



**1972:**  
**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 Volume 51 that span the year 1971. 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 Chen Yi's eulogy [1]

(January 1972)

1

Basically usable. Delete two paragraphs.

2

The conclusion has already been drawn, so the last two paragraphs are unnecessary. Comments on merits and demerits are inappropriate at a memorial service.

[1] Chen Yi, formerly a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Vice Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was wrongly criticized during the Cultural Revolution. He was elected a member of the CPC Central Committee at the Ninth National Congress in April 1969. He died in Beijing on January 6, 1972. On January 8, Zhou Enlai submitted a eulogy for Chen Yi to Mao Zedong for review. This Part 1 was written on Zhou Enlai's report. When reviewing the eulogy, Mao Zedong deleted the following two paragraphs introducing Chen Yi's merits and demerits, considering that the eulogy already contained the conclusion that "Comrade Chen Yi was an outstanding member of the Communist Party of China and a loyal fighter of the Chinese people. For decades, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, Comrade Chen Yi persevered in his work and worked hard to serve the people in the long revolutionary war, socialist revolution and socialist construction." He also wrote a comment, which is now Part 2. On 10 January, the memorial service for Chen Yi was held at the hall of Babaoshan Cemetery in Beijing. Mao Zedong attended the service, while Zhou Enlai delivered the eulogy on behalf of the Central Committee. In conversations with Chen Yi's relatives, Mao Zedong offered a positive assessment of Chen Yi's life. He also stated that Deng Xiaoping's problems were internal contradictions among the people, setting the tone for Deng Xiaoping's return.

### **Comments on Wu Lengxi's Letter [1]**

(January 29, 1972)

I have read this. Welcome your progress. Returning it to the People's Daily for storage.

Mao Zedong

January 29, 1972

[1] This comment was written in a letter from Wu Lengxi to Mao Zedong on December 16, 1971. Wu Lengxi was formerly Deputy Minister of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, President of Xinhua News Agency, and Editor-in-Chief of the People's Daily. He was wrongly overthrown in the summer of 1966. He was at the People's Daily May 7th Cadre School when he wrote the letter.

## **Comments on the Letters from Li Zhuoran and He Changgong [1]**

(January and September 1972)

1

For the Premier's Reading [2].

2

He Changgong's Letter. For the Premier's Reading.

September 13, 1972

[1] The first part was written on a letter from Li Zhuoran to Mao Zedong on January 16, 1972. Li Zhuoran was the former Deputy Minister of the Publicity Department of the CPC Central Committee. He was wrongly criticized and overthrown during the Cultural Revolution. In his letter to Mao Zedong, he wrote, "Although I am now over 70 years old, my mind is still good. I really want to make the most of my later years" and "do some work that I am capable of." In 1979, Li Zhuoran served as an advisor to the Publicity Department of the CPC Central Committee. The second part was written on a letter from He Changgong to Mao Zedong in September 1978. He Changgong was the former Deputy Minister and Party Secretary of the Ministry of Geology. He was wrongly criticized and overthrown during the Cultural Revolution. In his letter to Mao Zedong, he exposed Lin Biao's anti-party crimes and asked to resume his party organization life. After his comeback in 1975, He Changgong served as Vice President of the Military and Political University of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

[2] Premier refers to Zhou Enlai.

## **Condolence Message on the Death of Edgar Snow [1]**

(February 16, 1972)

Mrs. Snow:

I express my deepest condolences and sincere sympathy upon learning of the unfortunate passing of Mr. Edgar Snow. Mr. Snow was a friend of the Chinese people. Throughout his life, he worked tirelessly to enhance mutual understanding and friendship between the Chinese and American peoples and made important contributions. He will live forever in the hearts of the Chinese people.

Mao Zedong

February 16, 1972

[1] Edgar Snow was an American progressive writer and journalist. He first visited China in 1928. In 1936, he visited the revolutionary base area in northern Shaanxi and met with Mao Zedong and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army. He later wrote books such as "Journey to the West". After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he visited China in 1960, 1964, and 1970. He died of illness in Switzerland on February 15, 1972.

## Conversation with Nixon [1]

(February 21, 1972)

Nixon (hereinafter referred to as Nixon): You have read many books. The Premier said you have read more than he has.

Mao Zedong (hereinafter referred to as Mao): Yesterday on the plane, you gave us a difficult question. You said that a few of us should discuss the subject, limited to philosophy. [2]  
(Laughter)

Nixon: I say that because I have read Chairman Mao's poems and speeches, and I know that he is a philosopher with profound thoughts.

Mao: (Pointing to Dr. Kissinger) Is he a doctor of philosophy? [3]

Nixon: He is a doctor of thought.

Mao: (Pointing to Dr. Kissinger) Today's speaker is a doctor, a philosopher, a doctor of philosophy.

Nixon: He is an expert in philosophy.

Henry Kissinger: When I was teaching at Harvard, I required my students to read the complete works of Chairman Mao.

Mao: My writings are nothing special. There's little educational value in what I've written. (Looking at the photographers) Now they're trying to disrupt our talks, disrupt the order we have here.

Nixon: Chairman Mao's writings have moved a nation forward and changed the world.

Mao: I have no power to change the world. At most, I can change a few places near Beijing. Our old friend, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, disagrees. He calls us communists. He even recently gave a speech [4]. Have you seen it?

Zhou Enlai (hereinafter referred to as Zhou): It was at their recent "Congress."

Nixon: Chiang Kai-shek called the Chairman a Communist bandit. What did the Chairman call Chiang Kai-shek?

Zhou: We generally call them the Chiang Kai-shek clique. In the newspapers, we sometimes call them bandits. They call us bandits back. Regardless, we're just cursing at each other.

Mao: Isn't that still banditry? We call each other bandits and curse each other. In fact, we've been friends with him for much longer than you have.

Zhou: Since 1924.

Nixon: Yes, I know.

Mao: We two shouldn't monopolize the conversation. Dr. Kissinger can't be excluded from the conversation. You (referring to Kissinger) have become famous for your visits to China. After your first visit to China [5] and the announcement was released, the whole world was shocked.

Kissinger: The President sets the direction and decides on the plan.

Nixon: His words show that he is an extremely intelligent assistant. (Mao and Zhou laugh)

Mao: He was praising you, saying that what you did was very clever.

Nixon: He doesn't look like a secret agent. He's the only person capable of traveling to Paris twelve times and to Beijing once without permission, and no one knows, except maybe two or three beautiful girls. (Zhou Enlai laughs)

Kissinger: They don't know I'm being used as a cover.

Kissinger: Anyone who uses beautiful girls as a cover must be the greatest diplomat of all time.

Mao: Your girls are often used, aren't they?

Nixon: His girls, not mine. If I used girls as a cover, I'd be in big trouble.

Zhou: (Laughs) Especially during the election. (Kissinger laughs) Dr. Kissinger isn't running for president because he's not a natural-born American citizen.

Kissinger: Miss Tang is qualified to be president of the United States.

Nixon: Then she would be the first female president. We have a candidate.

Mao: If we had such a candidate, it would be very dangerous. To be honest, if the Democratic Party came to power again, we would have to deal with it.

Nixon: We understand. We hope we won't have to confront you with such problems.

Mao: These issues aren't for me to discuss; they should be discussed with the Prime Minister. My question is a philosophical one. I voted for you during your election. There's an American here named Frank Coe. When your country was still in the midst of war, during your last election, he wrote an article proclaiming your election. I admired that article. But now he opposes your visit.

Nixon: I think the Chairman's vote for me was like choosing the better of two bad options.

Mao: I prefer the right. People say you're right-wing, and that your Republican Party is right-wing.

Nixon: Yes.



Mao: That Prime Minister Heath was also right-wing.

Nixon: General de Gaulle [6] too.

Mao: De Gaulle is another matter. They also say that the Christian Democratic Party in West Germany is right-wing. I like the right and am happy when they are in power.

Nixon: I think the important thing is that in the United States, at least for now, right-wingers like me can do things that leftists can only talk about. (Mao Zedong nods)

Kissinger: Mr. President, I think those left-wingers are pro-Soviet. They don't encourage us to move closer to the People's Republic and criticize you for doing so.

Mao: That's right. Some people are against you. A faction in our country also opposes our interaction with you, and they ended up flying abroad. [7]

Zhou: Perhaps you know about this.

Mao: In the world, only the United States' reconnaissance is relatively accurate, followed by Japan. As for the Soviet Union, they're digging up bodies there, but they say nothing.

Zhou: In Outer Mongolia.

Nixon: We recently faced the same problem during the India-Pakistan crisis. The American left criticized me harshly for not siding with India. There are two reasons for this: one is that they are pro-India, and the other is that they are pro-Soviet. I believe it's important to keep an eye on the bigger picture. No country, no matter how powerful, can be allowed to annex its neighbors. This cost me a political price—I don't regret it, because I did the right thing—and history will prove that I was right.

Mao: Just a suggestion, just a suggestion. Would you mind issuing fewer briefings? (The President points to Dr. Kissinger and Zhou and laughs) Would you mind sharing what we've discussed, the philosophy we've discussed, with others?

Nixon: The Chairman can rest assured that nothing we discuss, or anything I discuss with the Premier, will be leaked. This is the only way to conduct top-level talks.

Mao: That's good.

Nixon: If possible, I hope to discuss with the Premier, and later with the Chairman, not only the issues at hand: the Taiwan issue, the Vietnam issue, and the Korean issue...

Mao: These issues are not of interest to me; they are what he (referring to Premier Zhou) discussed with you. I think your topic is better—philosophical issues.

Nixon: The majority of countries in the world approve of my visit. The Soviet Union disapproves; Japan is skeptical and has already expressed its doubts; India disapproves. Therefore, we must study the reasons for this and determine our policy based on how we

should develop globally, rather than focusing on the issues at hand. Of course, issues like Korea, Vietnam, and Taiwan should also be discussed.

Mao: Yes, I approve.

Nixon: For example, we must ask ourselves why the Soviet Union has deployed more troops on your borders than on the borders of Western Europe. What is the future of Japan? We disagree on this. Is it better for Japan to be neutral and defenseless, or for it to have some relationship with the United States for a period of time? What I'm talking about here is philosophical. The problem is that in the field of international relations, there are no good choices. One thing is certain: we cannot leave a vacuum, because it will be filled. For example, the Prime Minister pointed out that he feels the United States reaching out, and the Soviet Union reaching out. So the question is, is the danger facing the People's Republic of China from American aggression or from Soviet aggression? This is a difficult question, but we must discuss it.

Chairman Mao: The problem of American aggression, or Chinese aggression, is relatively minor, or rather, not a major issue. There's no question of war between our two countries. You want to withdraw some troops home, but our troops won't go abroad. Therefore, the situation between our two countries is very strange. For the past twenty-two years, we've been unable to reach an agreement. It's been less than ten months since we started playing table tennis [8]. If we count from the time you proposed it in Warsaw, it's been less than two years. We also have bureaucracy in our administration. For example, when you wanted to promote personnel exchanges and trade, we refused, insisting that if we couldn't solve a major problem, we wouldn't do anything about the minor issues. I myself insisted the same way. Later, I saw that you were right, and we started playing table tennis. The Prime Minister said this also happened after President Nixon took office.

The former president of Pakistan introduced President Nixon to us. At the time, our ambassador to Pakistan disagreed with our interaction with you. He said he wanted to compare whether President Johnson [9] or Nixon was superior. But Yahya [10] said the two men were incomparable. He said one was like a gangster—referring to President Johnson. I don't know where he got that impression. We didn't like him much either. From Truman [11] to Johnson, we weren't particularly happy either.

There were eight years of the Republican Party [12] in between, and at that time, you didn't figure it out either.

Zhou: Mainly the policies of John Foster Dulles [13].

Mao: He (referring to Zhou Enlai) and Dr. Kissinger had discussed this before.

Nixon: But they (addressing Zhou Enlai and Dr. Kissinger) shook hands<sup>1</sup>. (Zhou Enlai laughs)

Mao: Do you have anything to say, Doctor?

Kissinger: Mr. Chairman, the world situation had also changed dramatically during that period. We learned a lot. We used to think that all socialist and communist countries were the same. It was not until the President came to power that we understood the different nature of the Chinese revolution and the revolutionary paths taken by other socialist countries.

Nixon: Mr. Chairman, I know that for many years my position on the People's Republic was completely different from that of the Chairman and the Premier. We are coming together now because we recognize a new world situation. We recognize that what matters is not a country's domestic policies and its philosophy, but its policies toward the rest of the world and toward us. That is why (and I think I can be honest about this) we have differences. The Premier and Dr. Kissinger have discussed these differences.

Mao: That's right.

Nixon: I would also like to say that when we look at the two major powers, the United States and China, we know that China does not threaten the territory of the United States.

Mao: We do not threaten Japan or South Korea [14].

Zhou: We do not threaten any country.

Nixon: We do not threaten anyone. I believe you also understand that the United States has no territorial claims against China. We know that China does not want to dominate the United States, and we believe you also understand that the United States does not want to dominate China. At the same time, I believe, though you may not believe it, that the United States and China are both great countries, and neither of them wants to dominate the world. Precisely because our two countries share the same attitude on these major issues, we do not pose a threat to each other. Therefore, although we have differences, we can find common ground to establish a world structure within which we can all develop safely and pursue our own paths. This cannot be said of other countries in the world.

Mao: Do you have anything else to do this afternoon? What time is it now?

Zhou: The plenary meeting starts at 4:30, and it's now 3:45.

Mao: That's about it, right?

Nixon: Yes. I want to conclude by saying, Mr. Chairman, we know you and the Premier took a great risk in inviting us here. This was a very difficult decision for us, too. However, I've read

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<sup>1</sup> Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, at a meeting in Geneva in 1954, deliberately snubbed Zhou Enlai, refusing to shake his hand. He said that he and Zhou would only meet in a car crash.

some of the Chairman's speeches and know that he is someone who sees opportunities when they arise, and I also know that you must "seize the hour, seize the day."

Mao: (Pointing to Dr. Kissinger) It's he who "seizes the hour, seizes the day."

Nixon: Personally, neither you nor the Premier know me well, so you shouldn't trust me. But you'll find that I never say what I can't do, but I do more than I say. It's on this basis that I want to have a frank exchange of views with the Chairman and the Premier.

Mao: I suppose I'm more often firing off big guns than anything else. It's nothing more than "the whole world should unite and defeat imperialism, revisionism, and all reactionaries and establish socialism."

Nixon: (Smiling) It's people like me, and there are also bandits.

Mao: Perhaps, personally, you aren't among those targeted for attack or overthrow. Perhaps he (referring to Kissinger) isn't either. If we were all overthrown, we'd have no friends.

Nixon: (Laughing) There wouldn't be any targets.

Nixon: We are all familiar with the Chairman's life. You came from a poor family, and now you've reached the pinnacle of the world's most populous country, a great nation. My background is less well known. I also came from a poor family, and now I've reached the pinnacle of a great nation. I feel that history has brought us together. The problem is that our philosophies are different, but we are both down-to-earth and come from the people. We can achieve a breakthrough. This breakthrough will benefit not only China and the United States, but also the entire world in the years to come. That's why I'm here.

Mao: Your book "Six Crises"[15] is well written.

Nixon: (To Kissinger) He (referring to Mao Zedong) has read too many books.

Mao: Too few. I don't know much about the United States. I'd like you to send some teachers, mainly history and geography teachers.

Nixon: Great, that's great.

Mao: That's why I told the journalist Edgar Snow, who passed away a few days ago, that it's okay if we can negotiate, or it's okay if we can't. Why keep things so stagnant? Must we have a deal?

Nixon: His death is very sad.

Mao: People will talk. If we didn't succeed once, it was simply because we took the wrong path. But if we succeeded the second time, what would you do? (Both parties stand up)

Nixon: (Shaking Mao Zedong's hand) Together we can change the world.

Mao: I won't see you off.

[1] From February 21 to 28, 1972, then-US President Nixon paid a week-long visit to China, breaking the long-standing Cold War confrontation between China and the United States and becoming one of the most profound events influencing the international relations of the 20th century. During this period, Mao Zedong had a secret meeting with Nixon. The above is a record of the meeting.

[2] The "philosophy" here is actually a synonym for "strategy."

[3] Kissinger, then US Assistant for National Security Affairs. He was born in Germany and later immigrated to the United States.

[4] Refers to Chiang Kai-shek's speech at the opening ceremony of the fifth session of the National Assembly on February 20.

[5] The "first visit" refers to Kissinger's secret visit to China from July 9 to 11, 1971. Zhou Enlai and Kissinger agreed on an announcement that "President Nixon would visit China at an appropriate time before May 1972," which was simultaneously issued on July 15 by both sides in their respective ways.

[6] General DeGaulle, former President of the French Fifth Republic, died on November 9, 1970.

[7] On the night of September 13, 1971, Lin Biao and his family fled to the Soviet Union by plane, which eventually crashed in Wulankhan, Mongolia. This is known in history as the "September 13 Incident."

[8] Playing table tennis refers to the event in 1971 when China invited the American table tennis team to visit China, also known as "Ping Pong Diplomacy".

[9] Johnson: On November 22, 1963, US President Kennedy was assassinated. Johnson, who was then Vice President, became President and was officially elected President of the United States in 1965, serving until 1969.

[10] Yahya, that is, Yahya Khan, the former President of Pakistan. He used his good relations with both China and the United States to secretly convey messages between China and the United States, established the famous "Yahya Khan Channel II" and successfully arranged for Kissinger to visit China secretly.

[11] Truman. In 1945, US President Roosevelt died during his term. Truman, who was then Vice President, became President and was officially elected President of the United States in 1948. His term lasted until 1953. Truman took a hostile attitude towards New China. On June 25, 1950, the Korean War broke out. On June 27, Truman ordered the Seventh Fleet to enter the Taiwan Strait to prevent China from liberating Taiwan and declared that Taiwan's status

was undetermined. Soon after, the United States established a military base in Taiwan. In December 1954, the United States and Chiang Kai-shek signed the "Mutual Defense Treaty".

[12] From 1953 to 1961, the United States was ruled by the Republican Party, with Eisenhower as President and Nixon as Vice President.

[13] Dulles, a Republican, served as U.S. Secretary of State from 1953 to 1959. In his international activities, he advocated for the Cold War, promoting strategies such as "the brink of war," "massive nuclear retaliation," and "peaceful evolution" against socialist countries. In 1950, he participated in planning the U.S. government's use of the Korean War to invade and occupy the Chinese territory of Taiwan. In 1954, he orchestrated the U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty between the U.S. and Taiwan authorities, attempting to legitimize the occupation of Taiwan and use Taiwan as a long-term U.S. military base. He consistently targeted socialist countries and national liberation movements, steadfastly refused to recognize China, illegally excluded China's legitimate status in the United Nations, imposed a blockade and embargo on China, and blatantly engaged in a conspiracy to create a "two Chinas" situation.

[14] South Korea, now the Republic of Korea, abbreviated as South Korea.

[15] In 1962, Nixon wrote a book called "Six Crises," which recounted his life experiences, sharing his own strengths and weaknesses, and his own joys and sorrows.

## Presented to President Nixon (poem)

A four character per line poem

(1972)

Old man sitting on a stool [1]

Chang'e flying to the moon [2]

Watching flowers from horseback<sup>2</sup>. [3]

[1] Sitting on a stool means sitting and waiting. This sentence is a metaphor for the past of Sino-US relations. For many years, Mao Zedong and other older leaders have been seeking to break the deadlock in Sino-US relations, but have not received a response from the United States. These leaders are all old. Mao Zedong and other Chinese leaders have been waiting day after day and year after year for the United States to change its attitude.

[2] This sentence is a metaphor for the changes in the US-China relationship. Nixon once called Kissinger's secret visit to China "Operation Apollo". When Nixon said goodbye to congressional leaders before leaving for China, he quoted the inscription on the moon landing monument: "We are here to seek peace for all mankind." Chang'e flew to the moon to break free from the shackles. This sentence was Mao Zedong's humorous praise for Nixon for finally breaking through the resistance.

[3] This sentence summarizes the current situation and future of Sino-US relations. Sino-US relations are a relationship that has differences and contradictions, but must continue to develop. Kissinger's secret visit to China via Pakistan is more dramatic than the "flying around" blind date comedy arranged by the matchmaker. From this metaphor, we can further understand that only by facing reality, starting from the overall situation of

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<sup>2</sup> The Chinese footnote in the text needs further explanation. 走马观花 (zǒu mǎ guān huā) literally means to gaze at flowers while on horseback. It is used to describe a fleeting glance or cursory observation in passing. This idiom is actually based on the story of a lame man named Guì-liáng who was looking for a wife. He asked his friend, Huá-hàn to be a matchmaker and introduce him to a woman of grace and beauty. Huá-hàn happened to know a beautiful girl named Yè-qīng, who was also looking for her Mr. Right. The only problem was that she had a crooked nose. "They would be a match made in heaven," Huá-hàn thought. "I found the perfect girl for you!" Huá-hàn excitedly told Guì-liáng. "Remember to put on your best suit and wait patiently on horseback by the river tomorrow." Then Huá-hàn ran and asked Yè-qīng to hold a flower in her hand and pretend to smell at it by the river tomorrow. The next day, Guì-liáng rode his horse by the river and saw the most beautiful girl he had ever seen standing by the riverside enjoying the aroma of the flower in the hand. At the same time, Yè-qīng raised her head slightly and saw this handsome man on his horse - her prince charming. The two fell in love immediately and decided to get marry. On their wedding night, Guì-liáng slowly lifted the bridal veil with excitement and fell to see the ugly nose of his bride. Yè-qīng retorted, "You're a cripple!" The two remembered the scene of their first encounter where they 走马观花 and laughed, "We are so made for each other!"

international relations, seeking common ground while reserving differences, and not interfering in other countries' internal affairs, can this relationship continue to develop.



## Comments on Su Zhenhua's Letter [1]

(March 5, 1972)

This man seems to be ready for release. If the Navy cannot use him, he should be transferred back to the Army (or assigned to a local position) and given some work. Whether this is feasible, please let the Central Committee decide.

Mao Zedong,

March 5, 1972

Please ask Wang [2] to print and distribute this to all comrades.

[1] Su Zhenhua, formerly a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China and Deputy Secretary-General, and Political Commissar of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Navy. He was wrongly criticized during the Cultural Revolution and dismissed from his post. On December 13, 1971, he wrote to Mao Zedong, expressing his determination to "return to the Chairman's revolutionary line and strive to do some useful work for the people in his later years." In January 1973, Su Zhenhua returned to serve as the First Political Commissar of the Navy. In August of the same year, he was elected as a member of the Central Committee at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China and an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee at the First Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee.

[2] Wang refers to Wang Dongxing, who was then an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Director of the General Office of the Central Committee.

## **Comments on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Draft Notice on the Sino-US Joint Communiqué [1]**

(March 6, 1972)

This document is excellent and appears to be applicable domestically, but it should be slightly revised and supplemented.

[1] This comment was written on a draft of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' circular to embassies and consulates abroad regarding the Sino-US Joint Communiqué, submitted by Zhou Enlai for review on March 5, 1972. The circular stated that US President Nixon's visit to China and the publication of the Sino-US Joint Communiqué had caused a strong reaction in the United States and a significant international impact. Overall, the response to the Communiqué was positive, with most believing it marked a new beginning in Sino-US relations and would bring about significant changes in the international situation. It was also a turning point in international relations, with profound implications. However, we must also recognize that these agreements remain on paper; their implementation depends on future concrete actions by the United States. There will be twists and turns in future developments, and we must be prepared. We must be cautious and tactful in our external statements, avoiding overreaction. In particular, we should avoid directly promoting the Joint Communiqué as a victory for us and a defeat for the United States. In contacts with US officials abroad, I will neither initiate nor avoid them. I should maintain a balanced approach, neither overbearing nor servile, and be polite and graceful.

## **Comments on the Report on the International Response to Nixon's Visit to China and the Sino-US Joint Communiqué [1]**

(March 6, 1972)

It seems unnecessary to publish it in this way. It is almost ostentatious. Moreover, they are all capitalist countries, which shows the inconsistency between the Soviet revisionists and the Albanians and Vietnamese. Please consider further. We have internal publications that can make up for this shortcoming.

[1] This comment was written on a request report submitted by Xinhua News Agency, People's Daily and other four units to the CPC Central Committee on March 3, 1972. The report stated that US President Nixon's visit to China and the publication of the Sino-US Joint Communiqué have become the focus of international public opinion and have aroused strong reactions. We intend to appropriately reflect this situation in our news reports. First, we should selectively compile and publish the reactions. We should neither actively publicize our victory and Nixon's failure, nor glorify Nixon, nor spread the idea of peace as if all problems have been solved. Second, we should focus on excerpting the following contents from the international reactions: 1. General comments welcoming the Sino-US talks and the Joint Communiqué. 2. Comments that regard Nixon's visit to China as a failure of the post-war US government's hostile policy towards China. 3. Appropriate comments pointing out the principled differences between China and the United States. 4. Urge the Nixon administration to implement the contents of the Joint Communiqué with practical actions. 5. Refute the Soviet revisionists' slander and lies against us. Third, editing and publishing: The focus should be on first compiling and publishing the reactions of the American people and public opinion. The coverage should be broad, taking into account every possible perspective, so that the Chinese people can have a relatively comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of the left, centre, and right.

## **Comments on the letter from Yang Chengwu's family [1]**

(March 25, 1972)

Wang [2], please print and distribute it to the Politburo comrades for study. The handling of this case [3] may be wrong. At that time, we listened to Lin Biao's [4] one-sided statement.

Mao Zedong

March 25, 1972

[1] On March 18, 1972, Yang Chengwu's daughter Yang Junsheng wrote to Mao Zedong and others, saying that Yang Chengwu was loyal to Chairman Mao and that he had been politically framed by Lin Biao, Chen Boda, and Ye Qun. She requested that Yang Chengwu be allowed to undergo the test of class struggle.

[2] Wang refers to Wang Dongxing, who 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.

[3] Refers to the "Yang, Yu, and Fu Incident."

[4] Lin Biao, formerly Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee and Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission. During the Cultural Revolution, he formed a counter-revolutionary group with Chen Boda and others, and colluded with and competed with the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary group to seize high-level leadership power in the Party and the state. After his conspiracy was exposed, he fled by plane on September 13, 1971, and died in a plane crash fleeing China. In August 1973, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China passed a resolution expelling Lin Biao from the Party. In 1981, a special tribunal of the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China confirmed him as the principal offender in the counter-revolutionary group case.

## **Telegram from Mao Zedong and Others Congratulating Kim Il Sung on His 60th Birthday**

(April 14, 1972)

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

On the occasion of your 60th birthday, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese government, and the Chinese people, and in our own names, we extend our warmest and brotherly congratulations to you.

You are the founder of the Workers' Party of Korea and the time-tested great leader of the Korean people. For decades, amidst extremely difficult and complex struggles, you applied the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Korean revolution, achieving great victories for the Korean revolution. Under your leadership, the heroic Korean people, holding high the banner of anti-imperialist revolution, established and defended the Democratic People's Republic of Korea under the dictatorship of the proletariat through protracted armed struggle. Under your leadership, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people, implementing the principle of "political independence, economic self-reliance, and national defense," transformed a backward colonial country into a strong socialist state, standing tall at the eastern frontier of the anti-imperialist struggle and making significant contributions to the anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

In the long revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, the Korean Communists, led by you, and the fraternal Korean people, holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism, have given us invaluable support. The Chinese people will never forget this.

In the long struggle against common enemies, the two parties and peoples of China and North Korea have forged a great friendship and fighting unity, cemented with blood. This friendship and unity, founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, are a reliable guarantee for defeating our common enemy. The Chinese people firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism, Japanese militarism, and their running dogs, and for the independent and peaceful reunification of their motherland.

We sincerely wish you will lead the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people to new and greater achievements in their future revolutionary cause.

Mao Zedong, 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

April 14, 1972

## **Telegram from Mao Zedong and Others Congratulating the Korean People's Revolutionary Army on its 40th Anniversary**

(April 24, 1972)

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:

On the 40th anniversary of the glorious founding of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army, we would like to extend our warmest congratulations to you, and through you, to the Workers' Party of Korea, the Korean Government, and the fraternal Korean people.

Forty years ago, the Korean People's Revolutionary Army, personally founded by you, was the first revolutionary armed force representing the national aspirations of the entire Korean people. Under your direct leadership, this heroic people's armed force, holding high the banner of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle and closely relying on the broad masses of the Korean people, bravely and unyieldingly persevered in the anti-Japanese armed struggle during the arduous years against Japanese imperialism, achieving remarkable feats for the cause of Korea's independence and liberation.

Since the liberation of Korea, the Korean people and the People's Army have inherited and carried forward the glorious traditions and revolutionary spirit of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army. They have dared to fight and to win in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs. In the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction, they have forged ahead with the vigor of a Thousand-Li Horse, building their homeland into greater prosperity and strength.

The heroic struggle of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army not only wrote a glorious chapter in the history of the Korean people's revolutionary struggle, but also provided valuable proletarian internationalist support to the Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression. In the long struggle against the common enemy, the Chinese and Korean peoples forged a profound fighting friendship. This friendship, forged with blood in arduous struggles and founded on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is therefore unbreakable.

May the fighting friendship and revolutionary unity between the Chinese and Korean peoples endure forever. May the Korean people continue to achieve new victories in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism and for the independent and peaceful reunification of their motherland.

Mao Zedong, 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, April 24, 1972

### Comments on the report on Bai Jian<sup>3</sup> [1]

(May 31, 1972)

Sent to the Premier [2] for his sympathy. I have a good impression of Bai Jian, and a political conclusion should be drawn for him.

Mao Zedong

May 31, 1972

[1] This comment was written in the "Important Letters Digest" No. 110, published by the Letters and Visits Office of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee in May 1972. The digest said that Bai Kegong, the son of Bai Jian, the former Deputy Minister of the First Ministry of Machine Building, wrote to Chairman Mao, saying that Bai Jian was from Jingbian County, Shaanxi Province, and joined the revolution in 1926. He was isolated and investigated during the "Cultural Revolution" in 1968. Bai Jian suffered from hypertension and coronary artery sclerosis. He died in Beijing Fuxing Hospital on December 11 of that year due to lack of emergency treatment. Bai Jian has been dead for four years now, but there is still no official conclusion on his case. His family is under great mental and psychological burden. They implore the Central Committee to make a political conclusion for him as soon as possible.

[2] Premier refers to Zhou Enlai.

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<sup>3</sup> Bai Jian (1911 –1968), joined the Young Communist League in 1926, and the Party in 1928. On August 1, 1930, he was arrested while participating in a rally organized by the CCP, and had two front teeth knocked out by a bayonet whilst being tortured in prison. He was released when no charges could be brought against him. In the spring of 1932, he was appointed as a special commissioner in Baoding by the Hebei Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China and led mass struggles. In June 1933, he served as the director of the Organization Department of the Political Department of the Chahar People's Anti-Japanese Allied Army, and was wounded in the battle of Xiaotangshan in October 1933. In the summer of 1934, due to a traitor's information, KMT spies came to search for him, and when he climbed over a wall to escape, a large part of the scalp on the back of his head was removed by the Kuomintang agents, leaving a scar for the rest of his life. At the beginning of 1935, he served as secretary-general of the Northwest Military Commission and director of the Political Department of the 26th Red Army. In 1938, he was transferred to northwest Shanxi, and in April 1945, he went to Yan'an to attend the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China. During the Second Kuomintang-Communist Civil War, he had political differences with both Chen Yun and Gao Gang. In the spring of 1956, he was transferred to Beijing and served as vice minister of the Third Ministry of Machinery Industry of the People's Republic of China. In May 1956, the Third Machinery Department was abolished and the Motor Manufacturing Industry Department was established, and Bai was appointed deputy director of the Motor Department and deputy secretary of the party group. He came under severe criticism during the early stage of the Cultural Revolution. Following Mao's recommendation, on June 1, 1972, Zhou Enlai instructed: "Follow the chairman's instructions and make political conclusions." In August 1978, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China rehabilitated him and held a memorial service at the Babaoshan Revolutionary Cemetery.



### **Comments on Li Keru's Letter [1]**

(June 15, 1972)

Please ask the Central Organization Department to take appropriate action.

Mao Zedong

June 15, 1972

[1] This comment was written in the 13th issue of the "Important Letters Digest" published by the Letters and Visits Office of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee on June 13, 1972. The digest said that Li Keru, the former president of Gansu Agricultural University, wrote to say that he joined the Party in 1926 and participated in the Autumn Harvest Uprising. During the Cultural Revolution, he was fabricated as a "traitor" and suffered a blow, which cut short his political career. Now nearly 70 years old, he has reached the end of his limited years in the Party and urgently requested that his problems be resolved and that he be given a job. After the Cultural Revolution, Li Keru served as the vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Gansu Provincial People's Congress.

## **Comments on He Cheng's Letter [1]**

(June 28, 1972)

Comrade He Cheng wrote to ask the Central Committee to handle the letter. I think he should be given work.

Mao Zedong

June 28, 1972

[1] He Cheng, formerly the president of the Academy of Military Medical Sciences of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, was persecuted by the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary group during the Cultural Revolution. On June 26, 1972, he wrote a letter to Mao Zedong requesting a job assignment. Mao Zedong wrote this comment after reading the letter. After receiving Mao Zedong's instruction, the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army appointed He Cheng as the deputy director of the General Logistics Department. On January 17, 1973, the letter was reported to the Central Military Commission. After being reviewed by all comrades at the Military Transformation Office Meeting, it was returned to the General Political Department in August 1973. On March 22, 1975, He Cheng's daughter He Lirong wrote another letter requesting that her father be assigned a job. Mao Zedong wrote two more comments after reading the letter. Soon after, He Cheng became the first deputy director of the General Logistics Department.

## Comments on the Letter from Liao Hansheng's Family [1]

(July 7, 1972)

Sent to the Premier for review. I believe Liao Hansheng, like Yang Yong [2], is innocent. Both were persecuted without discussion by the Central Committee, under the instructions of Lin Biao [3] and others. After reading this, please give it to Jianying and Desheng [4] for their review.

Mao Zedong

July 7, 1972

[1] On July 1, 1972, the children of Liao Hansheng, former Deputy Minister of National Defense and Political Commissar of the Beijing Military Region, wrote to Mao Zedong, saying that Liao Hansheng had been under isolation and investigation since January 8, 1967, and it had been more than five years. "We heard that the Chairman had mentioned several times that our father should be allowed to work. We are very happy and hope that our father can come out and work for the Party and the people as soon as possible. However, there has been no movement so far. We request that our father be allowed to return to Beijing, to his home, and wait for the organization's conclusion outside so that he can understand the situation, get familiar with the situation, have a physical examination, receive treatment and recuperate, so that he can return to his post working for the Party and the people as soon as possible." This letter was excerpted in the "Summary of Letters" No. 465 compiled by the Letters and Visits Office of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee on July 7. Mao Zedong's comments were written in this issue of "Summary of Letters". In December 1973, Liao Hansheng became the Political Commissar of the Academy of Military Sciences of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

[2] Yang Yong. Former Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. During the Cultural Revolution, he was framed and persecuted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing anti-car group. In May 1972, he was appointed Deputy Commander of the Shenyang Military Region.

[3] Lin Biao, formerly Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee and Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission. During the Cultural Revolution, he formed a counter-revolutionary group with Chen Boda and others, and colluded with and competed with the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary group to seize the supreme leadership of the Party and the state. After his conspiracy was exposed, he fled on September 13, 1971, and died in a plane crash in Wulankhan, Mongolia. In August 1973, the CPC Central Committee passed a resolution to expel Lin Biao from the Party. In 1981, the Special Tribunal of the Supreme

People's Court of the People's Republic of China confirmed him as the main culprit in the counter-revolutionary group case.

[4] Jianying, also known as Ye Jianying, was then Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China. He presided over the Military Commission's office meetings and was responsible for the Commission's daily work. Desheng, also known as Li Desheng, was then a member of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China, a member of the Military Commission's office meetings, Director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army, and Commander of the Beijing Military Region.

**The Soviet Union's policy is to make a feint to the east and attack in the west [1]**

(July 10, 1972)

Europe is in a mess right now, right? When I say messy, I mean that there are 60 billion dollars in Europe that are running rampant and not being delivered. Oh, I think this is going to be difficult. The United States is a big bully, but it is separated by the Atlantic Ocean. Several big countries always have conflicts. We don't want Europe to be so chaotic. You should also pay attention to the Soviet Union's policy of making a feint to the east and attacking the west. It says it wants to attack China, but actually wants to annex Europe. It's dangerous.

[1] This is part of a conversation between Mao Zedong and French Foreign Minister Maurice Schuman.

## Comments on Chen Yun's Letter [1]

(July 22, 1972)

1

Print and distribute. Please consult the Central Committee. I think everyone can agree.

Mao Zedong

July 22, 1973

2

Please ask the Premier [2] to deal with it.

[1] Chen Yun, formerly Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee and Vice Premier of the State Council. During the Cultural Revolution, he was dismissed from all leadership positions other than membership of the CPC Central Committee. On July 21, 1972, he wrote to Mao Zedong and the Central Committee, reporting on his situation in Nanchang, Jiangxi Province, and requesting that the Central Committee assign him work within his capabilities based on his physical condition. The letter read: "If there is no suitable work to be assigned, can I attend the Beijing Old Comrades Study Class? After attending the study class, can I still go to other places in the spring and autumn when I am still able to walk? If so, since I cannot fly, can you make an exception and provide me with a government car with heating on the way to and from the station to avoid catching a cold and extend my time traveling to other places?" The first part is written on Chen Yun's letter; the second part is written on the envelope of this letter.

[2] Premier refers to Zhou Enlai.

## **Comments on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Report on Talking to American Friends about the Issue of Lin Biao [1] [2]**

(July 1972)

We should speak directly to anyone who asks us about this, without dodging or evading. We should send a notice to all levels of Party committees in China, foreign affairs personnel, and embassies and consulates abroad.

[1] Lin Biao, formerly Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee and Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission. During the Cultural Revolution, he formed a counter-revolutionary group with Chen Boda and others, and colluded with and competed with the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary group to seize the supreme leadership of the Party and the state. After his conspiracy was exposed, he fled on September 13, 1971, and died in a plane crash in Wulankhan, Mongolia. In August 1973, the CPC Central Committee passed a resolution to expel Lin Biao from the Party. In 1981, the Special Tribunal of the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China confirmed him as the main culprit in the counter-revolutionary group case.

[2] These eight comments were written in the report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Zhou Enlai on July 1, 1972. The report said that recently, some American friends and Chinese-American friends who visited China had asked about Lin Biao's issues during their contacts with us. Our reception staff still avoided the issue, which was very likely to have a negative effect. It is suggested that we can reveal some information, that is, admit that Lin has problems, but do not discuss the specific details.

## **Elegy for Wang Jifan [1]**

(July 1972)

My ninth brother will live forever. Mao Zedong respectfully mourns.

[1] Wang Jifan, Mao Zedong's maternal cousin, was also Mao's teacher at the First Normal School. On the afternoon of July 11, 1972, Wang Jifan died of illness in Beijing. On the afternoon of July 13, a grand memorial service was held in Beijing. His student, Hunan Provincial Vice Governor Zhou Shizhao, delivered a eulogy. Mao Zedong presented a wreath with the inscription "Ninth Brother, live forever, Mao Zedong Respectfully mourns" on the ribbon.



## **Comments on the summary of the letter from Lin Feng's family [1]**

(August 11, 1972)

Wang [2], please print and distribute this letter together with the original letter to all comrades in the Politburo. I intend to release him for medical treatment. The Lin Feng case was not clarified in the past. Some evidence was insufficient, and the investigators seemed to have forced him to confess.

Mao Zedong

August 11, 1972

[1] This comment was written on the "Summary of Letters" No. 545, compiled and published by the Letters and Visits Office of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee on August 10, 1972. The summary of the letter stated that Lin Meimei and other children of Lin Feng, the former president of the CPC Central Committee's Senior Party School, wrote to Chairman Mao on August 5, saying that they had visited Lin Feng in Qincheng on August 4. Lin Feng was suffering from heart disease and diabetes, and his expression was dull and his body was thin. They requested that he be allowed to come out for treatment and recuperation. On July 7, 1973, Lin Feng wrote to Mao Zedong: "Under the kind care of you and the Central Committee, I have been treated in Fuwai Hospital for more than ten months." In the letter, he requested that he resume his party organization life as soon as possible and also exposed several problems of Lin Biao in the Northeast. On July 10, Mao Zedong read the letter and instructed: "Ji and Wang will deal with it at their discretion."

[2] Wang refers to Wang Dongxing, who 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.

## Comments on Deng Xiaoping's letter [1]

(August 14, 1972)

Please ask the Premier [2] to read it and then hand it over to Director Wang [3] for printing and distribution to all comrades in the Central Committee. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's mistakes are serious. But they should be distinguished from Liu Shaoqi. (1) He was purged in the Central Soviet Area, that is, he was one of the four criminals Deng, Mao, Xie, and Gu [4], and was the leader of the so-called Maoists. The materials on his persecution can be found in the two books "Two Lines" and "Since the Sixth National Congress". The person who came out to punish him was Zhang Wentian. [5] (2) He had no historical problems. That is, he had never surrendered to the enemy. (3) He assisted Liu Bocheng [6] in fighting and was effective, and had military merits. In addition, after entering the city, he did not do anything bad, such as leading a delegation to Moscow for negotiations, and he did not succumb to the Soviet revisionists. I have talked about these things many times in the past, and I will say them again now.

Mao Zedong

August 14, 1972

[1] Deng Xiaoping, formerly General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee and Vice Premier of the State Council. He was overthrown after being wrongly criticized during the "Cultural Revolution". He had been "evacuated" to Jiangxi at that time. On August 3, 1972, he wrote a letter to Mao Zedong, exposing and criticizing Lin Biao, and at the same time expressed his willingness to do some work. On March 10, 1973, with the approval of Mao Zedong, the CPC Central Committee made a decision to restore Deng Xiaoping's party organization life and the position of Vice Premier of the State Council.

[2] Premier refers to Zhou Enlai.

[3] Refers to Wang Dongxing, Director of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee.

[4] Deng refers to Deng Xiaoping, who was the secretary of the CPC Huichang Central County Committee in the winter of 1932 and led the work of Huichang, Xunwu and Anyuan counties. In March 1933, he was the Minister of Propaganda of the CPC Jiangxi Provincial Committee. Mao refers to Mao Zetan, who was the secretary of the Yongfeng, Ji'an and Taihe Central County Committees in June 1931 and the Secretary-General of the CPC Soviet Central Bureau in March 1933. Xie refers to Xie Weijun, who was the commander of the Second Military Sub-district of the Jiangxi Provincial Military Region and the commander of the Independent Fifth Division in March 1933. Gu refers to Gu Bo, who was the secretary of

the Party Committee of the Jiangxi Provincial Soviet Government in March 1933. In the situation where the enemy was strong and we were weak, they, based on the actual situation, had expressed some opinions that were conducive to resisting the "encirclement and suppression" and consolidating the revolutionary base areas, and resisted Wang Ming's erroneous practice of "leftist" adventurism. From March 1933, they were accused of being the "creators of the Jiangxi Luo Ming line" and suffered cruel struggles and were dismissed from their posts.

[5] Zhang Wentian was appointed as a member and standing member of the Provisional Central Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China in September 1931. In January 1933, he entered the Central Revolutionary Army base area with the Provisional Central Committee. In the initial stage of the struggle against the "Luo Ming Line" in Jiangxi, he directly participated in the leadership. Later, he also reviewed this issue many times and learned lessons from it.

[6] Liu Bocheng, during the Sino-Japanese War, served as the commander of the 129th Division of the Eighth Route Army. Together with political commissar Deng Xiaoping, he established the Jindianyu Anti-Japanese Base Area and the Ji'nan, Taiyue, Jiluyu Anti-Japanese Base Area. During the Liberation War, he served as the commander of the Jinjiluyu Military Region, the Central Plains Military Region, and the Second Field Army. Together with political commissar Deng Xiaoping, he led his troops to advance into the Dabie Mountains, participated in the command of the Huaihai Campaign, the Crossing the Yangtze River Campaign, and the liberation of the Southwest.

## **Telegram from Mao Zedong and Others Congratulating Romania on the 28th Anniversary of its Liberation**

(August 22, 1972)

Bucharest

General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu,

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

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Dear Comrades:

As the Romanian people joyfully celebrate the 28th anniversary of their country's liberation, we, on behalf of the Communist Party of China, the government of the People's Republic of China, and the Chinese people, extend warm congratulations to you, to the Communist Party of Romania, the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the entire Romanian people.

Twenty-eight years ago today, the fraternal Romanian people, under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, took up arms and launched the heroic August 23rd Armed Uprising, overthrowing the reactionary rule of Antonescu. From then on, the Romanian people became the masters of their own country. Since liberation, the hardworking and courageous Romanian people have upheld independence and self-reliance, worked tirelessly to strengthen their country, overcome numerous difficulties, and achieved significant achievements in socialist construction. Today, the fraternal Romanian people, under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are striving to complete the new Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule. We sincerely wish you even greater success.

The Romanian government and people firmly oppose imperialist aggression and interference, hegemony, and power politics. They have consistently upheld the equality of all nations, big or small, and have waged a tireless struggle to safeguard their national independence and sovereignty. We admire and support the Romanian people's just stance and courageous spirit.

In recent years, the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Romanian parties, countries, and peoples, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has continued to flourish, and mutual assistance and cooperation in all areas has been increasingly strengthened. We are confident that in the struggle against imperialism and for the construction of socialism, our two peoples will, as always, sympathize with, support, and help each other.

May the friendship between the Chinese and Romanian peoples last forever!

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

Dong Biwu, Acting Chairman of the People's Republic of China

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

Beijing, August 22, 1972

## **Telegram from Mao Zedong and Others Congratulating the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on its 27th Anniversary**

(September 1, 1972)

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 occasion of the 27th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 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 Vietnam, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the fraternal Vietnamese people.

For 27 years, the heroic Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Vietnam, with fearless heroism and a tenacious revolutionary spirit, have resisted repeated imperialist wars of aggression, safeguarded the achievements of socialism in North Vietnam, and written a magnificent chapter in the cause of the Vietnamese national liberation. The heroic deeds of the Vietnamese people in their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle are a great inspiration to the Chinese people and have made a valuable contribution to the struggle for liberation of all oppressed nations and peoples in the world.

At present, the Vietnamese people's war against the US and for national salvation is progressing victoriously, and the situation throughout Indochina is excellent. The fierce offensives launched by the military and civilians of South Vietnam on various fronts have dealt a heavy blow to the US imperialist plan of "Vietnamizing" the war, achieving resounding victories. US imperialism's attempt to force the Vietnamese people to cease fighting by intensifying naval and air attacks and mine-laying blockades is sheer delusion. US imperialist bombs have never, and never will, shake the iron will of the Vietnamese people. Following President Ho Chi Minh's teaching of "preferring all to sacrifice rather than lose the nation, never to become slaves," the heroic Vietnamese people, united as one and fearless of difficulties, are marching victoriously forward with resolute fighting strides. We firmly believe that the Vietnamese people, tempered by the long revolutionary war, will unite with

the peoples of Laos and Cambodia to defeat US imperialist aggression and achieve complete victory in the war against the US and for national salvation.

The peoples of China and Vietnam are close comrades and brothers, sharing weal and woe. Supporting the Vietnamese people in their struggle to resist the US and save their nation is the unshirkable internationalist duty of the Chinese people. In your war against the US and for national salvation, no matter what hardships and obstacles the Vietnamese people may encounter, the Chinese people stand with you and fully support your just struggle.

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

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

Acting President of the People's Republic of China Dong Biwu

Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China Zhu De

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

Beijing, September 1, 1972

**Inscription on the cover of the book "Two Essays from Qiuyu Temple" [1] presented to Zhou Shizhao [2]**

(September 4, 1972)

Two Essays from Qiuyu Temple for your reading and preservation, Brother Dunyuan.

Mao Zedong

September 4, 1972

[1] "Two Essays from Qiuyu Temple" was written by Liang Jinzhu in the Qing Dynasty and consists of eight volumes.

[2] Zhou Shizhao, also known as Zhou Dunyuan, was a classmate of Mao Zedong at Hunan First Normal School. He served as vice governor of Hunan and was impacted by the Cultural Revolution.



**Letter to Zhou Shizhao**

(September 4, 1972)

Brother Dunyuan: Travelling by night is tedious, so I'm giving you this book to entertain you.  
It's not well written, but it's still enjoyable to read.

Mao Zedong

September 4, 1972

**Comments on the Central Committee's forwarding of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' draft notice on the "Internal Propaganda Outline for Receiving Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka's Visit to China" [1]**

(September 1972)

Agreed

[1] This propaganda outline forwarded by the CPC Central Committee on September 8, 1972, pointed out that Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka was about to visit China to negotiate with Chinese leaders and resolve the issue of normalizing Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations. This was a major event on China's current diplomatic front. Prime Minister Tanaka's visit to China was, first, a reflection of the current favourable international situation; second, a sign of China's growing international prestige; third, the result of the long-term common struggle of the Chinese and Japanese people; and fourth, a manifestation of the further development of the contradictions between the United States and Japan and between Japan and the Soviet Union. Inviting Prime Minister Tanaka to visit China to negotiate and resolve the issue of normalizing Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations was an important strategic deployment of Chairman Mao and the CPC Central Committee. Achieving the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations would be beneficial to the struggle against the two hegemons of the United States and the Soviet Union, especially against Soviet revisionism, to the struggle against the revival of Japanese militarism, to China's struggle to liberate Taiwan, and to ease tensions in Asia.

## **Telegram from Mao Zedong and Others Congratulating the 24th Anniversary of the Founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

(September 8, 1972)

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 24th 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 Korean government, and the fraternal Korean people.

The 24-year history of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been a history filled with battles and victories. Under the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, the heroic Korean people have achieved great victory in the Korean Fatherland Liberation War against U.S. imperialist aggression and have made brilliant achievements in socialist revolution and construction. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, holding high the banner of anti-imperialist revolution and firmly supporting the just struggles of peoples of all countries, is increasingly enjoying increasing international prestige. The heroic spirit of the Korean people in defying violence and daring to fight, as well as their revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and striving for progress, is a great inspiration to the Chinese people and revolutionary people of all countries.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the DPRK government have consistently adhered to the correct line of independent and peaceful reunification of the motherland and have made unremitting efforts to achieve the peaceful reunification of Korea. The progress made by the Korean people in the cause of peaceful reunification fulfils their national aspirations and has won the sympathy and support of the peoples of Asia and around the world. The Chinese people warmly congratulate the DPRK people on their tremendous achievements and will, as always, firmly support the fraternal DPRK people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the independent and peaceful reunification of their motherland until complete victory is achieved.

The Chinese people deeply cherish the great friendship and fighting unity forged with blood between the two parties and peoples of China and North Korea during their long common revolutionary struggle. This friendship and unity is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We sincerely hope that the friendship and unity between the two peoples will continue to strengthen and develop in the future.

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

Dong Biwu, Acting Chairman of the People's Republic of China

Zhu De, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China

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

Beijing, September 8, 1972

**To resolve the issue of resuming diplomatic relations between China and Japan, the Japanese side still relies on the Liberal Democratic Party government [1]**

(September 27, 1972)

(Mao Zedong shakes hands with Tanaka)

Mao Zedong (hereinafter referred to as Mao): (in Japanese) Good evening!

Tanaka (hereinafter referred to as Tanaka): Good evening, Chairman Mao Zedong.

(After taking their seats)

Mao: Have you finished arguing? Arguing is good for you.

Tanaka: We argued a bit, but the problem has been basically resolved. No, no, we had a friendly conversation.

Zhou Enlai (hereinafter referred to as Zhou): The two foreign ministers worked very hard.

Tanaka: Yes, the two foreign ministers worked very hard.

Mao: No fight, no deal!

Tanaka: Yes, yes.

Mao: (To Ohira Masayoshi) Did you defeat him (referring to Ji Pengfei[2])?

Ohira Masayoshi (Japanese Foreign Minister): No, we are equals.

Tanaka: We had a very successful meeting.

Mao: That's good. How did you resolve the "trouble/confusion" [3] issue?

Tanaka: We plan to modify it according to Chinese customs.

Mao: Some female comrades are dissatisfied, especially with the "American" issue [4]. She was speaking on behalf of Nixon. The young people insisted that the phrase "caused trouble" was not strong enough. Because in China, this word is only used to apologize when someone accidentally splashes water on a woman's skirt.

Tanaka: Although the word "迷惑" (confused) came to Japan from China, the Japanese word "迷惑" (confused) can also be used when making an apology with mixed feelings.

Mao: I see. You used the word "迷惑/trouble" well. China and Japan have had exchanges for over 2,000 years, and the first recorded mention of this in Chinese history is during the Later Han Dynasty.

Tanaka: So, we've always heard that the history of Sino-Japanese exchanges goes back 2,000 years.

Mao: Your arrival in Beijing has caused the whole world to tremble with fear. Primarily, the Soviet Union and the United States, those two great powers. They're worried, knowing what you're up to.

Tanaka: The United States has declared its support for our visit to China.

Mao: Kissinger has also informed us, and there are no obstacles.

Tanaka: Yes, I went to Hawaii with Foreign Minister Ohira to meet with US President Nixon. The US also recognizes that Japan's visit to China is in line with the global trend and an inevitable development. Therefore, the US supports improving relations between Japan and China.

Mao: The US is a bit better, but there's also a bit of discomfort. They came in February of this year, but didn't establish diplomatic relations [5]. You've gotten ahead of them, so there's always a sense of discomfort. An agreement can go on for decades or even centuries, or it can be resolved in a matter of days.

Tanaka: Ah, I'm sorry. We launched the war of aggression, causing great harm to China.

Mao: Don't be sorry. You deserve "merit." Why "merit"? Because if you hadn't launched the war of aggression against China, how could our Communist Party become so powerful? How could we have seized power? How could we have defeated Chiang Kai-shek?

Tanaka: Thank you.

.....

Mao: (Pointing to Liao Chengzhi, who is present [6].) He was born in Japan. Mr. Tanaka, please take him back this time!

Tanaka: Mr. Liao is very famous in Japan. If he runs for the Japanese Senate, he will definitely be elected.

Mao: When you were running for election in Japan, the competition was very fierce, wasn't it?

Tanaka: We held eleven elections in twenty-five years, and every time we did it, we had to give street speeches. It's hard to win without shaking hands with the voters.

Mao: Giving campaign speeches on the streets is not easy! Giving speeches on the streets is a tough job. I did that a lot in Changsha half a century ago. Be careful! How is your parliamentary system?

Tanaka: It's very arduous. If anything goes wrong, the party will have to be disbanded and new elections will be held.

Mao: It's not easy for Japan.

Tanaka: Can I have a cigarette?

Mao: (Pointing to his cigar) Would you like to smoke mine?

Tanaka: That's fine. I had quit smoking, but because of the long negotiations with Premier Zhou Enlai, I started again. (He lights Chairman Mao's cigarette with a match)

Mao: Thank you. When will the statement be issued [7]?

Zhou: Probably tomorrow. We'll have to jointly study and finalize the draft tonight. We need to produce both Chinese and Japanese versions, as well as an English version.

Mao: You're very fast.

Tanaka: Yes, as soon as the time is right, a solution can be achieved. As long as both sides refrain from diplomatic manoeuvres and negotiate sincerely, a satisfactory outcome will surely be achieved.

Mao: We both need this now. This is what President Nixon told me. He asked if we both needed each other, and I said yes. I said, "I'm colluding with the right wing, and I have a bad reputation." Your country has two political parties: the Democratic Party is said to be more liberal, and the Republican Party is more right-wing. I said the Democratic Party is not very good, I don't appreciate it, and I have no interest in it. I told Nixon, "I voted for you during your election, but you didn't even know it. We voted for you this time too. As you said, if you, the main force of the Liberal Democratic Party, don't come, how can we resolve the issue of resuming diplomatic relations between China and Japan?" [8]

Tanaka: According to the Japanese Constitution, the Cabinet has the authority to handle foreign affairs, and all Cabinet members are jointly responsible to the Japanese people. Therefore, the three of us came to China this time to negotiate and finalize the joint statement, which we will report to the Cabinet and obtain its approval.

Mao: That's why some people accuse us of colluding with the right. I say, you Japanese opposition parties can't solve the problem. The restoration of diplomatic relations between China and Japan still depends on the Liberal Democratic Party government.

.....

Tanaka: Chairman Mao seems to be in good health. It's an honor to meet him today.

Mao: I can't. I'm about to meet God.

Zhou: (Pointing to the bookshelf against the wall) He reads a lot of documents every day. Look at all the books!

Mao: I'm addicted to books. I can't live without them. Look (pointing to the books on the surrounding shelves and the table). This is "Jiaxuan," and that is "Chuci Annotated." I don't have any gifts, so I'm giving this (the "Chuci Annotated") to you.

(Prime Minister Tanaka, Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira, and Chief Cabinet Secretary Susumu Nikaido all stood up and looked at various books of Mao Zedong.)

Tanaka: Thank you very much! Chairman Mao is so knowledgeable and so diligent. I can no longer complain about being busy. I must study even more. I wish you good health and a long life.

[1] This is part of a conversation between Mao Zedong and Japanese Prime Minister and Liberal Democratic Party President Kakuei Tanaka. During Tanaka's visit to China, the two sides held talks on the normalization of diplomatic relations. On September 25, the two governments issued a joint statement declaring that "the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Japan have decided to establish diplomatic relations from September 29, 1972."

[2] Ji Pengfei, then Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[3] The "confusion/trouble" incident. On September 25, 1972, Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka visited Beijing. That evening, at a welcoming banquet hosted by Premier Zhou Enlai, Tanaka made a toast with the following line: "Our country has caused great confusion to the Chinese people. I once again express my deep regret for this." The Chinese manuscript provided by the Japanese side translated "confusion" as "trouble". Tanaka's words were translated into the following Chinese: "Our country has caused great trouble to the Chinese people. I once again express my deep regret for this." Finally, the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement said: "The Japanese side is deeply aware of its responsibility for the great damage caused to the Chinese people by the war in the past and expresses deep regret."

[4] Tang Wensheng, born in Brooklyn, New York, was an important translator for Mao Zedong in his later years.

[5] In February 1972, US President Nixon visited China for the first time. Mao Zedong met with him. He held talks with Premier Zhou Enlai on the normalization of relations between the two countries and other issues of mutual concern. On the 27th, China and the United States issued a joint communiqué in Shanghai, marking the beginning of the normalization of Sino-US relations. However, the two sides did not establish diplomatic relations until January 1, 1979.

[6] Liao Chengzhi was born in Tokyo, Japan in 1908. His father, Liao Zhongkai, was a revolutionary hero of the Kuomintang (KMT). Along with his mother, He Xiangning, he was a prominent leftist figure within the KMT. He went to study in Japan in 1927, enrolling at Waseda University. Before the founding of the People's Republic of China, he spent much of his time working in KMT-controlled areas and was arrested seven times. In 1952, he became Director of the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee. In 1958, he



became Deputy Director of the Foreign Affairs Office of the State Council and Director of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission. He also visited Japan twice in the 1950s, leveraging his unique relationship with Japan to establish channels for non-governmental exchanges between China and Japan. During the Cultural Revolution, he was investigated for his overseas connections and arrests. After his return to power in 1972, he served as a diplomatic advisor to Zhou Enlai, assisting him in handling foreign affairs.

[7] This refers to the Joint Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Japan, issued on September 29, 1972.

[8] On July 6, 1972, Kakuei Tanaka, having just formed his government, declared in his office on the second floor of the Prime Minister's residence in Nagatacho, Tokyo, "I want to achieve normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and China. The negotiating partner must be someone I can rely on. Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai were entrepreneurs who had escaped death dozens of times. In this sense, they are trustworthy and negotiable. Therefore, we must achieve this goal in one fell swoop while Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai are still alive." During Kakuei Tanaka's visit to China, China and Japan held talks on the normalization of diplomatic relations. On September 29, the two governments issued a joint statement, declaring that "the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Japan have decided to establish diplomatic relations starting September 29, 1972."

## **Opinions on How to Carry Out the Criticism of Lin Biao and the Rectification of the Work Style Movement at the Enlarged Meeting of the Navy Party Committee [1]**

(1972)

### **1**

The Navy's meeting was entangled in historical issues. During the Criticize Lin Biao and Rectify Work Style Movement, dwelling on old historical accounts could easily lead one astray.

### **2**

The first step was to criticize Lin, and then to carry out the rectification movement.

[1] The first and second parts of this article are Mao Zedong's opinions on how to carry out the criticism of Lin Biao and rectification movement at the enlarged meeting of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Fourth Session of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Navy Party Committee held from July 1972 to February 1973. On September 14, 1972, Zhou Enlai, in accordance with Mao Zedong's instructions, presided over a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and spoke with the leaders of the Navy to convey Mao Zedong's opinions. These words were quoted in bold in the "Report on the Enlarged Meeting of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Fourth Session of the Navy Party Committee" forwarded by the CPC Central Committee on February 24, 1973. The comments of the Central Committee on this report were sent to Mao Zedong for review, and Mao Zedong wrote: "Agree."

## **Comments on the Problems Existing in the National Defense Industry Colleges and Suggestions for Improvement [1]**

(October 15, 1972)

This problem [2] is very serious. Please ask Director Wang [3] to print and distribute it to all comrades of the Central Committee and the Military Commission for study and consideration.

Mao Zedong

October 15, 1972

[1] This is Mao Zedong's comments on two documents submitted by a teacher at the Beijing Institute of Technology on September 27, 1972.

[2] The two documents, "Current Problems in Defense Industry Colleges and Universities and Suggestions for Improvement" and "A Problem Existing among Current Scientific and Technological Personnel", submitted by a teacher at the Beijing Institute of Technology, believe that: my country's more than 10 defense industry colleges and universities were originally under the unified leadership of the National Defense Science and Technology Commission. In the early 1970s, they were transferred to the leadership of various defense industry departments. This practice destroyed the schools with relatively good foundations and hindered the development of education in the defense system. In addition, the professional settings were chaotic and complicated, which was very unreasonable. Suggestions: First, restore the original system of unified management of colleges and universities by the National Defense Science and Technology Commission, and at the same time implement dual leadership of the central and local governments, so that defense industry colleges and universities can face the whole country. Second, earnestly implement the policy on intellectuals and encourage those who have made inventions and creations. Third, do not be too specific about specific workpieces. For example, the leadership and management system of scientific research, production, and teaching systems, the business scope and division of labour of each unit and department, the professional settings of colleges and universities, and the business direction of scientific research units, etc. must be resolved as soon as possible.

[3] Refers to Wang Dongxing, who was the director of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee at the time.

**Comments on the summary of letters reporting on the situation of Xu Dixin, Fan Changjiang, Jiang Yizhen, and Li Yifu [1]**

(October to December 1972)

1

Ji and Wang will handle the matter at their discretion.

Mao Zedong

72. 10. 16

2

Ji and Wang will handle the matter at their discretion.

Mao Zedong

72. 10. 16

3

Ji and Wang will handle the matter at their discretion.

October 17, 1972

4

Ji and Wang handled it.

72. 12. 2

[1] The first part is based on an excerpt from a letter dated October 12, 1972, from Xu Jialing, son of Xu Dixin, former Vice Minister of the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee. The summary states that in December 1967, Xu Dixin was imprisoned within the ministry under "mass dictatorship" and denied home, losing his freedom. He requested permission to return home for medical treatment. The second part of this article is based on a summary of a letter from Shen Pu, the wife of Fan Changjiang, former Deputy Director of the State Science and Technology Commission, requesting a political conclusion for Fan. Fan Changjiang was framed and persecuted during the Cultural Revolution and died in Henan on October 23, 1978. In December 1978, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China rehabilitated him. The third part of this article is based on a letter from Jiang Yizhen, former Secretary of the Secretariat of the Fujian Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China and former Governor, to Mao Zedong on November 1, 1972. The letter states that in a 1969 speech, you mentioned that I was still

young and could still work. In August of this year, you lifted my guardianship, which has led to my recent improvement. The letter also accuses Lin Biao and Chen Boda of persecuting him during the Cultural Revolution and requests that Mao instruct the relevant departments to issue a political conclusion as soon as possible, so that he can return to the Party and the state. The fourth part is based on an excerpt from a letter dated November 26, 1972, from Zhang Minghui, the wife of Li Yifu, the former head of the Central Supervisory Commission's Supervisory Group at the Ministry of Foreign Trade. In the letter, Zhang Minghui thanked Chairman Mao for his concern, allowing her and her children to visit Li Yifu, and expressed her hope that Li would be approved for hospitalization.

### **Comments on Hua Luogeng's Letter [1]**

(November 4, 1972)

This letter and the attached photo are returned to Comrade Hua Luogeng for safekeeping. It is better for him to keep it than me. Thank you Comrade Hua for your kindness.

Mao Zedong

November 4, 1972

[1] Hua Luogeng, Vice President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, wrote to Mao Zedong on October 25, 1972: "The Dalian Rolling Stock Works of the Ministry of Communications has bestowed upon me a precious gift. To decline it would risk offending the working class's goodwill in welcoming me home; to accept it would be to lack self-awareness. Remembering the source of this kindness, bidding farewell to the old self, and embarking on a new path all depend on your guidance and instruction. Therefore, I hereby present it to you as a token of my sentiments and in lieu of a report." After reviewing it, Mao Zedong wrote this annotation.

## **Comments on two letters reflecting Chai Mo's situation [1]**

(November 4 and December 5, 1972)

1

Ji and Wang will handle this matter at their discretion.

Mao Zedong

November 4, 1972

2

Ji and Wang have handled the matter.

It seems inappropriate to expel them (after being driven to death, should they still be dismissed?).

5 December 1972

[1] This first part was first published in the "Important Letters Digest" No. 270, published by the Letters and Visits Office of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee on November 3, 1972. The digest said that eight people including Guo Chong from the former Marxism-Leninism Research Institute study class and Wang Ruolin, the wife of the former Secretary-General of the Institute, Chai Mo, wrote a letter to Chairman Mao. The letter said that in May 1966, Chen Boda came to the Institute three times to speak, saying that Chai Mo did not listen to him and would not visit him. Chen colluded with Guan Feng, Qi Benyu and others to bring down Chai Mo on trumped-up charges. From then on, he was criticized in large-scale struggle sessions, persecuted in small-scale meetings, supervised during labour during the day, and interrogated at night. He suffered great mental and physical torture and was forced to commit suicide. After repeated investigations into Chai Mo's history and all his work, it was proved that he was a good cadre of the Party. It's been over two years since Chen Boda was exposed, and the institute's study sessions have been running for a year and seven months. However, Chen's crimes against Chai Mo have yet to be exonerated, and no correct conclusion has been reached for Chai Mo. Therefore, I implore the Chairman to instruct the relevant departments to redress Chai Mo's innocence, restore his reputation, and reach a correct conclusion. The second part appears in "Summary of Letters" No. 858, published by the General Office of the Central Committee's Letters and Calls Office on December 2nd. The summary states that Wang Ruolin wrote on November 30th, expressing deep gratitude for the Chairman's instructions. The military officer had conveyed to her the conclusion regarding Chai Mo's case, confirming that he was coerced by Chen Boda and

others. He also pointed out that Chai committed suicide, did not meet the requirements for Party membership, and should be expelled from the Party. Wang Ruolin believed that Chai Mo committed suicide under coercion from Chen Boda and others, not out of fear of guilt towards the Party, and therefore should not be expelled from the Party.



**Comments on Zhou Peiyuan's letter regarding the regularization and grading of junior college graduates from the classes of 1966 to 1970 [1]**

(November 12, 1972)

This matter is of great importance. This letter is being distributed to all comrades of the Political Bureau, the State Council's Cultural and Educational Group, and the Beijing Municipal Committee for study. Please consider and make a decision.

Mao Zedong,

November 12, 1972

[1] In a letter to Mao Zedong dated November 7, 1972, Zhou Peiyuan, deputy director of the Peking University Revolutionary Committee, said that in implementing the policy on intellectuals and the educational revolution, there was an urgent issue to be resolved: how to deal with the college graduates from the classes of 1966 to 1970. The class of 1966 had graduated six years earlier and had not yet been officially recognized. People often wrote to ask whether they were still considered college students and state cadres, whether the college graduates who graduated during the Cultural Revolution were to be demoted, and whether the same would apply to new workers, peasants, and soldiers. The wages of workers in some large state-owned enterprises were now higher than those of college students of the same age, causing some people to be reluctant to attend school when recruited to these units. There are currently about 800,000 such college graduates nationwide, coming from all walks of life and all regions. Properly handling their issues is of great importance. To this end, I hereby request the following instructions from the Chairman: 1. Given the urgent need to accelerate the development of science and culture in our country, we must continue to cultivate university graduates, and we must cultivate them of higher quality. Their qualifications, especially their economic status, must not be too low. 2. The salaries of graduates from the fifth class cannot be reduced by one level compared to those who graduated before 1965. The salary reform for university graduates should begin with the newly enrolled workers, peasants, and soldiers. 3. The cutoff for graduates from the fifth class should be determined based on the number of years they spent in school. Those from the classes of 1966 and 1967, who spent more than four years in school, should be treated as undergraduates; those from the classes of 1967 to 1970, who spent less than three years in school, should be treated as associate degree graduates. 4. The process of regularizing and grading salaries should be completed swiftly, and should not be delayed until seven or eight years into their careers.

## **Comments on the Zhongnanhai Clinic's Report on Zhou Enlai's Heart Disease [1]**

(November 12, 1972)

You should rest and reduce your workload. Don't be careless.

Mao Zedong

November 12, 1972

[1] On November 11, 1972, Bian Zhiqiang and Zhang Zuoliang of the Zhongnanhai Clinic wrote a report to Ye Jianying and other central leaders, saying that they had organized another consultation with relevant cardiologists the previous night, and everyone agreed that Comrade Enlai's heart disease had developed quite seriously. The condition of arteriosclerosis, especially aortic sclerosis, had caused the aortic valve to close and the condition had worsened, leading to insufficient coronary blood supply and worse heart function than before. It was necessary to pay close attention to it. Although the condition was being studied and treatment was being adjusted at any time, the power of drugs was limited after all. The officials should pay special attention to rest, increase sleep, reduce workload and take other feasible measures. They hoped that the central leaders would consider this and give instructions. Mao Zedong wrote this comment after reading the report.

## **Telegram from Mao Zedong and Others Congratulating Albania on the 60th Anniversary of Independence and the 28th Anniversary of Liberation**

(November 27, 1972)

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 occasion of the 60th anniversary of Albania's independence and the 28th anniversary of its liberation, on behalf of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese government, and the people, we extend our warmest congratulations to you, the Party of Labor of Albania, the government, and the people of Albania.

After a long and valiant struggle, the heroic Albanian people have achieved independence and liberation and entered the great socialist era.

For 28 years, under the wise leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor, headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian people have held high the red banner of Marxism-Leninism, upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat, and achieved brilliant victories in the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The Albanian Party of Labor and the Albanian people have resolutely opposed modern revisionism centred on Soviet revisionism and imperialism headed by the United States, and have firmly supported the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed nations and peoples in the world. Your revolutionary spirit has earned the respect of people around the world.

The friendship between the Chinese and Albanian parties, countries, and peoples is great and unbreakable. Let us unite closely under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, fight shoulder to shoulder, and advance together in the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism, and reactionaries.

We wish the Albanian Party of Labor and the Albanian people new and greater victories!

May the revolutionary friendship and fighting unity between the Chinese and Albanian parties, countries, and peoples last forever.

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

Dong Biwu, Acting President of the People's Republic of China

Zhu De, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China

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

Beijing, November 27, 1972

## **Dig deep holes, store up grain, and do not seek hegemony [1]**

(December 10, 1972)

Dig deep holes, store up food, and do not seek hegemony.

[1] On December 10, 1972, the CPC Central Committee forwarded a report from the State Council on the grain issue, which said: "Chairman Mao recently pointed out again that the current domestic and international situation is very good, and leading comrades at all levels should be modest and prudent, and not get carried away by victory. Chairman Mao told a historical story from the "Ming History: Biography of Zhu Sheng". Before the founding of the Ming Dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang summoned an intellectual named Zhu Sheng and asked him what to do under the circumstances at the time. Zhu Sheng said: 'Build high walls, store up grain, and delay claiming the throne.' Zhu Yuanzhang adopted his advice and won the victory. Based on the current good domestic and international situation and the socialist system and proletarian standpoint we uphold, Chairman Mao said: We must 'dig deep holes, store up grain, and not seek hegemony'. Chairman Mao's instruction has made the great strategic policy of 'preparing coal, preparing for famine, and serving the people' more concrete." The draft of the Central Committee's comments was sent to Mao Zedong for review, and Mao Zedong wrote: "Do as instructed." On January 1, 1973, This directive from Mao Zedong was conveyed in the New Year's Day editorials "New Year's Message" published in Red Flag magazine, the People's Daily and the Liberation Army Daily.

## **Comments on a Letter Reporting on Problems in National Defense Research Units [1]**

(December 11, 1972)

The original letter was sent to the Premier and referred to the relevant State Council organizations for study.

Mao Zedong,

December 11, 1972

[1] This comment was written in the 307th issue of the "Important Letters Digest" published by the Letters and Visits Office of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee in December 1972. This issue of the Digest comprehensively reflects the letters sent by some cadres and technical personnel from the Fifth Ministry of Machine Building, the 724th Institute of the 7th Naval Research Institute, and the 63rd Air Force Regiment to Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai. The letters pointed out some problems existing in national defense research units, mainly: 1. The system and tasks are changing frequently, which affects the completion of research projects. 2. Some units have been in a state of relocation and capital construction for several years and have not produced a single new product. Moving back and forth has caused serious waste. 3. Capital construction is too large and foreign, and some projects have not yet been completed. 4. The scientific and technological team is relatively chaotic. In some places, many scientific and technological personnel are still in a state of self-preciousness, depressed, and unwilling to engage in design. Some letters suggested that the institutes and institutes responsible for weapons and equipment research be unified, and all institutes and institutes that should remain in the military should be included in the military system. Regarding defense research units, some suggest placing them under the leadership of the corresponding military services, while others call for them to be under the leadership of the National Defense Science and Technology Commission. Defense science and technology units should effectively integrate workers, technicians, and leading cadres, as well as scientific research, production, and application. They should focus on urgently needed weapons and equipment while also pursuing exploratory projects, theoretical research, and technological reserves. [The text then abruptly shifts topics.]

**Telegram from Mao Zedong and others congratulating Kim Il Sung on his election as Chairman of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [1]**

(December 29, 1972)

Pyongyang

Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea:

We are delighted to hear that you have been elected Chairman of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. On behalf of the Communist Party of China, the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, and in our own names, we extend our warmest congratulations to you.

For decades, under your wise leadership, the heroic Korean people have traversed a glorious journey of struggle, advancing continuously from victory to victory. Today, the Korean people's socialist revolution and socialist construction are advancing with each passing day, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is growing more prosperous. The brilliant achievements of the Korean people are a great victory for the correct line formulated by the Workers' Party of Korea, headed by you. Your election as President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea once again demonstrates the Korean people's boundless love for you and their rock-hard unity. We sincerely wish you new and greater success in leading the Korean people in revolution, construction, and national reunification.

May the great friendship and fighting unity between the Chinese and Korean peoples, forged with blood in their long common struggle, continue to strengthen and develop.

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

Dong Biwu, Acting Chairman of the People's Republic of China Beijing,

December 29, 1972

**Report of a Conversation with Nguyen Thi Binh, Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam**

(December 29, 1972)

Chairman Mao told Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh: "We are one family! We, South and North Vietnam, as well as Laos, Cambodia, and North Korea, are all one family. We support each other."



## **Comments on the letter from Liu Jianzhang's family [1]**

(December 1972)

Request the Premier to deal with this [2]. Who instituted this fascist interrogation? It should be abolished.

[1] On October 20, 1972, Liu Shuqing, the wife of Liu Jianzhang, former Vice Minister of Railways, wrote to Mao Zedong, saying that Liu Jianzhang joined the Party in 1926 and was 62 years old this year. For unknown reasons, he was detained for investigation in February 1968, and it has been nearly five years since then. On June 8, 1972, the Central Special Investigation Team notified us family members to visit him in prison. We found that he was in very poor health, with a pale face and thin body, and sometimes even his speech was unclear. The prison living conditions were poor, with only three cups of water per day, and only 30 minutes of "fresh air" per day. He was also kept in the dark about major political events. The letter requested that the current investigation method be changed, that family members be allowed to visit frequently, or that Liu Jianzhang be allowed to return home to await the conclusion of the investigation and receive medical treatment.

[2] To implement the spirit of Mao Zedong's instructions, Premier Zhou Enlai of the State Council issued three instructions on December 18, 1972: 1. Send Liu Luzhang to the hospital for medical treatment on bail, and notify his family to visit him. 2. Extract the conclusion of the Liu Jianzhang case and send it to Li Xiannian and Ji Dengkui of the State Council for approval. 3. Request the Ministry of Public Security to work with the garrison to conduct another thorough review of the treatment of prisoners in Beijing prisons, as I proposed to the State Council. All "fascist interrogation methods" and abuses and beatings mentioned by Chairman Mao must be listed and abolished again, and announced in front of the prisoners. If any offenders are found, they should be punished according to law, and prisoners should be allowed to complain. Please report back when all matters are completed.

## **Comments on Wang Jiaxiang's letter [1]**

(December 1972)

May be implemented on a trial basis.

[1] Wang Jiaxiang, formerly a member of the CPC Central Committee, Secretary of the CPC Central Secretariat, and Minister of the CPC Central Committee's International Liaison Department. He was persecuted during the Cultural Revolution. On December 10, 1972, he wrote to Zhou Enlai, saying, "I would like to do a little work. Although I have been ill for a long time and my hearing is very poor, I can still use my brain for a few hours a day and my reading ability is still good. After liberation, I worked in foreign affairs for a period of time, but I am not familiar with other work departments at all. Therefore, I am writing to ask the Premier to consider my above situation in his busy schedule and whether he can assign me some foreign affairs investigation and research work." On December 18, when Zhou Enlai submitted this letter to Mao Zedong, he wrote: "I think Comrade Jiaxiang can do foreign affairs research work. If the Chairman agrees, please approve it so that I can report to the Central Committee." Mao Zedong's comments were written on the letter forwarded by Zhou Enlai. In August 1973, Wang Jiaxiang was elected as a member of the Central Committee at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

**Couplet [1] presented to Liu Xingyuan [2]**

(1972)

1

If you can conquer the enemy's heart, rebellion will naturally dissipate. Throughout history, those versed in warfare have not been bellicose.

Without discerning the situation, both leniency and severity prove misguided. Therefore, governing Shu in the future requires careful consideration.

2

To the outsider, law has no fixed form, thus revealing that law is not law at all;

When worldly affairs seem settled yet remain unresolved, why not let them be?

[1] In 1972, Liu Xingyuan, commander of the Guangzhou Military Region, was transferred to the Chengdu Military Region to clean up the mess left by the Cultural Revolution. Before leaving for Sichuan, he visited Mao Zedong in Beijing. In Zhongnanhai, Mao said to him, "Go to Sichuan! There's Prime Minister Kang Lihou in Chengdu. Remember, there's a couplet behind the second gate of the Wuhou Temple. Go and take a look. I won't say much more." Mao added, "When you get to Sichuan, first look at a couplet at the Wuhou Temple in Jianshudu. Then go to the Baoguang Temple in Xindu County to see another couplet." The couplet at the Wuhou Temple in Chengdu, Sichuan, is the first couplet in this article, and the couplet at the Baoguang Temple in Xindu County is the second couplet in this article.

[2] Liu Xingyuan (1908-1990), a native of Juxian County, Shandong Province, joined the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in 1931, the same year joining the Communist Youth League of China and the Communist Party of China. In 1934, he joined the Long March with the Central Red Army. In 1955, he was awarded the rank of Lieutenant General. He was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China at the Ninth, to the Eleventh National Congresses. He died in Beijing in 1990.

## 1972: Writings and Speeches

### Mao Zedong

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