Zhang Chunqiao in the eyes of his daughter



Translator's Preface: This interview of Zhang Weiwei was conducted by Kai Di, whose own preface follows. Please note that there are two sets of footnotes – those that accompanied the original, and those that I have added, identified as being by me as translator. There is one sentence, on housing, that was left unfinished in the original – Nick G.)

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When I went back to Shanghai to visit my family during the spring break, the only task my father assigned to me was to accompany him out for dinner. At that dinner, I met Gan Qi, the president of the Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, and Zhang Chunqiao's eldest daughter Weiwei. My father spent several years writing a biography of Zhang Chunqiao. During the writing process, he met Weiwei and learned about and saw a batch of letters Zhang Chunqiao wrote to his family in prison. In 1981, Zhang Chunqiao did not say a word during the public trial, which was shocking and puzzling. Zhang Chunqiao passed away in 2005, and the most touching thing was his silence for nearly 30 years. Therefore, these letters from prison are particularly precious.

The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press is preparing to organize and publish these letters. Gan Qi asked Weiwei to write something for the family letters as a preface or postscript. Weiwei said that it was difficult for her to start writing: for many things, she could not continue after writing a beginning. So, I suggested that maybe we could do an interview and attach it to the letter home, and expressed my willingness to undertake this task.

I don't know much about the Cultural Revolution and Zhang Chunqiao. I volunteered because I am very interested in the relationship between Zhang's father and daughter. I want to know: What kind of father is Zhang Chunqiao in his daughter's eyes? In those critical historical moments, from Zhang Chunqiao's promotion to his later public trial and imprisonment, how did his daughter experience, think, and respond?

The three weeks in Shanghai were very busy, and the interview with Weiwei could only be arranged before leaving. In her home with flowers, plants and vegetables planted on the balcony, we talked for two mornings, a total of less than six hours. Because I am not an expert in the history of the Cultural Revolution, and the time for this interview was limited, many things were only touched upon and not discussed in depth. But Weiwei was refreshing and quick-talking, which was beyond my expectation.

Perhaps because she and my father had known each other for a long time, and because she found out that we were also alumni of Fudan High School, the interview was more like a fast-talking chat. During the conversation, Weiwei was very emotional at one point, which also moved me.

Many emotions and tears are common to all human beings. I hope that this interview, together with Zhang Chunqiao's prison letters, can reflect the extremely real parent-child relationship of that era and that family. For me, listening to Weiwei talk about her father made me truly feel the meaning of "perseverance" and made me understand what it means to bear a heavy cross for an ideal.

May 25, 2015 in London	

(I) My father's self-positioning and personality

"He positioned himself as Chairman Mao's secretary, listening to Chairman Mao and helping Chairman Mao, that's all."

Q: You are Zhang Chunqiao's eldest daughter. How do you position your father? How does he position himself?

Answer: I was born on January 6, 1947, and I am 70 years old this year. I am the eldest in the family. My eldest sister is less than two years older than me, my youngest sister is five years younger than her, and my younger brother is another five years younger than my youngest sister.

My father has no personal ambition. He positioned himself as Chairman Mao's secretary, listening to Chairman Mao and helping Chairman Mao do things, that's all. So, if Hua Guofeng wanted to use him, he would continue to help him. If he didn't want to use him,

there was nothing he could do. Of course, he would not worship Hua Guofeng¹ as much as he worshipped Chairman Mao. He would give Hua Guofeng suggestions, and Hua might feel uncomfortable. Wu Dalang opened a shop and hired someone shorter than himself.² Hua certainly didn't want to listen to him.

But my father would never disrespect Hua Guofeng. This is not in line with my father's consistent organizational principles and work style. But it is impossible for him to worship Hua Guofeng from the heart.

How do I define him? I think he is a communist fighter, Chairman Mao is the flag bearer, and the flag says "Proletarian Vanguard". My father is not a flag bearer, that is something he cannot do, he is willing to be a flag bearer and a fighter of the vanguard. This is my understanding of him. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. Only with the Communist Party can the proletariat organize, awaken and fight. My father joined the Communist Party of China to be a vanguard fighter. During the Anti-Japanese War, he went from Yan'an, crossed the enemy's blockade to the enemy's rear, and did battlefield propaganda. After that, he has been working diligently and enthusiastically to publicize the party's policies, educate the people, and boost morale. After the proletariat seized power and established the Republic, how to continue on the road ahead is a new issue that every communist has to face. But there are too few people who think this way. Even fewer people want to explore this issue. Chairman Mao is such a prophet and foresighted person. I think it is the greatest happiness and honour of my father's life to be able to study and work beside Chairman Mao.

Q: Do you think he is an intellectual?

A: He was indeed a journalist. When he was young, he sold his writings for a living. Later, he also wrote a lot of articles.

I once joked with him: "What kind of intellectual are you? You only went to junior high school. You are not good at mathematics, and you have never studied physics and chemistry." He would argue: "No matter, I am still an honorary professor of Fudan University.

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¹ Hua Guofeng was appointed Premier of China by Chairman Mao following the death of Zhou Enlai. Following Mao's death, Hua became Chairman of the CCP, and within a month had arrested the Gang of Four. Deng Xiaoping was critical of Hua's failure to firmly enough switch to the capitalist road, and had him removed from his posts. He was replaced as Premier by Zhao Ziyang in September 1980, was replaced as Party Chairman by Hu Yaobang and was replaced as chairman of the Central Military Commission by Deng himself in 1981 – Trans.

² This relates to a story in the classical Chinese novel "Water Margin". Wu Dalang was a short, ugly person less than 5 feet tall. His parents died when he was a child, and he raised his brother Wu Song with hard work. He made a career of selling cooking cakes but banned anyone taller than himself from entering his store, so his business collapsed. The meaning of the phrase is that some people are jealous of the ability of others and dare not use people with a higher level of ability than themselves, for fear that people with a higher level will rob him of his job. It is used to satirize those who are cautious and do not strive to improve their abilities, but are blindly jealous of others. – Trans.

I am self-taught and have read a lot of books." In the 1950s, Fudan University did hire him as an honorary professor. He mentioned self-study in several letters.

He was a party worker and did propaganda. Therefore, his task was to educate the masses. For example, he would seriously revise the works written by some worker writers at that time. He would tell them why they should praise the working class, where the advanced nature of the proletariat is, and that these advanced natures should be expressed through literary and artistic works to educate the masses. Later, he wrote in a letter that a certain writer began to curse the Communist Party, and father couldn't understand it because the writer was a winner of the Stalin Prize. This is also why he enthusiastically assisted Jiang Qing in developing modern Peking opera and modern dance drama.

Q: Your father admires Mao Zedong so much, so how did Mao Zedong see him?

A: I also want to know this question, and I have asked many people. I want to know whether Chairman Mao has ever said anything bad about my father. The answer is that Mao never said anything bad about my father.

My feeling is that Chairman Mao should have regarded my father as a bosom friend, and Mao felt very relieved to have him around. When I was in Jiangyin, my father told me that Chairman Mao had talked to him individually many times to understand his personal and family situation. He also talked to him about the history of the struggle between the two lines in the party before the Seventh National Congress³. Including the Red Army period, how Mao was deprived of power and expelled from the party, how the three antiencirclement and suppression campaigns were fought, and how he stood aside during the fourth and fifth anti-encirclement and suppression campaigns. These are all played in TV dramas now, but at that time, cadres like my father did not know. My father later told me that Premier Zhou represented the Central Committee at that time and said that Chen Yi was very powerful at that time. He also said that Ye Jianying got the secret telegram from Zhang Guotao and they went north overnight. Ye made a great contribution. Chairman Mao also told him that the Zunyi Conference did not establish Chairman Mao's leadership position in the party, but only let him participate in military command. Chairman Mao once said: "Fortunately, Zhang Wentian listened to me."

In a letter dated December 20, 1992, my father wrote in detail about a conversation he had with Chairman Mao in Hangzhou on the second day of the first lunar month in 1958, as well as his subsequent work. My father felt that Jiang Qing was indeed very capable in literature and art. But he never helped Jiang Qing with his work, including the model operas and

³ The 7th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was convened April 23 - June 11, 1945, in Yan'an, Shaanxi. It took place near the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War during a period of uneasy truce between the Kuomintang and Communist parties, with each maintaining their headquarters in different regions of China. During the 7th National Congress, Mao Zedong delivered his April 1945 report *On the Coalition Government* – Trans.

writing "Comment on Hai Rui Dismissed from Office". He told me that Chairman Mao had told him several times: "Help Jiang Qing, helping her is helping me." Of course, Chairman Mao did not just want my father to help Jiang Qing. He also said to the staff around Jiang Qing: "Comrade Jiang Qing is in poor health and has a bad temper. You have to help me take care of her. Thank you." After Jiang Qing was elected as a member of the Politburo, Chairman Mao said to her: "You, like other members of the Politburo, cannot come to my place casually." Therefore, Jiang Qing moved to Diaoyutai, not because she had a bad relationship with the Chairman.

So I think they also made personal sacrifices for the smooth progress of the Chinese revolution. Chinese history is a very heavy process. My father really carried a cross for Chairman Mao. When I went to the Vatican in Italy and saw the picture of the crucifixion of Jesus there, I felt like history was repeating itself. My father carried such a heavy cross for his ideals. So, when I was a child, I didn't listen to him and thought he was nothing special. In the end, I really respected him.

Q: Can we say that his communist beliefs were always firm until his death?

A: Yes, he did not lose his communist beliefs right to the end. His political viewpoint was to believe that the ultimate goal and highest program of mankind was to realize communism, and the lowest program was to realize socialism. Moreover, he believed that the proletarian revolutionary cause was an international movement, not just belonging to China. On my 55th birthday, he wrote to me in a letter that communism would definitely be realized. At the end of the letter, Dad wrote: "The exploiting class and the exploiting system will always be replaced by communism. The real long live is communism, the people, and those of us who fight for communism."

So, I think we should now summarize what path we have taken? What work have we done to reach this height? These are what the participants at that time should summarize.

Q: How do you comment on your father's character? Some people say he is "cunning and sly", some people say he is "stubborn and arrogant", what do you think?

A: My father is a very straightforward person. He said: "There are newspapers in Hong Kong saying that I am cunning and sly. Strange! In fact, I am too straightforward." I think he only knows how to work and is a workaholic. Reading is work, watching movies and plays is work. There is nothing else except work. Once I saw an article saying that after Lin Biao escaped on September 13, they played cards in the Great Hall of the People. I still felt strange and asked him: "Do you also play cards?" He said: "Everyone was locked in the Great Hall, no one was allowed to go out, so we played cards. I don't know how to play cards, I only know how to compare the size of the cards." So, when he plays cards, he compares the size of the cards

⁴ Refers to the joint planning of Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan's article "Commenting on the New Historical Drama 'Hai Jui's Dismissal'".

⁵ See Zhang Chungiao's letter to Weiwei dated 31 December 2001.

with others. He doesn't know how to play, and when he is asked to exercise, he will only walk in the yard, and he likes to walk fast. In Jiangyin, as long as his body can move and it doesn't rain, he will walk fast in the yard. He insists on walking for thirty to forty minutes.

He was very disciplined. He would never say anything he shouldn't say, and would never interfere with things he shouldn't interfere with. It was also when we were in Jiangyin that we talked about my second uncle. He said that at the time, Li Na⁷ was going out to join the armed forces, and he was worried about her safety, so he got her a reporter's pass from the Liberation Army Daily, because the Liberation Army Daily had reporters' stations in various places, hoping to help her. He didn't know how Li Na later went to the Liberation Army Daily to seize power and overthrow Zhang Qiuqiao. Because it involved his brother, it was even harder to intervene. My father didn't say a word from beginning to end. My father felt that Chairman Mao said let the fire burn, so everyone could burn in the fire and undergo the test. I think about it. During the Cultural Revolution, there were people around me who encouraged me to do this and that. In other words, I don't know who was around Li Na. I learned a lot of lessons, and I was afraid of causing trouble for my father, so I "disappeared".

My father is nearsighted, and the degree of myopia in his two eyes is very different, and it is difficult to correct it with glasses. I am also nearsighted. Sometimes people see me and say hello, but I don't see them. So, some people used to say that I am arrogant or aloof, but in fact I just didn't see them. Later, I saw another friend with severe myopia saying hello to everyone, please forgive me, and then I realized that I am not the only one who has this problem. People with good eyesight can't understand it.

Q: Do you think your father is considerate?

A: My father is very considerate. He can understand others and put himself in their shoes. For example, when we lived in the Haige Building, one day, I saw the hostess across the street wearing a white gauze pyjamas. I thought she looked like Cinderella's stepmother, very vivid. At that time, I read a lot of Western literature. At that time, I wondered how she could dress like that, but I didn't dare to ask adults. Later, after arriving in Jiangyin, I talked about this with my father. When I talked about the doubts at that time, my father said: "Of course it's different. Her family is an authentic Inner Mongolian prince. She came out to revolutionize, which is a great betrayal of her family. The requirements for her are different."

There was also a family living upstairs from us. The wife also dressed up in a green and beautiful way. Her hair was a fake and tied up at the back. I also thought at that time, how

⁶ Zhang Qiuqiao, the second brother of Zhang Chunqiao, was the director of the reporter and deputy editor-inchief of the People's Liberation Army Daily.

⁷ Li Na was the only child of Mao Zedong and Jiang Qing. She was born in Yan'an in 1940 – Trans.

⁸ Located at No. 370 Huashan Road, the Haige Building was built by the German Hagrid in 1925, and became the office building of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China after the founding of the People's Republic of China, and was rebuilt into the Jing'an Hotel in Shanghai in 1977.

could she still have such beautiful hair at such an old age? Later I found out that it was a fake hair. I felt very strange and didn't dare to tell the adults. Later I talked about this with my father. My father said: "She is in the literary and artistic world. Isn't her work environment different?" So, he would consider people according to their environment. He would not make too high demands on others or let others out of the environment. He can understand others, absolutely understand.

When we lived in Gaisikang,⁹ there was an alley nearby where many celebrities lived. Zhou Xiaoyan and Yuan Xuefen lived there¹⁰. I had a classmate who could play the piano and lived there. I went to my classmate's house to play, and when I got home, I told my father about the celebrity alley. He said he knew about the alley. I asked him how he knew it. He said that sometimes when the meeting was late, he would send a car to take those celebrities back. He had a good relationship with them.

Q: But during the Cultural Revolution, these cultural figures were attacked. Is he responsible?

A: He had no choice. Some of the things that happened during the Cultural Revolution were not what he wanted. What he wanted was to "target the capitalist-roaders in the party." But some people started to target these cultural celebrities and wanted to divert the general direction of the struggle. My father could only emphasize the capitalist-roaders in the party, but many things were beyond his control, and not everyone listened to him. Some people wanted to muddy the waters as soon as possible. And in class struggle, of course someone will become a victim. No matter who it is, in order to seize power and maintain his ruling position, he must eliminate opponents. Another point, I have always believed that Chairman Mao and my father, everything they did was definitely not for their own interests.

(2). Childhood

"He would come home early in the morning every day. He would be asleep when we got up, and we could hardly touch him."

Q: Can you talk about your childhood memories? When did your family arrive in Shanghai?

A: I was born shortly after Chiang Kai-shek began to attack the liberated areas in 1947 and the troops retreated to Mapeng Village, Fuping County, Hebei Province. It was a very difficult period. After Shijiazhuang was liberated, my father was sent to Shijiazhuang to run the New Shimen Daily, 11 and my mother took me with her, and we went into the city again. The

⁹ Gaisikang Apartment, also known as Huaihai Apartment, is located at No. 1202–1218 Huaihai Middle Road, built in 1935.

¹⁰ Zhou Xiaoyan is a famous soprano singer; Yuan Xuefen is one of the "Ten Sisters of Yue Opera" and pioneered the art of the Yuan School.

¹¹ On November 18, 1947, New Shimen Daily was launched, with Zhang Chunqiao as editor-in-chief. In January 1948, Shimen was renamed Shijiazhuang, and "New Shimen Daily" was renamed "Shijiazhuang Daily".

supplies were much better. Of course, these are not my memories, I have heard them many times.

My father also recalled this period of life in a letter. 12

My earliest memory is when my family just moved to Shanghai. I was probably three years old at that time. As soon as we arrived in Shanghai, we were taken to Yan'an East Road, where my father worked, which was the former Shenbao Building. After the liberation of Shanghai, my father was sent to Shanghai to take over three newspapers. He was the military representative of the Press and Publication Department of the Military Control Commission. He worked there during the day and slept on the big desk in the former general manager's office at night. So, my earliest memory of him in Shanghai is a big desk, and he slept on it. After we arrived in Shanghai, we were assigned a house, in an alley next to Zhou Mansion on Sinan Road, the same as the house in Zhou Mansion, in a row behind it. 13 Later, my grandparents came to Shanghai to visit us and lived in the inner balcony. There was a big room inside, where my parents lived. When my mother gave birth to the third child, she lived in that room. I went there recently and it seems to be a very high-end place for dining and leisure.

As soon as I arrived in Shanghai, my parents sent me to a nursery called the Women's Federation Nursery. I was in full-time care and could only go home once a week, so I don't have much memory of my home at that time. I stayed in that nursery until I started elementary school. The nursery used the Soviet Union's educational methods. We all wore flowered skirts, tied big bows, sang Soviet songs, and danced the "Troika" dance.

My oldest sister was born in Jinan. In the second half of 1948, Jinan had been liberated. My third uncle came to Jinchaji and took me and my mother to Jinan from Shijiazhuang. ¹⁴ My grandmother and her family were quite feudal. When they saw that it was a girl, they were unwilling to help raise her, so we all returned to Shijiazhuang. Because I was in poor health when I was a child, my parents left me with them, but my oldest sister was sent to the home of a wet nurse. The wet nurse's son had just died. The wet nurse often had to sell vegetables in the vegetable market. Sometimes she took my younger sister with her, and sometimes she kept her at home. Therefore, my oldest sister's intellectual development in her early years was very poor. She was brought back to Shanghai just after she settled down. After she came back, she was sent to the full-time kindergarten of the Jiefang Daily.

Q: What was your impression of your father when you were a child?

A: My earliest impression was that my father was very busy. His hair was very long and could be tied into a pigtail. At that time, newspapers were all typed with lead type and would not

¹² See Zhang Chunqiao's letter to Weiwei, 12 December 1996.

¹³ Zhou Mansion is the former site of the Shanghai Office of the Communist Party of China, located at No. 73 Sinan Road, where Zhou Enlai lived and worked.

¹⁴ See Zhang Chunqiao's letter to Xiaomei, 22 November 1992.

be completed until almost dawn. He was the deputy editor-in-chief and editor-in-chief, and he had to review all the manuscripts before he could go home. Therefore, he would not come home until early in the morning every day. When we got up, he was sleeping, and we could hardly touch him. Moreover, he had no holidays or weekends.

When our family first moved to Shanghai, we lived in a house allocated by Xinhua News Agency on Sinan Road. Because my mother worked at Xinhua News Agency, people living upstairs and downstairs were all from Xinhua News Agency. Later, the house allocated to my father by the Liberation Daily was on Xiangshan Road, a set of rooms outside the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall. There were also people from the Liberation Daily, such as Wang Wei and Feng Gang, who lived with us.

Q: I remember when I first arrived in Shanghai as a child, the Shanghai kids would sing: "Country people, come to Shanghai, can't speak Shanghainese, eat pickles all the time." Did you also feel that Shanghainese people were more xenophobic at that time?

A: When I was in the nursery, many children were children of cadres, so I didn't feel any difference from other children. Moreover, my father was not a senior cadre, so there was nothing special about me.

We are not from Shanghai, which really makes me feel different from others. My parents originally wanted me to go to primary school a year earlier. There is a primary school next door to my house. My parents sent me to that school, but the school didn't accept me. I didn't understand why they didn't want me at the time, but later I realized that it was because everyone in the school spoke Shanghainese, which I didn't understand. The next year, when I reached the legal school age, my father sent me to the No. 1 Central Primary School in Xuhui District. The school is at the intersection of Shaanxi Road, Xiangyang Road, and Jiashan Road. We live in Luwan District, and actually going to this school is across districts, but my father likes this school very much, and the school is very happy to accept me as a student. The principal of the school is Yan Huiru, whose husband is a revolutionary martyr. After school started, my homework was very bad, and my mother was surprised, saying that my little girl was very smart, why was her homework so bad. In fact, it was because I couldn't understand Shanghainese. Most of the children were from Shanghai, so they spoke Shanghainese in class. I had no idea what the teacher was saying in class. I also didn't know why I couldn't understand the words.

The First Central Primary School was far from my home, and I went to school and came home by myself every day, with no one to pick me up. I studied at the First Central Primary School for one year, and then I transferred to another school because my father's job changed again and we moved.

Q: What changes did your father's work undergo in 1955?

A: Dad became the editor-in-chief of the Liberation Daily in October 1951. In 1955, he left the Liberation Daily and was transferred to the Municipal Party Committee Propaganda Department. Now I have read some materials and learned that when my father worked at the Liberation Daily, he published too many mass opinions and letters from the people, and Chen Yi did not like him. Later, I talked about this with my father, and he said that Pan Hannian personally talked to him at that time, and Pan Hannian told him that Chen Yi said that we should not let others think that we cannot tolerate others at all. Because my father was transferred from the Eighth Route Army, he was not from the New Fourth Army system. I asked my father, do you still know Pan Hannian? Dad looked at me and replied, "Of course."

But at that time, we didn't know anything. We only knew that my father had been transferred from the Liberation Daily, so we could no longer live in the newspaper's house, so we moved to the Haige Building, No. 33 Yan'an West Road, which is now the Jing'an Hotel. At that time, it was where the ministerial-level cadres of the Municipal Party Committee lived. After the move, the original school was too far away from home, so from the second grade, I transferred to the First Normal School Affiliated Primary School, which was the First Normal School Affiliated Primary School affiliated Primary School used Mandarin for teaching, so my homework became better.

Q: Your father no longer ran a newspaper. Was his work and rest schedule normal? Could you see him more often?

A: Dad still came home in the middle of the night and went to bed in the morning. We didn't see him. At that time, it felt like there were no adults at home. My mother had gone to study at the Party School in Beijing. There was only an aunt at home who cooked for us every day. My father was in charge of publishing in the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, ¹⁷ so there were many books and comic books ¹⁸ at home. They were all sent to him for review. There was no furniture in our living room. It was probably the same for all cadres' families at that

¹⁵ Chen Yi (1901 – 1972) was a Chinese communist military commander and politician. He served as Mayor of Shanghai from 1949 to 1958 and as Foreign Minister of China from 1958 to 1972. He is one of Ten Marshals of the People's Republic of China. During the Cultural Revolution, Chen was one of the most vocal leaders in the February Countercurrent, which criticized the Cultural Revolution for creating social disorder and undermining China's leadership. As a result, he was required to request a leave of absence and undertake self-criticism, but he was never dismissed, so Zhou Enlai performed the duties of foreign minister in his place. After Lin Biao's death in 1971, he was restored to favour, although not to his former power. Mao Zedong attended Chen's funeral in 1972. This was Mao's last public appearance and his first appearance at anyone's funeral during the Cultural Revolution – Trans.

¹⁶ Pan Hannian (1906 – 1977) was a major figure in the Chinese Communist intelligence by the early 1930s, and worked for a time in Shanghai and Hong Kong. He took part in the Long March, and was made a Deputy Mayor of Shanghai in 1949. In 1955, he disclosed that he had been forced to meet with Japanese puppet Wang Jingwei, as a result of which he was imprisoned until his death in 1977 – Trans.

¹⁷ From 1955 to 1957, Zhang Chunqiao served as director of the Literary and Art Department of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China and a member of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee.

¹⁸ Not to be confused with Western comics, these were often illustrated stories of traditional novels and historical romances published in that format because for many centuries most Chinese were illiterate – Trans

time. It was very simple. The furniture was the most basic things provided by the government. Two long benches and a palm mat made a bed. The aunt took care of us children. During the winter and summer vacations, the floor of our house was full of children from various families. They all came to my house to read comic books. People often borrowed or took them away, so eventually there were no more.

I also played in the big yard and climbed trees. I was very good at climbing trees. There were many big camphor trees in the yard. The branches became thinner as I climbed up. But I could climb up along the thin branches until I reached the top and stuck my head out from the leaves. No one cared about me at that time. I was like a wild child who was free to fend for myself, but I had a strong vitality. Once I broke my leg. It happened to be summer, and there was a swimming pool in the yard. I went to the swimming pool to wash it. But the wound rotted later. It was very deep. It took several days for my father to find it and take me to the infirmary to change the dressing. So I still have a deep scar. I was only in the second or third grade at that time, about nine years old.

Q: As you grow older, your memory of your father will be more profound, right?

A: When I was in elementary school, I really didn't have any impression of him. The deepest impression of him was when we celebrated our birthdays. He always attached great importance to our birthdays. On our birthdays, he would take us out to buy food and go to the Harbin Food Factory on Huaihai Road to buy chocolate. That was the happiest time. Another impression is when he went to Beijing for a meeting, because every time he came back from Beijing, he would always bring us shrimp cakes and fruit leather to eat. So, at that time, our impression of Beijing was shrimp cakes and fruit leather. In addition, when walnuts were on the market, he would also take us out to buy walnuts. That is, go to the store opposite my house to buy a big bag of walnuts, the kind with shells, and then the children in our family would use the door to crack the walnuts and eat them. Imagine such a high-end door, being used by us to crack walnuts. These memories seem to be related to food.

Q: You didn't live in Haige Building for a long time, did you? Were you going to transfer to another school?

A: Yes, we lived in Haige Building for more than a year. Later, it became the office building of the Municipal Party Committee, so we moved to Gaisikang Apartment, which is on Huaihai Road, opposite the Conservatory of Music. It is now called Huaihai Apartment. It is also where the families of the ministers of the Municipal Party Committee live, and Ruihua Apartment is where the families of the directors live. ¹⁹ When I moved to Gaisikang, I had to transfer to another school. The original school was too far away, and we had to walk to school by ourselves in the morning. So in the fourth grade, I transferred back to the First

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¹⁹ Ruihua Apartment is located at the southeast corner of the intersection of Changshu Road and Yanqing Road.

Central Primary School of Xuhui District. Fortunately, the teachers there also started to speak Mandarin.

My older sister and I were in the same school, but she was also very independent and did not go to school with me. She had her friends, and I had my friends. We all walked with our classmates and managed ourselves.

We were still very naughty. We would jump down from the building with an umbrella. We did all these things. I thought I was quite different at that time. The most memorable time for me was when I went to school with a white bow on my head, which was a Russian custom. My classmates asked me if someone in my family had died. I said no, so why did you say someone in my family had died? They asked me why I was wearing a white bow. I then learned that only people who had died in their family would wear white decorations on their heads. This left a deep impression on me. Our family's economic conditions were not bad at that time. My mother had a high salary and my father had royalties. Because our family's cloth coupons were all handed in, my mother liked to buy large Russian tablecloths as bed sheets. I also wore Russian embroidered clothes, which did not require cloth coupons. I wore very flowery clothes, which was also different from others, but I didn't care much about what others said about me.

Q: How did the teacher treat you?

A: The teacher probably thought I was different. When I was in the fourth grade, I was elected as a team member and a labour member. During the general cleaning, I had to follow the teacher to check. I don't know if it was because of my father. There is another strange thing that I still don't understand. I think the teacher deliberately gave me some difficult questions to solve. It was also when I was in the fourth grade, about eleven years old. The teacher gave me a meeting notice and asked me to go to the Youth Palace alone for a meeting. I didn't know the place at all, but I didn't dare not go. I took the meeting notice and couldn't ask my parents because I couldn't see my parents, so I went by myself. I took the tram, which clanged all the way. After searching and going around, I really found the Youth Palace. I went in and saw that it was full of adults. I didn't know what the meeting was about, and I couldn't understand what I was listening to. I didn't know what I should do, so I left. After I got out, I was lost in the direction, and I didn't know which bus to take or which direction to go. I only knew it was a tram, so I got on one. I rode for a while, and it got dark. The bus arrived at a place I didn't recognize at all. It was actually Shiliupu, which was a mess at that time. After I got off, I didn't know the way and had no money, so I had to call a tricycle. I said, "Uncle, take me to Huaihai Road." He took me to the Gaisikang Building. Now there is a high-end clothing store under that building, but it was a barber shop at that time. We usually get our hair cut there, so the people in the barber shop knew me. The shop was closed, so I went to the door to borrow money. The barber lent me fifty cents and asked me to pay the tricycle driver. After that, I quickly ran upstairs and knocked on the door. My father was at home that day and asked me why I came home so late and where I had been.

They hadn't noticed that I was not at home yet, and they hadn't thought of going out to look for me. After listening to my experience, he was shocked. He said, "The social order is really good. They didn't kidnap you." Hurry up and ask the aunt to return the money to the barber shop. The adults said that you are a very brave child. I really didn't panic at the time, and I wasn't afraid. Maybe I was really brave. Anyway, I came back in the end. Until now, people in my family often talk about it. I still don't understand why the school sent me there like this. But my parents didn't blame the school at the time.

Q: When you were in the fifth grade, the Great Leap Forward should have started, right?

A: Yes, when the Great Leap Forward just started, we still lived in Gaisikang Apartment, where we were smelting steel, eliminating the four pests, killing rats, and chasing away sparrows. I remember that we even went to the 12th floor of Gaisikang to beat gongs to chase away sparrows, and we wanted to tire them to death. I was still studying in the first half of the fifth grade at the No. 1 Central Primary School in Xuhui District, and in the second half, we moved to Dongmiao Village No. 2.²⁰ At that time, Ke Qingshi wanted cadres to get along with workers, so we all moved to Dongmiao Village No. 2. On this side were the city leaders, and on the other side were the workers' families. The so-called workers were actually grassroots cadres in the factory. At that time, a new primary school was built in Dongmiao Village No. 2. There were many children of cadres in the classes of this primary school.

Q: Did the children of workers and cadres get along well in Dongmiao School? Could you communicate?

A: Most of the kids I was close to were from intellectual and cadre families. The children of cadres are different from the children of workers. Classes were very lively, and the principal often stood at the door of the classroom. My father told me to learn more from the children of workers and to make more friends with them. But there was a gap. For example, the families of cadres from the municipal party committee lived in two or three houses, and our family lived in two houses. The workers' families live in one house, and two or three families lived in one house. The Gaisikang apartment where we used to live had waxed floors, while the Dongmiao Village No. 2 had painted floors; the houses in Gasikang had cast iron bathtubs, while the Dongmiao had terrazzo bathtubs. In comparison, the houses in Dongmiao were so broken and simple. For the families of cadres, they used to have hot water supply, but now they had to boil water by themselves, and the hot water would cool down immediately when poured into the terrazzo bathtub. So, they felt that they had lowered their status. But for the workers, their homes were empty before, and moving here

²⁰ In 1958, Ke Qingshi, the first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, ordered the construction of Dong'an (Dongmiao) New Village in the southern suburbs, with the first village as a workers' residence and the second village as a cadre's residence. In 1959, Ke led all the leaders of the East China Bureau and the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee to move in. In 1960, Ke and others moved out and moved into the dormitory of the Kangping Road Municipal Party Committee.

was like heaven. At this point, I felt that people's lives were so different. I wanted to get close to them, hoping to blend in, but the result was not necessarily what I wanted, and integration was still difficult.

Q: How long did you live in Dongmiao Village 2?

A: I lived there for a year. Later, Ke Qingshi's actions were criticized by Zhou Enlai, who asked if we were going to move out of Zhongnanhai. So, we all moved back to the city. This time, we moved to Aitang on Kangping Road.²¹ At that time, I was in the sixth grade of elementary school.

(3) Meeting Chairman Mao Twice

"At that time, I felt that he was a great man, so tall, his hands were so big, so warm, that was the feeling, excited, happy."

Q: Which junior high school did you go to? How was your relationship with your father?

Answer: I went to No. 51 Middle School, also known as Weiyu Middle School, at Fuxing Road and Xiangyang Road, very close to my kindergarten. I lived at home during junior high school. My mother was very busy. After returning from the Party School, she went to the Municipal Party Committee Office to help leading cadres write articles. She was very busy and rarely took care of family affairs. During this period, I had more contact with my father and communicated a lot. We often talked about various topics. I would talk to my father about school. I felt that some of my classmates didn't like me. I couldn't figure it out, so I asked him: "Do some of your colleagues who work with you also dislike you?" He said of course, and he said to me: "Then you should check from two aspects. One is whether what they said is right. If they are right, then you should correct it. If they are wrong, then you can also demand more strictly of yourself because of it." He told me that this is "correct it if there is any, and encourage it if there is none", "the speaker is not guilty, but the listener should be warned". These two sentences are also my standards for being a person in the future. No matter what others say about me in the future, I will try my best to "the speaker is not guilty, but the listener should be warned". This is what my father taught me at that time.

I also realized that some of your things are impossible for others to understand, because they don't have that situation, don't have that existence, and can't have that consciousness, it must be like this. This is the materialistic way of thinking. So, in the future, with such ups and downs in life, I can be very open-minded and I don't care. My open-mindedness is not what others say, that you need to rely on Zen or Buddhist scriptures to be open-minded. If you can understand the essence of things, you can let go. The essence is: why do you want others to understand you?

²¹ Aitang Apartment, No. 165 Kangping Road, is the seat of the General Office of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee.

Cultural life was quite rich at that time. We often showed movies in our small auditorium, during holidays or weekends, so I watched many movies, and more than once. I also like reading very much. I read a lot of books at that time. I don't like classical novels such as "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" and "Investiture of the Gods". Apart from these novels, I like to read everything. There are a lot of books in our house because my father is in charge of publishing and has many books as gifts. Chinese works include "Red Sun", "Red Flag", "Song of Youth", etc. There are also a group of books by Russian writers, "Resurrection", "The Course of Suffering", Dostoyevsky's books, and American novels, "Sister Carrie", "Girl Jane", "Genius", and books about the early struggles of the bourgeoisie. I read them all. I especially like Maupassant's novels, such as "Thermae" and "Life". His books can still make me think and influence me, making me see life very clearly and indifferently. Speaking of the impermanence of life, Maupassant wrote so deeply. At that time, we also had all the literary journals at home, such as "People's Literature" and "Harvest", etc. I would read them word for word.

Q: Does your father also like reading? Do you often exchange your reading experience?

A: My father is very busy at work and he has no time to read novels. I will ask him what he thinks of the author or the book. I remember that when I got Ba Jin's "Fog, Rain, Lightning" trilogy, I was very excited because I admired Ba Jin very much. But after reading this trilogy, I was quite disappointed. I felt that the young people he wrote about did not take the road of revolution. So I said to my father that Ba Jin did not seem to be a proletarian revolutionary fighter. My father looked at me and could not say anything. Later, he introduced to me the meaning of the pen name Ba Jin.²² My father had a lot of contacts with Ba Jin at that time. Later, he really felt that Ba Jin was a representative of the bourgeoisie, and he later hated model operas.

Q: In a letter, your father patiently taught his grandson how to write a good composition.²³ Did your father teach you when you were in school?

A: Yes, my father would often talk to me about how to write a good composition. In school, everyone recognized that I wrote well, was very good at writing, and was very good at association. My composition was often used as a model by the teacher. But I don't like what my father wrote. Our junior high school Chinese textbook used the teaching reform textbook. Among them, there was an article by my father in the "Increase Reading" content, which was about the Eighth Company on Nanjing Road, an essay, which I didn't like.²⁴ I don't like essays, and I don't like Lu Xun's essays in the textbook. Like the human blood steamed bun in "Medicine", I felt uncomfortable when I read it. I was very attentive to reading. Later,

²² Ba Jin's original name was Li Fugan, and when he was young, he admired the Russian anarchists Bakunin and Kropotkin, and took one word from each of them as a pen name.

²³ See Zhang Chunqiao's letter to his second grandson, 22 July 1992.

²⁴ That is, "Praise "Nanjing Road Good Eight Companies", which was later included in Zhang Chunqiao's anthology "Longhua Collection".

as I grew older and gained more experience, I understood Lu Xun. People who have not experienced suffering will not understand.

Q: In addition to reading and watching movies, did you have other activities? Did your father take you out to play?

A: My father often took me to watch dramas. Watching dramas was his job. My father was in charge of a wide range of areas at that time. In addition to publishing, he was also in charge of literature and art. Therefore, he always had two tickets for the theatre. I don't like Peking Opera very much and I don't understand it, but I like watching dramas. I have watched the dramas rehearsed by the People's Art Theatre many times. Because they have to be reviewed again and again, my father always asked me to go with him.

It was also when I went to see a play that I met Chairman Mao. I was fourteen years old, in the second year of junior high school. They had just finished a meeting in Hangzhou, and Chairman Mao came to Shanghai to invite the leaders of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee to watch a play. Many people brought their children to watch the Peking Opera "Fishing and Killing the Family". I sat in the row behind Chairman Mao, and Jiang Qing sat next to him. I couldn't understand what was being sung on the stage, and my eyes were fixed on Chairman Mao, who kept beating the drums with his hands on his legs.

After meeting Chairman Mao, I felt that I must join the League, ²⁵ so I went to talk to the teacher and wrote a report to join the League. I also felt that I must work hard, study hard, be strict with myself, be a good student, and never whisper in class again. Soon, I joined the League, and I was wearing a red scarf and a League badge on my chest. I was very happy. At that time, I was really carefree.

Q: Did you enter Fudan High School in high school?

A: There was a movie called "Spark of Life" at that time, which was about the Xinjiang Construction Corps. After watching it, when I graduated from junior high school, I wanted to go to Xinjiang. I thought I couldn't just talk and not do anything. I wanted to go to the frontier and go to a difficult place immediately. At that time, I probably had some rebellious thoughts about my family, I guess during adolescence. I didn't listen to what my parents said, but I did listen to what my teachers said. My dad also said, "You kid, why don't you listen to us, but only listen to what the teacher says? Don't you know that the teacher also listens to us?" I was very dissatisfied in my heart. Why should the teacher listen to you?

I insisted on going to Xinjiang, and I didn't listen to my parents' persuasion. Later, the secretary of the Municipal Youth League Committee came to talk to me. He told me that you must first learn skills well before you can build the motherland. He said, you have to go to

²⁵ The Communist Youth League was a mass organisation for young people aged 14-28 – Trans.

Xinjiang now, Xinjiang doesn't want you yet. So, I gave up the idea of going to Xinjiang. Now think about it, I wanted to go to Xinjiang at that time, maybe because I wanted to get away from my family, didn't want to live under the influence of my parents, and wanted to be myself.

I didn't make it to Xinjiang, so when I was in high school, I was determined to live in the school and leave home. Fudan High School had just started to recruit students from outside, and I became one of the first students. Yang Xiguang lived next door to us, and he came to talk to me and told me, "Living in the school is very hard." I was secretly happy, because I wanted to go to a hard place. Fudan High School at that time was not like the current high school, and there was no playground. The current playground was a grassland at that time, with grass everywhere. We had to pull weeds and repair the playground, carry soil, lay soil, lay cinder bricks, and pull a big stone roller. It was all heavy physical work, so we built the big playground. My shoulders hurt so much, but I was very happy and felt very proud, which is something that children today cannot understand. We lived in an old barracks left by the Japanese, four people in a room, the room was very small, and there was room for two bunk beds. I consciously chose the upper bunk. It was a wooden bed with many bedbugs. I stayed in the high school for a total of five years, three of which were living in the school, and two years during the Cultural Revolution when I went home to live. I went in 1963 and came out in 1968. When I was in the Affiliated High School, my homework was always good, and I didn't have to work too hard. In my senior year, I became the president of the Affiliated High School Student Union, and I had to take care of many things. I went home every Saturday, but it was always very late when I got home, and I usually didn't bring my schoolbag home. As soon as I got home, I would look for new books. Even when my eyes were tired in the middle of the night, I would still read. After lunch the next day, I went back to school to do my homework. At that time, I rarely met my parents and didn't communicate much.

Q: When you were in high school, the Cultural Revolution had already begun, right? Did you know that your father had joined the Central Cultural Revolution Group?

A: When the Cultural Revolution began, I was still in the Affiliated High School, in the third year of high school, 18 years old. At that time, I had already joined the Party. One day, we were looking at the big-character posters posted in the school, and a classmate suddenly shouted at me: "Look, look, there's your father, your father!" Only then did I see that the big-character poster said that my father was the deputy leader of the Central Cultural Revolution Group. I had no idea what was going on. That was also the first time I knew that my father was involved in the Central Cultural Revolution Group, but I didn't know the extent of his involvement. Later, Wang Lin, the party secretary of Fudan University, called me to his office and asked me what I knew. I said I really didn't know anything.

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²⁶ Yang Xiguang, then Secretary of the Party Committee of Fudan University.

I know that my father helped with the model operas. I remember one time when I came home, I saw him borrow a phonograph and a black record, listening to it. He said he had to first understand the singing styles of Xipi and Erhuang. He also asked me, "Do you understand?" I said I didn't.

The piano I played was Western. There was also the criticism of "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office". I saw Chen Pixian and my father walking around in the yard, talking about something very mysterious. Later, they criticized "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office".²⁷

Q: How did you get involved in the Cultural Revolution? What was the story of going to Beijing to find your father?

A: After the Cultural Revolution began, the Red Guards student organization was established in Beijing. We also set up a combat team in school called the "Red Flag Company", and the leaders were basically the children of military cadres. They started writing big-character posters and criticizing, and they all said that I was the instructor of the "Red Flag Company". The teachers didn't care about anything, and I had to take charge of many things in the school, including the parade to the Cultural Square, which was indeed organized by me. At night, I also had to organize classmates to work the night shift, guard the school, and patrol back and forth on the playground. Every day, I had to cook a big pot of soaked rice and make some pickled mustard for the students on duty at night.

In August 1966, my classmate Zhang OO in the attached middle school encouraged me to go to Beijing because Chairman Mao had just received the Red Guards at the Tiananmen Gate Tower in Beijing on August 18. Zhang OO was the son of Tao Yong, the commander of the East China Sea Fleet. His original name was Tao Zhu. Because he had the same name as the famous Tao Zhu, he changed his name to Zhang OO. Tao Yong's original surname was Zhang. One night, August 25 or 26, Zhang OO came to me at school and said, "Come to my house, let's go to Beijing together." At that time, all the boys liked to play with me. I was a bit like a tomboy, and no one treated me as a girl. At that time, I had never been to Beijing before, and I must be very happy to be able to go to Beijing. So, I went with him.

My dad was in Beijing at that time, but I didn't know where he was. I didn't contact my dad in advance, so I took a military plane with Zhang oo and flew from Shanghai. It was my first time to take a plane, and I didn't expect it to be a military plane. There were not many people on the plane, and it flew low, so I could see the beautiful mountains and rivers of the motherland below. It was the first time I saw the beautiful mountains and rivers, and it was also my first time to go to Beijing, so I was very excited. After getting off at Nanyuan Airport, a military car took us to the Navy compound. I looked around and saw that the Navy compound was full of big-character posters. I secretly took a few glances and saw that the

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²⁷ Chen Pixian, then first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and secretary of the Secretariat of the East China Bureau.

big-character posters said "Su Zhenhua drank the blood of soldiers" and so on. I was really shocked. How could there be such big-character posters? At that time, the internal contradictions and struggles had already burned very fiercely. We outsiders had no idea what was going on.

Zhang 00 asked me if I knew where my father was. I really didn't know. We stayed at the home of a deputy commander or chief of staff of the Beijing Military Region, whose surname was Zhang. Anyway, we had nowhere to go and didn't know where to stay, so we went to his home. His home was in an alley under the city wall next to Xizhimen. I remember that the car drove a long way. The alley was very deep and there was a large courtyard inside. His home was also very simple, a typical cadre family, and there were several jujube trees in the courtyard.

The next day, we said we would go to Tiananmen Square to take a look. Anyway, we didn't know where else to go. There was a reception station for the Central Cultural Revolution in Tiananmen Square, so we went up. The person in charge of the reception station saw a few children running over and asked us what we were doing. One of my classmates said, "She is from Shanghai. She is Zhang Chunqiao's daughter and is looking for her father." Of course, no one believed us, so they ignored us.

We went back to the Zhang family, but they looked at us strangely, and we couldn't stay there forever. I remembered that I knew Yang Yongzhi's daughter Yang OO.³⁰

She was one year older than me and was studying at Beijing International Studies University at the time. I decided to go find her.

I didn't know if she was in school, but I still took the bus to No. 2 Foreign Language School by myself. I thought, I'll ask around when I get there. She was a rebel in the school, and she was quite famous, so I found her quickly. I asked her, "Do you have a way to find my father?" She said she seemed to have heard that the Cultural Revolution Working Group was staying at the State Guesthouse. There was a State Guesthouse on College Road, at the back door of the Aviation College. We went to the State Guesthouse and asked, "Is the Central Cultural Revolution Working Group here?" They looked at us and said, "What working group? How can there be one?" and sent us away. We were at our wits' end again, and Yang Oo suddenly

²⁸ Su Zhenhua (1912 - 1979), was a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, the first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, the secretary of the Guizhou Provincial CPC Committee, and the first political commissar of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Navy. During the "Cultural Revolution", Su Zhenhua was declared a "three-anti element" and "Deng Xiaoping's time bomb in the navy". In May 1972, Su Zhenhua returned to serve as the first deputy commander of the Navy, and in March 1973, he was reappointed as the first political commissar of the Navy. After the smashing of the Gang of Four, he became the main supporter of Hua Guofeng within the armed forces. In August 1977, he was elected as a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. He died suddenly in Beijing on February 7, 1979 – Trans.

²⁹ The "surname Zhang" is Tao Yong's subordinate Zhang Yunlong, deputy chief of staff and deputy commander of the Beijing Military Region.

³⁰ Yang Yongzhi, then head of the Propaganda Department of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee.

remembered that there was also a State Guesthouse at Diaoyutai. We took the bus to Baishiqiao, the north gate of Diaoyutai. When we got there, we said we were looking for the Central Cultural Revolution Group. They asked us who we were looking for, and I said, "Looking for Zhang Chunqiao. I'm from Shanghai, and I'm his daughter." I was chubby at that time, and I didn't look like him. They looked at us, didn't believe it, but they didn't dare not to believe it, so they simply ignored us. No one paid attention to us, and we didn't leave, because we really had nowhere to go. We stayed there and waited for a long time. They looked at us and didn't think we were scammers, so someone came out and asked more specific questions.

Then the report was submitted. Of course, the report had to be submitted level by level, and each level had to decide whether to report it to the higher level. If the blame was passed down, it would be a loss of their official hat. After half an hour, they let me in. Yang oo couldn't go in, but I said she wanted to go in too, she and I were good friends, my father knew her, etc. I had to drag her in, but they were ruthless and didn't let her in. I could only say goodbye to her.

I went in from the north gate alone, and I couldn't figure out the direction. I came to a building. My father and his friends happened to come down to have snacks, and I saw him. My father asked, "Why are you here?" I told him what happened, and I felt that I was quite capable. He asked me if I had eaten, and I said no, I seemed to have not eaten for a few days. They made me food. He told me not to look for the children in the army anymore, and he already knew that the situation in the army was quite complicated. This time I listened to him and didn't go back to look for Zhang oo and his friends. I said I heard that Chairman Mao would meet with the Red Guards again on August 31, and I wanted to meet Chairman Mao. Dad said, "How could you go to Tiananmen Square?"

Q: Did you meet Chairman Mao this time?

A: When I met Chairman Mao in Shanghai when I was fourteen, I didn't shake his hand, which was very regretful.

At that time, I felt that it was not good to rely on my father to meet Chairman Mao. I always thought that it would be best if I could become a model worker and be received by Chairman Mao. I always hoped that there would be such a day. So, when Chairman Mao met the Red Guards, I was looking forward to going to the Tiananmen Tower and shaking his hand. But my father said that, and I was helpless. I knew that my father would definitely not take me up, and I didn't dare to have any hope. I knew that it was impossible to rely on my father. I could also go to the square with other people, but then I would definitely not be able to shake hands.

On August 31, I went to the Tiananmen Gate Tower. At that time, Xie Fuzhi³¹ was the secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee. Someone reported to him that Zhang Chunqiao's daughter had come from Shanghai. He went to ask my father if it was true. My father said, "Yes, she has come and has found me." Xie Fuzhi took me to his place and had dinner at his house. He also said, "I specially added a dish because you are here today." His children were not at home, and his daughter was studying at Harbin Institute of Technology. He asked me to write a speech because Chairman Mao was going to meet the Red Guards for the second time. He asked me to speak on behalf of the Red Guards in Shanghai. I felt that I was not qualified to be the representative and I could not speak. I was quite sure of this. He said it was okay, and I said I absolutely could not. He said okay, I will take you to Tiananmen Square. He took me up, and I shook hands with Chairman Mao.

It was so exciting and happy. Many people surrounded him, all vying to shake his hand. There was no time to say anything more, but I still told Chairman Mao that I was from Shanghai.

At that time, I felt that he was a great man, so tall, his hands were so big, so warm, that was the feeling, excited, happy. When I shook hands with Chairman Mao on the tower, my father was there too, and he saw me. I also saw Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and Tao Zhu.

I met Chairman Mao, shook his hand, and my father didn't have time to take care of me anyway, so I prepared to go back to Shanghai. At that time, you didn't need a ticket to take the train, but the train was very crowded, and I almost stood all the way back to Shanghai.

Q: Did you think your father was a big shot at that time?

A: I never thought about it that way. My father was just a staff member. He was on the Tiananmen Gate Tower, but his identity was a staff member. I didn't think he was a big shot at all. Dad is just Dad. I never thought he was anything special.

(4) Kangping Road Incident

"How did the relationship between my father and the Shanghai Municipal Committee break down? Who abandoned whom first? How did the team selection work? In fact, it was the Shanghai Municipal Committee that threw us out."

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³¹ Xie Fuzhi (1909 –1972) was a Chinese Communist Party military commander, political commissar, and national security specialist. He was Minister of Public Security from 1959 to 1972. He was a member of the Cultural Revolution Group, and in 1967 was elected Chair of the Beijing Revolutionary Committee. Following the Wuhan Incident in July 1967, when he was detained by a right-wing Red Guard organisation, he returned to Beijing and distributed arms to left-wing Red Guard factions, including the supply of 500 rifles to the Jinggangshan Commune of Beijing's Teacher's University. After the smashing of the Gang of Four in 1976.the revisionists declared him posthumously to be an "anti-Party element" and had his ashes removed from the Babaoshan Revolutionary Cemetery – Trans.

Q: What happened after you came back from Beijing? In September 1966, the Shanghai Red Guard Headquarters was established, right?

A: In early September, I returned to Shanghai from Beijing. I should have graduated from high school. I graduated in 1966. At that time, Shanghai had already begun to be in chaos, and many students from Beijing came to make trouble. There were huge crowds of people at the gate of No. 33 Yan'an West Road.

One day, Wei oo, the son of Wei Wenbo, the secretary of the East China Bureau, suddenly came to me and said to me: "Zhang Weiwei, we are going to establish the Shanghai Red Guard Headquarters. I have looked around the school and your Red Flag Company is the purest. It best meets our requirements, so we want you to join."

Wei oo and I were classmates in Dongmiao Village No. 2 Primary School, and later we went to Fudan High School. We didn't talk much when we met in school. He suddenly came to me and scared me. He said that Shanghai was going to establish a Red Guard organization and asked me to go, so I went with him to the building at No. 200 Renmin Avenue.³²

Most of the members of the Shanghai Red Guards Preparatory Group were children of cadres from Nanyang Model Middle School, including Liao O, son of Liao Zhengguo, commander of the Shanghai Garrison District, Han OO, son of Han Zheyi, secretary of the East China Bureau, and Wei OO, son of Wei Wenbo. They were the main ones. Then they found students from Fudan High School, Shanghai High School, Jiaotong University High School, Songjiang No. 2 Middle School, etc. to participate.

Everyone lived in a relatively concentrated area, and they were all children of cadres living in Lane 265 and Lane 100 of Kangping Road. People from Fudan High School wanted to make me the political commissar of the "Shanghai Red Guards Headquarters" because I was a party member. But there were many people who wanted to be the political commissar among these people. I didn't want to be the political commissar. I just went there to watch the excitement.

The Shanghai Garrison District supported the preparation of the Red Guards and gave them several motorcycles. The coolest time was when I went to Xinzhuang. Xinzhuang established the Red Guards Headquarters, and I sat in the pocket of the motorcycle. That was the only time I rode a motorcycle and drove there to attend a meeting. There was a canteen for meals, and the security personnel in the garrison area helped you serve rice and dishes.

Zhang 00 also participated and held a position in the Red Guard headquarters. Then there were fights in society, such as destroying the four olds and cutting trouser legs. The Public Security Bureau gave Zhang 00 a list and asked him to take people to search houses, and I

³² That is, the office building of the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress, which is now the People's Building, the seat of the Shanghai Municipal Government.

went with him. So, I was ordered to search houses. The people on the list were all in garden houses³³, and the Public Security Bureau asked us to check whether they had guns or radios. So, I went to these people's houses to search boxes and cabinets, smash walls and tiles. I really did it, but it was only that one time, and the Public Security Bureau asked us to go. How did we know what to destroy of the four olds?³⁴ We did find a KMT letter of appointment behind a family's photo frame.

One night, a group of Red Guards pulled a man in from outside and beat someone downstairs, so I ran downstairs to see. I only heard that the man was a hooligan and someone was beating him. That night when I returned home, or maybe it was the next morning, my father called from Beijing and asked "Did you beat someone in Shanghai?" Someone had already gone to complain that I beat someone in Shanghai. I said, "No, I saw them beating people, how could I beat someone myself?" "Get out of here!" He said sternly. I realized that the matter was quite serious, and the next morning, I told them that I wanted to quit.

It was probably the night I quit the party. Liang OO, the daughter of Liang Guobin, the municipal party secretary, was also there. She was from Nanyang Model Middle School. She went home with me. Our homes were very close. In the evening, Liang OO said that her father wanted to see me, so I followed her to see Liang Guobin. He asked, "What did your father tell you? Why didn't you join the Red Guards?" I said that they said I beat people, but I didn't, so my father asked me to quit.

Q: Your father wanted you to withdraw and didn't want you to continue to join the Red Guards. Was he trying to protect you?

A: He probably wanted to protect me, but the most important thing was that he didn't want me to cause trouble for the Central Cultural Revolution Group and Chairman Mao.

After I withdrew, Wei OO also withdrew. At that time, the big linking-up³⁵ had already begun, so we went together. We wore red armbands and went to the train station. Anyway, we didn't need tickets, so we went to whichever train was empty. The first time we went out to link-up, there was a girl from the Fuzhou Military Region, a girl from Shanghai Middle School, and two boys. There were six of us in total. We went to Fuzhou together, and then to Guilin. We didn't have any money, but we didn't have to pay for food and transportation anywhere. We just went to play, and also went to the university to read the big-character posters. We wandered around for two weeks and then returned to Shanghai.

³³ Garden house: In Shanghai, the Garden House used to refer to a detached bungalow or a two- or three-story building with a garden lawn and garage. Each garden house was equipped with a garden, and this foreign architectural style residence is called a garden house – Trans.

³⁴ The Four Olds were 'old ideas', 'old culture', 'old customs', and 'old habits'.

³⁵ Between September 1966 and march 1967, students were encouraged to go to Beijing and other places to "link-up" with each other, share experiences and promote the Cultural Revolution. All train fares for "linking-up" were free, and food and accommodation were provided – Trans.

After the first reaction to the link-up, I returned to school and the rebels came to talk to me, saying that I was a free-spirited person and why didn't I actively participate in the revolution. I thought we had a good talk and we even shook hands after the talk. But when I went out, I saw a big-character poster about me. It was really strange. I couldn't figure out what I said was wrong. So, I didn't want to go to school anymore. When I got home, there were still many books at home, so I read them by myself and really felt that I was free and happy. Dad didn't care that there were fewer books given away after the publication, but he used his own royalties to buy many books. At that time, I read the complete works of Shen Yanbing, ³⁶ as well as books like "Red Flag Flying" and "Sparks Spreading Across the Prairie".

Around October, the group of us who had gone out together went out for the second time to join the movement. We first went to Hangzhou and stayed at the home of the Propaganda Minister of the Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee. His children had all left, and the house was empty. After we stayed at his house for two days, they took us to Yunxi. I went to Yunxi a while ago and saw that it was different. At that time, it was just a forest and mountain. There was a production team of the army there, growing tea and other things. There was also half a cave there. We lived in it, helped them write Chairman Mao's quotations, and then played in the mountains. After living there for a week, they took us to Qiaosi Farm, which was a labor reform farm. The labor reform prisoners had all been transferred to Jinhua. The entire labor reform farm was empty, except for a few people who stayed behind, and there were a few stray dogs. We went to grow broad beans and bought a bundle of sugar cane for 28 cents. I remember very clearly that every day I was there, chewing sugar cane, shaking, growing broad beans, and watching stray dogs. The people who stayed behind hung up the dogs and beat them to death, and roasted the dog meat for food, but we didn't eat the dog meat. Meals were one cent per bowl of vegetables. A month passed like this. One day, they suddenly said, "You can go back." A car came to take us back to Hangzhou, and we were put on a train back to Shanghai. This was very strange and bizarre.

Q: You were in the mountains for that month, and the Anting Incident must have happened outside, right?

A: Yes, it was after the Anting Incident happened,³⁷ when we came back from Qiaosi, it should have been close to the end of 1966. After leaving Laobei Station, I saw two banners

³⁶ Shen Yanbing is the writer Mao Dun.

³⁷ As the Cultural Revolution unfolded in Shanghai, tensions arose between the Headquarters of the Revolutionary Revolt of Shanghai Workers, led by Wang Hongwen, a textile worker, and the Municipal party Committee led by Chen Pixian. In November, the Headquarters demanded the removal of the old Municipal Committee which led to a three-day siege at Anting. Zhang Chunqiao was sent back to Shanghai by Mao and successfully negotiated an end to the siege based on a recognition of the Headquarters group. In January, 1967, revolutionary workers and students led by Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen overthrew the Shanghai Municipal Committee of Chen Pixian, Wei Wenbo and Cao Diqiu, and established the

on the house opposite, hanging from the roof to the ground, with Zhang Chunqiao and Wei Wenbo written on them.

Q: Did you talk to your father about this later? What did he say?

A: I talked to my father about this. But he never made any comments. I also told this to many people, but no one wrote about this. Later, when I was locked up, I was asked to write about things related to the January Revolution and how I experienced the first Kangping Road Incident. I definitely wrote about this. But no one paid attention to this incident.

After leaving the train station, Wei oo said goodbye to me. I went home by myself. I was a little surprised. Logically, he should have gone with me because we lived in the same compound. I was very familiar with the road from the train station to my home because I took this road home from Fudan High School. At that time, my father was of course not at home. My mother was in the Four Cleanups Work Team of Jiangnan Shipyard and lived in the factory and did not come back. My two younger sisters went out to join the movement. My younger brother had just started elementary school and played with a bunch of kids all day, so he was not at home either. Only my grandparents and aunt were at home. When I returned home, they told me who had come to join the movement. Just like I went to join the movement to join others, someone also came to join my family. My family also provided big pot dishes and big pot meals for other children, just like I was at someone else's house. I felt very sorry because I did not meet many old classmates and good friends.

At that time, I really felt that the yard was empty and no one came to see me. But because each household did not visit each other at that time, I did not pay much attention to the changes in the neighbours' homes. I also went back to Fudan High School once. Seeing that I was back at school, the rebels held an urgent criticism meeting and criticized me. They said that I was a Communist Party member, but I was escaping the revolution, a free-spirited person, and a die-hard conservative. They also said that I went to Guangzhou with Liu Shaoqi's daughter, etc. I had never been to Guangzhou at that time. I only went with my husband once two years ago when he went to a meeting. I knew in my heart that I could not participate, but I could not tell others about it.

Q: Did you defend yourself during the struggle session?

A: What did you want to defend? I was not allowed to defend myself. So I could only keep silent. Actually, I felt very uncomfortable. These rebels were mainly children of workers. They scolded me so much, which made me most uncomfortable. Because I had helped them before, and I always wanted to be friends with them. So I said that I could not integrate with the workers. Later, I reflected on whether my help to them at that time also hurt their self-

Shanghai People's Commune on 5 February 1967. Mao warned against the use of the term "People's Commue" for such a large city and it was renamed the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee – Trans.

esteem. For example, I gave them draft books and exercise books, let them use my ink, and use the money they saved to buy stationery in the store to give to their classmates. By doing this, I might have hurt their self-esteem, because they felt that we always have it, and it is not strange to give it to them. But they don't know that this is also the money I saved from my 15 yuan living expenses.

After being criticized that day, I walked home. Then the Kangping Road incident came.

Q: Can you describe your memory of the Kangping Road incident in detail?³⁸

A: It was around the end of December 1966. Suddenly one day, red flags were flying downstairs and many people came to Kangping Road. I hurried downstairs. At that time, I didn't know that all the houses were empty. I saw that they were all Red Guards, holding flags, from this factory and that factory. They filled the building opposite where the ministers lived. I saw that no one lived in that building. There was another building next to them where they worked, which was also filled with red flags. The people who used to work there were gone. At that time, I noticed that there was no one in our building, upstairs or downstairs. Only our family and Ke Qingshi's family were still there. Ke had passed away at that time. The Red Guards came to ask me, "Who lives in your house?" I told them. They asked me who else lived upstairs and downstairs, and I told them which house was Cao Diqiu's, ³⁹ Wei Wenbo's, Ke Qingshi's, Chen Pixian's, and who else lived downstairs next to us. I was very surprised that all these houses were empty. They sent two people to guard Ke Qingshi's house and not disturb them.

Our house was open to the public, with many people coming in and out, taking a look, looking for my dad, and even looking under the bed to see if he was there. We didn't have much stuff in the house, and no one would take books. My grandparents were very scared and locked themselves in the room. I was socializing with the Red Guards outside, boiling water for them to drink, and chatting with them. I asked the Red Guards why they came to Kangping Road, and they said they were a revolutionary mass organization, and told me that Cao Diqiu had asked them to meet at three o'clock in the afternoon. Cao Diqiu was not there, and no one came out to meet them, so I was there to meet them. Later, thinking about it, it was obvious that Cao Diqiu had instigated this matter.

Later, someone called and asked if our house had been searched. In a broad sense, it should be a search and find and confiscation of property.

Q: Between 1967 and 1968, there were two large-scale attacks on Zhang Chunqiao by college and high school students in Shanghai, and many people were punished afterwards. What did your father think of this incident later?

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³⁸ The Kangping Road Incident was a large-scale armed struggle between the Shanghai General Administration of Industry and the Red Guards at the end of 1966.

³⁹ Cao Digiu, then mayor of Shanghai.

A: Regarding the incidents after the two attacks on Zhang Chunqiao by college and high school students in Shanghai, my father clearly said not to arrest anyone, not to investigate, and not to pursue. However, it is hard to say whether the mass organizations had any actions or done anything to each other, and it may be inevitable. But as far as I know, the Red Guards who were arrested for the attacks were released quickly after my father found out.

Therefore, I did not ask him about this matter later, because in my mind, no one was arrested.

(5) The middle and late period of the Cultural Revolution

"If you are killed, what should we do?"

"I don't know. Who told you that you are Zhang Chunqiao's daughter?"

Q: After you lived with your fourth uncle in Beijing for a while, did you start working when you returned to Shanghai?

A: The resumption of classes and the revolution had nothing to do with us, because we had already graduated. We were first sent to the Port Authority Material Supply Company to work for half a year. We went to the Shanghai Port District 7 Supply Station, which was near Bailianjing in Tangqiao. When the stationmaster came to select students, he knew that I was Zhang Chunqiao's daughter, so he selected me. The stationmaster told me that because he thought their position was the most difficult, it was on the dock, and he wanted to see if Zhang Chunqiao's daughter could endure hardship. When we got there, we were assigned work every day, working as a porter on a small three-wheel truck or a ten-wheel truck. It was all heavy physical work, transporting cement, yellow sand, steel bars, steel plates and other items needed at the dock. After working for half a year, I learned to drive a truck. I learned to drive from a driver who had been demobilized from the army. He drove very hard. I once drove a three-wheel truck on Pudong Avenue, and once I didn't know how to brake and almost rushed into the Huangpu River. My classmates were assigned to different material supply stations, and some even followed the ships on the Huangpu River. This experience made me know Shanghai better.

After working like this for half a year, I was officially assigned a job. Xu Shiyou⁴⁰ once asked me to join the army, but I felt that I was not suitable for the army. I was quite liberal and had my own opinions. I would never obey the orders of the squad leader or platoon leader and would not listen to their orders. Moreover, I was nearsighted. If there was an emergency call, I would make a fool of myself. Therefore, I did not want to join the army. Moreover, my older sister wanted to join the army. The Nanjing Military Region was recruiting female soldiers in Xuhui District, so she went there with Ke Qingshi's second daughter. I did not want to go to the countryside either, because when I was in the attached middle school, we would go to

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⁴⁰ Xu Shiyou, then commander of the Nanjing Military Region.

Luodian⁴¹ to work, and stay there for three weeks. When I was in the first year of high school, my parents arranged for me to work in a factory for a month, installing radios. The simple and repetitive work allowed me to understand the life of the workers. Therefore, I really wanted to work in a factory. When the job was assigned, my father was not in Shanghai, and my mother did not care about us. I did not want the school to assign me a job, because I would leave my classmates and I did not want to stay in Shanghai. I called people to find connections. I called Wang Hongwen, and he arranged for me to work in the Shanghai Instrument Factory. This factory had a cooperative mission with the Third Front. At that time, they had a branch factory in Guizhou. After the workers completed their three-year apprenticeship training, they would be sent to work in Guizhou.

I thought it was a good idea, because I really didn't want to stay in Shanghai.

Q: Why did you have to leave Shanghai?

A: Because I felt that everyone in Shanghai knew me, and wherever I went, people would think I was someone's daughter. I didn't want to be tied to my family all the time. I wanted to leave and go to a place where no one knew me. So when I started working in the factory, I changed my name to Li Qun, the "qun" in "masses". I wanted to become an ordinary member of the masses. I thought that I could hide my identity and no one would know who my father was. How naive. I tried to keep a low profile and restrain myself. I was really cautious because I knew everyone was staring at me. I never took sick leave and never missed work. Pregnant women can go home early, but when I was pregnant, I never went home early. Even so, everyone would still stare at you and find fault with you. I worked in this factory for eight years until something happened.

Q: You worked in a factory, so you should have paid attention to the political events going on outside, right?

A: At that time, everyone was very concerned about national affairs, and there were political studies every day. Apprentices could live in the factory, so I lived in the factory in my first year and did not go home. Later, the female worker in my dormitory got married, so I gave my dormitory to her and her husband, and I went home every day. I was kind enough to help her, but other people in the dormitory blamed me for letting men live in the female workers' dormitory, so I simply gave up the dormitory, and as a result, my husband who shared the dormitory with me could not move in, and the couple was particularly enthusiastic when they criticized me later.

At that time, my father was often in Shanghai, and I had more contact and communication with him. When he lived on Xingguo Road, I would sometimes go there on Saturdays. He would have supper every night, and I would get up, and we could talk for a while, chatting

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⁴¹ Refers to Luodian Town, Baoshan District, Shanghai.

about this and that. He and I could discuss all kinds of things. Then he would say, "Okay, okay, you go to bed, I'm going to start working." Then he would start writing until the next morning. He usually started working in the afternoon, went to bed in the morning, and got up at noon. His work and rest time actually followed the Premier, who always went to bed in the morning and got up at noon. And my father had been working in a newspaper, so he was also used to this work and rest time. Chairman Mao would sleep when he wanted to sleep and get up when he wanted to, without any rules, which confused others.

But we knew nothing about their power. We didn't read their documents. Of course, we would occasionally see the big headlines. What I remember most clearly is the Lin Biao incident. At first, we didn't know what happened in detail. Later, I recalled it. My younger sister was in the Fourth Air Force, and she was under surveillance. I was in the 22nd Institute of the Aerospace Administration, participating in the three-in-one combination, and was seconded from the Instrument Factory. I worked with them on the autopilot of the Hongqi-4 missile. When I participated in scientific research activities, there was a military representative, a person from the Fourth Air Force. He talked to me, stared at me, and asked me why my eyes were yellow. It was funny, as if he wanted to understand my characteristics. In fact, he came to identify me, and if something happened, he would arrest me. After the Lin Biao incident, I said to my father: "Next time if you have any problems, you have to tell us something, otherwise we will die without knowing how we died." My father didn't say anything.

Q: Your father didn't tell you about these things, was it to protect you?

A: That's their discipline, they shouldn't tell their children. Now some people, their wives and children write memoirs, and they say it in a very clear way, as if they know everything, which should be impossible, or their husbands and fathers violated the organizational principles and told them things they shouldn't say. I really don't know a lot of things. I also know a lot of things from the Internet, but what is said on the Internet is not necessarily correct.

Q: At that time, it was time for you to get married. Did your parents have any suggestions?

A: My father wrote a letter to me and my older sister about our relationship, asking us to decide for ourselves, to have freedom of marriage, without parental interference. His advice to us was that it would be best to find someone from a working-class family. I didn't want to find someone who was a cadre's child. There is a sense of intimacy between cadres' children, the kind of intimacy between brothers and sisters, who know each other very well and have similar strengths and weaknesses. My mother asked me to find a worker, but I said that it would definitely not work because the educational level was too different and we wouldn't have a common language. Later, I met my husband, who is a doctor with his own expertise and a very studious person. But there were many things that we couldn't communicate with each other. Of course, I accepted these things and didn't communicate if

we couldn't communicate. For example, he didn't read novels. At the beginning, I wanted to cultivate his interest in reading and bought him comic books like "Dream of Red Mansions". But he fell asleep after reading three pages. He is a doctor and his work is very tiring. How could he have the leisure to read such things? He has his business. I talked to him about reading, but he didn't know anything, so we stopped communicating. He liked to watch me knitting and making clothes for children, and thought that I was wasting my time reading. Also, I am from the north, and he is from the south, a Shanghai man. I watch crosstalk, but he wants to listen to comedy, Yue opera, and Shanghai opera, so I also developed an interest in this area. Also, when it comes to food, when we first got married, we ate dumplings at home, but he really didn't want to eat them, and he asked my mother if she had soaked rice.

Q: During the 10th National Congress in 1973, your father became a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. Later, he divorced your mother and he never returned to Shanghai. Have you ever seen him in Beijing?

A: I have been to Beijing several times, all on business trips, never on my own. Our instrument factory provides instruments for satellite launches, and I often go to Beijing on business trips. I usually live where I work, and I will go to accompany my father on Sundays, or stay for two more days after my colleagues leave after work. My father never tells anything about the central government because he has organizational discipline.

There is one incident that left a deep impression on me. My habit was to look for books everywhere. One Sunday, I went to see him and found a memoir of Zhang Guotao⁴² at his place. This was incredible. I was very interested in this book and wanted to read it. So I took it to read. I stayed in a standard room in the adjacent annex building. Of course, I didn't dare to take the book out. When I went back to work on Monday, I left the book next to my pillow in the room. A week later, when I came back, the book was gone. I looked for the book everywhere, but my father didn't say a word. I was afraid that the book was lost, so I asked him if he had seen the book. He said nothing, not a word. It was not until he was about to die that he told me: "The Premier sent someone to take the book back." I asked him why, and he was speechless again. I told him that I had been worried that I had lost the book, which made me feel guilty for so many years. The book might have been published in Hong Kong, or they might have published a few copies internally, and I didn't know who distributed them. Later, the Premier found out and took them all back.

Later, I tried my best to recall that Zhang Guotao⁴³ was so capable and able to speak and write when he was young. I especially wanted to know whether the last secret telegram

⁴² Refers to Zhang Guotao's My Memories, which was serialized in Ming Pao Monthly, Hong Kong, from 1971 to 1974 and published in 1974.

⁴³ Zhang Guotao (1897 –1979) was a Chinese revolutionary who was a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and rival to Mao Zedong. He left the party in 1938. Zhang eventually retired to Canada – Trans.

existed. During the Long March, Ye Jianying said that he hijacked a telegram saying that Zhang Guotao was going to take action against Mao. Whether that telegram existed or not, I always wanted to know what Zhang Guotao himself said about this matter. Regarding this matter, I haven't seen the answer yet, and the book was taken away. So, I still don't know the answer. Until now, I haven't found the definite answer. Until now I haven't found a definite answer, and of course some people say that he didn't send that telegram at all, including Li Xiannian, who said no, and isn't that Ye Jianying's business again. 44 There are too many things like this about Ye Jianying.

At that time, my father was in Beijing and rarely went out. He didn't want to go out because he said it was too time-consuming and costly, and every time he went out, he had to mobilize a lot of people. The Politburo Standing Committee members were like this. Once, the guard asked me to mobilize my father to go out for a walk because he was locked up all day. I told him, and he agreed to go to Yuquan Mountain. After we got there, he said to me: "Look at that mountain, there are guards everywhere. As soon as I move, there are so many guards." I said I also wanted to go to Lugou Bridge. 45 He said: "Do you really want to go? Forget it."

Q: In 1976, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and Mao Zedong died one after another, and China's political landscape was bound to change. When your father talked about his own health in a later letter home, he mentioned that he participated in the medical team of three elderly people, right?⁴⁶

A: Yes, my father was in charge of the medical team for Premier Zhou and Chairman Mao. I don't remember clearly whether there was another medical team for Kang Sheng. My father was very dedicated to their treatment. For Zhou Enlai, I admired him very much, just like all Chinese people. I also loved him very much. It's true. On the day Zhou Enlai died, I heard the news after I arrived at the factory. I immediately rode my bicycle back home and changed my scarf. I usually wear a red scarf because I ride a bicycle to and from work, and that scarf is thick. So, many people say that no one wore red during the Cultural Revolution, which is not true. I went home and changed to a scarf with a blue background and black stripes. That scarf was very thin, so I took a white nylon scarf to line it. After we were arrested, a group of people from Beijing came and said we were against the prime minister. I said it was absolutely impossible. I didn't understand why they said we were against the prime minister. They insisted that we were against the prime minister, which made me think more. Many years later, our former party secretary came to see me and told me that one of my crimes

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⁴⁴ As to the authenticity of the telegram, there is no conclusive conclusion in the academic community.

⁴⁵ Lugouqiao (Lugou Bridge), also known as Marco Polo Bridge, is a famous landmark in southwest Beijing. On July 7, 1937, Japanese troops from occupied Manchuria attached the Guomindang's 29th Army of the National Revolutionary Army, precipitating the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War, which can also be taken as the real start of World War 2.Today there is an adjacent Museum to the War of Resistance Against Japan – Trans.

⁴⁶ See Zhang Chungiao to Weiwei, 15 February 1987.

was that I was against the prime minister and did not attend the memorial service. He also defended me, saying that there were photos of me attending the memorial service, wearing a blue scarf, and colour photos were just beginning to be available at that time.

Q: What was the matter with criticizing the Premier at that time?

A: When I heard that there was really such a thing as criticizing the Premier, I was also shocked. I asked my father. He said that Ping-Pong Diplomacy opened the door to Sino-US dialogue and dealt with the Americans. After Kissinger came, it seemed that he wanted to establish a hotline. The Premier's handling of the situation at that time caused Chairman Mao's concern. Chairman Mao said: "When fighting, we must guard against the left, and when negotiating, we must guard against the right." What he meant was that when fighting, we must not overthrow everything, and when negotiating, we must not lose our vigilance and must not forget that "the intention to destroy us will never die." Chairman Mao said: "Are there not enough such lessons in the history of our party?" During the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, Chen Duxiu gave up his autonomy and listened to Chiang Kai-shek in everything, which eventually led to the "April 12" massacre, with rivers of blood. During the second cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, Chairman Mao went to Chongqing for negotiations. Liu Shaoqi presided over the work and proposed "listen to the central government." Chairman Mao said: "I have told him (the Premier) so many times, why did he still make such a mistake?" This is what my father said to me later, which is his understanding of Chairman Mao. Because Premier Zhou had a high prestige among the people, he was busy with many things, presided over all the big and small things of the country, and his image was deeply rooted in the hearts of the people. Because of this, the Premier's slight deviation in thinking would have a huge impact. Chairman Mao was too perceptive. He was old and seriously ill, but he was still so worried about the fate of the country. He was highly responsible to the Chinese people. Therefore, Chairman Mao held a criticism meeting for the Premier.⁴⁷

I have read some other details online and have asked some people who are familiar with the situation. Someone told me that it was my father who stopped the criticism of the Premier early. He said that the Premier was not in good health and asked him to go back and rest. It was heartbreaking that this incident turned into the "April 5th Incident" in 1976.⁴⁸ I think

⁴⁷ According to the second volume of The Annals of Zhou Enlai (1949–1976) (Beijing: Central Literature Publishing House, 1997, p. 634), on 17 November 1973, Mao Zedong mistakenly believed that Zhou Enlai had said the wrong thing in his talks with U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, based on unreliable reports. On the same day, Mao talked to Zhou about his views on the matter and proposed that the Politburo hold a meeting to discuss it. That evening, Zhou presided over a meeting of the Politburo to convey instructions and brief the talks. The next day, he reported to Mao twice a week in writing on the meeting, saying that he had "not done enough" in the Sino-US talks. From November 21 to early December, the Politburo held consecutive meetings to approve the week according to Mao's opinion.

⁴⁸ On April 5, 1976, during the Qingming Festival, a large-scale mass protest in Tiananmen Square to commemorate Zhou Enlai and oppose the Gang of Four.

that if everyone can correctly understand Chairman Mao and see the essence of the matter, then we will be more confident and clear-headed in the subsequent struggle with the international capital giants, and the interests of the people will be better protected.

Q: How did the "April 5th Incident" develop later?

A: After the "April 5th Incident", I went to Beijing once, and my father showed me many big-character posters written by others, some of which were against Chairman Mao. This was unexpected, and the spearhead was not only directed at the Gang of Four. They crossed the line, so they were caught by Mao and turned against him. At that time, of course, we didn't know that it was Deng who was behind the "April 5th Incident", even my father didn't know. 49 When I went to Beijing, Chairman Mao had already spoken, and the whole incident had been turned around. So this matter was over.

Q: Your father later became a member of the Politburo Standing Committee and a vice premier. In terms of his political career, he was able to rise to prominence. Weren't you happy for him?

A: My father moved up step by step, becoming a member of the Politburo and then a member of the Politburo Standing Committee. I didn't feel relaxed or happy at all. Because he became the target of public criticism, what was there to be happy about? He himself was not happy either. During the February Countercurrent, those old marshals scolded him like a grandson. Who looked up to him? It wasn't that he looked down on himself, but those people looked down on him. Those people didn't dare to scold Chairman Mao, so they all scolded him. And he was made like that by Lin Biao.

In 1975, Chairman Mao insisted on appointing him as the Director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army. I said to my father: "Chairman Mao insisted on giving you the job of the Director of the General Political Department, which shows that he trusts you. You go and do it." He said: "Who will listen to me if I speak?" Of course, Chairman Mao appointed him, and he had to do it. After the appointment, he went to the army to speak, he made reports, he talked to this and that, but no one did what he said. Instead, he aroused jealousy, saying that he had reached out to the army again, and some people said that they should "cut off the claws of the devil." My father knew that he would not have a good ending. When the power of the Politburo members was seized at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, when the members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group became political figures, he should have felt it. Chairman Mao said to them, you have seized power,

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⁴⁹ After the April Five-Year Incident, the Politburo characterized it as a counter-revolutionary political event, believing that Deng Xiaoping was the general backstage of the event.

and took a photo together. Chairman Mao once again emphasized the five things not to be afraid of, such as "not being afraid of losing your head."⁵⁰

Q: Did he know that he was in a dangerous situation?

A: Dad was also very vigilant. For example, when he left the room and came back, he would not drink the water in the cup and would change it. He was definitely on guard against something, but he never said who he was on guard against. I think he was probably on guard against Wang Dongxing. Of course, I saw many things on the Internet later, and I don't know whether they were true or false. After the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, Chairman Mao was unwilling to replace Wang Dongxing, saying that he was used to him. Therefore, the facts were not what Wang Dongxing said later. Our classmates later asked me: "Whose words are the most untrustworthy?" I said it must be Wang Dongxing, because he burned things. Now I have seen the materials saying that Deng Yingchao and Wang Dongxing burned the materials, and Chairman Mao asked them to do so.

But they didn't burn it when Chairman Mao asked them to. If they burned it later, wouldn't that be destroying evidence?

My father once said to me: "Look, my safe is empty. Whatever documents come in, I read them, circle what I should circle, and take it away. I don't keep anything here."

He was ready to be arrested at any time. We also discussed how he got arrested and he said, 'It's very simple, they just had a meeting. They asked me to go to a meeting and I couldn't not go.' And then that's really how they operated, so I wasn't surprised at all.

Q: Do you remember the last time you saw your father before he was arrested?

A: It was in the summer of 1976. I went to Beijing on a business trip and went to see him. We discussed some issues. The issues we discussed included the working class and how China would develop in the future. Zhou Enlai and Zhu De had both passed away, and Mao was seriously ill. We discussed a lot of issues. And I asked him, 'What will you do?' He said, 'What do I do? Death by a thousand cuts.' I thought he had said that himself, but later I realised that someone else had said that he would be cut to pieces, and he was repeating what they had said. He said, 'It doesn't matter if I get another cut. Chairman Mao has said that there were five things communists should not fear.' The "five things not to fear" are not to fear divorce, not to fear being expelled from the party, not to fear losing one's head, not to fear being imprisoned, not to fear being dismissed from office, etc. He said that, so I asked

⁵⁰ According to Wu Lengxi's recollections, the "five fears" were put forward by Mao Zedong in 1957 when he talked to him, specifically referring to: first, not afraid of dismissal, second, not afraid of expulsion from the party, third, not afraid of divorce from his wife, fourth, not afraid of imprisonment, and fifth, not afraid of being killed. See Wu Lengxi, Memories of Leaders and Comrades-in-Arms, Beijing: Xinhua Publishing House, 2006, p. 129.

him, "If you are cut into pieces, what will we do?" He said, "I don't know. You are Zhang Chunqiao's daughter." It was all said to that point. The situation was too clear. So, when he was arrested, I was not surprised or nervous at all. Instead, I felt relieved. I felt like, "It's coming, it's really coming." It was a very strange feeling, but I knew there was nothing we could do.

Q: Since you have talked to that extent, did you feel like saying goodbye during that meeting?

A: There was a feeling of farewell, but it was not very obvious. He said that it depends on the development, and that maybe there will be a result by the end of the year. I didn't expect that there would be a result in October.

(6) Arrested and imprisoned

"When I was in prison, I hated my father very much. Because he didn't tell me anything, and because I didn't know what was going on with him."

Q: When did you hear that the Gang of Four were arrested? Did you think it was very sudden?

A: We probably knew about it a few days earlier. That day, my father's secretary suddenly came and said that something had happened and that they could not be contacted. The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee could not contact them. The place began to get chaotic. Some people said that they would start an uprising and organize workers. They had to appease them and asked Ma Tianshui to go.⁵¹ Ma Tianshui went and told everyone here not to move, saying that they would make a decision after he came back. After Ma Tianshui left, people here continued to argue about what to do. I was very calm. I thought it was useless to make a fuss. It was nothing more than a group of people dying like in the Paris Commune, and then there would be another Paris Commune Wall. I said that if this really happened, then we would die. If it didn't happen, then we wouldn't die. But we didn't know whether we would die or not. But it was not something we could decide. My husband was away at the time. When China launched the atomic bomb, he went on a business trip to Beijing. He was a medical worker in that team. So I sent my son to my mother-in-law. He was a little over one year old at that time. I thought no matter what, I had to make arrangements for the child first. As for the rest, I would wait for Ma Tianshui to come back and tell me what happened.

When Ma Tianshui came back, he wanted to cut ties with them. Then he arrested my mother. During the second Kangping Road incident, many people flocked to my house. No one cared about us, and we were cut off. This time, the house was completely turned upside down, in a mess. But for some reason, they put a seal on my room, saying it was the children's room, and then sealed it. The other rooms were almost looted. The most

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⁵¹ Ma Tianshui, then secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee.

interesting thing is that Xu Shiyou once gave my family a leopard. After eating it, the skin was processed and placed in the box. Later, the leopard skin disappeared. Why was this thing searched away? Was Xu Shiyou eager to draw a line with us? Later, Yang Chengwu said in his memoirs that Xu Shiyou told Yang Chengwu that he and Zhang Chunqiao had always had a bad relationship. Xu shot a leopard in Taihang Mountain and gave it to Yang Chengwu, but only shot some pheasants and rabbits for Zhang Chunqiao. But the fact is that in 1973, Xu Shiyou did kill two leopards, one for my father and one for Yang Chengwu. My father was not in Shanghai at that time, but the security and secretaries were all there, and the team was on Xingguo Road. Xu Shiyou sent the leopards, and the chef cooked a large table of them. Several people from the garrison were also invited. My mother didn't dare to eat it, but we all ate it, and it tasted like beef. There was also a four-speaker Japanese radio in my room, which was not taken away, so it seems that their purpose was not to search for your secrets.

Q: Who was there when they came to search the house?

A: People walked into the Kangping Road compound, no one stopped them, and more and more people came. This scene was not unfamiliar to me. It can't be said to be a house search. My grandfather had passed away. My mother had been arrested, and my aunt had escaped and no one knew where she went. My grandmother was there at first, and then she went to my uncle's house at the intersection of Hengshan Road and Gao'an Road. My aunt had passed away at that time. My uncle's house was very close, only one street away from our house, so my grandmother went there by herself. But my uncle refused to let her in. This uncle was a very bad person. He used to be a member of the New Fourth Army, and later he was a retired cadre or something. My uncle didn't let my grandmother in, so my grandmother walked along Kangping Road and arrived at Lane 100. There was a relative living in that lane, who was my fifth aunt's mother. My grandmother didn't dare to knock on the door, so she sat on the side of the road. There is another complicated relationship here. The father of this aunt, that is, my grandmother's father-in-law, committed suicide during the Cultural Revolution.⁵³ He was originally the deputy secretary-general of the East China Bureau. In his early years, he worked underground in Shanghai with Kang Sheng and Zhou Enlai. He was a rich young man and had a very beautiful facade as a cover. After liberation, he first served as the deputy governor of Shandong Province. After the establishment of the East China Bureau, he came to Shanghai. He had some problems with Yang Shangkun, and when Zhou Enlai was fighting against traitors in Shanghai, he probably also had some problems, so he committed suicide during the Cultural Revolution. My aunt's mother, my grandmother's mother-in-law, was also from a big landlord family in Shandong. She took my grandmother in. But after my father got into trouble, this aunt divorced my fifth uncle,

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⁵² Yang Chengwu was the first commander of the Beijing Military Region and acting chief of the general staff of the People's Liberation Army.

⁵³ Zhang Weiwei's fifth aunt's father was Li Yuchao, who served as vice governor of Shandong Province and deputy secretary general of the East China Bureau, and died in 1968.

saying that she wanted to save the political lives of three people. When her father committed suicide, my fifth uncle did not divorce her, but she later chose to divorce to protect herself. Therefore, there is no right or wrong in people. It's just that people choose different ways to deal with different positions and situations.

Back to my family, after my grandmother passed away, only my younger sister and I were at home. My younger sister was in the Air Force and was studying in the Foreign Language Department of Fudan University, so she had dormitories in both the Air Force Fourth Army and Fudan University. But so many things happened at once, so she came home to take a look. My older sister is married and lives in Yangpu District, so she rarely comes back. My younger brother is on the farm. There are more and more people at home, and no one cares about us. Most of the people who come are ordinary people who have never been here before. They come to see what our family looks like. Driven by curiosity, groups of people come. But I can see that there are plainclothes officers in the crowd. They don't look like they are just there to watch the fun. They look calm and composed, and they don't leave. They must be plainclothes officers from the army and the public security bureau. Later, someone came up to us and said, "You can leave now. What are you doing here all the time?" Come to think of it, there were rumours outside that Zhang Chunqiao's daughter was in there, so more people came in to watch the fun.

Q: What were you thinking in that situation? Were you panicked? Were you scared?

A: I didn't feel panicked or scared at all. I just handled things very calmly. Someone told my sister and I to leave, so we came out and prepared to leave. We didn't take anything. Then four or five people appeared beside us and protected us. There were more people protecting us along the way, and I didn't know who they were. We walked out of Kangping Road, and more and more people followed us. Most of them wanted to watch the show. We started running, ran to Wukang Building, went around the back door, went upstairs, and came to a family we didn't know at all. My sister's shoes came off, so the family gave her a pair of shoes to wear. Later I learned that the man in the family was a doorman in a new village. When I came out again, I parted company with my sister, and someone gave me a small note, telling me their name and saying that they could help us if needed. I didn't expect that this small note would harm someone later. After I was locked up, this piece of paper was discovered.

My younger sister decided to go back to school, so I went to my older sister's house. I was in a very excited state at the time. At night, I decided to go back to Kangping Road to see what was going on. I rode my bike back. My sister's house is on Xuchang Road in Yangpu District, which is quite far away. The house was in a mess. I took a few clothes and put them in a small bag. When I walked out, another group of people rushed out and surrounded me, saying that I was transferring evidence. These people were students from Jiaotong University. They asked me to open the bag and see, so I opened it, and there were just a few

clothes. Some onlookers said: They just took two pieces of clothes. So, I went back to my older sister's house. The next morning, I was arrested.

Q: Can you tell me about your life in prison?

A: It should be before October 20, 1976. The Public Security Bureau sent people to my eldest sister's house and arrested me. This was an order from Ma Tianshui. He said it was to protect me. I said I didn't want your protection, but it was useless. They insisted on protecting me. But a few days later, Ma Tianshui and his men were also arrested. If the people who arrested me were arrested, then no one would release me. They first locked me up in the prison on Chifeng Road. At first, I was temporarily locked up in a large south-facing room. That room seemed to be used to lock up foreigners. There were many English, Japanese, and Korean words on the wall, all left by former prisoners. The room should be about ten square meters. Later, I was moved to a very small room, about four or five square meters, facing north. The thick wood outside the window was newly nailed. In the spring, I was moved to another house. It was a formal prison cell with a toilet and a basin, about eleven or twelve square meters.

At that time, there was no news about my father. But I knew that my mother was imprisoned here. Later, we were all moved to a prison on Hami Road near Xijiao Park. My ears are very good and I can hear voices. I can judge who is in there. For example, I can recognize the voices of Wang Hongwen's wife Cui Gendi and Wang Xiuzhen. ⁵⁴ There were also people I didn't know. I could also smell the smell of Chinese medicine, and I knew that my mother was taking Chinese medicine again. I started my "magical life" in prison. I first taught the people who guarded me how to light the coal briquette stove, because the weather had started to get cold, and the guards were temporarily transferred from various places. They used to work in government offices and didn't know how to light the coal briquette stove. I was the most capable. Later, I taught them to knit sweaters and do other things. They saw that I was their child, so they would have more time to go out for exercise, and someone would follow me around in the yard.

Q: Do you feel relieved knowing your mother is there?

A: I didn't feel relieved because I didn't know what's wrong with my mother.

(7.) After being released from prison

The person who accompanied me said to my son, "This is your mother." My son looked at me and said in Shanghainese, "My mother is dead."

Q: What reason did they give when they released you?

⁵⁴ Wang Xiuzhen, former secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and deputy director of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

A: They released me on December 28, 1977. Just as there was no reason for my release when I was detained, there was no reason for my release either. They simply said, "It's okay, you can go out." They had already checked everything, and there was really no reason to detain me again. During the Cultural Revolution, I never fought against teachers, and I didn't do anything bad. When Fudan High School held its first homecoming event after the Cultural Revolution, I didn't go. Principal Jiang Gongshen even asked my classmates to tell me, "The door of Fudan High School is always open to Zhang Weiwei." The school certainly had nothing to say about my performance. I was the president of the student union, and I was responsible for organizing all extracurricular activities. I not only organized sports meets and singing competitions, but also took the lead in participating. I joined the instrument factory in 1968, and I worked there for eight years and almost never took sick leave or personal leave, and I was never late or left early. I worked hard during the day, and after get off work, I did the work of the Youth League Committee, attended meetings, and studied. I have always been enthusiastic in carrying out the tasks assigned to me by the Party branch, such as talking to people, helping the masses, and arranging home visits by the trade union, etc., and this is obvious to all.

Q: When you were released, did anyone come to pick you up? What was the situation at home?

A: No one came to pick me up at home. The people who were investigating me sent me home. At that time, my brother was isolated on the farm, my younger sister interrupted her studies at Fudan University and returned to the army to be isolated, and my husband was isolated in the hospital. He was investigated because of me. Although I was released, he was still not allowed to go home. Later, the people who investigated me felt that it was too inexplicable, so they went to his unit to talk to him. After more than a month, they let him go home. My older sister was still at home, and I met her once. I didn't see my younger sister and brother until a long time later. The people who investigated me accompanied me to see my son. When I was locked up, the child was only one and a half years old. The person who accompanied me said to my son: "This is your mother." My son looked at me and said in Shanghainese: "My mother is dead." My feelings at that time can be best expressed by a Shanghainese phrase, which is "touching the heart sutra." 55 When I was in prison, I missed my son very much. When I was out for exercise, I picked up two small bamboo strips outside and split them, and sharpened two knitting needles outside the windowsill. Then I took out the elastic bands in the pants, pulled out the elastic bands, made a very thin belt, and wrapped it around the needles to make two circular needles. I knitted two pairs of pants for my son. They were not made of wool, but two pairs of chloroprene cotton pants. I took the cotton pants apart one by one and connected them together to make two pairs of pants for him. After he was released, he wore them, and they fit him well and looked good. This was also a comfort to me. The guards all came to learn from me, so it can be said that I had a

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⁵⁵ "Touching the Heart Sutra" means astonishing and piercing pain.

wonderful life in prison. Later, I took apart my sweater and knitted a new sweater with the circular needles.

Q: What happened with your grandma's suicide?

A: They moved our family to Dong'an New Village when I was in prison. That's where my grandma committed suicide. Speaking of my grandma, she was a very capable housewife, thrifty and frugal. She had a great influence on my father, and my father was very kind to her. Grandma was five years older than grandpa, who was the second child in the family. In a feudal landlord family, the eldest child was valued, but the second child was not. The eldest child went to Peking University. Although the second child was better in academics, the family did not have the ability to raise two college students. Although grandpa also passed the entrance exam to Peking University, his family did not let him go, so he always felt very frustrated. Grandpa later went to Shandong to study at a medical college. Grandpa's family was a ruined landlord family, and the family's financial situation was getting worse and worse. Southwest Shandong was originally very poor. The family married him to my grandma. Grandma's family was a rising wealthy middle peasant family with several brothers. She was also very precious. She was neither high nor low, and she got married very late. My father's uncles were very protective of my grandmother. When my father went to Yan'an, it was several uncles who sent him there. Later, my grandmother gave birth to many children, and her family continued to support our family. My grandmother was a very capable person. She was not afraid of anything. When she was in Jinan, she stayed at home to guard the house when there was artillery fire outside, and she did not run away.

After we were all arrested, she couldn't stay in other people's homes for long, so she moved to Dong'an New Village. She was over 80 years old and lived there alone. If she had a grandson or granddaughter around, she might not have committed suicide. Before she committed suicide, my grandmother wanted to see my brother, but they wouldn't let her. My grandmother had more than 100 yuan with her at the end, and she wanted to give it to my brother. Later, my cousin went to see her once, and my grandmother gave the money to her granddaughter. No one buried my grandmother, so they went to find my uncle, but he refused to pay for the funeral expenses. We only know that my grandmother is gone, and we don't know the details of how she was handled in the end. The only thing that is clear is that the funeral expenses were finally charged to my mother. After my mother was released, the government deducted my grandmother's funeral expenses from the living expenses she received.

Q: When was your mother released?

A: My mother was detained for three or four years. After she was released, her health was very poor. She was first admitted to Huadong Hospital. We didn't know about it yet. Later, the police came to us and asked us to take her home. We didn't know what her problem was, so we said to the police: "You said she had many problems and couldn't go home. Now

you want us to take her home. What's going on?" The answer was: "She has historical problems. It has all been concluded before."

Q: Some articles say that your mother is a "traitor" or has committed major acts of betrayal. What is the truth?

A: Between 1982 and 1983, after my mother returned home, the special case team of the Public Security Bureau came to our house and told her the final conclusion. I was there, and I took a look at her conclusion. It said: There is "treason" in historical issues. I also know what "treason" means.

"Treason" is different from "traitor". If you are a traitor, you must have betrayed the organization and betrayed your comrades. She did not do that. She went from the office to the county to serve as the propaganda minister of the county party committee. When the Japanese raided, there was no time to retreat, and the entire county party committee was arrested together. My mother was arrested when she was injured and fainted. This conclusion about her was made in 1945, and she rejoined the party in 1949.

At that time, the Organization Department had a unified opinion. Some people said that she wrote articles to serve the Japanese invaders and her name was Li Shuwen. That was a mistake. In my mother's family, people of her aunt's generation all had the word "Shu" in the middle of their names. In a family, there were eight or nine people named "Li Shumou". People of my mother's generation all had the word "Ruo" in the middle of their names. My mother's name was "Li Ruowen". My cousin's book "Zhigu Family" has a clear record of this.

Q: What was your job after you were released?

A: When I was released, my salary from the factory was returned to me. I made about 40 yuan a month. As for work, the police asked me, "Where are you going to work? Do you want to go back to your factory?" I said, "How can I go back to my factory? It's a military factory, so it has to be kept secret." The person who interrogated me said, "Oh, you are quite self-aware." I thought to myself, "How can I know the Communist Party worse than you do?"

They arranged for me to work in a small factory in an alley, the Fifth Surgical Instrument Factory. This factory is in Xuhui District, near Dapu Bridge, on Xiexu Road, and it is very rundown. Now there is a building for immigration, but it was a small vegetable market on Dange (Bullet) Road at that time. ⁵⁶ Because they didn't let me have much contact with people, the factory arranged for me to work in a workshop in an alley on Zhaojiabang Road. The roof of the workshop was made of reed strips and covered with tiles. It was very hot in the summer, and sometimes we had to climb up to the roof and pour water on the tiles to cool down.

When I came out, I was in poor health, but I got used to the work very quickly. I worked very quickly. On the first day, an old worker asked me to weld a plug, and I finished it in a short

⁵⁶ Bullet road refers to a paved road with cobblestones and small stones.

time. When they saw that I did a good job, their opinion of me changed. The workers judged a person by whether you did a good job with your hands. Later, I helped them solve some technical problems. After I finished my own work, I helped others prepare. An old worker said to me: "Can you do it slower? You do it so fast, and we have to increase our quota." A batch of products was returned and said to be not up to standard. I found that it was due to the temperature change, so I explained the reason to everyone and re-adjusted the products together. They all came to me, Master Li, for help, and several young people wanted me to teach them. After returning home, I dug out the textbooks I used to use when I was in the "July 21 University" and went to work an hour earlier every day to teach them. ⁵⁷ In this way, I entered this small collective unit. This used to be a street production group, and most of the workers were aunts and mothers. They would give me the food they brought and teach me how to cook. They gave me warmth.

Later, the factory was closed and the workers were reassigned. I wanted to find a job that was more suitable for my major and to be closer to home. At that time, my husband worked as a handyman in the People's Hospital, cleaning toilets, washing urine bottles, pushing carts, and mopping floors every day. He was not allowed to be a doctor. My father-in-law had gastric bleeding and my mother-in-law was in poor health and could no longer take care of our children. My son was three years old and had to be picked up and dropped off at kindergarten every day. I wrote a letter to the Instrument Bureau, telling them about my situation, and because I had performed well before, they arranged for me to work at the Shanghai Medical Electronic Instrument Factory.

The conditions in this factory were much better. I started in the general assembly workshop. Later, because I had to take turns to work the morning and afternoon shifts, I couldn't pick up my children. After I raised my difficulties, the factory arranged for me to work as an inspector for incoming components in the quality inspection department. I should say that they were very considerate. I worked very hard and went to the production factories to learn by myself, such as the transistor factory and the cathode ray tube factory, to improve the inspection methods and make many technical innovations. For example, the thermal pen on the electrocardiograph had a high return rate at that time, which caused a large number of customer letters. I found that the inspection method was wrong, improved it, and the problem was solved.

So, when the factory wanted to set up a radio measurement room, they asked me to prepare. I had never done this kind of work. When I was studying at the "July 21 University", I always made records and calculations, and didn't like to operate instruments and meters. At this time, I ran to the science and technology bookstore to understand the nature and content of the work, and then went to the factory that produced oscilloscopes, signal

⁵⁷ "July 21 University" was a workers' university established in response to Mao Zedong's instructions in the late Cultural Revolution, with a duration of two to three years.

generators, etc., and slowly carried out this work. Our group later became the radio electrical measurement station of the Medical Bureau.

When I have free time, I still like to read books. I became good friends with the person who was in charge of the library. At that time, she would tell me when the library had new books such as Harvest, Zhongshan, and Huacheng, and she would also keep the books I wanted to read for me. Later, when my son grew up, I read martial arts novels by Gu Long, Liang Yusheng, and Jin Yong with him.

(8). My father's public trial and imprisonment

"Seeing that Dad didn't say a word and had a very hard attitude, I think we should think that this is the kind of person he is."

Q: Did you also watch the TV broadcast when the Gang of Four was publicly tried in November 1981?

A: My mother had already returned home when the public trial took place. We had just bought a 12-inch black-and-white TV at that time. It was our first TV. It is still in my husband's office and he refuses to throw it away. At that time, you still needed a ticket to buy a TV. When the factory was issuing tickets, an old worker heard that I also wanted to buy a TV and said in front of everyone: "You still want to buy a TV? Don't you have a lot of TVs at home?" I told him that my family didn't have a TV and that our children also watched TV in the yard. I still have a photo of my son watching colour TV in the yard because colour TVs were rare at that time, so I took a photo of him. He said: "That was a rumour spread by someone outside." He was kind enough to go to the factory union to help me get a TV ticket. He also accompanied me to Zhongbai Company to buy it.

No one notified us about the public trial. We learned about it from the radio and newspapers like all ordinary people. At first we didn't want to let my mother see it, fearing that she would be upset because she had a bad heart. But later we let her see it. When we first saw my father, we were quite shocked. How could he be tortured like that? The last time I saw my father was when I went to Beijing in the summer of 1976. Four years had passed.

Q: In the four years from when he was arrested to the public trial, did you have any contact?

A: Of course there was no contact, no news, nothing. So, during the public trial, we saw that his beard was untidy and grey. At that time, we thought he would definitely refuse to trim it. He must have thought: I am like this, you made me like this, so I will come out like this. Moreover, he didn't know what happened to us at all, didn't know if we were implicated, and how our lives were. Later, when we went to visit him in prison, he said he didn't know anything about our situation.

Q: How did you feel when you watched the public trial on TV?

A: My older sister lives in Yangpu District. Apart from her, everyone else in the family watched the public trial together. Seeing that my father didn't say a word and had a very hard attitude, I think we should think that he is just that kind of person. We don't want to see a spineless person. He didn't say anything, and I think it's best that way. Otherwise, what can I say? How can I say it? Anyway, for me, seeing that he is not a spineless person is the greatest comfort. I feel that my tense heart has relaxed, and there is no sadness.

After the public trial, people from the Public Security Bureau came to the factory, and there were many people in the Organization Department. They asked me if the public trial was right. My answer was: "I am not part of the Gang of Five, so how would I know what the Gang of Four did? If you think I am part of the Gang of Five, then just arrest me too. It's enough for you to feel that your public trial is right, why do you have to force me to admit that you are right?" Later I said, "It's fine if you implicate me, but it's too much to implicate my husband. Why don't you let him continue to be a doctor?" Perhaps my words were of some use, because a week later, my husband was notified to return to the department to work.

Q: Did you expect the verdict?

A: We felt that they didn't dare to execute Jiang Qing. Jiang Qing was sentenced before my father. If Jiang Qing didn't die, then my father wouldn't die either. That's how it's done.

Q: When did you meet your father again? What was the situation at that time?

A: I met my father again in November 1984, after not seeing him for eight years. The first time I went to see him was when my brother and I went together. He was transferred from Qincheng Prison to Fuxing Hospital because of prostate hypertrophy. The doctor who treated him had treated the Premier and knew my father. He later performed surgery on my father and the operation was done very well. These doctors were very kind to my father because they had all treated the Premier. During the Premier's treatment, my father was serious and responsible, and the doctors saw it for themselves.

The Public Security Bureau came to ask us to go to Beijing. I had a strong sense of organization, so I said to them, "If you ask me to go, I will go. I am a member of the Communist Party and I have a unit. If you ask us to go to Beijing, you must first tell my unit." They had no choice but to come to my unit. In this way, the fact that I went to Beijing to see my father was made public. Because at that time, it was rumoured everywhere that Zhang Chunqiao had died in prison. Even my classmates came to ask about it and cut out newspapers and sent them to me. Some classmates also suggested that I sue the Hubei Digest because it published the news that Zhang Chunqiao had died, as well as a newspaper in Hong Kong. I wanted the Public Security Bureau to come to my unit to find me and ask the unit to agree that I could go to see my father. My purpose was to let everyone know that my father was not dead. Moreover, the unit knew that it was the Public Security Bureau that asked me to go, so they would give me less trouble in the future.

The first time we went to see him, it was arranged by the Public Security Bureau. They let us stay in a basement hotel next to Fuxing Hospital. The next day after arriving in Beijing, we went to the hospital to visit my father. We saw him in a very shabby little room. There was a table and two benches with backrests in the room. Later, this room was renovated and it was quite beautiful. There was a big mirror in this room, which was used for surveillance. I didn't cry in front of him, but I cried a lot after returning to my residence. At that time, he couldn't hear his voice when he spoke. He had lost his voice because he hadn't spoken for eight years. In prison, he didn't talk to anyone. Recently, his last speech was circulated on the Internet, and some people asked me how the recording was leaked. There was no such thing. He really didn't speak, let alone any recording.

He asked us how we were, "How are you? You came to see me? How are you?" His voice was hoarse, his vocal cords were stiff, medically called "disabled". He hadn't heard from us for eight years, and didn't know our situation, so he was surprised to see us. That time I went to visit him, I could see him three times, each time for more than two hours. The prison asked us to arrange the time for these three visits ourselves, so we went to see him every other day, each time from 9 to 11:30 in the morning. He was very weak, so this arrangement allowed him to rest for a day. We mainly talked about the situation of our family and our own lives. At this time, we hadn't started writing letters yet.

Q: Were you able to visit your father often in the future? How many times a year could you see him?

A: When he was in Beijing, I visited him once a year at first, and then two or three times a year. At first, the Public Security Bureau agreed that we could reimburse our travel and accommodation expenses, but later, since we went there frequently, they stopped reimbursing us, saying that we were married and no longer considered family members.

The second time I went to Beijing to visit him was after he had surgery, and I went alone that time.

After that, the children went to visit him separately, and whoever was free went. I also actively sought business trips. Sometimes they wanted to stop us from seeing each other, but since we had already traveled thousands of miles to Beijing, they reported and asked for instructions and let us see each other. I also took my son there, and my brother took his daughter there.

In 1996, my father was almost 80 years old, and someone told me that they could apply for medical parole for him.

After 1996, I accompanied my mother to Beijing twice and asked someone to deliver the letter. They made one thing very clear: if my father was granted medical parole or probation, he would not be allowed to enter Shanghai. In 1998, his application for medical parole was approved, and they set up a "home" for my father in Jiangyin. There had to be someone in

the "home", so they sent my mother there, but in fact they imprisoned my mother and my father together. My mother was willing to give up her life outside and stay with my father. At that time, my mother lived with my brother and sister-in-law. She didn't have to do anything, and everyone took care of her. She gave up all these and went to Jiangyin alone to stay with my father.

After my parents moved to Jiangyin, my father certainly still had no personal freedom. The walls of their residence were very high, higher than those of ordinary people's houses, and the upstairs were full of people from the Public Security Bureau. They couldn't go out the door or see outsiders, and they were completely isolated. We were not allowed to stay overnight when we went to see him. We went there more often then. We could go once a month, and we took turns going. But we had to contact the Wuxi Public Security Bureau first and get permission before we could go.

Q: Your father had been in prison for such a long time. Do you think he was isolated from the outside world?

A: Although he had been in prison, I don't think he was isolated from the outside world at all. He still paid close attention to current affairs. He was not stuck in the time tunnel, and he definitely cannot stay in the past. He could read the People's Daily and Guangming Daily. Later, when he went to Jiangyin, he could also read the Xinmin Evening News. He worked in the newspaper business, so my father knew all the details about how to layout newspapers and where to put certain news. He could not only read what was written in the text, but also understand many things behind the text. In 1985, when I visited him in prison, I bought him a radio with the money I saved. The people who were guarding him saw it, but didn't say no. For many things, you can't ask the prison for instructions. If you ask for instructions, reporting to the prison level by level will definitely not work. They didn't explicitly tell me not to buy him a radio, and didn't explicitly stipulate that he couldn't listen to the radio, so I bought it for him. The people who were guarding him didn't say anything. After a while, I bought him a shortwave radio so that he could listen to the Voice of America, BBC and other radio stations. Once, he happily told me that he had found a French radio station. This is how he followed China and the world. But the people who guarded him were also very mean, because the radio needed batteries, and when the batteries ran out, they would not give him batteries. When I went to visit him in prison, I would bring him batteries.

Q: Your father often talked about the weather and the impact of climate on him in his letters, as well as his habit of planting flowers and raising fish. Is it because he has plenty of time in prison that he has more leisure time?

A: Every letter he wrote was subject to censorship, so he couldn't write about his political views in his letters. Moreover, his political views were already very clear, and we all knew them very well, so of course he didn't need to write to us again.

He was indeed very sensitive to the climate because he had tracheitis. He always liked planting flowers and raising goldfish, which may have been influenced by my grandmother. Because my grandmother came from the countryside, she always liked to plant things. She planted them in the yard in Shanghai, and she was very good at it. Whatever she planted grew, whether it was eggplant or tomato, and they all bore fruit. So my father always liked to plant things. I like it too. You can see that on my balcony, in addition to flowers, there are many edible things, such as chicken feather vegetables, coriander, cherry tomatoes, etc.

Q: Then he must have known about major events, such as the June 4th Incident in 1989, right?

A: He knew about all of Deng Xiaoping's tricks. What does it matter whether the cat is black or white, or crossing the river by feeling the stones? What shocked him the most was the shooting of students on June 4th. In July 1989, not long after the June 4th Incident, I went to Beijing to see him. Fuxing Hospital was located in Muxidi, where the worst fighting took place. Of course, he knew about what was happening outside. He was particularly moved and told me that he could hear the sound of helicopters and gunshots overhead. The staff in the hospital, those who were in charge of them, changed their uniforms because they were afraid that others would know that they were in the army, so they had to change their appearance. He also knew that the injured students and citizens were carried in below, and he could hear many people shouting, "Help, doctor, help me!" No one bandaged them, and there was no emergency treatment. Some people bled out and died. He said they didn't even know how to stop the bleeding. He said: Deng Xiaoping was really cruel!

At this time, my father told us: During the "April 5th Incident" in 1976, the Central Political Bureau held a meeting to discuss what to do. Wu De was there, and Deng Xiaoping was also there. At the meeting, someone proposed to mobilize the army to suppress it. It was my father who went there and said that the army could not be used, so the army was not sent. My father suggested restoring the loudspeakers in the square to carry out propaganda and evacuate the masses. After a day, most people had left, and only a small number of people were left at the Monument to the People's Heroes, so workers were sent in.

Q: From his letters, it seems that he was also concerned about international events, such as the disintegration of the former Soviet Union. Is that right?

A: Yes, he was also concerned about international events, such as Iraq and Saddam. Will the United States win if it attacks Iraq? My father said at the beginning that Saddam would definitely not be able to defeat the United States because he did not have Mao Zedong Thought and did not have a proletarian party.

Of course, he was also concerned about the disintegration of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and he expressed this a lot in his letters. But this did not shake his beliefs, but made his understanding deeper. He used the basic principles of Marxism to analyze what was happening in the world and found that Marxism was indeed "universally applicable." He

never gave up those statements, such as "class struggle," "proletarian revolution," "standpoint, viewpoint and method," "dialectical materialism," "historical materialism," "communism will definitely replace capitalism," etc. He found that using these views to analyze the world situation was still very accurate. He felt that the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was inevitable, just as the cause of communism in China is now at a low ebb. He still adheres to the dialectical materialist view of history. He believes that the road is tortuous and long, but one day, the masses will awaken and continue to move forward. There will be high tides and low tides. He said that the proletarian revolution will struggle repeatedly for hundreds of years. After the great waves, new leaders will emerge.

(9) Evaluation of the Cultural Revolution

"Deng Xiaoping completely negated the Cultural Revolution, which is unfair."

Q: Does your father think the Cultural Revolution was a failure?

A: The Cultural Revolution was certainly a failure. The leaders and executors were all overthrown. How could it not be a failure? However, the masses were still educated. For the cause of the proletarian revolution, Chairman Mao raised the flag and rushed to this height during this great revolution. When he died, the flag fell down, and all the people who protected the flag died. Of course, my father did not want such an ending. But he always believed that the proletarian revolution would win, and now is the low point of this cause.

In my memory, he always said, "Believe in Chairman Mao, believe in Mao Zedong Thought"; "Believe in the masses, believe in the Party." Later, he emphasized more, "Believe in the people, believe that the masses are the creators of history." In 2000, his hands were shaking badly, but he still copied down many of Chairman Mao's poems, including "He Xinlang-Reading History". She Later, through treatment, the shaking condition improved. In 2001, on the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's death, he copied "He Xinlang-Reading History" again. When I went to see him, he gave it to me and explained it to me with great interest. Looking back on these, I think he had a deeper understanding of Mao Zedong Thought. His view of historical materialism was also more firm: history is created by the people. The Cultural Revolution was Chairman Mao's enlightenment education for the masses to continue the revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an experiment, and another Paris Commune. It's just that we didn't die in front of the wall of the Paris Commune like the people at that time.

Q: Many people also want to know, if your father and his team had succeeded at that time, what would China be like now? Would there be the same economic development? Does your father admit that the people's lives are much better now than before?

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⁵⁸ See Appendix

A: My father certainly admits that the people's lives are much better now than before. However, if they continue to move forward according to the path they planned at that time, the people's lives will also be much better. Society will always progress. They also need to develop production, grasp the revolution to promote production, and it is not just Deng Xiaoping who wants to develop production. Moreover, my father and his team planned to take the path of common prosperity, not to let some people get rich first.

In 1976, when my father and I met for the last time before being imprisoned, we discussed how to do our work better and more perfect. I came from the grassroots and knew the lives of the people. I changed my name to Li Qun, which means to get into the lives of the masses. I am qualified to provide opinions from the masses, and my father also hopes to hear my views. For example, I once discussed the problem of residents' housing difficulties with my father. In the factory, I was responsible for the project of housing difficulty investigation and visited many families to investigate housing conditions. For example, some families of four live in a small room, and when they sleep, their heads are exposed. There are many similar situations. My father and his family realized that housing needs (part of text missing here – Trans.)

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Q: Does he think that after Deng Xiaoping came to power, he implemented capitalism in China?

A: No, he doesn't think China has become capitalist. I discussed this with him that summer in 1976. I asked him if China would restore capitalism in the future, and he said that China would not return to capitalism, because China had never had capitalism in the true sense of the word. China will only return to the state of semi-colonial, semi-feudal bureaucratic comprador capitalism.⁵⁹

Q: What did your father think of Deng Xiaoping?

A: Regarding Deng Xiaoping, my father always said that he was very capable of working. My father later told me: "When Deng Xiaoping first resumed work, as soon as he returned to Beijing, he found a place to live on his own, unlike us, which was arranged by the prime minister to let us live in Diaoyutai." "As soon as Deng Xiaoping started the meeting, he took out a list of more than 100 people and arranged their work. But at that time the various departments were streamlined. Dad said, "The chairman asked me to brief him, and he didn't listen at all."

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⁵⁹ The summer of 1976 was before the arrest of Zhang Chunqiao and the others. The view was understandable at the time, and in the next two decades, Deng and the revisionists did open China to foreign capital and exhibit the character of compradors. Restoration can lead a less-developed socialist economy to a semi-colonial status. But China became a capitalist, and eventually, social-imperialist country because it had strong State and private monopolising capital, a developed financial sector, and a concentration of state power and armed force – Trans.

Dad also said that when commanding the Xisha naval battle⁶⁰, Deng Xiaoping was very skilful and decisive in command, and the orders were very clear. Therefore, Deng Xiaoping came back to work, a bit like an old horse with great achievements, who came back to lead the way. It's a pity that the old horse knows the way and goes back.⁶¹

Q: Did your dad comment on anyone else in the Gang of Four?

A: He rarely commented on others, and he had little to no comment on the fall of the Gang of Four. Regarding the Mao family, he didn't say anything at all. He felt that even if you have physical pain, you have to be patient. Aren't communists made of special materials, what can't they endure?

Q: What was the situation before he died? I heard that he had a dream about Deng Xiaoping when he was critically ill, what happened?

A: At the beginning of 2005, my dad started getting sick before the Chinese New Year, from January to April. I knew his condition very well, and I had been trying to get him to Shanghai for treatment, but those above did not agree. So, he lived in the hospital in Jiangyin, and the people who guarded him slept on the hospital bed next to him. My grandson was two years old at the time, and his aunt's father got sick and took a leave of absence to go back. So, I have to bring my grandchildren. Anyway, I was running at both ends, and I was so anxious. When I was in the hospital in Jiangyin, the guards would come to me from time to time with bills and tell me how much money they had spent on my father.

In the end, when they said that it cost hundreds of thousands, I couldn't help it, and I told them, if you allow me to bring him back, I don't want you to pay a penny, now I can take him away, and you don't need to spend money. Then they stopped showing me the bills.

My dad saw birth, old age, sickness and death very clearly. He said, "I'm not afraid of death, but I'm not looking for death either." He also knew the process of the elderly man's illness, because he was in charge of the medical team of three elderly people. I finally signed, don't do tracheostomy, don't resuscitate. When he was critically ill, several of our children were with him, and I watched him breathe.

At the end of the day, my husband asked me to ask my dad if there was anything else he wanted to say to us. But I couldn't ask, and despite my best efforts to hide it, my father knew he was critically ill.

⁶⁰ The Xisha Battle (Paracel Islands) was a military engagement between the naval forces of the People's Republic of China and Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) on January 19, 1974. The battle was an escalation of the Republic of Vietnam Navy's efforts to expel Chinese fishing vessels from the vicinity of some of the Xisha Islands. During the course of the battle, the People's Liberation Army Navy established permanent control over the Paracel Islands – Trans.

 $^{^{61}}$ Weiwei uses the expression 老马识途 (lǎo mǎ shī tú), a proverb which translates as "the old horse knows the road", referring to a person who knows how to do something or resolve an issue due to their extensive experience – Trans.

When he was critically ill, he once said to me: "Chairman Mao said that there should be a celebration meeting when the elderly died, and he also said that he would be cremated, and he signed it." But Hua Guofeng did neither. But he held a celebration party for me, and it was still in Tiananmen Square, so many people, such a big scene. I saw it on TV later, and I really didn't expect it, for me. I've had enough for my whole life. Dad was referring to the October 1976 rally in Tiananmen Square to bring down the Gang of Four.

Also, during his critical illness, he told me about a strange dream: "I have been dreaming for the past few days, dreaming that Deng Xiaoping came to me. I said, "Aren't you in the Pacific Ocean?" How did you get here? Deng Xiaoping said, I have nowhere to go now, and no one wants me. I went to Chairman Mao, and the chairman said: It's been very busy these days, what is there to say when he comes, it's not a white cat and a black cat, just wait. Jiang Qing ran over and scolded: "Deng the thief!" I went back to the Premier, who also said that there was nothing to say. The Premier said that you had also scolded me and I had also scolded you, so what else could the two of us have to say. Deng Xiaoping said to me: "The chairman will listen to you now, so you can say something for me." I said to Deng Xiaoping, "Now the Chairman hasn't asked me to go, even if I go, what can I say for you?"

Dad said this for a long time, and then said to me, "You see I'm in a good mood." "I recorded this passage in the address book that I carried with me at the time, and I found the original record in the past two days. Now that I know more things, I can understand a little, that is to say, from my father's dream, I can see the relationship between Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, as well as the relationship between my father and Deng Xiaoping. If it weren't for the "April 5 Incident", history might not have been the same at all.

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Appendix: He Xing Lang- Reading History

(Spring 1964)

When man and monkey waved goodbye,
Leaving some tools of the Stone Age,
It was man's childish age.
When bronze and iron melted, flames rose high,
When did man learn the art, you know?
But a few thousand years ago.
Few men exchanged broad smiles instead of blows:
They shot each other on the battlefield with bows.
The plain turned red

With the blood they shed.

⁶² After Deng Xiaoping's death in 1997, his ashes were scattered into the sea in accordance with his will.

One book just read,
White hair snowed on my head.
I remember but a few lines,
A few traces and signs.
The sacred deeds of emperors and kings
Deceived so many people for so many Springs.
How many of them deserved a real heroes name?
Rebels like Dao Zhi and Zhuang Qiao outdid their fame.
Chen Sheng revolted then
With his axe-wielding men.
Their songs ne'er ceased:
Bright was the East.

(Translation by Xu Yuanzhong. This poem was first published in Red Flag, No. 9, 1978. Mao reflects on humanity's development and the various stages it has passed through. He dismisses the achievements of the rulers and pays tribute to leaders of peasant uprisings and says that owing to the continuity of class struggle, there is cause for optimism – Trans.)