people in Taiwan. I said there were over a billion people in Asia and 300 million in Africa, all rebelling there. What do you think of this world?

Snow: I agree with the Chairman. It's a question of control, a question of the United States maintaining its power. The combined populations of India, Pakistan, and China are 1.5 billion. Add in Indonesia, Japan, and others, and Asia probably accounts for more than half the world's population. Japan is rapidly becoming an industrial power and is already the world's third largest. If China, with such a large population, could catch up with Japan in production capacity, then the combined production capacity of China and Japan would far surpass that of the United States and Europe.

Mao: That depends on policy. When Washington of your country started the revolution over 190 years ago, there were only three million people in the United States, yet they were able to defeat the British Empire, the world's largest industrial nation with a population of nearly 30 million. They only had a few rotten guns, a few guerrillas, and a few militias. Washington was a big landowner. He got angry and started guerrilla warfare. The British couldn't find the Americans, and the Americans were hiding in this corner and that corner, swallowing!

swallowing! Hey! From 1775 onwards, after a year of fighting, it was not until 1776 that a convention of thirteen states was held and Washington was officially elected commander-in-chief. [16] The troops were also sparse, not many, and the finances were very difficult. They issued money, but they defeated the British.

What about us? You saw us back then. We had lost our southern base. There were less than 30,000 people in a place with a population of 1.5 million. Oh, less than that, because Yan'an hadn't been captured yet. Chiang Kai-shek was incredibly powerful. Later, Marshall helped him, during the Truman era. Look at the Chinese back then. They were sparsely populated, with only a little over 20,000 soldiers and Baoan as their base. You went back and saw that there were only 200 households. Who could have imagined we could occupy the mainland?

Snow: You did.

Mao: Imagination is imagination, but we didn't know if we could occupy it yet. It won't count until we occupy it. And then the Japanese came back. That's why we say Nixon is good. Those Japanese are truly good. The Chinese revolution wouldn't have been possible without their help. I once told this to a Japanese, a capitalist named Nango Saburo. He always said, "I'm sorry, we invaded you." I said, "No, you helped a lot, Japanese militarism and the Japanese emperor. You occupied most of China, and the Chinese people all rose up to fight you. We raised an army of one million and occupied an area with a population of 100 million. Wasn't that all your help?"

There's a journalist in your country named Karnow, who used to be in Hong Kong and is now in the Soviet Union. He quoted this passage, saying that Americans are stupid and inciting people around the world to awaken.

Stanford: I reported this statement before, and many people have quoted it.

Mao: That's exactly what we want to promote. Without Chiang Kai-shek, the Japanese, and the Americans helping Chiang Kai-shek, we couldn't have won.

Snow: When I met Sihanouk [17] a few days ago, Sihanouk told me that Nixon was a good agent of Mao Zedong.

Mao: I like this kind of person, the most reactionary person in the world. I don't like the Social Democratic Party or revisionism. Revisionism has its deceptive side, and the current West German government also has its deceptive side.

Snow: The deeper Nixon gets bogged down in South Asia, the more he will mobilize the people to rise against him.

Mao: Good! Nixon is good! I can talk to him, and we won't argue.

Snow: I don't know Nixon, but if I met him, could I say...?

Mao: You just say, he's a good man! The world's first good man! This Brezhnev [18] is not good, and Brandt [19] wasn't much better either.

Snow: I remember you said, "National struggle, in the final analysis, is a question of class struggle."

Mao: That's right. What is a nation? It consists of two groups of people. One group is the upper class, the exploiting class, the minority. This group of people can speak and organize the government, but they cannot fight, farm, or work in factories. More than 90% are workers, peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie. Without these people, there can be no nation.

Snow: I would like to briefly introduce my experience to you as background material, which may be of interest to you. ...[20]

My experience can be said to be typical among my generation, that is, I studied and worked at the same time.

Mao: But your worldview is still bourgeois, not proletarian. I also had a bourgeois worldview for a long time. Initially, I believed in Confucius, then in Kant's idealism. I knew nothing about Marx. I believed in Washington and Napoleon. Chiang Kai-shek ultimately helped, killing people in 1927. Of course, in 1921, we recruited seventy intellectuals [21] to form the Communist Party. When the Communist Party was formed, there were only twelve representatives, and the seventy elected twelve as representatives. Of these twelve, several sacrificed their lives, died, quit, or became counter-revolutionaries. Now, only two remain: Dong Biwu [22] and Mao Zedong.

Snow: I think your emphasis on combining education with productive labour is very important.

Mao: We have no university professors, middle school teachers, or elementary school teachers. We use only Kuomintang members, and they rule the country. The Cultural Revolution started with them. Only one, two, or three percent were dismissed, and they were left there to be supported when they grew old and could no longer work. The rest were retained, but they should be integrated with labour, and progressed gradually. Don't rush, force, or impose anything. I don't approve of that lecture method. You, the teacher, write the notes and give them to the students. Then, if you don't understand, you can ask the teacher in class. Students are often very naughty. If the students come up with a hundred questions, and the teacher can answer fifty, it's considered quite good. What about the remaining fifty? Just say, "I don't understand, just like you." Then everyone studies—you study, I study. Then say, "get out - class dismissed!" See, how wonderful! That's how I teach. No notes. If you want to sleep, you doze off. If you want to run, you leave. This nap is really good. Instead of sitting there seriously and not being able to listen, it's better to maintain your energy.

Mao: You're nothing special as a journalist! Why bother being a journalist? What kind of books can you write, what kind of fame can you achieve? Your "Red Star Over China" is famous. There's another book by someone who can compare to your "Red Star Over China." It was written by a sailor who landed in Guangzhou at the time and witnessed the Japanese invasion. He probably didn't go to the liberated areas. His name is Belden³. (Jack Belden [23]).

Snow: Oh, yes, I know that guy. He's still around.

Mao: What about Latimore [24]?

Snow: He's still around. He used to work at Johns Hopkins University. He was persecuted during the McCarthy [25] era and later. He now lives in England.

Snow: Two years ago, when I visited the Far East, I met with scholars and China experts. I kept asking them if any of them had ever written an analysis of "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" [26] and pointed out its dual meaning. I didn't find any of them who had ever grasped the significance of the article at the time. Therefore, they were unable to foresee the Cultural Revolution, and they were unable to understand it after it began.

Mao: It was the article "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" [27] that struck a chord with our enemies. At the time, organizations in Beijing couldn't publish articles, saying Wu Han was a historian and untouchable! We approached the first person, but he didn't dare write; the second, but he didn't dare write; the third, but he still didn't dare write. Later, a writing team was organized in Shanghai, headed by Yao Wen Yuan. The article came out, but Beijing wouldn't publish it. I was in Shanghai at the time, and I said, "Publish a pamphlet and see what they do!" Only one newspaper in Beijing published it—the Liberation Army Daily. Neither the People's Daily nor the Beijing Daily. Later, it was reprinted across the country, in every province and city. Only one province didn't: my own province—Hunan.

Snow: Was the Hunan newspaper's refusal to publish it due to Liu Shaoqi's obstruction?

Mao: That's not the case. The Propaganda Minister of the Hunan Provincial Committee was extremely right-wing. The Propaganda Department, the Organization Department, the Provincial Committee—they were all destroyed. But we can't draw conclusions based on just one thing. Several figures from Hunan Province have emerged. The first is Hua Guofeng [28], the current First Secretary of the Hunan Provincial Committee, a veteran; the second is Li Ruishan, the current head of the Shaanxi Provincial Revolutionary Committee, who was also a Hunan Provincial Party Secretary; and the third is Hu Jizong, the second-in-command of Gansu Province.

Snow: Do you think China and the United States will establish diplomatic relations?

³ Mao pronounced Belden's name in English.

Mao: China and the United States will eventually establish diplomatic relations. Are we going to avoid diplomatic relations for a hundred years? We haven't occupied your Long Island.

Snow: I have a question for you: When did you clearly feel the need to remove Liu Shaoqi from the political arena?

Mao: It was quite early. In January 1965, the "Twenty-Three Articles" [29] were published. The first of the "Twenty-Three Articles" stated that the goal of the "Four Cleanups" campaign was to purge those in power within the Party who were taking the capitalist road. Liu Shaoqi immediately objected. Before that, his black book on "Self-cultivation" [30] hadn't touched on imperialism, feudalism, or the Kuomintang.

Snow: Is it the new edition?

Mao: Old version. They say we shouldn't seize power. The Communist Party doesn't want to seize power. What's the point of being a Communist Party if we don't seize power?!

Snow: So, did you feel the need for a revolution at that time?

Mao: Yes. In October 1965, "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" was criticized. On May 16, 1966, the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee decided to launch the Cultural Revolution. In August 1966, the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee was held, and the "Sixteen Articles" [31] were formulated.

Snow: Did Liu Shaoqi also oppose the "Sixteen Articles"?

Mao: He was vague. Because I had already published that big-character poster, he was furious. He was actually firmly opposed.

Snow: Is that the big-character poster, "Bombard the Headquarters" [32]?

Mao: That one.

Snow: He also knew he was the headquarters.

Mao: At that time, I had no control over the Party's power, the power of propaganda work, the power of the provincial Party committees, and the power of various localities, such as the power of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee. So at that time, I said there was no such thing as a cult of personality, but a certain amount of cult of personality was necessary.

It's different now. The worship is excessive, with a lot of formalism. For example, the "Four Greats"—Great Teacher, Great Leader, Great Supreme Commander, Great Helmsman⁴—are disgusting! One day, all of them will be eliminated, leaving only "Teacher." Because I've always been a teacher, and I still am. All others will be resigned.

Snow: Was it necessary to do this in the past?

⁴ Mao said each of these "greats" in English.

Mao: In the past few years, there was a need for some kind of personality cult. Now it's no longer necessary; it needs to cool down.

Snow: Sometimes I wonder if those who go too far are sincere.

Mao: There are three kinds: one is genuine, the second is following the crowd, "You all should shout 'Long live!'" The third is fake. You shouldn't believe that.

Snow: I heard that at a plenary session of the Central Committee[33] held just before the march into the city, a resolution was passed prohibiting the naming of cities, streets, villages, etc. after Party leaders.

Mao: That doesn't exist now. There are no streets, cities, or places named after people. But they use other forms: slogans, portraits, and plaster statues. They've been doing this for the past few years. Whenever the Red Guards start making noise and storming the streets, they have to do it. How could they not do it? They'd say you're anti-Mao⁵! Didn't your President Nixon like law and order? He liked law, that order⁶. Our current constitution should include a clause about strikes. In addition to the "four great freedoms," we should also include strikes. This way, we can combat bureaucracy. This clause is essential for combating bureaucracy.

Snow: Should strikes be included in the new constitution?

Mao: A new constitution must be written.

That's why I say China is very backward. Two things, both advanced and backward, are in a struggle.

Snow: Regarding what people call the cult of personality around Mao Zedong, my understanding is that the power of the nation must be personified by an individual. During this period, during the Cultural Revolution, Mao Zedong and his teachings must serve as the symbol of everything until the struggle ends.

Chairman Mao: This was to oppose Liu Shaoqi. Previously, it was to oppose Chiang Kai-shek, and later, to oppose Liu Shaoqi, he still promoted Chiang Kai-shek. We also have to establish someone. Promote Chen Duxiu [34]? No; promote Qu Qiubai, no; promote Li Lisan, no; promote Wang Ming, no. So what should we do? We have to establish someone to overthrow Wang Ming. Unless Wang Ming is overthrown, the Chinese revolution cannot triumph. Our party is in such trouble.

Snow: What do you think of the party now?

Mao: Not very well.

Snow: Is it getting any better?

⁵ Mao said "anti-Mao" in English.

⁶ Mao said the phrase "law and order", and the words "law" and "order" in English.

Chairman Mao: Better. If you say it's better, I agree. If you say China is so good, I don't agree. Two things were fighting each other: one progressive, the other backward. There were two things during the Cultural Revolution that I strongly disapproved of. One was lying. They said, "We want cultural struggle, not physical struggle," but in reality, they kicked someone and then pulled their foot back. They asked, "Why did you kick me?" They replied, "I didn't kick you. Look, isn't my foot right here?" They were lying. Later, it escalated into fighting, initially with spears, then rifles and mortars. So when foreigners talked about China in chaos, it wasn't lies; it was real: physical struggle.

The second thing that really upset me was the mistreatment of captured prisoners. The Red Army and the People's Liberation Army weren't like that. They treated prisoners well. They didn't beat them, scold them, search their pockets, and even gave them travel expenses to go home. They didn't execute any officers, not even officers as high as generals. They were disarmed, whether they were soldiers or officers, high-ranking or low-ranking, so why would you still mistreat them? We've always established this rule. Therefore, under our influence, many soldiers came over in a week and joined our forces in battle.

Mao: When you return to the United States, I hope you'll conduct some social research. Survey workers, farmers, students, intellectuals, capitalists, and all walks of life. Observe their lives and their emotions. To survey a factory—I mean a medium-sized one, with about a thousand employees—would a week be enough?

Snow: Yes.

Mao: If you survey two factories, that'll only take two weeks. To survey a farm, a week would also be enough, right?

Snow: Yes.

Mao: Investigating two farms also takes two weeks. A total of four weeks only adds up to one month. Investigating two schools—a middle school and a university—takes half a month. Even a single investigation doesn't guarantee true understanding. First, others may not tell the truth. Second, you may not fully grasp the situation you learn. This is my experience from decades of investigation and research. It's not easy for an intellectual to talk to workers and peasants. Who would talk to you? They're afraid you'd pry into their secrets. Making friends with workers and peasants is not easy. People like you find it easier to make friends with intellectuals, petty bureaucrats, and the petty bourgeoisie than with workers and peasants. If you don't believe me, try it. If you're determined, try it!

Mao: Go everywhere, travel between the United States, Europe, and China. From now on, spend one-third of the year in the United States, one-third in Europe, and one-third in China. Live everywhere, and make the world your home.

Snow: But I still have to work.

Mao: I think studying America, China, and Europe is work.

Snow: I will try, but the outcome is hard to predict. What's happening in China has a significant impact on the United States. Today, the United States is in even greater turmoil, primarily due to the social and political instability caused by the Vietnam War. This is because today's young people are better educated than their predecessors, and the country's science is developing. The gap between the policies implemented by the administration and its rhetoric is becoming increasingly apparent, leading to a loss of trust among the majority of the public in the administration they believe in.

Mao: It's simply not telling the truth. If someone doesn't tell the truth, they can't build trust. Who would trust you? It's the same between friends. For example, from the time we first met thirty-five years ago until now, nothing has changed. We've always treated each other as friends. There's a bit of bureaucracy, but I'm self-critical.

Stalin: Do you intend to resolve your problems with Russia?

Mao: Russia's problems must be resolved. All the problems of the world must be resolved!

Stam: That's right.

Mao: Both sides must agree to it; it won't work if only one side is willing.

Stam: What exactly is Russia trying to do?

Mao: I don't quite understand, and I can't figure it out.

Stam: Is Russia afraid of China?

Mao: What do they have to fear China? China's atomic bomb is only this big (Chairman gestures with his little finger), Russia's atomic bomb is this big (Chairman gestures with his thumb), and America's atomic bomb is this big (Chairman gestures with his other thumb). The two of them combined are this big (Chairman puts his thumbs together). Look.

Snow: If we look at it from a long-term perspective, are they afraid?

Mao: I heard they are a little afraid. A man with a few mice in his house is a little afraid, afraid they'll eat his candy. With a few mice scurrying around in the house, he can't sleep, and it's disturbing. They're a little panicked. For example, they're afraid of China digging air-raid shelters. What's there to be afraid of? We dig shelters to keep you out. I'm just digging holes, not fighting back. They're also afraid of China criticizing their revisionism. So who criticized us first? Who fired the first shot in this war? They called us dogmatists, and we called them revisionist. We're not afraid of them calling us dogmatists. We published their articles criticizing our dogmatism in our newspapers. They didn't dare publish our articles criticizing them; they were afraid. They say I'm dogmatist, and they always have a reason. Dogmatism is anti-Marxist-Leninist, and anything anti-Marxist-Leninist must be criticized. But they didn't. They later asked the Cuban delegation to mediate, saying they wanted to stop the public debate. They then asked Romania to mediate, demanding we stop the public debate. I said no, we'll have to debate for ten thousand years. Later, when Kosygin [35] came

to Beijing, I met him. I said, "You say we are dogmatists, fine. But why did you get rid of Khrushchev, the one who started it? You wrote in your resolution that he was "Comrade Khrushchev [36], who creatively developed Marxism-Leninism." Why would you reject someone who developed Marxism-Leninism?" I couldn't understand. If you didn't want him, could we invite him? Invite him to Peking University as a professor to teach that developed Marxism-Leninism? He refused again. I said, "But you are the Premier, the Premier of the Soviet Union. Our debate will last for ten thousand years. I am making concessions for your sake. A concession is a big one. It's fine if it doesn't decrease, but if it decreases, it will last for a thousand years. A concession will last for a thousand years!" He told me that the result of that conversation was good.

These Russians look down on the Chinese and people from many other countries. They think everyone will listen to them if they say anything. But who knows, there are some who won't listen, and one of them is you.

Snow: To clarify my own thoughts, I would like to briefly discuss some of my thoughts on the Cultural Revolution. ...[37]Mao: The conflict between urban and rural residents you mentioned isn't serious. It's basically a question of revisionism and anti-revisionism. To practice revisionism requires compromise with the Soviet Union.

As for the development of capitalist factors in both urban and rural areas, that's bound to happen, and it's still happening.

China has a large population of poor peasants, accounting for 60 to 70 percent. We also need to add the middle peasants, with whom we must unite. As for the well-to-do middle peasants, they are generating capitalism every day, every hour, every moment. This is what Lenin said, not something we invented. China is a vast ocean of the petty bourgeoisie, with so many peasants. The working class is smaller and younger. This is also why the working class is so good. In your countries, revolution is also difficult; monopoly capital is powerful, and its propaganda machine is vast. China is different. For example, in terms of religion, there are very few true believers. Among the hundreds of millions of people, there are only 800,000 to 900,000 Christians, 20 to 30 million Catholics, and nearly 10 million Muslims. The rest believe in the Dragon King; they believe if they are sick, but not if they are healthy; they believe if they don't have children, but not if they do.

Snow: Have you finished answering the questions about the Cultural Revolution today?

Mao: I have answered some of the questions about the Cultural Revolution. Please come back next year. If you are willing, you are welcome to come.

Snow: Has the grain problem been basically solved?

Mao: In the past, it was called "transferring grain from the south to the north," but now the provinces and cities are gradually resolving the issue. Another issue is shipping coal from the north to the south. They said Hubei, Hunan, Guangdong, Fujian, Zhejiang, and southern

Jiangsu didn't have coal, so it had to be shipped from the north. Now they all have it. It's about two kinds of enthusiasm: central enthusiasm and local enthusiasm. We need both! Let them do it themselves. The central government shouldn't take over everything. Find it yourself! We searched everywhere, in every commune, every county, every province. After searching everywhere, we finally found coal and oil. So, it's not okay to keep everything in my hands. I can't manage so much! We should learn from your American approach and divide it among the fifty states.

Snow: I've noticed a big change this time.

Mao: It's about these two initiatives: one at the central level and one at the local level!

I've been talking about this for over a decade, but they just won't listen. What can I do? Now they're listening. Things in the world are like this: they have to take detours, like an S-shaped path.

Snow: Sometimes you have to take an S-shaped path, and then try to break through the circle and start over.

Mao: In short, what I've said to you over and over again is that the basic relationship between us has not changed from 35 years ago to now. I don't lie to you, and I assume you don't lie to me either.

[1] This is the summary of Mao Zedong's conversation with American writer and friend Edgar Snow on December 18, 1970. This summary was sent to Mao Zedong for review, and he instructed, "Distribute as is." On May 31, 1971, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China printed and distributed this summary, stating, "Please distribute this document to grassroots Party branches and orally communicate it to all Party members. They should organize careful study and correctly grasp the spirit of the Chairman's speech." This article was published based on a Central Committee document. Some text has been abridged during the compilation process.

[2] On the evening of August 22, 1970, the "Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Revisionist Liaison Station" decided to hold a "denunciation meeting" and a demonstration in front of the British Consulate in China. They then stormed the British Consulate in China and set fire to the consulate's office building and vehicles. On March 2, 1971, Zhou Enlai publicly apologized to the British for the "consulate burning incident."

[3] The "May 16" group was originally a small reactionary organization in Beijing called the "Capital May 16 Red Guards." They exploited the publication of the "May 16 Notice" in newspapers in May 1967 and, under the guise of implementing it, established a secret organization and carried out clandestine activities, distributing and posting reactionary leaflets attacking Zhou Enlai. This reactionary organization was quickly uncovered, and its leaders arrested by public security authorities. The issue was largely resolved, but in 1968, a

special Central Leading Group for the "May 16" investigation, headed by Chen Boda, was established. During the investigation, many cadres and members of the public who opposed Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's group were labelled "May 16" elements. In some localities and units, the two factions accused each other of being "May 16" elements. The investigation campaign escalated significantly, creating a chaotic situation and ultimately came to nothing.

[4] This refers to Snow's "Conversations with Zhou Enlai" (international section), published in the Italian magazine "Times" on December 13, 1970.

[5] Darwin, a British biologist, proposed the theory of evolution in works such as "The Origin of Species," explaining the evolution of organisms and the origin of humanity. Kant, a German philosopher and founder of German classical idealism, proposed the nebular hypothesis regarding the origin of the solar system in works such as "General Natural History and Theory of the Cosmos," viewing the formation of the solar system as a process of the movement and development of matter according to objective laws.

[6] Morgan was an American ethnologist and historian of primitive society. In *Ancient Society*, he first discussed the clan as the basic organizational structure of primitive society, the laws governing the existence and development of matrilineal and patrilineal clans, and the historical evolution of marriage and family forms. He also divided human history into three eras: savagery, barbarism, and civilization. Marx excerpted and commented on the book in detail. Engels also cited extensive material from Morgan in *The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, expounding on his research and praising him for "opening up a new era in the study of primitive history."

[7] Nixon, a Republican and then-President of the United States, visited China for the first time in February 1972. During his visit, he held negotiations with China on Sino-US relations, leading to the issuance of the Sino-US Joint Communiqué in Shanghai, marking the beginning of the normalization of Sino-US relations.

[8] MacArthur was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Forces in June 1950, commanding the Korean War and actively promoting attacks on China. He was dismissed from all military posts in April 1951, retaining only the rank of five-star general.

[9] Truman, served as President of the United States from 1945 to 1953.

[10] Refers to the Sino-US ambassadorial talks. On April 23, 1955, Zhou Enlai declared at the meeting of the heads of delegations of the eight nations at the Asian-African Conference that the Chinese government was willing to negotiate with the US government to discuss easing tensions in the Far East, particularly in the Taiwan region. On July 25 of the same year, China and the US reached an agreement on ambassadorial talks, with the first meeting held in Geneva on August 1. However, due to a lack of sincerity on the US side, the talks were suspended. After the shelling of Kinmen in August 1958, the US government publicly stated its willingness to resume the talks, and the two sides resumed their meeting in Warsaw,

Poland, on January 5. By February 20, 1970, a total of 136 ambassadorial-level talks had been held between China and the US. Due to the US's insistence on interfering in China's internal affairs, the talks made no progress in easing or eliminating tensions in the Taiwan region.

[11] Wang Ming, also known as Chen Shaoyu, was the primary representative of "Left" adventurist errors within the CCP from the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (January 1931) to the Zunyi Conference (January 1935). This Wang Ming line, which dominated the Party for four years, ignored the reality of the enemy's strength and our weakness, misjudged the revolutionary situation, and implemented a series of "Left" adventurist policies and measures in politics, military affairs, and urban and rural work. To enforce this erroneous line, he used me as the core of the organization and adopted sectarian tactics, waging "ruthless struggle" and "merciless attacks" against comrades who disagreed. Under the guidance of this erroneous line, the Central Red Army failed to crush the enemy's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign and was forced to implement a strategic shift. Wang Ming's line caused severe losses to the revolutionary base areas and the work in the white areas led by the Party.

[12] Acheson, who served as U.S. Secretary of State from 1949 to 1953, worked with Truman to formulate a policy of non-recognition of China and aid to Taiwan's pro-democracy leader Chiang Kai-shek.

[13] Eisenhower, President of the United States from 1953 to 1961.

[14] Kennedy was elected President of the United States in November 1960 and was assassinated in 1963.

[15] Nixon served two terms as Vice President of the United States from 1953 to 1961.

[16] The year Mao Zedong cited in his statement is inaccurate. The American Revolutionary War broke out in 1775. In May of that year, the Second Continental Congress, attended by 13 North American states, adopted a "Declaration of Armed Revolution" against Britain, reorganizing the North American militia into the Continental Army. In June, Washington was unanimously elected Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.

[17] Sihanouk was elected Cambodian head of state in 1960. Following Lon Nol's coup in 1970, Sihanouk established the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Unity in Beijing, serving as its leader.

[18] Brezhnev, then General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

[19] Willy Brandt was then the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

[20] This is the original text in the document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

[21] When the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held, there were only more than 50 party members.

[22] Dong Biwu was then a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Vice President of the People's Republic of China.

[23] Jack Belden, a progressive American journalist, arrived in China as a sailor in 1933 and returned nine years later. He visited China for the second time in December 1946. After conducting extensive and in-depth research in the liberated areas of North China, he wrote the book, *China Shocks the World*, which introduced the Chinese revolution to the world.

[24] John Lattimore was an American orientalist. In July 1941, he was sent to China as the personal representative of US President Roosevelt. He was recalled to the United States in 1942 and served as director of the China Department of the US Information Agency. He later became dean of the Page School of International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. He was impeached by Senator McCarthy in 1952. In 1963, he went to the UK and became professor of Chinese at the University of Leeds.

[25] McCarthy, a U.S. Senator since 1951, was renowned for his anti-communism. From 1951 to 1954, he manipulated the Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations and used other agencies to conduct "loyalty investigations" against numerous individuals and organizations, employing illegal interrogation techniques, persecuting democratic and progressive forces, and instilling terror in the United States.

[26] *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* is a newly adapted historical play written by Wu Han, a historian and deputy mayor of Beijing. It was completed in late 1960 and began performing in early 1961.

[27] This refers to the article "Comment on the New Historical Drama 'Hai Rui Dismissed from Office,'" secretly planned by Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao in Shanghai in early 1965 and later penned by Yao Wenyan. It was published in the Shanghai Wenhui Daily on November 10, 1965. Beijing's major newspapers initially avoided reprinting it, but the People's Daily did so on November 30, adding a note revised by Zhou Enlai, emphasizing that the discussion was focused on academic issues. However, under the manipulation of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan, and others, the academic criticism of "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" quickly escalated into a political campaign. This political criticism became the prelude to and direct fuse of the "Cultural Revolution." On March 2, 1979, with the approval of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Beijing Municipal Committee issued a decision to rehabilitate Wu Han and others.

[28] On December 16, 1978, Premier Hua Guofeng of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and US President Carter simultaneously announced in Beijing and

Washington, respectively, a joint communiqué declaring the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries effective January 1, 1979. The communiqué also stipulated that the two countries would exchange ambassadors on March 1

[29] This refers to the 23-point document, "Some Questions Currently Raised in the Rural Socialist Education Movement," drafted under Mao Zedong's leadership and adopted at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. The document was issued by the CPC Central Committee on January 14, 1965.

[30] "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members" refers to the first and second parts of a speech Liu Shaoqi delivered at the Yan'an Marxist-Leninist Academy in July 1939. It was originally published in issues 81 to 84 of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's Liberation in 1939, and published as a separate volume by the Xinhua Bookstore in Yan'an that same year. In 1949, after the author's review and several revisions, the revised first edition was published by Hufang Publishing House (the predecessor of the People's Publishing House). In 1962, the author reviewed the book again, making some textual revisions and additions to the content. The book was reorganized from the original two parts to nine sections, and was republished in the combined 15th and 16th issues of the Red Flag magazine. The revised first edition was also published by the People's Publishing House. During the Cultural Revolution, the book, along with its author, was criticized and attacked by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. In March 1980, the People's Publishing House reprinted the 1962 revised edition, and in 1981 it was included in the first volume of Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi published by the People's Publishing House.

[31] This refers to the 16-article "Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," adopted on August 8, 1966, at the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

[32] This is a big-character poster written by Mao Zedong on August 5, 1966, titled "Bombard the Headquarters—My First Big-Character Poster."

[33] Refers to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in Xibaipo from March 5 to 13, 1949.

[34] Chen Duxiu was one of the key leaders of the May Fourth New Culture Movement. After the May Fourth Movement, he accepted and promoted Marxism and became one of the main founders of the Chinese Communist Party. He was a key leader of the Party for the first six years after its founding. In the late stages of the First Civil Revolutionary War, he committed serious Rightist capitulationist errors. After the failure of the Great Revolution, he became pessimistic and disappointed about the future of the revolution. He adopted Trotskyist views, formed the Xiao Liu Jin within the Party, and engaged in anti-Party activities. He was expelled from the Party in November 1929. He later openly engaged in Trotskyist organizational activities. He was arrested by the Kuomintang in October 1932 and released from prison in August 1937. He died of illness in Jiangjin, Sichuan in 1942.

[35] Kosygin was then a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

[36] Khrushchev, former First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. He was dismissed from his leadership positions in October 1964.

[37] This is the original text in the document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Comments [1] on holding a Successful North China Conference [2]

(December 19, 1970)

Do as directed. There must be serious criticism, and through criticism we can achieve unity. I suggest that Comrades Li Desheng and Ji Dengkui [3] attend the conference. Yongsheng and Zuopeng [4] should attend the North China Conference along with Desheng and Dengkui. This conference should play a significant role in the entire army, correcting some of the irregularities in our military's work style. At the same time, it should help correct the unhealthy tendencies of arrogance and complacency among the two groups [5].

December 19, 1970

[1] Refers to the upcoming enlarged meeting of the Beijing Military Region Party Committee.

[2] On December 19, 1970, Zhou Enlai wrote a report to Mao Zedong and others, saying that the Political Bureau meeting last night conveyed and discussed the Chairman's comments on the 38th Army's report. Some responsible comrades from the North China region and the Beijing Garrison District also attended the meeting. At the meeting, everyone unanimously supported the Chairman's suggestion to hold an enlarged meeting of the Beijing Military Region Party Committee. They believed that this meeting should focus on discussing the understanding and exposure of the Chen Boda issue in the Beijing Military Region and the North China region, with more people and a longer time. In order to hold this meeting well, open up thoughts and achieve better unity, the Political Bureau agreed to hold a three-day meeting of the Standing Committee of the Beijing Military Region Party Committee before everyone arrived and held the meeting to initially unify understandings and facilitate the acceptance of everyone's criticism. At the same time, Huang Yongsheng and Li Zuopeng talked to the comrades of the 38th Army who attended the meeting, pointing out that their report was good and played a role in promoting the work. At the meeting, unity should be achieved through exposure and criticism. After reading the meeting, Mao Zedong wrote this comment.

[3] Li Desheng, then alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army, concurrently served as commander of the Beijing Military Region in January 1971. Ji Dengkui, then alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, concurrently served as second political commissar of the Beijing Military Region in January 1971

[4] Yongsheng, also known as Huang Yongsheng, was then a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, head of the Central Military Commission's working group, and Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army. Zuopeng, also known as Li

Zuopeng, was then a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, a member of the Central Military Commission's working group, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army, and First Political Commissar of the Navy.

[5] This refers to what were then called the "war achievements" made during the war years and the "new achievements" made during the "Cultural Revolution."

Telegram from Mao Zedong and Others Congratulating the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam on its Tenth Anniversary

(December 19, 1970)

To Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and Chairman Hoang Tan Phat of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, on behalf of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese government, and the Chinese people, we extend our warmest congratulations to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the people of South Vietnam fighting on the anti-U.S. front.

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam was born in the storm of revolution and has traversed a glorious decade of struggle. It represents the fundamental interests of the people of South Vietnam and serves as the great standard-bearer of their war against the United States and for national salvation. It has achieved remarkable feats in the sacred cause of liberating the South, defending the North, and reunifying the motherland.

The heroic people of South Vietnam persevered in the great people's war for a full decade, beating the superpower, U.S. imperialism, into a trance and leaving it helpless. Your victory has greatly inspired the revolutionary spirit of the people of smaller nations to bravely resist aggression by a major power and has powerfully propelled the anti-U.S. struggle of people worldwide. The Chinese people thank you, and the people of the world thank you.

Although U.S. imperialism is at its wit's end, it continues its desperate struggle. Recently, it has launched frenzied attacks on North Vietnam, constantly issuing war threats and intensifying preparations for new military adventures. This will in no way save it from its inevitable demise. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have formed a resolute anti-U.S. united front. Sharing a common hatred for the enemy, you have fought shoulder to shoulder, creating a remarkably favourable situation. We believe that the peoples of the three Indochinese countries, through their persistent and protracted people's war, will surely drive the U.S. invaders out of Indochina.

Supporting the Vietnamese people and the peoples of Indochina in their war against the United States and for national salvation is the proletarian internationalist duty of the Chinese people. No matter what difficulties and obstacles the peoples of Indochina encounter on their path to resist the United States and for national salvation, and no matter how reckless the military adventures of the American invaders may be, the seven hundred million Chinese people will stand firmly with you and give you our all until complete victory is achieved in the war against the United States and for national salvation.

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, December 19, 1970

Comments on Reference News, Issue 4377

(December 22, 1970)

Comrade Yao Wenyuan [1]:

This article [2] is excellent. It can be reprinted in its entirety and translated into foreign languages for broadcast. Also, please write and publish a detailed report on Gomulka's [3] removal from office and the week-long struggle.

Mao Zedong,

December 22

[1] Yao Wenyuan was then a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and a member of the Central Organization and Propaganda Group.

[2] Refers to the article "Tank Tracks Cannot Suppress the Anger and Hatred of the People" reprinted in the Reference News, No. 4377, published by Xinhua News Agency on December 22, 1970. The article was originally published in the Albanian newspaper "Voice of the People" on December 19. The article reported and analyzed the strikes and demonstrations that took place in the northern Polish cities of Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot on December 14 and 15. The article was reprinted in the People's Daily on February 22, 1970.

[3] Gomulka, former First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland, officially announced his resignation on December 20, 1970.

Comments on Yao Wenyuan's report on his recent study and other issues [1]

(December 29, 1970)

All agreed. Your learning progress is better and faster. If you persist for several years, it will be beneficial. My opinion is that the 274 members of the Central Committee and more than 1,000 senior and middle-level cadres should study books seriously to varying degrees and understand Marxism thoroughly, so as to resist liars like Wang Ming, Liu Shaoqi, and Chen Boda. Please find me a copy of "The Place of Man in Nature". The first half of "Evolution and Ethics" is materialistic, and the second half is idealistic.

December 29, 1970

[1] Yao Wenyuan, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and member of the Central Organization and Propaganda Group, wrote a report to Mao Zedong on December 29, 1970, saying: "In addition to studying the classics designated by the Central Committee, I have also read a little history and natural science in a superficial way. I want to gradually improve my lack of knowledge." "Huxley's "The Place of Man in Nature", which fought for Darwinism, is a very interesting book, much better than Yan's translation of "Evolution and Ethics". Because he devoted all his efforts to prove that the ancestors of humans were apes, he caused theologians to scream and curse. The method he used was the comparative method of anatomy. Once he entered the field of human history, his arguments were insufficient. He could not achieve historical materialism and did not understand the conscious initiative of humans that distinguished them from other animals and the historical process of the generation and development of this initiative. He only answered half of the question of "The Place of Man in Nature". This book has a special contribution to popularizing Darwinism. If a new progressive theory is to be popularized, it must be popularized. It is probably impossible to pass such a fierce criticism. On January 6, 1971, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice, requiring all members and alternate members of the Central Committee, and senior and middle-level cadres in office across the country to "study carefully according to the Chairman's instructions." Before the draft of this notice was issued, it was sent to Mao Zedong for review, and Mao Zedong instructed: "Issue it as is."

Reprint of a British Guardian article regarding China's sovereignty over the East China Sea continental shelf [1]

(December 30, 1970)

Sent to the Premier [2] and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for consideration. May this article be reprinted in the People's Daily [3]?

[1] On December 30, 1970, the Reference News published an article titled "The Battle for Oil in the East China Sea" published on December 18. The article pointed out that the Japanese, South Korean and Taiwanese authorities are busy transferring deep-sea mining rights, some of which are legally disputed. Such mining activities are carried out on China's continental shelf without consulting China. This month, the Chinese finally broke their silence on this issue and strongly asserted their sovereignty over the East China Sea continental shelf. This is the first time Beijing has publicly expressed such an attitude. The Chinese cannot claim that the entire continental shelf adjacent to Japan and South Korea belongs to them, because Japan and South Korea, as coastal states, also enjoy similar rights. However, in this case, in theory, such rights should be distributed through mutual agreement, as was done in the North Sea. In addition, there are some large areas far away from Japan and North Korea where only China can be legally considered a coastal state. The 1958 Geneva Agreement on the Continental Shelf stipulates that coastal states exercise sovereignty over "the continental shelf to a depth of 200 meters or more, where the depth permits the exploitation of natural resources." Most of the East China Sea lies within a depth of 200 meters, not to mention that the agreement stipulates a depth exceeding this. Mao Zedong wrote this comment after reading the newspaper.

[2] Premier refers to Zhou Enlai.

[3] Based on Mao Zedong's instructions, the People's Daily published a summary of the article on December 31, 1970.

Comments on Approving the Construction of the Gezhouba Water Conservancy Project [1]

(December 1970)

I approve the construction of this dam. The current documented concept is one thing. Unforeseen difficulties and problems will arise during construction, and that is another. At that time, we must be prepared to revise the design.

[1] This comment was written on a draft of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's reply to the Wuhan Military Region and the Hubei Provincial Revolutionary Committee on December 24, 1970, regarding the construction of the Gezhouba Water Conservancy Project. Zhou Enlai stated in his report that in October of the previous year, the Chairman had said in Wuhan that the proposal to build the Three Gorges Dam was inappropriate during the current period of war preparation. Later, they considered building the Gezhouba Low Dam downstream near Yichang. The Wuhan Military Region and the Hubei Provincial Revolutionary Committee submitted a report on this in October of this year, requesting that it be included in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The Central Political Bureau discussed the proposal and approved it in principle at its November meeting. The draft Central Committee reply submitted by Zhou Enlai stated that the Central Committee approved your proposal for the construction of the Gezhouba Water Conservancy Project on the Yangtze River in Yichang. It instructed the Wuhan Military Region and the Hubei Provincial Revolutionary Committee to lead the project, with participation from relevant departments such as the Ministry of Water Resources and Electric Power, the Ministry of Transportation, the First Ministry of Machine Building, and the Yangtze River Basin Planning Office. A strong construction command team was to be formed to conduct on-site design. The design proposal was to be submitted to the State Construction Commission for approval within this year. To save time, you may immediately organize your forces and begin construction preparations.

1970: Writings and Speeches

Mao Zedong

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