

# Selected Works of Wang Hongwen

1967-1976



*Chunqiao Publications*



Proletarians of the world, unite!







王淮文



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***LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!***



## Quotations from Chairman Mao

If our children's generation go in for revisionism and move towards their opposite, so that although they still nominally have socialism it is in fact capitalism, then our grandsons will certainly rise up in revolt and overthrow their fathers, because the masses will not be satisfied.

In social struggles, the forces representing the advanced classes sometimes fail, not because their thinking is incorrect, but because the advanced forces are temporarily inferior to the reactionary forces in terms of the balance of power in the struggle, so they fail for the time being, but they will succeed one day in the future.









































































## Original Publication Note

As the great leader Chairman Mao taught us: “The masses of people, who make up more than ninety percent of the population, will always engage in revolution, will always support Marxism-Leninism. They will not support revisionism. Some may temporarily support it, but in the end, they will eventually abandon it. They will gradually awaken, they will always oppose imperialism and the reactionary forces of all countries, and they will always oppose revisionism.”

In recent years, an increasing number of workers and young students have been awakened by the harsh realities of life. They have begun to spontaneously engage with Marxism-Leninism, and their enthusiasm for study has reached unprecedented levels. To meet the urgent need for the working class and revolutionary youth to study Marxist-Leninist works, and to commemorate the great labor movement leader and rebel hero Vice Chairman Wang Hongwen, we have compiled a selection of Vice Chairman Wang’s important works from the period of socialist revolution, based on the first edition of Selected Works of Mao Zedong. This includes documents, manuscripts, and official records of speeches drafted by Vice Chairman Wang and publicly published.

Due to insufficient experience and the failure to widely consult public opinion, there may be some omissions in this publication. We kindly ask for the readers’ understanding.

Shanghai Anti-Revisionist Publishing House  
Editorial Committee of Vice Chairman Wang’s Works  
January 4, 2022



## Chunqiao Publications — Publisher's Note

This second edition of the *Selected Works of Wang Hongwen* is released on 6 December 2025, marking the 90th anniversary of Comrade Wang Hongwen's birth. To commemorate this occasion, we present a newly prepared English translation of the collection first published by the Shanghai Anti-Revisionist Publishing House on 4 January 2022.

Due to the inexcusable errors in the first edition, we urge anyone that purchased the first edition to please contact us on X/Twitter or our email. If you notice any errors in this volume, please contact us as well.

“A true Communist must act without any selfish considerations and dare to go against the tide, fearing neither removal from his post, expulsion from the Party, imprisonment, divorce nor guillotine.”

— Wang Hongwen

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December 6 2025



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1967



**The Heinous Crime of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee in Aiming Its Guns at the Proletarian Headquarters — Speech by Comrade Wang Hongwen, Representative of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters.**

Red Guard warriors, revolutionary rebel comrades, and friends:

Is the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee truly the Proletarian Headquarters, or is it the Bourgeois Headquarters? The sensational 'Anting Incident' has already provided a clear answer. The 'Anting Incident' in mid-November last year marked the beginning of a new historical stage for the Shanghai workers' movement. The revolutionary rebel forces of Shanghai workers were born in the storm of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution! The revolutionary rebels across the city and the country were filled with joy and encouragement! Amidst the cheers of the revolutionary people, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, led by Chen Puxian and Cao Diqu, thoroughly exposed its counter-revolutionary nature.

In the 'Anting Incident,' the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao, resisted the Central Committee, turned their cannons towards the Central Cultural Revolution Group, attacked the Proletarian Headquarters, and suppressed the workers' movement and all revolutionary left forces. The bourgeois counter-revolutionary line of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee has come to an end and undergone a qualitative change.

With immense anger, I expose the counter-revolutionary crimes committed by Chen Puxian, Cao Diqu, and their group during the 'Anting Incident' — their opposition to Chairman Mao, resistance to the Central Cultural Revolution, and their siege of Comrade Zhang Chunqiao.

**First, they brutally suppressed the workers' revolutionary actions and crazily opposed the two "Five Requirements."**

In November of last year, the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters was preparing to be established, signaling the imminent climax of the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai's factories and enterprises. The leaders of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee

stubbornly resisted this revolutionary tide. Even before the founding conference, several worker comrades approached Ma Tianshui, who was at Jiaotong University at the time, and Ma said he needed to go back and study it further. On the eve of the conference, four worker representatives went to Kangping Road to see Cao Diqu. Although Cao was clearly at the Secretariat, he claimed he was not there, and someone else came out to block them. On the day of the conference, not a single leader from the Municipal Party Committee went to listen to the workers' criticisms of the committee. Their attitude was so hostile that they intended to strangle this revolutionary organization in its cradle.

After the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee masterminded the suppression of the revolutionary workers in the "Anting Incident," the Central Cultural Revolution Group promptly sent Comrade Zhang Chunqiao to Shanghai to correctly handle the "Anting Incident." On November 13, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao signed the five requirements of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters at the Cultural Square. After returning from the Cultural Square, Cao Diqu, who was at the Secretariat, was very dissatisfied and angrily said, "Are we all wrong?!" Ma Tianshui and Wang Yiping, who were present at the time, disagreed with the signing. The next morning, Cao Diqu continued to complain at the Secretariat, saying, "Once Spring Bridge signs, we are forced into a passive position!"

**Second, they opposed Chairman Mao and the Central Committee, and crazily resisted the Central Cultural Revolution Group.**

On the 13th, after Comrade Zhang Chunqiao signed at the Cultural Square, he called Comrade Chen Boda, who fully agreed with Zhang's actions. On the 14th, the Central Standing Committee held a meeting and formally endorsed Comrade Zhang Chunqiao's handling of the matter. Two days later, the report reached Chairman Mao, who was already informed. According to Chairman Mao's instructions: "It can be done first and reported later, as facts come before concepts." Our great leader, Chairman Mao, also agreed with Comrade Zhang Chunqiao's approach. This is the greatest support and most profound encouragement for the working class from our most revered leader! The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee was aware of Chairman Mao's opinion, the situation at the Central Standing Committee meeting, and the



attitude of the Central Cultural Revolution Group. However, Chen Puxian, Cao Diqu, and their group, in a crazed and reckless manner, continued to resist. Just look at the facts:

On the 13th, after signing at Cultural Square, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao immediately called Comrade Chen Boda. Chen Puxian, the hidden mastermind behind the scenes, personally intervened, and along with Wei Wenbo and Cao Diqu, made a call to Comrade Chen Boda. Chen Puxian's attitude was extremely hostile, repeatedly asking, "Why?" and raising many questions: "How much power did the Central Cultural Revolution give Zhang (referring to Comrade Zhang Chunqiao)? Why didn't he discuss it with us?" In response to this brazen attitude, Comrade Chen Boda sternly pointed out that Comrade Zhang Chunqiao should be allowed to handle the issue boldly and that they should trust him and give him that power. Chen Puxian, Cao Diqu, and their group were very afraid of this statement and dared not pass it on to the Municipal Party Committee Standing Committee.

More than ten days later, under Comrade Zhang Chunqiao's questioning, Cao Diqu finally said a few words at the Standing Committee meeting. After Comrade Zhang Chunqiao signed the second set of five requirements, Comrade Wang Li from the Central Cultural Revolution Group called the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee to express support. The Municipal Party Committee's henchman—Office Director Su Chao—took Wang Li's phone record and openly insulted him in front of Wang Yiping, saying, "Wang Li supporting Spring Bridge's five requirements is nonsense! Let the Central Cultural Revolution officials come down and handle the issue themselves!" What kind of words are these? These are counter-revolutionary shouts! And the Municipal Party Committee Secretary, Wang Yiping, did not say a word in response to this counter-revolutionary outcry. This completely proves that you are all agents attacking the Proletarian Headquarters! What is especially serious is that Chen Puxian, Cao Diqu, and others had the audacity to block the voice of our most revered leader, Chairman Mao, and the voice of the Central Committee led by Chairman Mao. On the 14th, the Central Standing Committee held a meeting and agreed with Comrade Zhang Chunqiao's handling of the matter. On the 16th, Chairman Mao issued an important instruction, but the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee did not convey it. By the day before Comrade Zhang

Chunqiao returned to Beijing (the 24th), it still had not been conveyed Chairman Mao's and the Central Committee's instructions, and he declared Chairman Mao's and the Central Committee's instructions at the meeting. During the meeting, Cao Diqu even openly expressed his confusion, saying, "I can follow the organization, but I don't understand it ideologically, I have reservations." Comrades! Think about this for a moment—what kind of behavior is this? This is an act of opposing Chairman Mao and opposing the Central Committee! Cao Diqu, answer this: why are you opposing Chairman Mao and the Central Committee? You are a thoroughly counter-revolutionary revisionist, and that's why you dare to act so recklessly!

**Third, the Municipal Party Committee Standing Committee convened a meeting to besiege Comrade Zhang Chunqiao, maliciously attacking and slandering the workers' rebel forces, creating a counter-current in Shanghai aimed at attacking the Central Cultural Revolution.**

On the day before Comrade Zhang Chunqiao, representing the Central Cultural Revolution, correctly handled the "Anting Incident" and left Shanghai, Chen Puxian and Cao Diqu masterminded the so-called expanded Standing Committee meeting, implementing white terror, reversing right and wrong, confusing black and white, and encircling the revolutionary faction, launching an attack on Comrade Zhang Chunqiao. This was a typical case of attacking the Proletarian Headquarters, suppressing the revolutionary masses, and implementing a black meeting for the restoration of capitalism. This expanded Standing Committee meeting clearly showed that the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee had already degenerated, rotted away, and become a tool for the restoration of capitalism. At the meeting, the Municipal Party Committee Secretary and the standing committee members all directed their attacks at Comrade Zhang Chunqiao and the Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters. Now, let us expose their black words to the public: Cao Diqu said foolishly: "I don't understand this. I can accept this organization, but why must we also write 'the complete responsibility lies with the East China Bureau and the Shanghai Municipal Committee'?" For some undesirable landlords, rich people, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists, we must explain to the workers that they

cannot support these people. If they do, it will be politically detrimental to them.” This is a vicious attack on the workers’ rebel forces, trying to label them as counter-revolutionary! Wang Yiping said foolishly: “That signing (the first five requirements) caught us unprepared, and we didn’t fully understand what problems it might bring. We should have taken the initiative rather than being passive. By taking the initiative on this issue, we became passive on many other issues. When Comrade Chunqiao came back that day, I felt completely surprised.”

The head of the Municipal Social Education Office, Yang Huijie, said a bunch of nonsense: “The majority actually listens to us. They were dissatisfied with Comrade Cao Diqu’s response and wanted to find Comrade Zhang Chunqiao, accusing Zhang Chunqiao of being afraid of death and selling out the interests of the working class. The majority listens to the work team, but the work team’s ideology has not been corrected yet.” “The older workers in the majority have strong class feelings and deep feelings for the Party.” (Comrade Zhang Chunqiao immediately pointed out: “We cannot say that the rebel workers have no feelings for the Party.”) The head of the Municipal Industrial Production Department, Zhou Bi, provocatively said:

“... Many are asking the Municipal Party Committee: Why did Zhang Chunqiao, Han Zheyi, and Cao Diqu sign? Does this align with the spirit of the Central Committee’s instructions? Does it align with Chairman Mao’s thought? Does it align with the ‘Sixteen Articles’? The questions are very sharp. ... They also called for a mass rally of tens of thousands to denounce the Municipal Party Committee’s bourgeois reactionary line (referring to the signing of the two sets of five requirements) and to take revolutionary action to destroy the Rebel Headquarters. ‘We need to debate with Zhang Chunqiao.’” The Municipal Party Committee’s Organization Minister, Yang Shifa, said: “Factories and enterprises have their own characteristics; they are currently engaged in the ‘Four Clean-ups,’ and the workforce is quite complex. There are landowners, rich people, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists—surely there will be some people trying to overturn the case. The students don’t understand the situation; if they don’t have a class perspective, they will be deceived.” Comrade Zhang Chunqiao immediately countered: “You can’t emphasize this point. Now the students are investigating their history; don’t underestimate their awareness.” Zhang Chunqiao also said: “Just because there are a few bad people in an organization doesn’t mean

it's not a revolutionary organization. Even in the Communist Party of China, there are bad elements, and the Central Standing Committee isn't free from 'monsters' and 'evil spirits'." At the meeting, the Standing Committee member and Vice Mayor, Song Jiwen, threatened Comrade Zhang Chunqiao with some production figures, saying: "We must now make the most difficult preparations. Chaos means either a big, medium, or small chaos. A small chaos, like the current situation, will affect 10% of things. A medium chaos will have a bigger impact, and a large chaos will paralyze life. Are we afraid or not? If not, then let it chaos," said Standing Committee member and Vice Mayor Zhang Chengzong. "Implementing the first and fifth requirements actually affected production. Can we continue this way? What is the policy? Of course, we must prepare for a big chaos ideologically." (Comrade Zhang Chunqiao responded: "The so-called chaos in Shanghai today is not caused by the existence of this headquarters. We cannot confuse cause and effect. The chaos existed first, and that's why the headquarters came into being, not the other way around." He further clarified: "Acknowledging this organization is not only a constitutional issue, but also a matter of what attitude to take towards mass organizations. If you dissolve it in this situation, wouldn't you be acting like Chen Duxiu?" )

At the meeting, the counter-revolutionary revisionist Yang Xiguang maliciously slandered the revolutionary masses. A Standing Committee meeting indeed exposed a grotesque scene! Look at this: What kind of meeting are they holding? What kind of party is holding this meeting? What are they doing? Are they carrying out the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, or are they attempting a capitalist and revisionist restoration? Under their shouting, a black wind of attacking the Central Cultural Revolution and "removing Zhang Chunqiao" emerged in the city. It is evident that the "Anting Incident" exposed how the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, led by Chen Puxian and Cao Diqui, had already degenerated into a bourgeois headquarters. On such a crucial issue of right and wrong, not a single person from the Secretariat to the Standing Committee stood with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, not a single person supported the Central Cultural Revolution, and not a single person supported Comrade Zhang Chunqiao. Against such a headquarters, guided by the reactionary lines of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, we revolutionary rebels must overthrow it, we must smash it! Down with the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee led by Chen

Puxian and Cao Diqu! Anyone who opposes Chairman Mao, we will smash their heads!

(1967.01.07 Shanghai “Workers’ Rebel Newspaper”)

## Completely Expose And Discredit China's Khrushchev

Wang Hongwen

1967.04.07

Wang Hongwen, representative of the Revolutionary Mass Organizations of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee, and leader of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters.

Comrade Qi Benyu's article "Patriotism or Betrayal?" sounded the battle cry to politically and ideologically crush the number one capitalist-road leading faction within the Party. Comrade Qi Benyu exposed the black rhetoric of the number one capitalist-road leading faction within the Party, fully revealing their vile, bourgeois nature as obedient sons and grandsons. Statements such as "China doesn't have too much capitalism, it has too little," "Today, capitalist exploitation is not only not evil, but rather commendable," "The more exploitation, the greater the contribution, the more glorious it is," "The working people are not opposed to exploitation, but welcome it," and "If there are more capitalists and more exploitation, then we will feel comfortable," are utterly nonsensical logic that infuriates the working class. These are the words of a true bourgeois agent, a complete sycophant! Our great leader Chairman Mao earnestly warned us: **"We must be especially vigilant against personal opportunists and conspirators like Khrushchev, and prevent such bad people from seizing leadership at all levels of the Party and the country."**

The number one capitalist-road leading faction within the Party is exactly the kind of personal opportunist and conspirator like Khrushchev. We, the working class, are the masters of the country. We are most concerned with the future and destiny of our great motherland, and with ensuring that our country never changes its color. We will never allow such ambitious schemers and conspirators to continue deceiving people. We must resolutely pull down this Chinese Khrushchev, push him aside, and thoroughly expose him! We must expose his use of power behind Chairman Mao's back, gathering party allies, and plotting a nationwide capitalist restoration conspiracy. We will thoroughly defeat and discredit his party allies in Shanghai. We must completely dismantle the bourgeois

reactionary line he proposed and vigorously promoted, and thoroughly expose the heinous crimes committed by him and his party allies during the Shanghai Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must fully reveal his decades of reactionary words and actions, expose his past, and settle accounts with him. In particular, we must settle the score for his and his allies' crimes in serving the reactionary bourgeoisie in Shanghai, persecuting the working class in Shanghai. We must thoroughly criticize his poisonous counter-revolutionary writings, such as his anti-revolutionary, anti-class struggle, anti-proletarian power seizure, anti-proletarian dictatorship, and anti-Mao Zedong Thought treatise *Cultivation*, and completely eradicate its poisonous influence in Shanghai. Chairman Mao taught us: **"Whatever the enemy opposes, we must support; whatever the enemy supports, we must oppose."**

We have recognized the false revolutionary and counter-revolutionary nature of China's Khrushchev's bourgeois reactionary line. We must more firmly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and engage in a sharp struggle against China's Khrushchev. He sows discord and encourages mass struggle against the masses, but we will resolutely implement Chairman Mao's instructions and carry out the great unity of the proletarian revolutionaries. He seeks to protect his counter-revolutionary revisionist followers and engages in "attacking the masses while protecting a small clique," but we will resolutely follow Chairman Mao's cadre policy, uniting the majority and targeting the small clique. He uses a bourgeois worldview, hypocritical philosophy, and decadent lifestyle to corrupt us, but we will resolutely adhere to Chairman Mao's teachings, always maintaining a revolutionary style of humility, caution, avoiding arrogance and rashness, and struggling hard.

Chairman Mao taught us: **"Revolutionary war is a war of the masses; only by mobilizing the masses can we wage war, and only by relying on the masses can we wage war."** We must launch a mass criticism campaign to discredit China's Khrushchev, one that engages everyone in thinking, speaking, and writing. We, the Shanghai working class, deeply admire our great leader Chairman Mao and passionately love the invincible thought of Mao Zedong. Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, the great mentor of world revolution, and the brightest, most brilliant red sun in our hearts. Mao Zedong Thought is the pinnacle of contemporary Marxism-Leninism, the highest and most living form of Marxism-Leninism. When the number one bourgeois

agent in the Party opposes Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought, we will thoroughly defeat him, thoroughly discredit him, and ensure that he can never rise again!

(Published in *People's Daily* on April 7, 1967)



## **Greatly Boost the Revolutionary Spirit of the People and Utterly Crush the Enemy's Arrogance**

Wang Hongwen

**1967.06.18**

Wang Hongwen, leader of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters.

Exciting news arrives: Our first hydrogen bomb has successfully exploded! This is yet another great victory of the boundless thought of Mao Zedong! It is another brilliant achievement of the unprecedented Proletarian Cultural Revolution! The revolutionary rebels of Shanghai's working class are cheering this great victory with the utmost enthusiasm!

Our most revered great leader Chairman Mao said: "The wealth of society is created by workers, peasants, and intellectual laborers themselves. As long as these people take control of their own destiny, and follow a Marxist-Leninist path, not avoiding problems but addressing them with a proactive attitude, any difficulty in the world can be solved." Under the radiant guidance of the invincible thought of Mao Zedong, and with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line directing us, we have finally overcome all the difficulties in producing the hydrogen bomb and have achieved ahead of schedule the great call of our great leader Chairman Mao to develop atomic and hydrogen bombs.

The successful explosion of our country's first hydrogen bomb has greatly boosted the revolutionary spirit of the world's people and utterly crushed the arrogance of the imperialists, revisionists, and reactionaries. This great victory has strongly supported the Vietnamese people, who are bravely engaged in the anti-American and national salvation war, and has supported the Arab people, who are resisting the imperialist aggression of the United States, Britain, and their tool, Israel. This great victory is a heavy blow to imperialism, modern revisionism, and reactionaries in all countries. At the critical moment when our country's Proletarian Cultural Revolution is entering its final decisive battle, the successful explosion of the first hydrogen bomb is an immense encouragement to the proletarian revolutionaries nationwide and a powerful blow to the

small clique of capitalist-roaders in power within the Party. The successful explosion of the first hydrogen bomb has also greatly strengthened our national defense and further consolidated our country's proletarian dictatorship.

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In the favorable situation in Shanghai, the proletarian revolutionaries have risen to a new high point in actively learning and applying Chairman Mao's works. Guided by Mao Zedong Thought, Shanghai's Cultural Revolution has entered a new phase. The workers' revolutionary faction in Shanghai is actively implementing the decision of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee, "Fight to Strengthen the Proletarian Dictatorship," and raising the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought even higher. They are further advancing the revolutionary mass criticism, promoting the revolutionary great unity and the "three combining" of the revolution, and carrying out struggle, criticism, and transformation in their respective units. During this joyous nationwide celebration, we are determined to further learn and apply Chairman Mao's works, stand shoulder to shoulder with the proletarian revolutionaries across the country, and fight for the complete victory of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

(Published in *People's Daily* on June 18, 1967)

## Eliminate Bad Work Styles

Wang Hongwen

1967.07.12

***Editor's note:*** Chairman Mao teaches us: It is essential to guide the petty-bourgeois ideology within our ranks onto the path of the proletarian revolution. This is a key issue for achieving victory in the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

As the Proletarian Cultural Revolution continues to deepen, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological styles such as anarchism, individualism, subjectivism, sectarianism, and factionalism have been exposed in some revolutionary mass organizations, particularly among certain leaders. These ideologies disrupt Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and affect the overall direction of the struggle. Overcoming these erroneous thoughts is an important issue currently faced by the proletarian revolutionary faction. The most effective way to overcome petty-bourgeois ideology and guide it onto the path of proletarian revolution is to conduct criticism and self-criticism earnestly through rectification, arming our minds with Mao Zedong Thought. Only in this way can our ranks truly become a highly proletarianized, highly militant revolutionary force, capable of achieving complete victory in the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

After a year of the Cultural Revolution, we, the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Faction, have assumed a position of power. This change in political status has led to two developments within our ranks: the majority of comrades, guided by Mao Zedong Thought, have continually transformed their worldviews, raised their ideological consciousness, and maintained close ties with the masses. However, some comrades have experienced shifts in their ideological style. Some comrades have developed an arrogant attitude, considering themselves part of the left while being unwilling to listen to the opinions of the masses, particularly differing opinions. They are quick to label others as "counter-revolutionary," "old conservatives overturning the order," or "opponents of power seizure." Some cling stubbornly to their own "faction," saying things like, "I hold the power, so even the united front must follow me."

Some comrades fail to evaluate cadres according to Chairman Mao's cadre policies, instead using personal likes and dislikes as the standard for whether someone can be included. Others exhibit severe anarchism, rejecting proletarian organization and discipline, and acting recklessly as they please. The existence of these undesirable tendencies has interfered with the revolutionary great unity and the "three combines," hindered the in-depth development of mass criticism, obstructed the focus on revolution and production, and weakened and damaged the revolutionary organization's combat effectiveness.

To remain loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must focus on the transformation of our worldview. Chairman Mao said, "**The transformation of the worldview is a fundamental change.**" We must never think that because the revolutionary rebels have taken power, the proletarian worldview has already been established, and there is no longer any need for further ideological transformation. On the contrary, the change in political status places even higher demands on our ideological transformation. In the past, when we were not in power, the influence of errors was somewhat less significant. Now that we are in power, if we do not pay attention to transforming the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thoughts in our minds, they will stubbornly manifest and interfere with the proletarian revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao teaches us:

We must be skilled at guiding the petty-bourgeois thoughts within our ranks onto the path of proletarian revolution. This is a key issue for achieving victory in the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must always remember Chairman Mao's teachings, focus on transforming our worldview, thoroughly break the bourgeois worldview, establish the proletarian worldview, and uphold the absolute authority of Mao Zedong Thought in our minds. Carrying out rectification and engaging in criticism and self-criticism is an effective method for transforming our worldview. Chairman Mao said, "**We have criticism and self-criticism, this Marxist-Leninist weapon. We can get rid of undesirable practices and maintain good practices.**" The view that one's actions and ideas are perfect and correct, and that there is no need for criticism and self-criticism, is erroneous. It contradicts the epistemology of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We, the proletarian revolutionaries, have ac-

completed many good things and made significant contributions during this Cultural Revolution. However, we must never consider ourselves the leftist elites, put on airs, speak bureaucratically, or become arrogant. We must always remember Chairman Mao's teaching: "Modesty makes progress, while arrogance leads to regression." The reason we were able to seize power from the small clique of capitalist-roaders within the Party was not because of any single individual or a few people, nor was it through fists and sticks. It was due to the invincible Mao Zedong Thought and the broad revolutionary masses armed with Mao Zedong Thought.

Similarly, after assuming power, we should remain humble and cautious, avoid arrogance and impatience, listen to the masses' opinions, accept their criticisms, and always be the students of the people. Only in this way can we continually shed the political "microbes" that have tainted us, gain the support of the masses, and remain forever loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. If our comrades become complacent on this issue, detach from the masses, or even begin to suppress them, we will eventually make mistakes in our direction and our line. Of course, mutual criticism within the revolutionary faction should be constructive, gentle, and based on the desire for unity. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Criticism of the people's shortcomings is necessary... but it must be from the true standpoint of the people, with a sincere passion to protect and educate the people. If comrades are treated as enemies, it is as if one is standing on the enemy's side."

We strongly oppose personal attacks, emotional outbursts, venting personal grievances, or seeking revenge. We also oppose indiscriminate criticism, where distinctions between the main forces and secondary forces are ignored, and where one's opponent is struck down without proper consideration. Such actions only cause pain to friends and pleasure to enemies. Through a year of struggle, we have deeply realized: as long as we adhere to Mao Zedong Thought and firmly stand on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we will achieve victory and move forward rapidly. However, as soon as we deviate, even slightly, from Mao Zedong Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we will make mistakes and face setbacks and failures. We, the proletarian revolutionaries, must closely follow Chairman Mao. We must strive to study Chairman Mao's works, arm ourselves with Mao Zedong Thought, and constantly combat the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies in our minds.

We must build our ranks into a highly revolutionary, scientific, and organized force that raises the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought.

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## **Make a New Leap in the Revolutionary Great United Front**

Wang Hongwen

**1967.09.20**

Currently, the situation of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution across the country is extremely favorable! The situation in Shanghai is also excellent and continuing to improve. With the momentum of the revolutionary mass criticism, the two factions of workers in districts such as Zhabei, Yangpu, and Putuo in Shanghai have already united. Other districts, units, and factories are also actively preparing to achieve the revolutionary great united front. More than 8,000 factories in the city, representing over 83% of the total, have already realized the revolutionary great united front. Now, the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses of workers in the city are actively creating conditions with the greatest revolutionary enthusiasm, preparing for a new leap in the revolutionary great united front. They are welcoming the 18th anniversary of the great founding of the People's Republic of China in the new high tide of the revolutionary great united front.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has issued the latest instruction to us: within the working class, there are no fundamental conflicts of interest. Under the proletarian dictatorship, there is even less reason for the working class to be divided into two opposing factions. This is a great battle command, the greatest care, love, trust, and support for our working class. Let us cheer again and again: Long live Chairman Mao! Long, long live Chairman Mao!

We, the proletarian revolutionaries, must unconditionally carry out Chairman Mao's latest instruction, immediately unite to carry out the revolution, unite to promote production, and unite to build an indestructible Great Wall. Let the imperialists, revisionists, reactionaries, and all the "monsters and ghosts" have nowhere to hide and tremble before our powerful strength! Let them perish! Within our working class, there are no fundamental conflicts of interest. Stirring up divisions and engaging in armed struggle is by no means a "revolutionary action," but rather falling into the trap set by the class enemy. The class enemies are creating divisions among workers and taking advantage of the chaos. We must not be deceived. As long as we achieve the revolutionary great united front,

we will expose the enemies. But why are some factories, enterprises, and institutions unable to unite? Some say, “You are the conservatives, your general direction is wrong, you cannot unite.” This reasoning does not align with the current situation. After more than a year of the Cultural Revolution, and after a thorough exposure and criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line, the vast majority of the workers who were once misled by conservative organizations have returned to Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. Now, in Shanghai, the conservative organizations are extremely few. In factories, the two opposing mass organizations are, by and large, revolutionary organizations, and the general direction of most of them is correct. They should all unite.

Revolutionary history is advancing, and the masses are always revolutionary. The leaders of the various revolutionary mass organizations must set an example for the great revolutionary united front. If the leaders’ thoughts are unclear, the broad masses of workers should push for the great united front. If the leaders are stubborn and unyielding, then the broad masses of workers should remove this obstacle and initiate the great united front on their own. Some say, “We have significant differences between the two factions, and our emotions are at odds, so we cannot unite.” The various revolutionary organizations within our worker ranks should not divide into “East factions” or “West factions.” We only have one “family,” and that is Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We should not divide into “Zhang factions” or “Li factions,” as we are all one faction—the proletarian revolutionary faction. The working class has one root and one vine, we share the same fate, breathe the same air, and are united in heart. Under Chairman Mao’s leadership, we are carrying out the Cultural Revolution and socialist construction. So, what opposing emotions cannot be eliminated? What contradictions cannot be resolved? What reason is there not to unite? Some say, “After you check your mistakes, then I will unite with you.” This is also an erroneous way of thinking. Revolutionary mass organizations should seek great unity and tolerate small differences. We, the working class, should have broad hearts, be lenient towards others and strict with ourselves, focus on the general direction of others, think about their strengths, find our own shortcomings, and engage in more self-criticism. Revolutionary organizations should wipe the slate clean of past grievances. Holding grudges against our class brothers is an act of revenge. If we need to settle scores, those scores should all be directed at



the class enemies, the bourgeois reactionary line, and at the small clique of capitalist-roaders within the Party, headed by China's Khrushchev. We must unite and launch a massive criticism and struggle against them. Some organizations are always trying to overpower or eliminate the other faction. They seize upon the other side's shortcomings or mistakes, exaggerate them endlessly, and focus on one aspect while ignoring the rest, hoping to use this to destroy the other side and achieve "unification." This is impossible and absolutely unacceptable. Such actions are an obstacle to the great united front. Every revolutionary organization must face reality, be pragmatic, and dare to acknowledge that the other side is also part of the revolutionary faction. Since we recognize that their general direction is correct, we should boldly acknowledge this and actively pursue the great united front.

We, the working class, are like brothers, sharing common love and common hatred. What we love endlessly is our great leader Chairman Mao, the great Communist Party of China, the great People's Liberation Army, and our great socialist motherland. What we hate is imperialism, headed by the United States, modern revisionism, led by the Soviet Communist Party, the small clique of capitalist-roaders in the Party, and all class enemies. We are fully capable and confident in exposing the class enemies' conspiracy to divide the workers' ranks, clearing the harmful influence of the bourgeois reactionary line, removing all kinds of obstacles, overcoming all difficulties, and immediately achieving the revolutionary great united front.

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## Resolutely implement the battle command of “Struggle Against Selfishness, Criticize Revisionism”

Wang Hongwen

1967.10.03

Wang Hongwen of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters.

The sound of songs reverberates through the sky, and good news is being frequently delivered. The hundreds of millions of people across the country, filled with revolutionary passion, are celebrating the 18th anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China, and warmly cheering the brilliant victories achieved in the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. On this glorious day, our vice commander-in-chief, Comrade Lin Biao, conveyed the latest battle command from our most revered great leader Chairman Mao: **“Struggle against selfishness, criticize revisionism.”**

We, the proletarian revolutionaries of Shanghai, and our worker comrades, resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's great instruction, following it unconditionally, one thousand times, ten thousand times.

The fundamental task of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao, is not only to deeply and thoroughly criticize and overthrow the small clique of capitalist-roaders within the Party, along with the various revisionist fallacies they propagate, but also to struggle against the “selfishness” within our own minds, to seize the power of “selfishness,” to transform people's souls, and to promote the revolution of thought. We must establish the absolute authority of Mao Zedong Thought and let Mao Zedong Thought occupy all positions.

Struggling against selfishness and criticizing revisionism are interconnected. Only by struggling against selfishness can we overcome the petty-bourgeois factionalism and establish the proletarian party spirit, thus

carrying out the criticism of revisionism effectively. Only by struggling against selfishness can we use the proletarian worldview to defeat the bourgeois worldview. Whether or not one dares to struggle against selfishness is the touchstone for distinguishing true proletarian revolutionaries from counterfeit ones. We must use the struggle against selfishness to ensure the criticism of revisionism, and use the criticism of revisionism to promote the struggle against selfishness, in order to achieve the complete victory of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The most powerful weapon for “struggling against selfishness and criticizing revisionism” is the invincible thought of Mao Zedong. After more than a year of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the largest small clique of capitalist-roaders within the Party and their agents in Shanghai have been exposed. Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line has deeply penetrated people’s hearts, and the absolute authority of Mao Zedong Thought has been established. This is the greatest achievement and a huge contribution to the international communist movement.

Looking back to last year’s National Day, the agents of China’s Khrushchev in Shanghai were still complacent, arrogant, and seemingly invincible. However, it was not long before these seemingly powerful figures were all brought down by us, the proletarian revolutionaries, in the revolutionary storm, and were struck down to the ground.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line and with the support of the People’s Liberation Army, the proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai have established a temporary power structure based on the revolutionary “three combines.” They have firmly grasped the seal of the proletarian dictatorship in their hands, creating a thriving new situation and achieving new victories in “grasping revolution, promoting production!”

In the course of this earth-shaking and great struggle, we, the proletarian revolutionaries, have also been greatly tempered and strengthened both ideologically and organizationally. This is an outstanding achievement. Just as the sea relies on the helmsman to navigate, all things grow with the sun, and in revolution, it is Mao Zedong Thought that guides us. The achievements are numerous, but the most fundamental and important one is that Mao Zedong Thought, the invincible force of victory, has been widely spread across the entire country, and the political consciousness of our revolutionary people has been unprecedentedly raised. We, the working class in Shanghai, following Chairman Mao’s teachings

that “the struggle of the proletariat and revolutionary people to transform the world includes the task of transforming both the objective world and our own subjective world,” and following Vice Chairman Lin’s directive, “We must see ourselves as part of the revolution while constantly considering ourselves as objects of the revolution,” have not only fought against the small clique of capitalist-roaders within the Party, but also fought fiercely against the “selfishness” in our own minds. We have carried out a revolution deep within our souls and launched a mass movement to study Chairman Mao’s works with the spirit of rectification.

Study classes for Chairman Mao’s works have been widely organized in various units, and many grassroots organizations have gradually formed a good atmosphere of reading Mao’s works daily, studying eagerly as if starving for knowledge. Many comrades have put their learning into practice, firmly implementing it in action, striving to overcome petty-bourgeois factionalism, and strengthening the proletarian party spirit. This has allowed them to closely follow Chairman Mao’s grand strategic plans, eliminate influences from both “left” and right sides, and firmly grasp the overall direction of the struggle.

Recently, our great leader Chairman Mao visited Shanghai, and this is our greatest happiness and honor. The working class listens most attentively to Chairman Mao’s words; whatever Chairman Mao says, we follow. Based on Chairman Mao’s latest instructions, we have rapidly initiated a new high point in the revolutionary great united front. The proletarian revolutionaries in the ten districts under the Workers’ General Headquarters have already achieved the revolutionary great united front. The revolutionary mass criticism, the revolutionary three combines, the struggle, criticism, and transformation in our respective units, and the focus on revolution and production have all seen new advances. This is the glorious victory of Chairman Mao’s latest instructions and the result of extensively studying Chairman Mao’s works. We must broaden our vision and look to the future, advancing with unwavering determination. We must use Mao Zedong Thought to further elevate our political consciousness, resolutely “struggle against selfishness, criticize revisionism,” completely eradicate petty-bourgeois factionalism, thoroughly eliminate selfishness, and firmly establish public-mindedness, achieving a revolution in thought. We must closely follow Chairman Mao’s grand strategic plans, riding the favorable wind of the revolutionary situation, and march forward with bold determination.

(Published in *People's Daily* on October 3, 1967)

**The important speech delivered by Comrade Wang Hongwen, a leading member of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee and a key leader of the Workers' General Headquarters, at the mass meeting held at the Railway Cultural Palace on the afternoon of December 22, 1967.**

Comrades and fellow fighters:

I am very pleased to attend this conference today. I am glad to see that the vast number of rebels and revolutionary comrades in the railway system have done a lot of work in various areas, such as advancing the revolution and promoting production. Especially given the current tense situation in railway transportation, holding such a meeting today is, in our view, extremely necessary. This meeting will help us better accomplish the passenger and freight transportation tasks within the railway system. I have not prepared a speech today but would like to share a few points based on my personal observations:

First, I want to address the issues that comrades are most concerned about, namely, the current situation of the railway and how to handle the ongoing struggle. Additionally, I would like to talk about a few issues related to implementing the directives of the Shanghai Workers' Delegates' Conference. This Workers' Delegates' Conference has just concluded, and all sectors, industries, and systems are working to further implement its spirit. This includes ensuring that the message of congratulations sent to us by the Central Cultural Revolution Group is thoroughly disseminated and implemented among the broad revolutionary rebel forces and revolutionary workers. I believe that through the implementation of this Workers' Delegates' Conference, we will witness a new leap forward in Shanghai's efforts to advance the revolution and promote production. This will lay a solid foundation for next year's production and revolutionary work. First, I want to talk about how to further implement the spirit of the Shanghai Workers' Delegates' Conference ideologically and organizationally. The purpose of holding this Workers' Delegates' Conference in Shanghai was to further carry out, both in thought and action, the latest instructions from our great leader Chairman Mao. This conference also aimed to strengthen and enhance the leadership team. Additionally, it sought to further purify our class ranks through this gathering. The primary task of the Workers' Delegates' Conference is to

promote the in-depth study and application of Chairman Mao's works. This must be placed above all else, take precedence over everything, and hold the utmost importance in all our work. Particularly, the latest important instructions issued by Chairman Mao during his inspections of North China, Central South China, and East China regarding the Cultural Revolution must be resolutely implemented and carried out without compromise. Therefore, this Workers' Delegates' Conference emphasized the importance of translating this series of instructions into concrete actions. In this regard, I would like to share some of my personal thoughts on the various departments within the railway system.

Regarding the "Iron Alliance", generally speaking, under the efforts of the broad revolutionary rebels and revolutionary workers, good progress has been made in this area. In particular, some stations and sections are organizing various study sessions and study groups, which we believe is an excellent approach. However, we must also recognize that some comrades have not prioritized studying as they should. For instance, I remember discussing this issue with the standing committee members of the "Iron Alliance" back in June. I told them that no matter how busy their work gets, they must place studying as their top priority. Yet, based on our inspections and observations, these standing committee members have not truly dedicated themselves to study, and as a result, various problems have emerged in their work.

We have noticed that the rank-and-file rebel fighters are studying better than their leaders. Therefore, during this Workers' Delegates' Conference, we emphasized that the top priority is to elevate the study of Chairman Mao's works. Without this, our team and our organization will not have long-term vitality. Comrade Zhang Chunqiao once told us, "What should your team and organization focus on? First, you must focus on ideological education. Second, you must focus on class struggle. If you fail to prioritize these two aspects, your organization will not last long." Thus, we believe that placing the study of Chairman Mao's works at the forefront of all tasks is critical in the current situation. Mao Zedong Thought is the soul of all work. Without it, progress is impossible. This is indeed the case: any unit or comrade who excels in studying and applying Chairman Mao's works effectively will also excel in their work. Whether it is revolution or production, they will manage both effectively. If a comrade or department does not study Chairman Mao's works or even neglects to prioritize such study, various problems are bound to

arise in that department, some of which may be quite serious. In our “Iron Alliance” and the railway system, we have experienced many such lessons. Therefore, I believe that it is extremely important at present to prioritize studying Chairman Mao’s works and implementing his latest instructions.

I hope comrades can follow the guidance of Vice Chairman Lin, who taught us to study Chairman Mao’s works in a practical way—study and apply them, integrate study with application, learn what is urgently needed, and see immediate results. This must be achieved. Currently, some comrades fail to heed this principle. Over minor issues, they create a huge fuss, even to the point of triggering internal conflicts or causing bloodshed.

I believe the contradictions in the railway system can only be resolved through studying Chairman Mao’s works. Some comrades suggest sending two representatives from the Workers’ General Headquarters (or even myself) to address these issues, but that won’t solve the root problems. The key lies in relying on the broad revolutionary rebel forces and the mass of revolutionary workers within the railway system. Through studying Chairman Mao’s works and using his supreme instructions, we can solve the problems in the railway system.

Thus, the first main task of our Workers’ Delegates’ Conference is to focus on studying Chairman Mao’s works. The second task is to firmly grasp class struggle. This has been repeatedly emphasized by Comrade Zhang Chunqiao. Without focusing on class struggle, production cannot succeed. In the past, we proposed “taking class struggle as the key link.” Now we propose “taking the struggle against selfishness and criticism of revisionism as the key link.” Some comrades claim these are contradictory, but I argue they are not at all. Isn’t the struggle against selfishness and revisionism part of class struggle? Therefore, we must firmly, intensively, and thoroughly grasp class struggle, which is particularly important at this stage. I would like to briefly address the situation regarding class struggle across the city. Overall, the situation in Shanghai is excellent and improving steadily. Recently, we have observed significant progress. Why do I say this? Because after over a year of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we have established our temporary power structure and seized power from the handful of capitalist roaders in authority. Over the past year, the struggle has gradually deepened, and we have gradually uncovered and exposed the handful of capitalist roaders hidden within



our Party and government, as well as traitors, spies, and others. For example, recently in October, a group of rebels within the Rural Political Department rose up to rebel. Previously, that department had claimed that some cadres could be rehabilitated and that others had minor issues. As a result, they protected some, concealed others, and kept everything hidden without exposing the problems. Some even proposed rehabilitating these individuals.

Before October, many comrades observed that some members of the Rural Political Department were not speaking up for the rebels but instead protecting others at every turn. We had made suggestions about this, but since we didn't have much concrete evidence, they were not cooperative. So, we decided to wait and see. In October, some comrades, realizing that such actions were wrong, rose up in rebellion. After the rebellion, five traitors were exposed. Among those who were previously proposed for rehabilitation was Liu Jie, who now appears to need to be overthrown.

After March and April of this year, Liu Jie became very active. For example, in Nanhui, he claimed that Li Jun was the best county Party secretary among ten counties. As a result, some members of the masses believed him, were misled, and began protecting him. This protection led to genuine revolutionaries being labeled as conservatives. In Fengxian, he claimed that Cao Hanlin was the best county Party secretary, again deceiving some comrades into protecting him, further exacerbating the issue. Similar problems occurred in Qingpu. Wherever Liu Jie went, these issues followed. However, after some rural rebels rose up, these individuals' true colors were completely exposed. This has already been reported in our rebel newspaper. This is one example. Another example involves the former Organization Minister of the old Municipal Party Committee, Yang Shifa. This old man was preparing to rehabilitate certain cadres before October, believing some were relatively good and could be integrated. However, after being confronted by the students from Jiaotong University, he was unable to proceed with the rehabilitation, as it became clear that this individual had serious issues. Upon further investigation, it was revealed that this so-called Organization Minister wasn't even a Party member—he was a traitor. Recently, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions also exposed a group of individuals. Initially, they uncovered just under three hundred people, and among them, several traitors and spies were found. This includes figures like Zhang

Qi, who was a leading figure, as well as Shi Huizhen, Zhou Bingkun, and others. None of the members from the old Party organization were clean—some had joined the underground Party before liberation, but had been captured by the enemy, betrayed, and defected; some had appeared to be Communist Party members before liberation but were actually spies; others had secretly continued their espionage activities after liberation. These revelations highlight a key issue: class struggle is extremely complex and intense. The investigation into the old municipal federation of trade unions has exposed a large group of spies and traitors. From what we know, there are still more serious issues to uncover, including current counter-revolutionaries. Recently, we uncovered an individual who, during the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, was sending information about our situation to Hong Kong and Taiwan. Some of these people were previously known as “white-skinned, red-hearted”—meaning they had been in the underground Party, had a “red heart” but a “white skin,” implying they were loyal in appearance but not in substance. In reality, these individuals had a “white heart” too—they were all the same, and they had infiltrated our ranks. If we look at the former East China Bureau, we can discuss with comrades how many of those within it were genuinely trustworthy. Most of the cadres there were at least at level 15 or 16, and starting from Wei Wenbo, down the list, it seems most of them had problems.

Therefore, we must recognize that class struggle is gradually deepening, and these individuals are being uncovered by the broad proletarian revolutionary forces. However, the more they are exposed, the more desperately they will struggle to survive. This is also the case within the railway system. Thus, we must ensure that the broad masses unite and fight together against the enemy. Today, as I speak here, I am not talking about which faction is good or bad. I am not here to represent any faction, nor do I know which faction is better or worse—perhaps I haven’t investigated enough. In general, I believe that the vast majority of revolutionary rebels and workers should unite. The stronger our unity, the more the enemy will fear us. We should not allow ourselves to be divided. The more we are divided, the happier the enemy will be, because they will find opportunities to exploit our divisions. If we don’t act, they will act. Let me give you an example from the railway system, one that I had not planned to mention but feel is necessary given the current situation at the railway bureau. Believe it or not, someone within the railway

system actually sent a spy to the Yangtze River Bridge. It was that person, Yan Zhaoxiong! In fact, Yan Zhaoxiong is not just a spy; he attempted to sabotage the Yangtze River Bridge. Comrades, think about it—whoever sent him there should be held responsible, right? (The crowd responds in unison: “Right!”) Isn’t this a matter of class struggle? It certainly is!

So, we should never forget class struggle, no matter when or where we are! Yan Zhaoxiong has been in custody for over a month, and I personally took action to apprehend him. Now, comrades know that he not only attempted to destroy the Yangtze River Bridge, but he was also gathering military intelligence in Nanjing and other places across the country, and we have seized the materials. Can you believe this? Some comrades actually treated this person as a trusted ally and sent him to a key department.

What does this tell us? Of course, some comrades lack class consciousness and fail to see the sharp and complex nature of class struggle. But we should also recognize that some comrades were fully aware of his true nature. Some even knew exactly who he was! This person was a member of our Railway Alliance’s decision-making group. Comrades, think about it—what kind of decisions could such a person help make? It’s very complicated. Some of our comrades were even bribed by him, accepting money and material things. He used money and material goods to corrupt us, and some of our comrades even accepted cigarettes brought from the United States. (The speaker’s voice becomes unclear as a few words are missed.) You all know who used to smoke those kinds of cigarettes. From what I understand, the class struggle within our railway system is far from smooth—it’s much more complex than in some other departments. As I know, we had military intelligence agents from the Kuomintang, like those from the Military Intelligence Bureau and the Central Intelligence Bureau, directly managed by the Nationalist government. Even after more than ten years of liberation, a small group of capitalist roaders have continued to hold power within our railway system.

I want to give another example, and some comrades might not want to hear it, but I believe it’s beneficial to mention this example. Comrades, do you remember the armed struggle at the South Station on August 25th? Some comrades participated in that struggle. I’m not blaming these comrades, nor do I have any reason to blame them. You didn’t fully understand the situation there, so we need to clarify this issue. What kind

of person was Yu Baohua? Yu Baohua was a very bad reactionary family member. Some of you may know more about him than I do. He had two fathers—one was captured by us, and the other was executed by us.

At the time of the armed struggle at the South Station, we know that there was an old worker who had met Chairman Mao three times. I spoke to him personally. He was an old worker who had met Mao, yet someone took a spear and stabbed him, saying, “I’ll let you meet Chairman Mao again.” Comrades, let’s think about this. This was an old worker who had met Chairman Mao three times and had deep feelings for him. Yes, he might have had flaws during the Cultural Revolution movement, but he was still an old worker who had been received by Chairman Mao three times. But yet, someone, while stabbing him, said, “I’ll let you meet Chairman Mao again.” I’ll tell you, this person hasn’t been caught yet, but we will catch him in the future. Through multiple investigations, we found that the people who were hurt the most in that struggle were actually the group leaders who supervised the “four types of people” (counter-revolutionaries, rightists, capitalists, and bad elements). Comrades, if you have time, you should visit South Station and see for yourselves who these people are. The two people who were the most seriously injured can tell you exactly who they are. This shows that the class struggle within the railway system is very complex and intense. Over 250 people were injured, most of them were old workers. That was the second time in Shanghai that shots were fired during an armed struggle. Comrade Zhou Guoting fired three shots into the air. Comrades, I’ve never spoken about this before, but was it just a coincidence? I don’t think so. And this incident isn’t an isolated one. I’m not criticizing anyone in particular, nor am I trying to flatter anyone. But this is a reality that exists, and I have to talk about it. Comrades, think about it. In the face of these kinds of problems, some comrades just ignore them. They fail to see the complexity of class struggle. This is especially true for some members of our Railway Alliance’s standing committee, though of course, not all of them are like this. We did some research on two materials that were initially going to be published, but in the end, we decided not to publish them. The reason was that some comrades had participated in the armed struggle at South Station, and we considered that they probably didn’t know the full details of what was going on there. This is the matter I wanted to discuss with you. Another point is that since the establishment of our Railway Alliance, under the

care of the Central Committee and Chairman Mao, with the guidance of the Cultural Revolution Group, and under the leadership of Comrade Zhang Chunqiao and the Municipal Revolutionary Committee, we have done a lot of work. Especially during the “January Revolution” storm, you took on the dual responsibilities of revolution and production, making tremendous contributions to the country and the people. However, every time we aimed our struggle at the capitalist roaders within the party, it was met with either armed struggle or friction, with attempts to shift the direction of the struggle. Each time we seemed to be following Chairman Mao’s great strategic directives, we encountered sabotage from enemies inside the system. From what we understand, this situation has often arisen. Why is that? We say the Railway Alliance has a glorious historical tradition, but in the later stages, when we look at the overall situation, how well has the class struggle within the railway bureaus been revealed? Why hasn’t it been fully exposed? I’ve always felt that there are class enemies involved in this, and a small group of capitalist roaders are causing problems. Comrade Zhang Chunqiao once spoke about this issue. Another point is that within our railway system, some people have extended their influence far and wide, with connections reaching south to Guangdong and north to Beijing. Recently, we found that some comrades even had train tickets to Guangzhou for 1968, already arranged. I don’t know what these comrades are preparing to do, but what is going on here? I feel that this situation exists in our railway system. Recently, a comrade named Huang Panlin was arrested, and everyone knows this. What he confessed is not just related to the Shanghai Bureau, but it also involves the entire Jiangsu province. Recently, Shanghai arrested three individuals who had extended their influence into Jiangsu. One of them was Huang Panlin. They used the convenience of the railway system to assist in transporting firearms, ammunition, and other materials, which led to large-scale armed struggles in Jiangsu province. Some people still don’t understand why Huang Panlin was arrested. Today, I will share the situation with you. They colluded with the rightists and landowners, counter-revolutionaries, and their black hands reached into cities like Yangzhou, Changzhou, Nanjing, Wuxi, and Suzhou. They even had a set of evil plans.

You all know that we recently arrested a few individuals—Luo Shengshou and Qi Xiong, just these three individuals, including Huang Panlin. We should recognize that this class struggle is intense and complex, and

these black hands have infiltrated the railway system. They used our transport system to smuggle weapons and ammunition, and we were responsible for the transport. I won't name who was responsible for this right now, but comrades, you will find out later, and whoever was responsible will have to answer for it. I have the materials here, and they have confessed.

Comrades, our railway workers have a glorious revolutionary tradition. In every major revolutionary movement throughout history, our railway workers have stood at the forefront of the struggle. During this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our vast revolutionary rebel faction and revolutionary workers in the railway sector have once again resolutely responded to Chairman Mao's great call, taking on the dual responsibility of advancing the revolution and promoting production. Overall, we have made tremendous contributions. However, we must also acknowledge that within our ranks, some bad elements have infiltrated. According to our information, in some units of the railway system, the rebel factions are not truly in control; in some places, bad elements are in charge. These include fake police officers, counter-revolutionaries, individuals with unclear or suspicious backgrounds, and unresolved issues of espionage. These people have assumed leadership roles within the rebel factions. Some of these individuals have even been entrusted by a small group of capitalist roaders to create chaos within our revolutionary ranks. Comrades, it is crucial that we remain vigilant and focus on class struggle. If the vast majority of our revolutionary comrades in the railway sector can truly grasp the importance of class struggle, many of our problems can be resolved. This is the second point I want to raise.

The third issue I want to address is the cleaning of our class ranks. This has already been raised in our workers' representative congress. Over the course of the year, through the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, generally speaking, the working class in Shanghai has been very strong.

In particular, after the establishment of the Shanghai Workers' General Headquarters on November 9th, last year, the vast majority of revolutionary rebels and workers played a crucial role on the frontlines, making a huge contribution to the Shanghai Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

This is the main force. However, we must also recognize that, over the past year, there have been a number of bad elements infiltrating our ranks—landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, rightists, and even some spies. These elements have worked their way into our ranks,

and that's why we raised the issue of cleaning our class ranks. During the workers' congress, we thoroughly examined many of the committee members and standing committee members, including the older ones, politically. Regardless of the situation, if the ranks are not clear, especially if the leaders are unclear, then we cannot wage a proper struggle. How can we carry out class struggle if we don't have clarity in our leadership? For example, we recently discovered that some of the "anti-traitor" groups themselves were made up of traitors. These groups couldn't capture or expose any traitors because they were compromised themselves. Once we discovered this, it became clear—no further investigation was needed; they were traitors themselves. There are quite a few such people, though they are still a minority. But when you gather them together, the problem becomes evident. So, in the past period, we've caught a number of individuals. For instance, Yuan Genlin from the Nanshi district, who was the leader of the district's original rebel faction, turned out to be a rapist and was arrested. Wang Baoquan from the Luwan district was another leader, previously involved in the district's organization department. He had engaged in corruption, embezzling over 10,000 yuan, and he was arrested. In the Chemical Engineering Bureau, we also arrested Ji Hua, a counter-revolutionary who had joined the bureau and caused significant chaos, leading efforts to disrupt and suppress revolutionary movements. Additionally, in the light industry bureau, we discovered several cases of rape and sexual assault, some of which have already been dealt with, and others are still under investigation. One individual, for example, is a very bad counter-revolutionary family member. And in the Handicrafts Bureau, another individual, Wang Wenhai, was caught by the "Cultural Attack and Military Defense" group. He had been involved with the headquarters as a secretary before but later worked with reactionary forces, even trying to smuggle arms and explosives. His activities had ties to the forces in Jiangsu province, seeking to undermine the Workers' General Headquarters.

Some of these individuals even used railway system privileges to further their activities, using free tickets that could only be granted by someone in a position of authority. This is not something ordinary workers could access. These people need to be thoroughly purged from our organization—those who are bad should be arrested, dealt with accordingly, and those who deserve punishment should be punished. Some may even face execution. We acknowledge that, in the past, we



have been too lenient in apprehending these individuals. We must reflect on our shortcomings, particularly in terms of addressing the issue of class struggle. That's why, at this workers' congress, we've emphasized the necessity of cleaning up our ranks, purging those who have infiltrated our ranks—landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, rightists, and extremely bad counter-revolutionary family members. These individuals must be expelled. If we fail to clean up such individuals, or even allow them to lead our groups, our country will be in danger. The decision has been made at the headquarters. We must clean up our ranks thoroughly in each system, starting with the workers' congress. As for our railway system, comrades, we need to discuss it together. Every one of us in the rebel faction must review the leadership and scrutinize our own leaders. I don't care which faction you belong to—this is crucial. The majority of people applauded what I said here, but some people may not be happy, huh! There will always be someone who isn't happy. Anyway, cleaning up is necessary. Who should we rely on? We should rely on our vast army of rebel fighters. What we believe in is our broad base of revolutionary fighters, our vast army of revolutionary workers on the railways. We believe that the vast revolutionary rebels and workers can complete this task, and for those few bad ones, they should be caught and dealt with.

What I want to say overall is these three points, based on the situation we are currently discussing. Another issue is that I want to offer my views on the current situation in the Railway Bureau. The Joint Command of the Railway Workers' Revolutionary Committee made significant contributions during the January Revolution. When broken down, the earlier phase and the later phase differed, for example, in terms of progress. But in general, our broad mass of railway revolutionary workers and revolutionary rebels, who have been carrying out Mao Zedong Thought under the great red banner, have done a great deal of work. However, within our ranks, a small group of bad people have infiltrated, leading to an impure leadership team. Especially since May, some members of our "Railway Union" have actually shifted the direction of the struggle. Some of them even sent spies to key departments. Therefore, I have the following points for your consideration.

Our vast army of fighters in the "Railway Union" should continue to uphold the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought, using the struggle against individualism and revisionism as the guiding principle. We must resolutely implement Chairman Mao's teachings: "There are



no fundamental conflicts of interest within the working class, and under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no reason for the working class to split into two opposing factions.” Based on this guidance, we should further strengthen the revolutionary unity in our railway system ideologically, promote the revolutionary “three-in-one” combination, and carry out the struggle, criticism, and reform within our units.

Comrades, think about it—if we continue as we are now, when will the lid on the class struggle in our railway system ever be lifted? Some comrades say that it has already been lifted, but I say it’s too early! For example, since the establishment of the Revolutionary Committee, can anyone claim that the lid on our class struggle has been completely lifted? I just mentioned an example from the old rural political department, and we haven’t even discussed the issues with the old education and propaganda departments—those are very difficult problems to address! The lid has not been opened yet! Let’s consider the situation at various stations in our railway system. Recently, we’ve seen cases where some who had already been combined were later dragged out and fought against. The struggles are still very complicated! In general, in such a situation, we often see factions forming. Some people want to build their own power base, some are focused on forming their own leadership teams. Some of our leaders even have time to casually visit Nanjing or Guangzhou. In the past, when the capitalist-roaders were in power, they didn’t dare to act so recklessly. But now some comrades are going around freely, not leading the vast revolutionary rebels to focus their efforts on targeting the small number of capitalist-roaders in the Party, not studying the strategies of struggle, nor the Party’s policies, but instead engaging in factionalism.

Think about it—if we continue like this, when will the lid on class struggle ever be lifted? It won’t work! Therefore, we must propose a clean-up of the team. Only in this way can our “three-in-one” combination be established quickly, and only then can we effectively carry out the struggle, criticism, and reform in our railway bureaus. This is my suggestion.

The second point is that some comrades in the past followed bad individuals. For example, take Yan Zhaoxiong—some of our comrades followed him and even did bad things. We are not afraid of this, as long as we correct our shortcomings and mistakes, and even turn the tables, fully exposing those bad individuals and their wrongdoings. What is there to fear? This includes Comrade Zhou Guoting, who made mistakes; he should undergo a strict examination of his errors, but he should still be

protected. This is something I can share with you all. Some comrades may have made mistakes, but as long as they recognize their flaws and are willing to correct them, every comrade should welcome this change and not criticize them. Here, I want to emphasize that especially for each of our leaders, when dealing with the masses, no matter which faction they belong to, we cannot use force or oppression to resolve issues. We should only use persuasion, education, and assistance to solve problems. This is the second point. The third point is that during the process of organizing our team, we must fully mobilize the masses and rely on the vast number of revolutionary rebels and workers. In terms of cleaning up our team, we must unite to carry out the cleanup. Some of you may say that we are one faction, all from the “Iron Union,” and I admit that. But within our Iron Union, there are actually three different forces. Isn’t that so? What I am saying is that regardless of which faction you belong to, you must first clean up your own organization. For example, the South Station should clean up South Station, the East Station should clean up East Station, and Yangpu Station should clean up Yangpu Station. It doesn’t matter which faction you belong to, this is a shared issue, and I suggest that comrades unite. Why must we always focus on doing our own thing separately? We can totally unite! Therefore, in the process of cleaning up the organization, we should reflect our great unity and also demonstrate unity in our thoughts. Only in this way can we prevent bad people from taking advantage of the situation, creating chaos, and shifting the direction of the struggle. If we are disorganized, the enemy will seize the opportunity. If you’re cleaning up the class team, and I disrupt your ranks, we will fall into their trap! Therefore, we say that during the cleanup, no matter which faction’s leaders are being removed, no one is allowed to use violence, such as smashing, looting, or attacking the organization. We should not destroy the organization; if the leader has problems, it is the leader’s issue. If two leaders have problems, that’s their business.

I missed one point earlier. For those who have behaved badly and whose positions and viewpoints have not yet changed, especially the former leaders of the Red Guards, they cannot continue to be leaders. I am talking about the leaders, comrades! Those whose positions and viewpoints have not changed—former leaders of the Red Guards who have now transformed themselves into leaders of the rebel faction—I, Wang Hongwen, do not recognize them. These are the three points of

my opinion. The fourth point of opinion is that we suggest workers from outside the railway system and other organizations should not intervene in the railway system's proletarian cultural revolution. Recently, we have found that some students from other regions, as well as people from other systems, are involved in the railway system. I suggest that these comrades immediately return to their original units and not interfere in our railway system's cultural revolution. The proletarian cultural revolution in the railway system should be resolved by the broad revolutionary rebel factions and revolutionary workers of the railway system themselves. This is one point of advice. The fifth point of opinion is that our broad revolutionary rebel soldiers must resolutely implement the great policy of "grasping revolution, promoting production, and promoting work." Under any circumstances, no matter how we clean up our class ranks or how many setbacks we face, we must not allow it to affect the work of grasping revolution and promoting production. Especially with the Spring Festival approaching, our transportation tasks are becoming more demanding. To complete this glorious and arduous task, we need all our rebel soldiers and workers to shoulder this responsibility together. More importantly, we must first arm our minds with Mao Zedong Thought, and use it to overcome the various difficulties and obstacles in our transportation work, while strictly preventing class enemies from sabotaging our efforts. If, during the process of cleaning up ranks and reorganizing the teams, there are individuals who dare to sabotage or create accidents, we warn them that we will firmly implement the dictatorship of the proletariat against them! Therefore, I believe that comrades, we should follow the guidance of Vice Chairman Lin and remember that Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding principle for all our work. We must study and apply Mao Zedong Thought well.

Currently, we hope that the vast majority of revolutionary rebel soldiers and workers in the railway system, especially at each station and division, will establish Mao Zedong Thought study classes. Recently, there has been some chaos in our railway system. Some leaders have made mistakes, and some have left. However, we believe that with the support of our broad revolutionary workers, the vast majority of our revolutionary rebel soldiers will successfully set up and run these Mao Zedong Thought study classes. We can fully rely on the help of the Mao Zedong Thought propaganda team from the People's Liberation Army stationed at the railway bureau to assist in organizing the study sessions.

To ensure that the Mao Zedong Thought study classes are successful, it is essential that we all get involved and offer our full support. We are confident that, under the victorious light of Mao Zedong Thought, and with the efforts of our revolutionary rebel soldiers and the broad mass of workers, we will, in the near future, transform our railway system into a red beacon of Mao Zedong Thought, and build a revolutionary, proletarian team that is strong and full of revolutionary spirit. We will work hard to improve all aspects of our work, just like the heroic Fourth Squad, the Model Squad of Loving the People, and the Squad Leader Comrade Li Wenzhong, who said: “Chairman Mao loves me, I love him; Chairman Mao supports me, I support him; Chairman Mao gives me instructions, I will follow them; Chairman Mao waves his hand, I will march forward.” We believe that our vast revolutionary rebel soldiers and workers will do exactly the same. That is all I have to say.

Additionally, the Municipal Revolutionary Committee has asked me to announce something. As comrades have just mentioned with great enthusiasm, the three of us—Comrades Jiang Zhoufa and Wang Minglong—came here. Yesterday, the Municipal Revolutionary Committee held a meeting and made a decision. Due to the recent heavy workload of the Workers’ General Headquarters and the many tasks that still require Comrades Jiang Zhoufa and Wang Minglong to handle, as well as the ongoing issues related to the railway that require everyone’s attention, including the Municipal Revolutionary Committee, it seems difficult to resolve the issue by having a particular department or a few individuals stationed here.

To resolve the issues related to the “Iron Union,” we must rely on the broad mass of revolutionary workers and revolutionary rebel soldiers to address them. We must continue to implement Chairman Mao’s great teaching that the masses must educate themselves, liberate themselves, and rise up in revolution. Therefore, based on the advice of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee and after consultation with the Workers’ General Headquarters, it has been decided that Comrades Jiang Zhoufa and Wang Minglong will temporarily no longer be stationed here and will return. However, they will still be responsible for coordinating railway-related work. That is all I have to say.

Workers’ General Headquarters ‘Iron Union’ Branch Bureau Revolutionary Rebel Team Organization

Reprinting of the 'Railway Workers' Rebel Newspaper'

December 23, 1967



1968

## **Wang Hongwen's Speech at the On-Site Meeting to Mobilize the Masses For the Struggle Against the Enemy at Hudong Shipyard**

Wang Hongwen

**1968.1.5**

### **1. Further unleash the masses**

Currently, the situation in the struggle against the enemy is very favorable, and the struggle is deepening. We must further unleash the masses. The enemies uncovered so far are of high quality, and the level of the mass policy has greatly improved. Some units have not mobilized the masses well enough, so we need to further arm and mobilize the masses with the Party's policies.

### **2. Only by arming and mobilizing the masses with the Party's policies can we further unite all revolutionary forces and strike the small handful of class enemies steadily, accurately, and ruthlessly.**

The viewpoint of opposing policies and mobilizing the masses is incorrect. We must strictly distinguish between two types of contradictions: primary contradictions and secondary contradictions. If we fail to distinguish these, we cannot achieve victory and will cause harm to the revolution. The central government's Two Newspapers and One Magazine July 1st editorial pointed out, "We must always direct the struggle towards a small handful of stubborn, unreformed capitalist roaders, traitors, spies, and untransformed landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists." The minutes of the May 5th expanded meeting of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions raised the issue of several "strict distinctions," especially in the Cultural Revolution, distinguishing clearly between good and bad performances. Some people do not direct their criticism towards the enemy but focus on issues such as relationships between men and women, petty theft, etc. These problems should be addressed through regular work and education, not as part of this movement. We need to do ideological work and help these



people. Those who are very interested in relationships between men and women likely have unhealthy thoughts. As for general members of the Nationalist Party, the Three People's Youth League, and the protective work team members, as long as they are clear in their actions and do not do bad things during the movement, they should be educated and not harassed. We should not attack them, but for those who perform poorly, of course, they must be criticized and attacked.

The enemy's ruthless tactics deliberately confuse two types of contradictions with different natures, directing their criticism towards those with general political or historical issues, thus disrupting the class lines. We must respond accordingly and strictly distinguish between these two types of contradictions. The ability to handle contradictions within the people is a very important issue in whether we can unite the majority. If we had severely struck at the Red Guard members last January, we can imagine the current situation in Shanghai. Because we followed Chairman Mao's teachings, we united the vast majority. Now, we should still unite the majority, and the target of our attacks should be only a small minority. The cadres and 95% of the masses are good or relatively good, and only by doing so can we carry out the movement deeply, steadily, accurately, and forcefully strike at the small handful of class enemies.

The experience from the backward workers at the Hudong Shipyard provides inspiration for every comrade. For example, how to correctly treat someone who has been a prostitute — this illustrates a point very well. If we attack this person, it's likely that we will fail to unearth the counterrevolutionaries. People with historical stains have many concerns. There is a person who wants to confess serious political history issues but dares not because his unit is brutal. People with political history issues are often those who know the truth and are the targets of both the enemy and us. If we don't win them over, the enemy will. Some enemies suppress them from confessing and we must help them let go of their burdens, making the enemies fearful.

**3. Utilize contradictions, treat them differently, win over the majority, oppose the minority, and strike at the enemy one by one.** The enemy should also be divided; they are not a monolithic block. We must be adept at utilizing the power of the Party's policies to split and disintegrate them. The main culprits must be punished, while the accomplices should not be questioned, those who make contributions should be rewarded,

those who confess should receive leniency, and those who resist should be dealt with strictly. We should not generalize by attacking everyone with problems—that is wrong. Hudong Shipyard sets an example. Some units do not follow the policies, resorting to severe struggles, parading, and public humiliation. Onlookers say, “What are you doing? Is this a zoo?” This approach does not solve the problem. If we treat everyone the same without distinction, it benefits the enemy and harms us. We should learn from Xinhua Factory. Relying on the broad masses of people and strengthening proletarian dictatorship are two sides of the same coin. Without the masses, there can be no strengthening of dictatorship, and there can be no victory in the struggle against the enemy. The emphasis must remain on mobilizing and relying on the masses.

Some people are attempting to expand the scope of the attacks and undermine the connection between the Revolutionary Committee and the masses, allowing class enemies to evade accountability. We must firmly rely on the proletarian revolutionaries and the masses, without any wavering. We must target and fight a small group of diehard capitalist roaders, traitors, spies, and untransformed landowners, rich peasants, reactionaries, and rightists. These people are the remnants of the Kuomintang. Beyond them, there are no other remnants of the Kuomintang left. This small group represents the interests of the Chiang Kai-shek regime on the mainland, and they are nothing but remnants. Searching for more remnants will only bring in people who are not part of this group.

Once we clarify who to rely on and who to fight against, the Revolutionary Committee will grasp the general direction and gain the support of the masses, leading to the consolidation and development of the committee. This is a matter of great importance for the future and destiny of proletarian dictatorship. The process of consolidating the Revolutionary Committee is a process of serious class struggle. There are two methods to undermine the Revolutionary Committee: one is to forcefully infiltrate it, and the other is to sever its connection with the masses. Once these issues are cleared up, the Revolutionary Committee will become vibrant and dynamic. Constantly learning from the masses is what the July 1st Editorial requires. Both new and old cadres should continue to

summarize the experiences of the masses and promote them. Revolutionary youth and new cadres must remain humble and cautious. Learning from the masses, learning from veteran cadres, and learning from the People's Liberation Army, the Revolutionary Committee should absorb such revolutionary youth and new cadres, ensuring that it remains vigorous and full of life.

Contacting the masses is not about chatting all day; it is about arming the masses with Mao Zedong Thought. The Shanghai East Shipyard has organized extensive Mao Zedong Thought study classes, which have consolidated and developed the great revolutionary united front and the three-in-one combination. These study classes should always add new content in line with the development of the mass movement, as suggested in the July 1st editorial. Recently, the postal and telecommunications system has shown significant progress in its struggle against the enemy, and one of the key reasons for this is that the People's Liberation Army has been organizing large-scale study classes there.

In the struggle against the enemy and the process of purging the class ranks, the fundamental goal is not just to uncover a small group of Kuomintang remnants. If the only aim is to unearth more and more, the larger the better, what would be the result? The true goal is to eliminate the foundation for restoration, transform the world outlook, and prevent and guard against revisionism, to ensure the Party does not degenerate and the country does not change color. Therefore, it is crucial to combine this with the large-scale revolutionary criticism, the rectification of the Party, and the ongoing struggle within each unit. Those bad elements cannot be allowed to advance a revisionist agenda within the industrial and transport sectors.

## **Comrade Wang Hongwen's speech at the Changning District Club on January 11, 1968**

Comrades, fellow fighters:

First, let us all jointly wish our dearest and most radiant Red Sun, Chairman Mao, a long life without end! Long life without end! Long life without end!

Comrades, today I heard that you are holding the “Oath-taking Conference to Uphold the Great Red Banner of Mao Zedong Thought and Achieve the Comprehensive Victory of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1968.” On behalf of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, I would like to express my warm congratulations and resolute support for this conference! (Applause, slogans)

Comrades, today I am not prepared with a full speech, but I would like to offer a few points for your reference.

The situation of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Shanghai is the same as that of the entire country. As Chairman Mao taught us, the situation of the Cultural Revolution is extremely favorable, not just slightly favorable. The situation in Shanghai, like the rest of the country, is better than ever before. I believe that the situation of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our Changning District has also made a new leap and has developed further in depth. Looking at the entire Shanghai, especially after August, September, and October of last year, when comrades from various agencies, particularly from the old Municipal Party Committee and the Rural Political Department, broke free, after unveiling the class struggle in the old Rural Political Department, class struggle has been continuously deepening across various agencies, schools, and factories.

Comrades, as we all know, in recent times, many units have exposed large numbers of traitors, spies, turncoats, and previously undetected capitalist roaders. According to materials provided by comrades in Changning District, many comrades believe that the lid on class struggle has still not been fully lifted. Here, we express our support for comrades in lifting the lid on class struggle! (Slogans, warm applause) We also hope

that the Standing Committee of the Changning District Revolutionary Committee and all responsible comrades will support the broad revolutionary masses in lifting the lid on class struggle in Changning District. (Slogans, warm applause) Comrades, there is much work to be done, but we believe the most fundamental tasks to focus on are two things:

The first is to relentlessly focus on studying Chairman Mao's works, to organize large-scale Mao Zedong Thought study classes. The city, the district, and all grassroots units must not only organize them, but they must do so well. This is essential to continually arm our vast revolutionary rebel masses, revolutionary workers, and revolutionary young fighters with Mao Zedong Thought. Only in this way can we advance the Proletarian Cultural Revolution and carry it through to the end.

The second task is to focus on class struggle. When we focus on class struggle, the enemy will have no place to hide. Recently, due to the deepening class struggle, the class enemies have been desperately counterattacking. There are also some forces that continue to oppose the city revolutionary committee, oppose Zhang Chunqiao, and oppose the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

We must be vigilant, sharpen our awareness, and if these small groups of enemies dare to cause trouble, we will warn them that their end will not be a good one! (Applause)

We urge all rebel organizations and all rebel fighters to remain vigilant, and wherever there are these reactionary forces, they must be decisively attacked. (Slogans, warm applause)

We must, according to the teachings of our great leader Chairman Mao, always keep class struggle in mind. Comrades, this is very important. When we focus on class struggle, the enemy's arrogance will diminish. If we do not focus on class struggle, the enemy will reverse and attack us. So, on this point, we ask comrades to never forget, and never forget at any time. Some comrades say that we need to uncover the class struggle lid in Changning District. We say that if it hasn't been uncovered, we must uncover it there, and this applies to all our factories, mining enterprises, schools, and agencies – we should all further uncover it! (Warm applause) Only in this way, by broadly mobilizing the masses, combining their wisdom and strength, and having everyone pitch in, can we root out the small group of capitalist roaders, spies, traitors, and turncoats who have infiltrated the Party. Only by doing so can we carry the Cultural Revolution through to the end! Additionally, we hope that

comrades in this struggle will also follow Chairman Mao's great teachings: "Policy and strategy are the life of the Party, and comrades at all levels of leadership must pay full attention and must never be careless." Based on this teaching, we hope comrades will pay full attention to the Party's guidelines, policies, and strategies in this struggle. The struggle must focus on strategy. Not only should we focus on strategy, but also, according to Chairman Mao's teachings: "The struggle must be reasonable, advantageous, and disciplined."

We must not engage in indiscriminate attacks. This struggle, especially the current one, has deepened, and the methods of the class enemies have become more covert. They have become even more cunning. A particularly relevant article was published in the newspaper yesterday, titled "Proletarian Revolutionaries, Unite!" This was a letter addressed to the revolutionary soldiers in Jiangsu, Shanghai, Zhejiang, and Anhui. From this letter, we can clearly see that a small group of class enemies will never accept their defeat. They are always trying to counterattack. People like Li Shunzhī and Qi Zhengzhī, who have failed in Shanghai, have now extended their dirty hands to cities in Jiangsu, such as Nanjing, Changzhou, Wuxi, and others, engaging in counterrevolutionary activities. On one hand, we must be vigilant; on the other hand, we must be clear about our policies and strategies. In this struggle, the enemy is likely to interfere with us from all sides. How should we fight this battle? We believe the first step is for each side to focus on their own targets. If they interfere with us, we ignore them and continue with our own attack. For example, in yesterday's conflict, many comrades were very angry and blamed the Shanghai Transportation Union or the Liaison Office. I say, comrades, we should place the blame on the small group of capitalist roaders. These individuals will take advantage of the inexperience of the Red Guard young comrades, and some of our comrades as well, to incite the masses to fight against each other. We should continue to unite the broad masses of revolutionary fighters and the revolutionary masses to thoroughly expose the class struggle in Changning District and use facts to educate these masses. (Shouts, enthusiastic applause) This is the second point. Additionally, I would like to bring attention to a few issues. In the past few days, we have discovered that in some units in Changning District, there have been arbitrary moves of the grassroots teams under the General Workers' Revolutionary Committee. Here, we reiterate: The grassroots teams under the General Workers'

Revolutionary Committee can only be moved by the General Workers' Revolutionary Committee itself. Any move must be authorized by the Cultural Revolution's political and military command center after thorough research by the General Workers' Revolutionary Committee. No one else has the right to move the grassroots teams under the General Workers' Revolutionary Committee! (Applause) Recently, we discovered that a small group of individuals with ulterior motives are attempting to divide our General Workers' Revolutionary Committee's Changning District Command. We warn these individuals: if you dare to interfere with the division of the Changning District Command, you will not have a good outcome! (Shouts, enthusiastic applause) The final point is that we have also discussed our attitude towards the Changning District Revolutionary Committee. We believe that the Changning District Revolutionary Committee is a temporary power institution of the "three combined" structure approved by the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. We should unite with the broad revolutionary masses to continue uncovering the class struggle lid in Changning District! We must keep revealing it! However, comrades, we should still adopt the method of "supporting" rather than "tearing down," in accordance with the spirit of the central leadership and the People's Daily editorial. We can criticize and critique the errors and shortcomings of the Changning District Revolutionary Committee, but we should not engage in destructive actions.

We also hope that the Standing Committee of the Changning District Revolutionary Committee will seriously listen to the opinions of the broad revolutionary rebels and masses in order to improve their work and leadership style. In particular, they should lead the masses of Changning District to continue unveiling the class struggle lid. Not only the class struggle lid of the old District Committee and People's Committee should be uncovered, but also the class struggle lid of the "Public Security Bureau" in Changning District needs further uncovering! (Applause, Slogans) Therefore, we hope that comrades will, in this struggle, address issues and offer opinions about the District Committee. We can raise these opinions and write big-character posters, but no matter what, we must not adopt the method of tearing down. If there is an issue with someone, we should discuss it with the District Committee and resolve it through consultation, not by methods such as beating, smashing, confiscating, robbing, arresting, or sealing. This is our view on the Changning District Revolutionary Committee. I wonder what the comrades think

about this? Comrades, fellow fighters! The year 1968 has just begun, and today marks the first anniversary of our great January Revolution storm. We must never forget that on this day last year, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group sent us a telegram, demanding that Shanghai set an example in six areas.

Comrades, we believe that the revolutionary masses of Changning District and the vast number of revolutionary rebel fighters will raise even higher the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought, and fight throughout 1968 to carry the Proletarian Cultural Revolution to the end!

(Applause, slogans)

Finally, let us all raise our voices together:

Long live the Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the invincible Mao Zedong Thought!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! Long live! Long, long live!



## **Wang Hongwen's address at the Shanghai Conference on Thoroughly Carrying Out the Struggle Against the Enemy**

Wang Hongwen

**1968.06.24**

Comrades, fellow soldiers:

Today we are holding a conference to raise high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought, to further unleash the masses and carry out the struggle against the enemy. Just now, comrades from the XX Second Factory, Dyeing and Chemical Factory No. 11, and the Alcohol Factory shared many excellent experiences. I hope that comrades from all districts and units will learn well from their experiences and methods in mobilizing the masses to carry out the struggle against the enemy. Based on these good experiences and methods, I would like to offer a few points.

First, the situation is very favorable. On May 19, our great leader Mao Zedong gave an important instruction regarding the experience of the Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory in the struggle against the enemy. This has provided us, the proletarian revolutionaries in the industrial and transportation sectors and across various battlefronts, with a powerful ideological weapon. On the 8th and 9th, the Municipal Revolutionary Committee held an expanded meeting. Comrades attending the meeting studied Chairman Mao's latest instructions, and they proposed that the revolutionary people of the city further implement Chairman Mao's instructions, further unleash the masses, unite all revolutionary forces, and strike decisively and precisely at a small handful of class enemies.

In our industrial and transportation system, the vast proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary workers, after studying Chairman Mao's series of latest instructions, particularly his recent directives and the spirit of the expanded meeting of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee, have already taken further action under the leadership of the revolutionary committees at all levels. Based on the experience from the previous phase of work, they have intensified efforts to strike hard at a small handful of class enemies, achieving great success. The three units introduced at today's meeting have demonstrated this. By arming the

vast revolutionary masses with Mao Zedong Thought and mobilizing the masses, they have been able to strike decisively, precisely, and forcefully at a small handful of class enemies. As a result, on all fronts, these class enemies have been gradually exposed. In the process, the great criticism movement is further deepening, and the situation is becoming increasingly better. Across all fronts, including revolutionary work, production, and other tasks, there is a vibrant and flourishing atmosphere. Overall, the situation is very positive.

From the recent experiences of some units, it is evident that the masses have been fully mobilized. For example, in a certain office in Shanghai, with only about 400 people, they learned Chairman Mao's latest instructions and his longstanding theories, lines, policies, and strategies on class and class struggle. In this small unit, they were able to uncover over 200 spies, traitors, and remnants of the Kuomintang. Through further mobilization of the masses, many class enemies who had been deeply hidden, for a long time, and were particularly cunning, have been exposed across the city.

For example, in one area, they uncovered an old man who had been a spy for more than sixty years. In other units, they exposed the secretary of Chiang Kai-shek's wife, Soong Mei-ling, and also unearthed the younger sister of the notorious industrial spy Lu Jingshi, as well as the younger sister of Zhang Wentian, a major landlord and counterrevolutionary. This shows that the masses have been fully mobilized. Although a small handful of class enemies had been hiding deeply and for a long time, they could not escape the vigilant eyes of the vast revolutionary masses.

Overall, through the mobilization of the masses in the previous phase, we have achieved great success and uncovered some class enemies. The first point I want to make is that the development of the movement is still uneven. In general, there are several situations: in terms of the scope of mass mobilization, especially in depth, it is still in a state of being broad at both ends and narrow in the middle. Some units have mobilized the masses more widely and deeply. For example, the units introduced earlier, and some bureaus like the Chemical Bureau and the Shanghai Foreign Trade Bureau, have successfully mobilized the masses widely and deeply, and as a result, they have uncovered some deeply hidden class enemies. At the same time, their revolutionary criticism movement has been progressing well. In most units, the masses have essentially been mobilized, and some have uncovered class enemies, including some who

were already exposed, while others have revealed class enemies on the surface. However, the scope of mass mobilization is still not as wide and deep as it should be. There is still a need to further mobilize the masses on a broader scale. In a small number of units, the masses have not yet been mobilized. In some of these units, class enemies are still working behind the scenes to manipulate, deceive the masses, and create division. In some individual units, bad elements have seized leadership positions, suppressing the masses and covering up the class struggle, making it impossible for the class struggle to advance in those areas.

Thus, within a single unit, the development of the movement is also very uneven. We need to focus on both ends and drive the middle forward. For those units where the masses are still being suppressed or where they have not yet been mobilized, we hope that the leadership will take strong measures and firmly support the broad masses there. In this regard, I also want to emphasize that some organizations in certain regions should not intervene arbitrarily. If every region interferes in the class struggle of every industrial and mining enterprise, it can create opportunities for the enemy to exploit. Some neighborhood-based organizations for proletarian dictatorship should also refrain from intervening in the class struggle inside factories. Whenever there is an issue, communication between organizations should be established, and solutions should be collectively discussed. This is the first point of the first issue.

The second point is the new trends in the struggle in the previous phase. We need to pay attention to the new trends, characteristics, and problems in the class struggle. Chairman Mao teaches us that the enemy will not eliminate itself. Currently, the revolutionary masses have been fully mobilized, but what about the class enemies? They are also stirring and using various methods to sabotage and create chaos. Since we, the vast proletarian revolutionaries, firmly hold the initiative in the class struggle, the enemy has adopted more insidious, hidden, and ruthless means to engage in a life-and-death struggle against us. As Lenin pointed out long ago, the victory of Marxism in theory forces its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists. This is the dialectic of history. The class enemies' new tactics in the struggle have been touched upon in the previous phase, but we still have an incomplete understanding of them. We hope that in the next phase of the struggle, each system and unit will further investigate these tactics. I believe there are several points to consider: 1. **Spreading rumors and misleading the masses:** A small

group of class enemies are spreading rumors. They claim that cleaning up the class ranks means targeting the rebels, and some say, "Now they are going to target the old rebels again!" Others claim, "The previous phase was to target the ruling faction, to focus on attacking the capitalist-roaders, but now they're going to target the masses!" Some even say we are executing a new bourgeois counterrevolutionary line, and so on. For example, in Pudong, rumors spread that people over 35 will have to undergo scrutiny, and in the city, there were rumors that anyone over 45 would be subject to review. These rumors are being spread to confuse and disrupt our lines of struggle, trying to shift the focus of the struggle.

Some class enemies appear with an ultra-leftist face, blindly criticizing and targeting people who have minor political or historical issues, or those with small issues in their personal conduct. These small groups of class enemies viciously attack such people to divert the focus of the struggle. Others are saying that anyone who has been part of a protective workers' team should be expelled from the rebel ranks, or anyone who was a member of the Kuomintang or the Three People's Principles Youth League should be expelled from the rebel ranks. These rumors are intended to create chaos and disrupt our line of struggle.

**2. Manipulating individuals to suppress the masses:** Some malicious class enemies have even targeted people who know about their schemes and have dragged them out for criticism and struggle. They are attempting to further suppress the masses' exposure of their actions, or they attack secondary figures while protecting the main class enemies. This tactic is what we call "sacrificing the pawn to protect the king" or "sacrificing a piece to save the general." For instance, after the expanded meeting of the city revolutionary committee, the Shanghai Optical Instrument Factory targeted some small capitalists. These were people who had already been under mass surveillance, and they were attacked and criticized publicly. However, the real enemy, the cunning class enemies, were still manipulating the factory's rebel faction behind the scenes. These enemies spread rumors or targeted minor figures to divert attention from their own actions. Of course, the struggle against landlords, wealthy peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists is necessary, but the city revolutionary committee's expanded meeting never instructed you to focus your attacks on these individuals. We did not ask you to turn the struggle toward small capitalists. They attempt to cover up their own crimes by using such tactics. **3. Using petty theft**

**to divert attention:** Some class enemies deliberately create minor thefts to shift the focus of the masses and the leadership. For example, in one unit, a person with serious problems, when the masses were mobilized, became fearful. What did he do? He stole other people's meal tickets, food vouchers, and other coupons, then took his own and reported it as a theft. He tried to stir up the masses to report him, using this smear tactic to distract the people.

In some units, class enemies have deceived a portion of the masses into attacking party members, league members, and other cadres who made mistakes, in an attempt to suppress the revelation of their own problems. Once their issues are uncovered, they cry "old counter-revolutionaries" or "rightist revisionism," putting the blame on others with fabricated labels. This is the second situation we are dealing with.

The third situation is the emergence of rightist splittism and the planning of armed struggle. In units where the two factions have not united or their union is unstable, the enemy fully exploits some individuals' bourgeois factionalism, manipulating behind the scenes to create division and incite armed conflict. For example, recently at the Yimin Food Factory, they uncovered a group of spies, some of whom were Kuo-mintang agents, some were Japanese spies, and some were traitors and collaborators. This unit, comrades, you may not be aware, experienced a large-scale armed struggle, but recently the leaders of the two factions sat down to study together, and they managed to expose a group of enemies, each first rooting out the bad elements within their own faction. These examples prove that the enemy is doing everything in its power to exploit the bourgeois factionalism in some comrades' minds to incite armed struggle, sow division, and disrupt the current movement. There have also been instances in the approval process of the revolutionary committees or workers' congresses, where some individuals or groups were not approved or had objections to the revolutionary committees or the lower levels of the All-China Federation of Trade Union. Subsequently, class enemies have used these individuals to form factions, incite division, and direct their attacks at the various levels of the revolutionary committees and liaison stations.

Recently, in the Light Industry Bureau, an underground liaison station appeared. According to our understanding, this station itself contained a group of bad elements—some had been purged by the revolutionary teams, while others had returned after being part of the army's simpli-

fied staffing program and had certain grievances. These individuals were exploited by class enemies to foment division and direct their attacks at the Light Industry Bureau's revolutionary committee and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. Additionally, some individuals are taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the "cleaning up of the class ranks" to rally their own forces. For example, there are those who oppose the work being done by others at the liaison stations, making excuses to distort or oppose actions. Others have used this task of cleaning the class ranks as an opportunity to form what they call "combat groups" in different units.

Here, we make it clear: we do not support the formation of any so-called combat groups in any level of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions organizations. If anyone wants to establish such groups, we advise them to leave the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and not be a member of its rebel factions. Furthermore, some individuals are trying to conspire with people of unknown backgrounds from other places, with the aim of splitting Shanghai's workers' movement and student movement on a large scale.

We hereby warn these small groups of class enemies: your schemes will never succeed. If you want a contest, then come and perform; we will deal with you! (Applause) This is the third situation we are addressing. The fourth situation is the manufacturing of accidents, particularly sabotaging production accidents. For example, in a cotton textile factory, there were 29 motors in the cleaning workshop, and all of them were burned out at the same time. The factory produced faulty cloth in both shifts, resulting in several thousand yuan in state losses. In another textile factory, an incident occurred where a group of troublemakers took advantage of a seemingly minor issue — the selection of a workshop manager — and incited workers to stop over 1,000 weaving machines for more than two hours.

There have also been incidents involving violent acts, such as a murder case in a Shanghai factory. A former soldier, who had met Chairman Mao in May and was the head of the factory's revolutionary committee, was brutally beaten and suffered severe fractures, including his arm tendons being severed. These examples illustrate that a small number of class enemies will never be satisfied with their defeat. They will use any opportunity to incite the masses, divert our attention, and sabotage the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The enemy always uses various

methods to counter us. As our great leader, Chairman Mao, has taught us, revolutionary party members must understand their tactics, study their strategies, and be prepared to defeat them. It is essential not to naively oversimplify the complex nature of class struggle. Based on the current situation of class struggle, we hope that all systems and units will further mobilize the masses, strictly prevent sabotage of production, and also guard against class enemies fleeing, committing suicide, or carrying out class revenge. At the same time, safety and security work in each unit should be properly organized. Especially for key departments, we suggest that safety work should not be left to just a few individuals. Instead, it should be carried out under the leadership of revolutionary committees at all levels, mobilizing and organizing the masses to ensure safety.

This is the first issue.

The second issue I want to address is how to fully mobilize the masses and wage a people's war against the class enemies. Currently, the focus of our work should be to further mobilize the masses. The key to mobilizing the masses lies in leadership—whether the leadership at all levels is willing to take the lead and whether they can truly let go and allow the masses to take action. From what we understand, there are three main situations with respect to leadership:

1. **Leadership that dares to lead:** In some units, the leaders are at the forefront of the mass movement, boldly leading and mobilizing the masses. They trust and rely on the masses, engaging in decisive struggles against class enemies. In these units, the movement is vibrant and successful.
2. **Leadership that follows the crowd:** In other units, the leadership only reacts to the masses' actions—when the masses rise up, the leadership moves only when urged, often reluctantly. Some people compare this to a woman with small feet trying to play soccer, meaning it's ineffective and lacks energy.
3. **Leadership that hesitates:** In some cases, leaders are fearful and indecisive, afraid of both progress and setbacks. They are unwilling to fully mobilize the masses. Even when the masses have already begun to move,

such leaders impose restrictions, creating rules that limit the people's actions. For example, there was a unit where, after the city's expanded meeting, the masses began mobilizing, but the leadership not only failed to lead, but also imposed many regulations. Some leaders even insisted that the masses' materials had to be approved by the city Revolutionary Committee. This frustrated the masses, leading to some units pushing the leaders aside and taking action on their own.

Such leadership often reflects right-wing, conservative thinking. We believe these right-wing and conservative thoughts mainly manifest in the following ways:

1. **Fear:** Some older cadres fear expanding the scope of the struggle, fearing they may repeat past mistakes, such as committing errors linked to the bourgeois reactionary line or even falling into "right-wing revisionism." For instance, a cadre in the Chemical Bureau once said that if they were to make another mistake, such as repeating errors related to the bourgeois reactionary line, it would be a sin beyond redemption.

2. **Waiting:** There are those who wait for instructions from above. If there is no directive, they do nothing, fearing that they will be held responsible if anything goes wrong later. This is often seen in the lack of initiative when implementing the task of cleaning up the class ranks, even though it had been long planned.

3. **Looking to others:** Some leaders only take action when they see other units taking the lead or succeeding. If others have no experience, they hesitate to take risks.

4. **Requesting specific methods:** Some demand more specific policies, like sending small teams or implementing military control. However, this approach is flawed. We believe that the most important thing is to rely on the broad revolutionary masses and give them the space to take action. The essence of this movement is to depend on the masses, and without this, no small teams or military management will resolve the issue.

In conclusion, the core of this struggle lies in empowering and fully mobilizing the masses. Without this foundation, no external structures, such as small task forces or military management, can solve the problem. Only by letting go and trusting the revolutionary masses can we ensure the success of this class struggle. So the key lies in mobilizing the masses, believing in and relying on the broad masses. We believe that these issues ultimately stem from a fear of making mistakes, a fear of straying from



the correct line, and a fear of following a capitalist counter-revolutionary path. This indicates that some comrades have not yet deeply studied Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, nor have they truly embraced it. Chairman Mao taught us: **"Whether we protect or repress the broad masses of people is the fundamental difference between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang..."**

Chairman Mao's latest directive thoroughly exposes the reactionary essence of the bourgeois counter-revolutionary line. The bourgeois counter-revolutionary line relies on the remnants of the Kuomintang to suppress the broad revolutionary masses and protect a small group of capitalist roaders and class enemies. Its aim is to extinguish the revolutionary fire of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, restore capitalism, and establish a bourgeois dictatorship. What they represent are the interests of the Kuomintang reactionaries and the bourgeoisie.

The work we are currently doing to clean up the class ranks relies on the broad revolutionary masses to vigorously strike at the remnants of the Kuomintang reactionaries and class enemies. The goal is to carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end, strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. We represent the interests of the proletariat and the broad working people, which is entirely in line with Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. This is fundamentally different from the bourgeois counter-revolutionary line, and therefore we must resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and see this task of class cleanup through to the end. Our current mass movement against the enemy may make some errors, and we may accidentally harm some good people, but no matter what, our goal is entirely to deal a heavy blow to a small number of class enemies. If we truly learn Mao Zedong Thought and master Chairman Mao's series of policies, guidelines, and strategies for dealing with class enemies, we can completely overcome the errors and shortcomings in our work. Therefore, even though some comrades may have been mistakenly harmed during this movement, we don't think it's a big deal, and we should deal with it correctly.

Of course, we must also say that if a small number of class enemies or ill-intentioned people try to use the cleaning of the class ranks as an excuse to attack the revolutionary masses, revive capitalism, or carry out rightist counter-revolutionary actions, we must take these matters seriously and deal with them firmly. Leaders at all levels must recognize

the struggle between the two lines from the perspective of what is truly right and wrong. We must stand firm in our loyalty to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, just as the best comrades do, by keeping watch for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, standing at our posts, fighting the battle, and ensuring that we uphold the public good while overcoming selfishness. We must live and fight for Chairman Mao and be willing to sacrifice ourselves for Chairman Mao. If we hold this loyal heart to Chairman Mao, Mao Zedong Thought, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, then there is nothing to fear, and we can confidently take the lead in the struggle against the enemy. This is the first point of the second issue. The second point is the importance of unity in the struggle against the enemy. At present, in some units, the alliance between the two major factions is still not strong, and some are still engaging in internal conflicts and armed struggles. We say that these units must unite and focus on the common enemy, using the struggle against the enemy to strengthen the big unity. In some units, there are still comrades who approach this serious class struggle with bourgeois factionalism. Some comrades, when dealing with the opposing faction, even if it is a contradiction among the people, escalate it to an extreme, while problems within their own faction, even if they are enemy-related, are minimized or ignored, with no efforts to expose or struggle against them. This gives a small group of class enemies an opportunity to exploit the situation. Some comrades have been blinded by bourgeois factionalism, which leads them to protect class enemies. These enemies, in turn, use their factionalism to create and incite armed struggles to protect their own issues. This must raise the highest level of vigilance among the leaders of the revolutionary factions in all units. At the same time, we must follow Chairman Mao's great teachings, which emphasize that each faction must first root out the bad elements within their own ranks.

The experiences of the Dyes and Chemicals Factory and Shanghai University of Science and Technology are good examples. They first unified their thoughts through studying Mao's works and implementing Chairman Mao's latest instructions, focusing on the struggle against the enemy. They began by rooting out the bad elements within their own factions, or exchanging information and materials to jointly investigate the issues. Through this joint effort, they exposed and removed some bad elements, which helped solidify their unity. The same approach was taken at Yimin Factory. However, there are still some units that have not

yet united and continue to fight internal battles. To the leaders of these units, if you are not among the bad elements, think about how you plan to proceed next. This is the second point.

The third point is whether we can fully mobilize the masses, as this is fundamental to achieving victory in the struggle against the enemy. The key to mobilizing the masses lies in the invincible thought of Mao Zedong. We must use Mao Zedong Thought, particularly Chairman Mao's theory on classes and class struggle, to arm the minds of the vast revolutionary masses. We must seriously organize the masses to repeatedly study Mao Zedong's series of theories, policies, and strategies regarding the struggle against the enemy, ensuring they grasp them thoroughly. Once the masses have fully understood Mao Zedong's teachings on the struggle against the enemy, they will be able to exert their maximum fighting power in the struggle against the enemy. They will have the sharpest ability to discern, identify deeply hidden enemies, expose them, and root out all the cunning class enemies. They will also be able to consciously distinguish between two different types of contradictions and always direct the struggle toward a small group of class enemies. Without Mao Zedong Thought, there is no way to mobilize the masses.

Therefore, we hope that all units will first focus on ideological education by organizing study classes. Recently, some units have created good experiences in this regard. For example, some units have organized study classes for cadres, party and youth league members, veteran workers, or retired workers. Through these study classes, they further implemented Chairman Mao's latest instructions. By studying the experience of the Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory, which Chairman Mao personally endorsed, they conducted a thorough review of factory history and enemy intelligence, leading to the exposure of some deeply hidden class enemies. There are also some factories that were formed by merging small factories. These units gathered experienced veteran workers and familiarized themselves with the history of the smaller factories, using study classes to review enemy intelligence. This approach has also been effective.

We hope that leaders at all levels will emphasize ideological education in the ongoing struggle against the enemy and continue to organize study classes with the policy of allowing the masses to run them and ensuring they are done on an amateur level. Through various types of study classes, we can arm the minds of the revolutionary masses with Mao Zedong Thought. Only by doing so can we fully mobilize the masses and carry

this class struggle through to the end. During the process of mobilizing the masses, leaders at all levels must strengthen their leadership. They cannot be content with merely general calls for action. They must identify different situations, consider the specific characteristics of each unit, and engage in in-depth and meticulous ideological and political work. Only by addressing active thoughts and conducting detailed political work can we fully stimulate all available positive forces. The main focus at present is to mobilize a broad range of revolutionary cadres, party members, and youth league members. They are more familiar with the class struggle in their respective units, and many comrades already have experience in fighting class enemies, allowing them to play a key role in this movement. Some comrades made mistakes at the beginning of the movement and adhered to the bourgeois counter-revolutionary line. Currently, some of them may have certain thoughts or doubts. Therefore, we hope that leaders, liaison stations, and heads of the revolutionary factions will help raise their awareness of the two-line struggle. Our vast revolutionary cadres and party members must bravely rush to the front lines of class struggle, undergo rigorous training and testing, and become strong proletarian fighters. In this regard, the Shanghai District 10 Revolutionary Committee and the proletarian revolutionaries have set a good example. In their work of clearing the class ranks, they fully mobilized the masses, including a large number of revolutionary cadres, party members, and youth league members, and through this mobilization, they played a very positive role in the struggle.

The second group to mobilize is the veteran and retired workers. These workers are more familiar with the history of the factories and the older generations of workers. Many of them also have experience in class struggle. In some units, by inspiring these elderly workers to recall past struggles and compare them with the present, their hatred toward a small group of class enemies has been awakened, thereby mobilizing their enthusiasm. Therefore, we must mobilize all available positive factors and utilize every force that can be exerted to jointly fight a people's war.

The third point is how to distinguish between different types of issues. Recently, we have learned that some people with minor political history problems are becoming anxious, fearing they will be implicated. We believe that if someone has minor political history issues but has already clarified them and the masses are aware of them, then they should not be so anxious. They should lighten their burdens and join the struggle.

Even if someone has more serious political history issues, if they have not been enemies and have not shown bad behavior during the Cultural Revolution, they can also put down their burdens, join the struggle, and eliminate their worries. Some of these people are insiders. For example, those who participated in the “Guarding Workers’ Teams” would certainly be familiar with the situations of others who participated in the team. Similarly, those who were involved with the Kuomintang may have some understanding. Even when dealing with class enemies, we must adopt the strategy of dividing and isolating them, exploiting their contradictions and defeating them one by one. The small group of staunch class enemies is still our main target. We must strictly distinguish between two different kinds of contradictions. As mentioned earlier, some people are trying to shift this struggle into areas like personal behavior, working style, or lifestyle issues. We have not fallen into their trap. At a recent meeting, a comrade raised the issue that some people have lifestyle problems, and some of these problems are quite serious, but they are not classified as contradictions between enemies and the people. Can these individuals be leaders of the revolutionary factions? Our view is that if it is at the grassroots level, the broad revolutionary masses in that unit should discuss and investigate the issue. If the person is in charge at a higher level, such as a liaison station or a company, the decision should be based on the political conditions of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and the Workers’ Congress. If a person believes they are unqualified to be in charge, they should voluntarily return to the factory and focus on revolution and production. In the past period, some comrades, feeling that they had issues, asked to return, but after hearing about how to handle contradictions among the people, they decided to stay.

Those who are unqualified must still return, and if they have not caused harm in the liaison stations or higher levels, we should mobilize all positive factors and unite all forces that can be united, isolating and defeating the small group of class enemies to the greatest extent possible. The people’s war against the enemy has already begun, and the broad revolutionary masses have been mobilized. The issue now is to further mobilize the masses. We must raise the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought higher, act boldly, rely on the masses and the majority of cadres, and achieve a comprehensive victory in the struggle against the enemy, pushing the Cultural Revolution to its conclusion.



1969

## Wang Hongwen's Speech at the Plenary Session of the Ninth National Congress

Wang Hongwen

1969.04.14

Dear Chairman Mao, Vice Chairman Lin, the Presidium of the Congress, and all the representatives:

The 9th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, convened under the personal leadership of our most revered great leader Chairman Mao, is a congress of immense and far-reaching significance in the history of our party. It is a congress full of vigor, a congress of unity and victory. The great leader Chairman Mao's extremely important speech at the opening session, Vice Chairman Lin's political report, and the new constitution of the Communist Party of China have received the warmest support from our vast working class, and we firmly pledge to implement them.

Vice Chairman Lin's political report raised the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought. Based on Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship, it summarized the basic experiences of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, analyzed both domestic and international situations, and outlined the party's combat tasks. This report serves as the great action program for our entire party, the whole army, and the people of the entire country. We must study it earnestly and resolutely implement and carry it out.

We are determined to achieve the following points:

1. **Focus on the fundamentals.** We must take Vice Chairman Lin as a shining example and strive to live and apply Mao Zedong Thought in practice. On all fronts, we should establish Mao Zedong Thought study classes, rapidly launching a new upsurge in the mass movement of actively learning and applying Mao Zedong Thought. We will resolutely follow Chairman Mao, always engage in revolution, and remain true to



our revolutionary heart, unchanging like the sea and rocks. Historical experience teaches us this truth: to follow Chairman Mao is to ensure victory, while deviating from Mao Zedong Thought leads to failure. This hard-earned experience, paid for with blood, is something the vast working class will never forget!

2. We must follow Chairman Mao's great teachings, **"The working class must lead everything"** and **"Only by liberating all of humanity can the proletariat finally liberate itself."** Based on Mao Zedong Thought, we will strengthen the alliance between workers and peasants, unite all forces that can be united, and diligently, thoroughly, and reasonably complete the tasks of struggle, criticism, and reform in the factories.

We will earnestly address the struggle, criticism, and reform of the superstructure, implement the policies of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and "constantly raise our political awareness through struggle." We will remain ever vibrant, work hard, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

3. In accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching of **"Grasp revolution, promote production,"** we will focus on revolution while vigorously promoting production. We will use revolution to lead production, advance production, and drive production forward.

We are determined to complete and exceed the national economic development plan, foster a new leap forward in the economic sector and the entire socialist construction endeavor, and achieve a double victory in both revolution and production.

4. We must learn from the great Chinese People's Liberation Army, emphasizing proletarian politics, upholding the four "firsts," promoting the "Three-Eighth" spirit, strengthening combat readiness, and arming workers. We must be prepared at all times to crush any enemies daring to attack. We must also remember Chairman Mao's teachings that we should not easily claim the final victory of our revolution, and thoroughly bury imperialism, revisionism, and reactionary forces. We will fight to liberate all of humanity and strive to establish a new world without imperialism, capitalism, or any system of exploitation.

Finally, let us all raise our voices together:

Long live the victory of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the great, glorious, and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Zedong!

Long live our great leader, Chairman Mao! Long live! Long, long live!





1970

## **Mastering the Party's Policies, Deeply Mobilizing the Masses**

— Wang Hongwen's Speech at Fudan University at the 'Great Rally to Uphold the Great Red Banner of Mao Zedong Thought and Completely Reckon with the Counter-Revolutionary Crimes of the Hu Shoujun Faction'

Comrades,

Today's conference has been very successful; it has greatly boosted the morale of the proletariat and significantly weakened the arrogance of the class enemies. This is an excellent class education for each and every one of us. Since the central leadership, with Chairman Mao at the helm and Vice Chairman Lin, issued the three important documents, including "Crushing Counter-Revolutionary Activities and the Destruction of the Reactionaries," the situation of our struggle against the enemy in Shanghai, like in other parts of the country, has been very good. This time, at Fudan University, with the political movement fully mobilizing the masses, we have exposed and rooted out the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the Hu Shoujun small group. This is a significant victory. Although the number of people in the Hu Shoujun small group is small, their counter-revolutionary influence is quite powerful. The materials uncovered from this small group are extremely helpful for some of our well-meaning comrades, helping them open their eyes and receive education in class struggle.

However, at present, not every comrade fully understands the far-reaching significance of the struggle against the current counter-revolutionaries. Some comrades think that this struggle is merely about exposing a few counter-revolutionaries, which reduces the scope and nature of the struggle. Our struggle against counter-revolutionaries is not just about a few individuals; it is a life-and-death struggle between two classes. It is a continuation and development of the political struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a continuation and development of the political struggle between the people under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang reactionaries. After the bourgeois class headquarters, led by Liu Shaoqi, was destroyed by the raging tide of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the bourgeoisie will once again search for its agents. As the great leader Chairman Mao pointed

out, “The defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around, and this class still exists.” The Hu Shoujun small group represents such a defeated class. If we do not root out these hidden agents of imperialism, revisionism, and counter-revolution within our revolutionary ranks, it will lead to endless troubles. By exposing these few people, we turn bad situations into good ones, and we truly achieve the goal of “exposing a few, saving a batch, and educating and training the broad masses.”

Not long ago, some comrades expressed the opinion that “in recent years, all we’ve been hearing are calls to overthrow; now it’s time to listen to the sounds of machines and hammers.” Today’s meeting serves as a valuable education for those comrades who have become weary of class struggle. In his brilliant work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Chairman Mao teaches us:

**“We must understand that, without clearing out the hidden counter-revolutionaries, they will never give up. They will seize any opportunity to cause trouble. The imperialists of the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek group are still frequently sending agents here to carry out sabotage activities. Even after the previous counter-revolutionaries have been eliminated, new ones may still emerge.”** The facts revealed in today’s meeting serve as a vivid lesson, don’t they? You may wish to focus solely on production and ignore politics, but the class enemy is always thinking about “changing the situation.” It seems that the enemy’s political sensitivity is much higher than that of some of the comrades in our ranks. Didn’t someone in the Hu Shoujun group write a black poem about “a sharp blade hidden in the waist, making a sound”? What does this mean? “Sharp blade” refers to a “quick knife.” What does “making a sound” mean? There is an ancient legend that when a knife is about to kill, it will make a sound on its own. This is called “making a sound.” “A sharp blade hidden in the waist, making a sound,” means that the quick knife in their waist has made a sound, signaling that they are ready to kill and shed blood! They said, “If we rise to power in the future, it will be our turn to chop off their heads.” Comrades! We must never think that it is just a few intellectuals rebelling—be careful, you may lose your own head without even knowing how it happened! At the beginning of this struggle, there was a statement made that now is the time to “deal with the old rebels, to deal with those young rebels who have made mistakes.” Those making such statements were either counter-revolutionaries causing disruption and sabotage, attempting to create

chaos in the situation, or some confused people with extremely serious right-wing thoughts. However, no matter what, such arguments that hinder the deepening of the struggle must be criticized. Our view is that we must conduct a class analysis of the “old rebels.” The majority of the “old rebels” are revolutionary and revolutionary-minded, many of whom have always closely followed Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line and have continued to make new contributions for the people.

However, we must recognize that, within the ranks of the rebel forces, there have inevitably been some bad elements. As Chairman Mao pointed out in the preface to *Materials on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Group*: **“Because we were in a period of revolutionary upheaval, and we were the victors, all kinds of people gathered around us, resulting in a mixture of good and bad, with fish and dragons interspersed.”** When the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, the tide of the revolutionary movement swept various people along, creating a mixture of good and bad elements, with fish and dragons interspersed. This included the so-called “old rebels” like Hu Shoujun and others. In the political report delivered by Vice Chairman Lin at the Ninth Party Congress, Chairman Mao made an important analysis of the characteristics of this Cultural Revolution. Mao said: **“In the past, when we fought battles from south to north, those wars were easier to fight because the enemy was clear. This time, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is much more difficult than those wars.”** **“The problem is that those who made ideological mistakes are mixed in with the enemies and allies, and it’s hard to distinguish between them for the time being.”**

Indeed, this is the case. Due to enemies infiltrating our ranks under the guise of “rebellion,” many people were deceived by their tactics, and some even regarded them as good people. However, as long as we rely on the invincible thought of Mao Zedong, we can absolutely uncover the true nature of these counter-revolutionary elements. We should study Chairman Mao’s notes on the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary group carefully to understand the characteristics of counter-revolutionary conspiratorial groups operating under proletarian dictatorship. For example, the Hu Shoujun group infiltrated mass organizations to conduct anti-proletarian activities. They had a counter-revolutionary program, a counter-revolutionary plan, and strategies and discipline for underground activities. The pamphlet “Materials Related to the Hu Shou-



jun Group” compiled by the Fudan University “Hu Shoujun Group” special case team is something everyone should read. It can help us understand what the new counter-revolutionary elements are and how they attempted to overthrow the Party leadership with Mao Zedong as the head and Lin Biao as the deputy, in order to seize power from the proletariat. It also exposes their underground conspiratorial activities. The materials cited in this pamphlet, written by their own hands, are undeniable ironclad evidence—black and white on paper, making it impossible for them to deny.

From these materials, could the Hu Shoujun group claim to be merely “little rebels whose worldviews have not yet been transformed”? No, they are a group of newly emerged counter-revolutionary elements. The members of this small group themselves confessed that “in another twenty or thirty years, we will be veteran counter-revolutionaries.” In fact, Hu Shoujun was already an old counter-revolutionary. Even before the Cultural Revolution, he had viciously attacked our great leader Chairman Mao. Hu said, “I face the sun, and the sun is like a steel knife, ready to carve out my heart.” Mao Zedong Thought is the sun, the steel knife that aims to carve out the hearts of these counter-revolutionary elements. They maliciously attacked our great leader Chairman Mao, and the proletarian leadership with Mao as the head and Lin Biao as the deputy. Among the materials collected, there are more than 400 pieces, with nearly 200 corroborated by other evidence, including time, place, and witnesses. The contents of these materials are extremely vile, almost unbearable to read. These individuals harbor such deep hatred for Chairman Mao and the proletarian leadership under Mao and Lin, while they idolize the fascist leader Hitler. There is a book detailing Hitler’s life, called *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, which was revered as a “classic” within this small group and required reading for their internal study and discussion. Many members of this group also enjoyed writing dark poetry, some of which mentioned a “ten-year period.” Why “ten years”? According to the core members of this group, the ten-year period refers to the time between 1923, when Hitler failed in his coup attempt at the Beer Hall Putsch, and 1933, when he ascended to the position of Führer of Germany. Therefore, their beliefs were completely rooted in fascist ideology. Their counter-revolutionary goal was to turn socialist China into fascist China. How could such people be described as “old rebels who made mistakes”? They are nothing less than old,

heinous counter-revolutionaries who committed enormous crimes! At present, the lid of class struggle in many units has been initially lifted, and the movement has achieved some victories. However, at this point, the danger of relaxation and complacency is also starting to resurface. Isn't it the case that some people believe "the problem has been uncovered enough, and we can't dig any deeper"? This mindset of "not being able to go any deeper" is very dangerous, as it would turn this struggle into a mere formality. Right now, this struggle is a continuation of the process of purging the class ranks. It is a crucial strategic measure to safeguard and develop the victorious outcomes of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We cannot allow it to halt halfway. We must dig deeper, relentlessly pursue, and continuously use Mao Zedong Thought to guide our efforts. We must master the party's policies, deeply mobilize the masses, and continually divide and dismantle the enemy, not giving them any chance to catch their breath.

We solemnly hope that comrades will thoroughly study Chairman Mao's brilliant work *"Carry the Revolution Through to the End"*, written in 1948. This has very important practical significance for advancing the current struggle. In this brilliant work, Chairman Mao reminds us never to be like the farmer who has a kind heart toward a poisonous snake, never to pity evil people like snakes. Comrades, the problem we face today is exactly as Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Shall we carry the revolution through to the end, or shall we allow the revolution to fail halfway? If we are to carry the revolution through to the end, then we must use revolutionary methods to resolutely, thoroughly, and completely eliminate all reactionary forces."** This is the clear and sharp question that stands before us.

To thoroughly destroy such a counter-revolutionary group politically, ideologically, and organizationally, it is essential to carry out a large-scale criticism campaign. Without engaging in revolutionary mass criticism and political ideological struggle, the class enemy will still have room for activity, and some people will fail to clearly distinguish themselves from the enemy, providing the enemy with objective conditions to reverse their defeat. At present, it appears that in some units, including certain departments at Fudan University, the mass criticism work is still insufficient and needs to be further strengthened. Whether the mass criticism is effective or not actually indicates whether the masses in your unit have truly been mobilized. If the masses are truly mobilized, the mass criticism

will be vigorous and energetic. Otherwise, it will be cold and lack enthusiasm, and the movement will not be able to heat up. I hope all units carefully examine the depth and breadth of their mass criticism efforts and further ignite and maintain the revolutionary passion of the masses.

Comrades, fellow fighters!

In order to better carry out this great struggle, on one hand, we must overcome right-wing thinking, further mobilize the masses, and intensify the revolutionary mass criticism campaign. At the same time, we must thoroughly study the Party's policies on enemy struggles and understand the policies in order to ensure that the movement continues to advance victoriously along the revolutionary track of Mao Zedong Thought.

Mao Zedong, during the period of class struggle, issued a series of important directives. His instructions regarding **“first, we must act quickly; second, we must pay attention to policies,”** as well as his directives on **“the scope of suppression should be narrow, the scope of education should be broad; we must focus on evidence, research, and investigation, and strictly prohibit forced confessions, coercion, and fabrication of evidence,”** must all be firmly followed. Any violation of Mao's instructions, such as the use of forced confessions, torture, or disguised torture, is wrong and must be immediately corrected.

At the same time, we must strictly distinguish between two different types of contradictions and deal with them accordingly. Here, I would like to discuss how to historically and dialectically understand certain phenomena, in order to accurately, steadily, and decisively strike at a small handful of class enemies. First, we must correctly handle the relationship between criticizing reactionary ideologies and fighting against current counter-revolutionaries. The current struggle is both a serious political struggle and an extremely profound ideological struggle between two classes. We must mobilize the masses to identify hidden counter-revolutionary elements politically, while also engaging in ideological struggle, carrying out revolutionary mass criticism of various reactionary ideologies. This is essential for educating the masses, improving our awareness of class struggle, understanding the struggle between the two lines, and enhancing our ability to discern. At the same time, it will help those comrades who have made mistakes due to the influence of reactionary ideologies to quickly return to Mao's revolutionary path. Under the

powerful conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is difficult for a small group of hidden counter-revolutionaries to openly carry out counter-revolutionary activities. They always use extreme “left” ideologies to shield themselves and confuse the masses, attacking the proletarian headquarters led by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin, as well as the newly-formed revolutionary committees personally approved by Chairman Mao, and the great Chinese People’s Liberation Army.

Therefore, in areas where extreme “left” ideologies are rampant, there are often hidden counter-revolutionary elements active, and sometimes these class enemies are even behind the scenes, manipulating the situation. Only by persistently carrying out the revolutionary mass criticism, thoroughly criticizing reactionary extreme “left” ideologies, can we expose those counter-revolutionaries who incite and use extreme “left” ideologies for counter-revolutionary activities. This will help educate the masses, identify the enemies, and block their avenues for retreat. This is one aspect of the issue.

On the other hand, we must also recognize that not everyone who is caught up in various reactionary extreme “left” ideologies is a counter-revolutionary. We must analyze those affected by extreme “left” ideologies in a specific manner. Are they individuals who, for a certain time and in a certain place, were influenced by extreme “left” ideologies and either proposed or supported certain erroneous views? Or, have they consistently advocated and promoted extreme “left” theories? Did they make mistakes in the early or middle stages of the movement, and later examine or correct them? Or have they continued to actively promote extreme “left” ideologies to this day? Are these people a small group of reactionary elements attacking the Party and the proletariat, or are they well-meaning people who made mistakes? These issues must be examined in a historical and specific context.

It is particularly important to distinguish between those who still adhere to extreme “left” ideologies and those who were influenced by them in the past. Arbitrarily labeling everyone as the same, without any differentiation or analysis, is incorrect. Now, there are some people who, on the one hand, loudly complain that the scope of the current struggle is too large, while on the other hand, either secretly stir up bourgeois factionalism or openly engage in disruptive activities, attempting to create confusion and chaos in the movement. For such individuals, we must remain highly vigilant. Their “left-right” approach is precisely aimed at

sabotaging the struggle. These people must be thoroughly investigated to understand their true intentions. Of course, when we say that we must treat these situations differently, we do not mean that those who were previously influenced by extreme “left” ideologies should stop consciously engaging in self-criticism and the “struggle against personal issues and revisionism.” That is certainly not the case. Every reactionary ideology, whether from the right or extreme “left,” must be firmly criticized. Only by doing so can we genuinely help and educate comrades who made mistakes, and truly isolate and expose a small group of class enemies.

Secondly, we must distinguish between mass organizations that made mistakes and counter-revolutionary conspiracy groups. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the broad masses of revolutionary people, following the strategic guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao, created various mass organizations. These organizations made significant contributions to the revolution as they sought to seize power from the small group of traitors, spies, and unreformed capitalist roaders led by Liu Shaoqi. This was a tremendous achievement. However, once the various revolutionary committees were established across the country, particularly after the Ninth Party Congress presided over by Chairman Mao, any mass organization that crossed industries, systems, or departments — or stubbornly clung to their small fiefdoms — should immediately cease activities and join the revolution in an organized manner. If these organizations persist without change, they will inevitably be exploited by a small group of class enemies. Some mass organizations may have made mistakes during the early, middle, or later stages of the movement, or may have been manipulated or used by bad people. We must strictly distinguish between the small group of bad elements that infiltrated these organizations and the broad masses, who are revolutionary and want revolution. However, organizations like the Hu Shoujun small group are not mass organizations at all; they are conspiratorial and counter-revolutionary groups that have infiltrated mass organizations. The Hu Shoujun group has a counter-revolutionary agenda, a plan, and engages in secretive underground activities, which is completely different from the general student organizations. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is carried out using the methods of proletarian democracy under dictatorship, with open criticism and discussion, including great debates, open letters, and large-scale posters. What need is there for secretive activities? Only those with ulterior motives would engage in such

secretive activities. Especially after the establishment of the revolutionary committees, if such activities continue, it is clear that there are hidden, undesirable purposes at play. These kinds of secretive activities should be thoroughly investigated, and those who persistently refuse to correct their errors will inevitably face dire consequences.

The core members of Hu Shoujun's small group included some who were former leaders of the Cannon Corps and the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Faction. However, it would be incorrect to equate all those who participated in the Cannon Corps with Hu Shoujun's group. It is crucial to conduct a historical and specific analysis of such issues.

For instance, during the period between September and December 1966, certain student organizations played a significant role in promoting the rise of the workers' movement. Revolutionary students, especially the Red Guards, contributed positively during their engagement with factory workers. Although some of them made mistakes, their overall direction was generally correct and should be acknowledged. However, by the beginning of 1967, after the central government issued a call for the organizational structure of the revolution to be streamlined, some students continued to attempt to dominate the workers' movement, which was problematic. As for Hu Shoujun's small group, they used the workers' and students' movement as a cover to manipulate the workers' movement and even attempted to merge with the General Workers' Corps, driven by their conspiratorial ambitions. They secretly engaged in many subversive activities behind the backs of the General Workers' Corps. When their schemes were exposed, they resorted to bitterly criticizing the revolutionaries. Now, some factories have questioned past connections between students and workers. Regardless of whether these connections occurred during the early or late stages of the movement, it's essential to investigate these cases carefully and selectively. During the early stages, especially at the end of 1966 and the beginning of 1967, it was quite normal for students and workers to form alliances. We should not hastily suspect or investigate these relationships unless there is a compelling reason. Otherwise, we risk making unfounded accusations and disrupting the movement unnecessarily.

Furthermore, regarding the Central Revolutionary Faction, while they did produce harmful works like "Everything for the Ninth Party Congress", these actions were carried out by a small faction within the group. Some of their works were influenced or even edited by counter-revolu-

tionaries like Hu Daojing, a remnant of the Kuomintang, and Hu Shoujun, a counter-revolutionary conspirator. The Central Revolutionary Faction did conduct study sessions, and the results were generally positive in terms of raising awareness. We should not equate the actions of a few individuals in this faction with the actions of Hu Shoujun's counter-revolutionary group. The Central Revolutionary Faction made mistakes, but it was still a mass organization, and its nature is fundamentally different from that of Hu Shoujun's conspiratorial group.

Thirdly, we must distinguish between those who were involved in the "Cannon Attack" counter-revolutionary movement and those who engaged in current counter-revolutionary activities. The term "Cannon Attack" refers to specific actions taken by counter-revolutionaries, and those involved in it cannot be treated as the same as ordinary people who made mistakes in the past. The idea that "anyone who engaged in Cannon Attacks should be punished" is a dangerous and manipulative claim propagated by those with ulterior motives. These individuals are attempting to create a climate of fear and confusion to protect a small group of counter-revolutionaries. We must remain vigilant against such attempts to destabilize the revolutionary movement. When dealing with those who have committed "Pao Da" (attacking the central authority) mistakes, we must consider whether they were leaders or simply involved, whether the nature of the mistake was serious, and whether the circumstances were particularly malicious. We cannot generalize. If someone has committed a general "Pao Da" mistake, but has later realized their error, made a full confession, conducted a thorough self-criticism, and demonstrated correction through their actions without repeating the mistake, then we should not "revisit old issues." Criticism and help in terms of their thoughts are acceptable, but the focus should be on education. We should not hold grudges but should allow them the chance to correct their mistakes. However, for those who have concealed their "Pao Da" mistakes or hidden key details, especially those who continue to secretly harbor "Pao Da" materials or engage in "Pao Da" activities, these individuals must be exposed and thoroughly investigated. Of course, if these people sincerely repent, make a full confession, and voluntarily hand over the "black materials," whether today or tomorrow, it will be considered as timely confession, and we can offer leniency.

In conclusion, we must strictly distinguish between two types of contradictions and treat them differently, in order to prevent both left-



wing and right-wing tendencies. The issue with the Hu Shoujun small group is fundamentally not an ordinary “Pao Da” (attacking the central authority) issue. This small group, during the two waves of the “Pao Da” countercurrent in Shanghai, played the role of the vanguard in attacking the central Cultural Revolution, which is a serious crime, but not their main crime. To this day, this small group is still fanatically and maliciously attacking the Central Committee led by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin, attacking the newly established revolutionary committees, and the great People’s Liberation Army of China. They have an agenda, organization, and discipline, and are attempting to instigate a change of regime. This is the crux of the matter.

Fourth, we must distinguish between students who have made mistakes and current counter-revolutionaries. Our great leader Chairman Mao has always placed immense hope in the revolutionary youth of our country. Through the tempering of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the vast majority of our young students and young workers have become even more devoted to the Central Committee led by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin, more willing to accept re-education from the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and are full of vitality. When addressing issues among the youth, we must make a clear distinction between those young students or workers who, influenced by anarchist ideologies, have made mistakes, been criticized, expressed some passive dissatisfaction, or said things detrimental to the proletarian command, and those who have consistently upheld a reactionary stance and launched vicious attacks. We must also differentiate between those youth who, influenced by extreme bourgeois individualism, have walked the path of counter-revolution, and those youth who, though coming from poor backgrounds and having made various mistakes, are not engaging in counter-revolutionary activities or seeking revenge and restoration of the old regime. For the former group, ideological criticism is necessary, especially for themselves, and they must seriously learn from their mistakes. As long as they do not continue down the wrong path, they remain part of the people’s internal contradictions, and we welcome them to correct their errors. As for the latter group, they represent enemy contradictions and must be thoroughly exposed, criticized, and fought against. The Hu Shoujun small group is a thoroughly counter-revolutionary faction. Are all the people within this group the same? Not exactly. Some of them belong to the earlier mentioned category, and others may be considered



“marginal” figures. However, their nature is different from the general case because this is a group. We must observe their repentance and the extent of their determination to correct their errors in order to determine how to handle them.

Fifth, for current counter-revolutionaries and individuals within counter-revolutionary small groups, we must differentiate between those with a good attitude and those with a bad attitude.

Chairman Mao clearly stated: **“Those who confess honestly will be treated leniently; those who resist will be treated harshly.”** This principle is always applicable. Our attitude toward the Hu Shoujun small group and all other reactionary elements is clear: 1. **The crimes exist objectively.** “Concealment cannot last.” Attempting to hide or cover up crimes is self-deception. If you don’t speak, others will. An alliance of attack and defense is unreliable. In the end, you must confess. It is better to confess on your own than to have others expose you, and it is better to confess early than late. 2. **No matter the size of the crime, the key lies in the attitude.** “Dump the beans out of the bamboo tube,” meaning fully confess. If one surrenders completely to the people and disarms, they will receive leniency. If they resist, their crimes will accumulate, and they will face harsh punishment by the proletariat. 3. **To redeem oneself and become a new person.** Don’t focus on the severity of the crime. Those who fully confess and show true repentance may still be treated as part of the internal contradictions among the people. 4. The fundamental purpose of confession is to completely sever ties with the reactionary class’s ideology. The destructive elements must be transformed into beneficial ones. This transformation must take place through inner change. Those who have made a thorough confession should also deeply examine their soul, critically uncover their reactionary thoughts, report on the criminal activities of fellow party members, and conduct self-criticism. 5. **Dialectics** is the revolutionary, critical, and combative philosophy. The laws of class struggle are not subject to human will, and evading struggle is not an option. We must warn the members of the Hu Shoujun small group: after facing struggle and being criticized, either they improve, or they will become something no one respects, like a pile of dog feces. They must choose between two paths: whether to remain human or descend into something worse. After this stage of struggle, the members within this small group have shown vastly different long-

term attitudes. Based on their attitudes, we will take different measures for each individual. Is it still possible to confess now? Can you still be considered to have confessed on your own? Yes, it's still possible, and it's still considered your own confession. Of course, there is a difference in treatment between confessing early and confessing late, but we must also recognize that there is an even greater difference between confessing late and resisting confession. If you do not confess now, once the final decision is made, you will regret it deeply. Recently, we have dealt with a number of counter-revolutionaries based on such documents, and notices have been posted. For those who intend to resist to the end, we now warn the peasants: if you do not immediately change your attitude, you will not have a good end. There are still some counter-revolutionary small groups and individuals whom we have not yet touched due to being busy with other cases, but do not think that this means you are in the clear. We advise you to confess voluntarily before we take action. We may consider lenient treatment, but if you try to slip by, it will be impossible.

Finally, I would like to remind the comrades attending the meeting from each unit to pay attention to one point: when learning from others' experiences, it is crucial to integrate these experiences with the specific circumstances of your own unit. Simply copying them without adaptation is not feasible. For example, the fundamental experience of Fudan University—such as consistently using the three important documents of the Central Committee personally issued by Chairman Mao as powerful weapons, using revolutionary mass criticism to pave the way, fully mobilizing the masses, emphasizing investigation and research, carrying out strategic persuasion, strictly adhering to the Party's policies, and implementing tactics of differentiation and dealing with people accordingly—has universal significance. However, their specific experiences and methods cannot be directly and rigidly copied.

Chairman Mao taught us to always keep in mind that **“to analyze specific situations concretely is the most fundamental thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism.”** Fudan University exposed a group, and now I'll also go after a group; even if there isn't a group, we must forcefully create one—this approach is wrong, and we absolutely cannot do this. We say that the Hu Shoujun small group is counterrevolutionary because they viciously attacked our great leader Chairman Mao, attacked the proletarian command under Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman

Lin, attacked Mao Zedong Thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, opposed the great Chinese People's Liberation Army, and opposed the newly established revolutionary committees approved by Chairman Mao. Counterrevolutionary forces come in various forms, and whatever is dug up should be recognized for what it is. For example, when we recently exposed the "May 16" group, we are referring specifically to the "May 16" counterrevolutionary group—not all counterrevolutionary groups are part of "May 16." Apart from the "May 16" group, there are also other various counterrevolutionary groups. If there is a group, expose the group; if there are individuals, expose the individuals. In short, the struggle in each unit must rely on Mao Zedong Thought, the mass line, and the Party's policies—not on simply copying the experiences of other units. Comrades, fellow soldiers! At present, the revolutionary situation is very promising, and the "One Strike, Three Anti" movement is steadily progressing. Let us raise high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought, follow the victorious course outlined by the Party's "Ninth Congress," and closely adhere to Chairman Mao's great strategic deployment. We must earnestly study the three experiences personally approved by Chairman Mao at Peking University, as well as the advanced experiences from our fellow provinces and cities. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, **"There must be suppression of any reactionary forces,"** we will strike decisively and precisely to eliminate a small group of class enemies and carry this great struggle through to the end!



1973

## **Wang Hongwen's Report on Amending the Party Constitution at the 10th National Congress of the Communist Party of China**

Wang Hongwen

**1973.08.24**

(Report on August 24, 1973, approved on August 28, 1973)

Comrades!

Now, entrusted by the Party Central Committee, I will provide a brief explanation regarding the amendment of our Party's constitution.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's and the Party Central Committee's instructions on amending the Party constitution, the Central Working Conference held in May this year discussed the issue of revising the Party constitution from the Ninth National Congress. After the conference, the Party committees of the provinces, cities, autonomous regions, military districts, and Party organizations under the direct jurisdiction of the Central Committee established small working groups to revise the constitution. They widely solicited opinions from both within the Party and from the masses outside the Party, and formally submitted 41 draft revisions to the Central Committee. At the same time, many other revision suggestions were directly sent to us by Party members and the public. The draft amendments now presented for discussion at this conference are based on Chairman Mao's specific suggestions for amending the Party constitution and have been carefully drafted after studying the various local draft revisions and feedback.

In the process of discussing the amendment of the Party constitution, all comrades of the Party unanimously agreed that since the Ninth National Congress of the Party, the entire Party, the military, and the people across the country, under the guidance of the political line set forth at the Ninth National Congress, led personally by Chairman Mao, have vigorously carried out the struggles, criticism, and reform of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They have smashed the Lin Biao anti-Party

clique and achieved great victories in various aspects of both domestic and international struggles. More than four years of practice have fully proven that both the political and organizational lines of the Ninth Congress are correct. The Party constitution adopted at the Ninth National Congress upheld our Party's consistent fundamental principles and reflected the new experiences of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It played a positive role in the political life of the entire Party, the military, and the people across the country.

The general outline of the amended draft retains the provisions of the Ninth National Congress constitution regarding the nature of our Party, guiding ideology, basic program, and basic line, with some adjustments made to the structure and content. The articles have not been changed much, and the total word count has slightly decreased. The section in the Ninth Congress constitution concerning Lin Biao has been entirely deleted in this draft. This deletion reflects the unanimous demand of the entire Party, the military, and the people, and is the inevitable result of Lin Biao's betrayal of the Party, the country, and his self-exclusion from both the Party and the people.

Compared to the Ninth National Congress constitution, the primary change in the amended draft is the expansion of content related to the struggle of the two lines, which is a common feature of the revised drafts sent from various regions. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, our Party has achieved ten major victories in line struggles, accumulating rich experiences in defeating both rightist and "leftist" opportunist lines. These experiences are extremely valuable for the entire Party. Chairman Mao said, **"For a political party to lead a revolution to victory, it must rely on the correctness of its political line and the consolidation of its organization."** All comrades of the Party must pay close attention to the issue of the line, uphold the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthen Party building, and ensure the realization of the Party's basic line in the socialist historical stage. In this aspect, what content has been added in the amended draft?

First, regarding the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a political revolution in socialist conditions, where the proletariat opposes the bourgeoisie and all exploitative classes. It is also a profound movement for rectifying the Party. During the Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao led the entire Party, the military, and the people to crush the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shaoqi

and Lin Biao, which dealt a heavy blow to all reactionary forces both domestically and internationally. This Proletarian Cultural Revolution was completely necessary and very timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing the restoration of capitalism, and building socialism.

The amended draft fully affirms the great victory and significance of this revolution and explicitly states: **“Such revolutions will need to be carried out many times in the future.”** Historical experience tells us that the struggle between the two classes and two roads in society, both domestically and internationally, will inevitably be reflected within the Party. Imperialism and social imperialism will attempt to invade and subvert us, and they will inevitably seek out agents within our Party. In 1966, when the Proletarian Cultural Revolution had just begun, Chairman Mao pointed out: **“When the world is in great chaos, there will be great order. After seven or eight years, another round will come. The ‘monsters and demons’ will emerge on their own. They are determined by their class nature, and they must come out.”** The reality of class struggle has proven, and will continue to prove, the objective law that Chairman Mao revealed. We must remain vigilant and understand the long-term and complex nature of this struggle. We need to continue the socialist revolution in the ideological, political, and economic realms, reforming all superstructures that do not align with the socialist economic base. We must also carry out multiple political revolutions, like the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, to constantly consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and achieve new victories in the socialist cause.

Second, adhere to the principle of “We must follow Marxism, not revisionism; we must unite, not divide; we must be open and aboveboard, not engage in conspiracy and trickery.” The most fundamental aspect of Chairman Mao’s “three musts and three must-nots” is to follow Marxism and reject revisionism. If we follow Marxism, we will wholeheartedly seek the interests of China and the majority of people in the world, and we will naturally unite and act openly. But if we follow revisionism, which serves the interests of the minority exploiting class, it will inevitably lead to division and conspiracy. Revisionism is an international bourgeois ideology. Revisionists are agents planted by the bourgeoisie, imperialists, and counter-revolutionaries within our Party using methods of infiltration or manipulation. Figures like Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao, ambitious, conspiratorial, two-faced, and incorrigibly capitalist roaders,



although their actions may differ, are essentially the same—they are the heads of revisionism. From ideology and politics to everyday life, they have thoroughly become bourgeois and rotten through and through! Chairman Mao said, “When revisionism takes power, it is the bourgeoisie that takes power.” This is absolutely true. Based on suggestions from various places, the draft revision includes the principle of “three musts and three must-not’s” in the general program. In the first duty of Party members and the first task of grassroots Party organizations, it also incorporates the views of workers, peasants, and soldiers from the Beijing Party Congress discussion and suggestions from some provinces and cities, adding the content of “criticizing revisionism.” Revisionism continues to be the primary danger we face. Learning Marxism and criticizing revisionism is a long-term task for strengthening the ideological construction of our Party.

Third, we must have the revolutionary spirit to dare to go against the tide. Chairman Mao pointed out that going against the tide is a principle of Marxism-Leninism. Many comrades, in discussing the revision of the Party Constitution, reflected on the history of the Party and their own experiences, and they believe that this is a very important issue in the struggle between two lines within the Party. In the early period of the democratic revolution, our Party once experienced the domination of erroneous lines several times. In the later period of the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, even when the correct line led by Chairman Mao held the dominant position, there were still periods when some erroneous lines or views were mistakenly embraced by many as correct. The correct line, represented by Chairman Mao, fought resolutely against those erroneous lines and won victory. The issue of the line and the overall situation is crucial, and a true Communist Party member must act with a public mind, unafraid of being removed from office, expelled from the Party, imprisoned, executed, or even divorced, and must dare to go against the tide. Of course, it is not just a matter of whether one dares to oppose the erroneous tide; there is also the question of whether one can recognize it. The class struggle and line struggle during the socialist period are extremely complicated. When one tendency is obscured by another, many comrades often fail to pay attention, while those who engage in conspiracy and trickery deliberately create false appearances, making it more difficult for us to discern the truth. Through discussion, many comrades believe that according to

dialectical materialism, all objective things are knowable. “Our vision is not sufficient, so we should use telescopes and microscopes. The Marxist method is the political and military telescope and microscope.” By diligently studying Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao’s works, actively participating in the practice of struggle, and working to transform our worldview, we can continuously improve our ability to distinguish true from false Marxism and to differentiate between the correct and incorrect lines and views.

In carrying out struggles, we must study Chairman Mao’s theory and practice of the struggle between two lines, ensuring not only firm principles but also the implementation of correct policies. We must distinguish between two types of contradictions, focus on uniting the majority, and observe the Party’s discipline.

Fourth, we must cultivate millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause in the mass struggle. Chairman Mao said: “To ensure that our Party and our country do not change color, we not only need the correct line and policies but also need to cultivate and nurture millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.” What is meant here is not one or two, but millions. Only if the entire Party attaches importance to this task can it be accomplished.

During the discussion on revising the Party Constitution, many older comrades strongly expressed their desire to further improve the work of training successors, ensuring that the proletarian revolutionary cause, which Chairman Mao led our Party to initiate, will have capable successors. Many younger comrades also eagerly expressed that, after long years of revolutionary war and struggles, the old cadres possess rich experience, and they must humbly learn from their strengths, hold themselves to strict standards, and strive to inherit the revolutionary cause. Both new and old cadres expressed their intention to learn from each other and complement each other’s strengths. Based on everyone’s opinions, the revision draft added content about cultivating successors to the total outline section, and in the articles, it added that leadership bodies at all levels should implement the principle of combining older, middle-aged, and younger cadres. We must select outstanding individuals from workers and poor and lower-middle peasants for leadership positions at all levels, while also paying attention to cultivating women and minority cadre members, in accordance with Chairman Mao’s five conditions for the successors of the proletarian revolutionary cause. Fifth, we must

strengthen the Party's unified leadership and carry forward the Party's traditional style. The proletarian Party is the highest form of proletarian organization, and the Party must lead everything. This is an important principle of Marxism. The revision draft incorporates suggestions from various units on strengthening the Party's unified leadership and stipulates in the articles that state organs, the People's Liberation Army, and various revolutionary mass organizations "must all accept the Party's unified leadership."

The Party's unified leadership in organizational terms should be reflected in two aspects: First, in the relationships between organizations at the same level, the Party leads everything—this includes workers, peasants, merchants, scholars, soldiers, government, and the Party itself. These are not parallel, nor are they opposed to one another; second, in the hierarchical relationships, subordinates must obey superiors, and the entire Party must obey the central leadership. This has always been our Party's rule and must be upheld.

To strengthen the Party's unified leadership, we cannot replace the Party committee's leadership with joint meetings from various sectors. At the same time, we must fully utilize the role of the revolutionary committees and various organizations at different levels. Party committees must implement democratic centralism and strengthen collective leadership. We must promote unity across all sectors and oppose factionalism. We should foster a "forum of opinions," rather than a "one-man rule." The Party's unified leadership is fundamentally about the correct leadership of thought and political lines. Party committees at all levels must unify their understanding, policies, plans, commands, and actions based on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The revision draft adds the three key styles of linking theory to practice, maintaining close ties with the masses, and practicing criticism and self-criticism to the general outline. These excellent traditions, promoted by Chairman Mao, were well-known to the older generation of communists, but there is the question of how to continue carrying them forward under new historical conditions. Many new Party members also face the task of learning, inheriting, and carrying forward these traditions.

Chairman Mao frequently used examples from the Party's difficult years of struggle to educate us, emphasizing that we must share the same hardships and fate as the broad masses. We must remain vigilant against the erosion of bourgeois thought and the attacks of sugar-coated

bullets, stay humble and cautious, work hard, resolutely oppose elitism, and rigorously correct all unhealthy practices, such as using connections to gain favors. Here, I will focus on the issue of accepting criticism and supervision from the masses. Our country is a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class, poor and lower-middle peasants, and the broad masses of laborers are the masters of the country. They have the right to exercise revolutionary supervision over the Party and the cadres at all levels of the state. This concept has been strengthened throughout the Party after the proletarian cultural revolution. However, there are still a few cadres, particularly some leading cadres, who cannot tolerate criticism from Party members and the masses, and even suppress criticism, retaliate, and in some cases, the problem is quite severe. The erroneous practice of dealing with internal issues by saying “if they don’t accept, suppress them; if they still don’t accept, arrest them” is absolutely forbidden by the Party’s discipline.

The revised draft adds a sentence to the articles: “The suppression of criticism and retaliation is absolutely not allowed.” We must raise this issue to the height of the two-line struggle and resolutely fight against such violations of Party discipline. We must trust the masses, rely on the masses, and frequently use the “Four Bigs” (great criticism, great discussion, great posters, and great debates) **to create a political situation that is both centralized and democratic, with discipline and freedom, unity of will and individual satisfaction, a lively atmosphere that benefits the socialist revolution and construction, is more capable of overcoming difficulties, and can more quickly build our country’s modern industry and agriculture, making the Party and the state more solid and better able to withstand risks.**

Sixth, adhering to proletarian internationalism is our Party’s consistent principle. This time, the revised draft also includes the need to “oppose great power chauvinism.” We will always stand together with the proletariat and revolutionary peoples of the world, opposing imperialism, modern revisionism, and the reactionary forces of all countries. In the current situation, we must particularly oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The danger of a new world war still exists, and we must make full preparations for any anti-aggression war, preventing sudden attacks from imperialism and social-imperialism. Chairman Mao said: **“The Chinese should resolutely, thoroughly, and completely eliminate great power chauvinism in**

**international relations.”** Our country has a large population and vast territory, and we must strengthen our nation and we are fully capable of doing so. However, under any circumstances, we must adhere to the principle of “not seeking hegemony” and never aim to become a superpower. All Party comrades must bear in mind Chairman Mao’s teachings: we must never become arrogant, neither in the next century nor beyond. Domestically, we must also oppose all manifestations of great power chauvinism, further strengthen the revolutionary unity of the entire Party, the military, and all the peoples of our nation, accelerate the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and strive to fulfill our internationalist duties.

Comrades! Our Party is a great, glorious, and correct Party. We believe that if the whole Party follows the political line determined by the Tenth National Congress and the new Party constitution, we will certainly build our Party stronger and more vibrant. Let us unite under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, with Chairman Mao at its core, and strive for even greater victories!

(Xinhua News Agency, September 1, 1973)

## **The Speech by Comrade Wang Hongwen on the Issue of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution**

Wang Hongwen

**1973.12.30**

Let me talk to you a bit about the issue of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Recently, I've encountered some situations where some provinces have been unable to solve major problems. The main issue is that the correct line has not been followed. In some places, there are disturbances, and except for a few bad individuals, the majority of the problems arise because the leaders did not follow the correct line. The primary issue is the failure to correctly approach the Cultural Revolution, the masses, and the initial impact of the movement. For example, the issues with twelve factories in Sichuan are all related to this problem. This is an important issue and has universal relevance. Today, I want to bring this up in the hope that it will serve a purpose, which is to encourage everyone to revisit Chairman Mao's instructions since the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Comrades are currently studying the key points of Chairman Mao's recent five instructions and the New Year's editorial in the central newspapers and journals. This issue has already been addressed. It is very necessary to set aside some time to study and discuss the issue of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

### **1. Why must we correctly understand the great significance of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution?**

Because the Cultural Revolution is a major event that is crucial for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. Comrades all know that the political reports of both the Ninth and Tenth National Congresses included the Cultural Revolution, and it was written into the Party's constitution. What the Party Congress decides, all Party members should follow and implement, and do so well. The new year has begun, and the international and domestic situation is very favorable. For the revolution, the situation is extremely good. We must develop this favorable situation, advancing

both the revolution and production. Following Chairman Mao's teachings, in this favorable situation, we must manage our domestic affairs well and strengthen our base areas. We must resolve issues in some provinces and cities. First, we must solve the question of the correct line. This mainly means solving the issue of correctly addressing the Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution is not only historically necessary, but also practically necessary. Defending the Cultural Revolution means defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Every Communist Party member, especially mid- and senior-level cadres, should take on this responsibility.

To fully understand the great significance of the Cultural Revolution, we must first revisit Chairman Mao's series of important instructions since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. These instructions form the foundation for our understanding of the Cultural Revolution. Some people have forgotten these instructions from Chairman Mao. In some regions, there is still bourgeois dictatorship being implemented.

As early as the end of 1966, when the Cultural Revolution was just beginning, particularly with the criticism of the play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*, Chairman Mao pointed out that the central issue in *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* was "dismissal from office." The Jiajing Emperor dismissed Hai Rui from his post, and in 1959, we dismissed Peng Dehuai, who was also like Hai Rui.

This clearly pointed out that the Cultural Revolution was a political revolution by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and it was by no means just an academic discussion. In the early stages of the movement, some people were deceived, thinking it was a purely academic debate, but in reality, it was not. Under the instructions of Liu Shaoqi, Peng Zhen and his group came forward with a revisionist "February Outline," which was essentially an attempt to protect the right-wing elements and suppress the left-wing, trying to steer the movement into a purely academic discussion, in line with bourgeois tendencies. Chairman Mao decisively pushed Peng Zhen and his group aside, while also pointing out that the old propaganda department was like the "King of Hell's Palace"—"We must overthrow the King of Hell and liberate the little demons!" Mao said, "I have always advocated that whenever central institutions do bad things, I call for local institutions to rise in rebellion and attack the center." The "bad things" here refer to the practice of revisionism. Chairman Mao also discussed the issue with Xu Shiyong in Hangzhou,

saying, “What will you do when revisionism emerges from the central leadership?” issue with Xu Shiyou in Hangzhou, saying, “What will you do when revisionism emerges from the central leadership?” Chairman Mao repeatedly emphasized this point. In May 1966, Chairman Mao personally chaired the formulation of the programmatic document for the Cultural Revolution, the “May 16th Notice.” In this document, Chairman Mao issued many important directives. Mao pointed out that “a group of counter-revolutionary revisionists have infiltrated the Party, the government, the military, and various cultural circles. Once the time is ripe, they will attempt to seize power and transform the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of these individuals have already been exposed by us, while others have not yet been uncovered. Some are still trusted by us and are being cultivated as our successors, such as figures like Khrushchev. They are now sleeping next to us, and the various levels of Party committees must pay full attention to this matter.” This directive has already been issued. These instructions are extremely important, but at the Ninth and Tenth Party Congresses, some people seemed to have forgotten them, and some even denied the existence of the capitalist roaders. In response to Chairman Mao’s call, the broad revolutionary masses actively participated in the Cultural Revolution. At this time, Liu Shaoqi’s faction panicked and hastily concocted a bourgeois reactionary line to suppress the masses. In this critical moment, Chairman Mao personally chaired the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee and formulated the “16 Articles.” He also wrote the famous big-character poster “Bombard the Headquarters” (my big-character poster). Thus, a vigorous Cultural Revolution movement was launched.

Chairman Mao highly praised the mass movement of the Cultural Revolution, stating: “This movement is of great scale, and it truly mobilized the masses. It has significant meaning for the ideological revolution of the entire nation.” Chairman Mao called on the people, saying: “You must care about the country’s major affairs and carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!” He encouraged revolutionary youth to weather the storms and gain experience during the Cultural Revolution, training them to become successors of the proletarian revolution. At the same time, Chairman Mao showed great concern for the broad masses of cadres, kindly pointing out: “You must emphasize politics, go to the masses, be with the masses, and make the proletarian



cultural revolution even better.” Chairman Mao warmly hoped that the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries would carry forward their glorious traditions, uphold their revolutionary integrity in their later years, and make new contributions during the Cultural Revolution. By the end of 1966, the Cultural Revolution was in a promising state. As 1967 approached, Mao declared on December 26: “The entire country should comprehensively engage in class struggle,” meaning seizing power from the handful of capitalist roaders within the Party.

As early as October 1966, Chairman Mao resolutely supported the workers’ movement in Shanghai, encouraging workers to rise against revisionism. He was pleased to see the workers mobilizing, aligning with his statement in the Sixteen Points that young people were the trailblazers of the Cultural Revolution, while workers, peasants, and soldiers were its main forces. When the workers’ movement began, Mao dispatched central leaders, including Zhang Chunqiao, to Shanghai to support the workers, handle the Anting incident, and endorse the formation of revolutionary organizations by the workers. Mao emphasized: “It is acceptable to act first and report later. Facts always come before concepts.”

By the end of 1966, Mao reaffirmed that Shanghai held great promise, as workers, students, and officials were all mobilized. Under Mao’s care and the leadership of the proletarian headquarters, with the support of the People’s Liberation Army stationed in Shanghai, the movement to seize power from the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party began. This struggle extended beyond Shanghai, becoming a nationwide campaign. Mao emphasized that such a seizure of power could only succeed under the leadership of the Party and the central authorities.

On January 16, 1967, Mao presided over a meeting of the Standing Committee, expressing strong support for grassroots power seizures. He praised the workers’ takeover of Wenhui Daily and Liberation Daily, calling it “a great revolution, one class overthrowing another.” He noted that this significant event would profoundly influence the Cultural Revolution across Eastern China and the entire country. On January 26, Mao issued a historic directive to the military: “The People’s Liberation Army should support the broad leftist masses.” He personally summarized the key lessons of the power-seizure struggle, stating: “The proletarian revolutionary factions must unite to seize power from the handful of capitalist roaders within the Party.” He further emphasized the need to implement the revolutionary “three-in-one” principle—forming temporary

power structures that were revolutionary, representative, and embodied proletarian authority. He proposed naming these bodies “Revolutionary Committees.” During the January storm of power seizures in Shanghai and the counterattack against reactionary economic schemes, the Central Committee, State Council, Central Military Commission, and Central Cultural Revolution Group issued a congratulatory message. They stressed the need to place the fate of the proletarian dictatorship, the Cultural Revolution, and the proletarian economy firmly in the hands of the proletariat.

In August and September of 1967, Chairman Mao personally inspected three major regions, providing critical instructions for further advancing the development of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Mao expressed his satisfaction, stating that the overall situation of the Cultural Revolution nationwide was excellent, not just marginally good, but unprecedentedly favorable compared to any previous time.

Amid the peak of the Cultural Revolution, Mao foresaw its broader implications and declared that the current Cultural Revolution was merely the first of its kind and that many more would inevitably follow. He warned that the ultimate outcome of the struggle—whether socialism or capitalism would prevail—would take a long historical period to resolve. Mao cautioned that if the process were mishandled, a capitalist restoration could occur at any time. He urged all Party members and the entire nation not to assume that after one, two, or even three or four Cultural Revolutions, lasting peace would be achieved. He stressed vigilance, warning against complacency or loss of awareness. Reflecting on these instructions now, comrades can appreciate their profound importance. At that time, these warnings aligned with the ninth major line struggle, followed by the tenth. However, when we studied Mao’s guidance in the past, we often did not fully comprehend its depth or implications. Understanding came only after some time and experience. It is essential to revisit and study these instructions to deepen our awareness of class struggle and line struggle. Recently, the central leadership has been preparing to compile and distribute a collection of Mao’s directives on the Cultural Revolution. Only by thoroughly studying these directives can we discern what truly represents Marxism and what constitutes revisionism, thereby equipping ourselves to effectively combat revisionist tendencies. Why address this point in particular? Because even now, some comrades within the Party lack a full understanding of these issues,

particularly regarding this crucial historical phase. This study is vital for raising ideological clarity and maintaining vigilance against the risks of deviation.

## **2. The Great Victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution**

From Chairman Mao's series of instructions, it is clear that he made a significant and resolute decision to launch and lead the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Now, this revolution has achieved immensely great victories.

Firstly, it crushed the bourgeois headquarters led by Liu Shaoqi, followed by the dismantling of the bourgeois headquarters led by Lin Biao. These are the greatest triumphs. At the same time, the Cultural Revolution trained a large number of cadres, mobilized the masses, promoted revolutionary changes in the superstructure, and advanced the development of both industrial and agricultural production, significantly liberating the productive forces. Many comrades have recognized these achievements, although a small number remain unaware.

Notably, the Cultural Revolution has fostered a mass movement to popularize Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, which is steadily deepening nationwide. Eight years of practice have fully proven Chairman Mao's instruction: "This Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is entirely necessary and extremely timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration, and building socialism." Without this Cultural Revolution, what would the state of our country be today? Recently, the Central Committee is preparing to release a document titled "Lin Biao and the Doctrine of Confucius and Mencius" (Central Document No. 1 of 1974) for distribution across the entire Party, aimed at launching a critique. Lin Biao, along with his wife Ye Qun and Chen Boda, displayed extreme hatred toward socialism. When this material was shared with comrades involved in the work, it sparked strong indignation among them. Regarding this political revolution, it is unsurprising that both domestic and international class enemies have attacked it in every possible way. Chiang Kai-shek criticizes the Cultural Revolution on a daily basis, and the Soviet revisionist newspapers and radio stations have been denouncing it for seven or eight years. Lin Biao, in the "571 Anti-Revolutionary Coup Outline," even used the language of the Soviet revisionists to insult us. As Chairman

Mao said, “To be opposed by the enemy is a good thing, not a bad thing.” This proves that our Cultural Revolution was carried out correctly and effectively. As our campaign to criticize Confucius deepens, Chiang Kai-shek, South Korea, South Vietnam, and the Soviet revisionists have all intensified their denunciations of our critique of Confucianism. From the perspective of class struggle, this is not surprising. The issue, however, lies within our own ranks. Inside and outside the Party, some comrades still lack understanding, seriousness, or commitment regarding the Cultural Revolution, just as they did seven or eight years ago. Some even distort facts and confuse right and wrong. A few have gone so far as to portray the Cultural Revolution as entirely negative, likening it to a devastating flood or ferocious beast.

There are those who say, “Just mentioning the Cultural Revolution sends shivers down my spine.” Despite what is stated in the Party’s Tenth Congress Constitution and resolutions—that there will need to be multiple Cultural Revolutions in the future—some argue that the Cultural Revolution was entirely unnecessary and should never be conducted again, especially among high- and mid-level cadres. These varied opinions reveal a significant lack of consensus. Some say, “The Cultural Revolution achieved great victory nationwide, but we don’t see it here.” This implies that if it cannot be seen here or there, then it might not exist at all, questioning its necessity. However, as previously mentioned, this Cultural Revolution brought down two bourgeois headquarters, which is its greatest victory. How can one claim not to see that? To say so is to place oneself outside the Party and the collective will of the people across the nation. Had the factions of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao come to power, capitalism would have been restored. China would have reverted to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society and would likely have become a colony of Soviet social-imperialism. Countless lives would have been lost. At that point, would one still say they “cannot see” the need for the Cultural Revolution? We argue that the Cultural Revolution was not only necessary and timely on a national scale but also on the scale of an individual factory, school, or unit. It addressed critical issues in every corner of society, demonstrating its significance universally. Chairman Mao once said, “The correctness or incorrectness of ideological and political line determines everything.” The lines of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao have left their influence in every unit, varying only in degree. In most places, Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line holds a dominant position. However,

in some areas, the influence of the revisionist line remains quite significant. For instance, in critical departments such as the former Ministry of Propaganda and the International Liaison Department, control did not rest firmly in our hands. This does not even begin to address the cultural and educational sectors, which had been dominated by the bourgeoisie for many years. Even in the industrial sector, the impact of the revisionist line runs deep. Many years after the Cultural Revolution, practices such as technocrats ruling factories, bureaucratic control, suppression, and the servile “worship of foreign things” still persist. Unless these are eradicated, how can the working class truly become the masters of the factories? How can socialist production flourish? It is precisely due to the interference of the revisionist line that our steel production has stagnated for ten years, unable to make significant progress.

Some enterprises may appear to be under our control, but in reality, they remain in the hands of bourgeois agents or even capitalists themselves. For instance, in Shanghai, a number of factories are still effectively run by capitalists as directors. In such units, how could leadership be seized by the proletariat without this Cultural Revolution? Chairman Mao, with his profound foresight, initiated this Cultural Revolution to address these issues. Of course, it cannot be resolved in one single attempt. Currently, some provinces, cities, and units still face significant problems, with leadership being the key issue. This cannot be blamed on the masses—it’s not that the masses are incapable—but that leadership is the root problem. This does not mean that all leaders are bad people; some are good but hold revisionist or semi-revisionist ideas. Once these issues are pointed out, many of these comrades will rectify their errors. After seven or eight years of the Cultural Revolution, certain problems in some places should have been resolved. To tackle these issues, the root causes must first be identified, as only then can effective solutions be implemented.

Some people, indiscriminately attributing all the problems in certain units to the Cultural Revolution or labeling them as its “aftereffects,” are clearly mistaken. These problems are remnants of revisionism, not of the Cultural Revolution. On the contrary, these issues highlight the necessity of carrying out the Cultural Revolution. Where the line is incorrect, it becomes impossible to unite the masses and cadres effectively, or to root out bad elements. In such cases, even the efforts to criticize Lin Biao or rectify the Party’s style fail to take hold. For example, the recent resolu-

tion of issues at twelve factories in Sichuan highlights this. The problem was that the criticism of Lin Biao hadn't been thoroughly pursued; the root cause lay there. Following the principles of the Cultural Revolution, these problems were resolved. Take the Daming factory—years of unrest were addressed within just two months, mainly because the previous line had been wrong. While there may indeed be individuals causing trouble in specific units, mobilizing the masses to isolate these bad elements is essential. To label such challenges as the “aftereffects of the Cultural Revolution” is, in essence, an attempt to revert to pre-Cultural Revolution practices, which would only lead to greater disorder.

For instance, within the Jiangxi Provincial Party Committee, certain individuals have spread counter-revolutionary rumors during cadre meetings, such as: “Sweep the temple, invite the true gods; let the teachers return to their positions, and send the young soldiers back to their camps.” This rhetoric effectively aims to suppress the “young soldiers,” causing them to rise up in rebellion. Recently, we learned from a telegram that these young soldiers have indeed revolted, leaving their two leaders overwhelmed. The truth is clear: “Oppression breeds resistance.” We have directly addressed these issues with some Jiangxi leaders, reminding them that there are individuals attempting to overturn the verdict on the Cultural Revolution—a matter discussed before and during the Tenth National Congress but to no avail. However, there is no need to worry. The central leadership is well aware of these matters. Some people say, “The Cultural Revolution was good, but was it necessary to carry it out in this way?” They argue that the “Four Bigs”—big criticism, big exposure, big posters, and big debates—should not be used. They oppose directly mobilizing hundreds of millions of revolutionary masses and uniting the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the small group of capitalist roaders within the Party. Essentially, their objection is to this very approach. Because if these methods are denied, then the Cultural Revolution itself is also denied.

In a 1967 speech, Chairman Mao pointed out: “In the past, we conducted struggles in the countryside, in factories, and in the cultural sector. We carried out the Socialist Education Movement, but these did not solve the problems because we had not yet found a form, a method, to openly and comprehensively mobilize the masses from the bottom up to expose our dark sides.” Now we have found this form, and that is the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Honestly, if it were not for the

Proletarian Cultural Revolution, how could we have exposed a traitor like Liu Shaoqi, who had hidden himself so deeply? In the past, we did not fully grasp some aspects of Liu Shaoqi, especially the historical issues. His treasonous behavior was uncovered by the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution, who searched everywhere (of course, we had already grasped the revisionist things he had publicly stated). At the same time, the Cultural Revolution exposed and destroyed the Lin Biao anti-Party clique. If it weren't for the Cultural Revolution and its form, how would we have had the revolutionary committees, the May 7th Cadre Schools, and the movement of sending educated youth to the countryside, along with a series of new developments? It would have been impossible. Industrial and agricultural production would not have developed so rapidly. Without the large-scale mass movement of the Cultural Revolution, we could not have popularized Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Of course, as a new phenomenon, the Cultural Revolution itself also went through a process of development and improvement. Chairman Mao pointed out that historical experience is worth noting: A line, a viewpoint, must be repeated and communicated regularly, not just to a few people, but to the broad revolutionary masses. That is, the masses must be mobilized. Nowadays, however, Chairman Mao's instructions and the Central Committee's directives, in some places, are being obstructed by a few individuals who prevent them from reaching the masses. When the masses are told, some of the words are presented as if they were the Chairman's words or the Central Committee's words, and some are presented as the words of those individuals, causing confusion.

Some people oppose the Cultural Revolution, claiming that after the movement, the masses became disobedient, frequently posting big-character posters and arguing at meetings. Isn't this a good thing? In fact, this is precisely one of the victories brought about by the Cultural Revolution. Chairman Mao has always instructed that the life within our Party should be lively, dynamic, and full of vitality, not rigid and stifling. When Chairman Mao spoke to Comrade Wang Hairong, saying that students could sleep in class or read novels, some people did not understand. My understanding is that we shouldn't make students too rigid. Mao called on students to dare to oppose the revisionist educational line. The military also faced similar issues, with the demand for unconditional obedience to orders. But actually, obedience is conditional: it is obedience to correct, Marxist-Leninist, Mao Zedong Thought-based commands. If



an order does not align with these principles, then rebellion is justified. Each of us, as Communist Party members, follows superior instructions based on conscious understanding. Some people cannot tolerate this, mainly because they are afraid that soldiers will become hard to manage and will raise objections. This is quite clear. The key issue is whether the line is correct. We should carry out the correct line and obey the correct orders, but we cannot follow incorrect ones. Today, in the military, the political issues stem from poor education of soldiers, where political work is too simple and harsh, without doing the necessary in-depth ideological work. As a result, it leads to chaos and exacerbates contradictions. The key here is also a line issue—how we treat the masses. With the changing situation, we must rethink how political and ideological work should be done. The old methods are no longer sufficient. From our perspective, these things are positive, but some people don't see it that way. In a socialist country like ours, the workers, peasants, and soldiers are the masters of all undertakings, and this must never be forgotten. The report from the 10th Party Congress emphasized the need for a revolutionary spirit that dares to go against the tide. We should welcome people like Li Qinglin and Zhang Tiesheng, who dare to challenge the mainstream, who are willing to reflect issues to higher authorities. We should praise this kind of spirit. This includes the two young students recently mentioned in the newspapers—one named Huang Shuai and another from Guangdong—who wrote a letter to the People's Daily asking for support. The letter was well-written and full of emotion. After reading it, we felt that we should support them.

Recently, Chairman Mao again said, "Why do cows have two horns? It's for fighting." He made this point as early as 1955. Chairman Mao also said, "We are all Communist Party members, so why speak hesitantly? We should talk less about blowing things up and more about criticizing." We must have the courage to grow "two horns" on our heads, and be bold in confronting the revisionists, just like the workers, peasants, and soldiers who rise up. Some units are terrified of the "Four Bigs" mentioned in the 10th Party Congress, and even now they are afraid to organize the masses to learn and engage with them. When the masses rise up and use the "Four Bigs" to go against the tide, we should praise them, not be afraid. Only those who are promoting revisionism fear the "Four Bigs." Anyone who supports Marxism-Leninism should support the revolutionary spirit of the masses. Chairman Mao taught



us, "If we are not afraid of imperialism, why be afraid of the common people? Those who are afraid of the people think the masses are unreasonable and believe that they can only be repressed, not persuaded. Such people are not true Communists." Some people simply do not accept this teaching of Chairman Mao. They prefer to oppress, and if they can't repress, they arrest. Some people say, "Old cadres fought in the north and south in the past, but during the Cultural Revolution, they fought and argued." This statement is incorrect and does not align with the true wishes of the old cadres. The correct perspective is that the old cadres are a valuable asset to our Party. They fought bravely in the past, with some even being wounded. However, they did not use their past achievements as an excuse to distance themselves from the masses or to act arrogantly. On the contrary, they actively participated in the Cultural Revolution, recognized their own mistakes, and made self-criticism. These old cadres made new contributions during the Cultural Revolution, and they were not just one or two, but a group. These are the true representatives of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries. As for some cadres who were heavily criticized during the Cultural Revolution, it is necessary to analyze the situation specifically. Chairman Mao, during his inspection of the three regions, explained why some cadres were criticized and struggled by the masses. One reason was that they implemented the bourgeois reactionary line, which angered the people. Another reason was that they became too powerful, had high salaries, and became arrogant, setting themselves apart from the masses. They didn't consult with the people, treated others unfairly, and acted undemocratically. They enjoyed insulting others and seriously distanced themselves from the people, leading to public resentment. In normal circumstances, the people had no opportunity to voice their complaints, but when the Cultural Revolution erupted, these frustrations exploded, and those cadres were left in a very embarrassing situation.

As Chairman Mao pointed out, why should these people not be criticized? Why should the masses not be allowed to criticize you if you can reprimand others? Mao's instructions on this matter, which were familiar to everyone, have been forgotten by some. It is important to note that the cadres who found themselves in difficult situations were not all the same. Some, through positive reflection and lessons learned, corrected their mistakes. Their negative actions turned into positive changes, and they gained the trust of the masses. Many such old cadres exist, like Comrade

Ma Tianshui from Shanghai. After the Cultural Revolution, his spirit and attitude changed, he became more involved with the masses, and his line of work was more correct. Another situation is when some people, reflecting on their mistakes from a negative perspective, become hesitant and tentative in front of the masses. In reality, they remain detached from the people, though in a different form. There are also those who, instead of recognizing that the Cultural Revolution's success in overthrowing the two bourgeois command posts was crucial for determining whether the country would undergo a fundamental change, remain resentful about being confronted by the masses. These individuals, having been liberated and having risen to power, often seek opportunities to retaliate against the masses. This is particularly the case with some cadres in Jiangxi province. The result of such retaliation is that it will ultimately backfire and fall on them. If the issue isn't resolved, the masses will eventually overthrow them again.

Some argue, "In the Cultural Revolution, we were criticized and struggled against. The score will be settled eventually, and it's fine if we don't collect interest. It's not a problem to release some frustration." To such comrades, we must firmly say: "Comrade, this is too dangerous!" What debt do the masses owe you? Chairman Mao said: "Who gave us our power? It was the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, and the more than ninety percent of the laboring masses. We represent the proletariat and the people. We have overthrown the enemies of the people, and the people support us. One of the basic principles of the Communist Party is to directly rely on the vast revolutionary masses." If you insist on asking the masses for repayment, the people have the right to take back the power they entrusted to you.

Another tendency is the belief that Lin Biao's revisionist line was not extreme right but extreme left. In fact, Lin Biao's revisionist line was extremely right-wing, and could not have been more right-wing. However, not long ago, someone at a certain university said: "If we don't criticize extreme leftism, we can't distinguish right from wrong." The biggest misunderstanding here is the question of who should evaluate the so-called "seventeen years of achievements and mistakes." This evaluation has already been made in the national education work conference summary issued by the central government. It means that for the past seventeen years, the education sector has not implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and has been dominated by revisionist lines. In

a letter Chairman Mao sent to Jiang Qing, he said that Peking University and Tsinghua University were deeply entrenched and intertwined. Now, some people are saying that this summary is no longer valid, calling it the product of extreme “leftist” thinking. They spread these nonsensical ideas everywhere. For some people, criticizing extreme leftism and Lin Biao is just a pretext; the real target is the Cultural Revolution. Our conclusion is clear: “If extreme rightism is not criticized, right and wrong cannot be distinguished.” At present, in order to consolidate and develop the great achievements of the Cultural Revolution, we must thoroughly criticize the extreme right essence of Lin Biao’s revisionist line. Without criticizing the extreme right nature of Lin Biao’s line, it is absolutely impossible to consolidate and develop the gains of the Cultural Revolution. Last year, a certain unit published an article claiming that the youth of that unit were all extreme “leftists.” They portrayed the youth as completely bad. If that is the case, where is the hope for China’s revolution? Who will take over the revolution from us? The central leadership pointed out in reports on the youth congress in several provinces that the majority of youth are good. Otherwise, our revolution would have no future, no bright prospects. It is worth noting that some places have been spreading counter-revolutionary rumors, such as “cleaning the temples, inviting the real gods, the old leaders are restored, and the small soldiers return to their camps.” They want to restore everything—traitors, spies, capitalist roaders—all should return to power, including Liu Shaoqi, and the new things created by the Cultural Revolution should all be undone. This is a typical reactionary attempt to restore the old, or a counterattack to reverse the revolution. This rumor was spread by two high-ranking cadres in the military. Spreading such harmful counter-revolutionary rumors is very dangerous. In Jiangxi province, such rumors were even presented as Chairman Mao’s instructions at a cadre meeting attended by hundreds of people. These strange occurrences are not surprising, as some of our cadres have fallen prey to the rumor market. Once they get hold of rumors, they spread them immediately. From the perspective of class struggle, this is understandable.

Some of these people may not be bad, but their ideological defense has already been dismantled, and they have no ability to distinguish between good and bad. Recently, Chairman Mao sternly criticized this counter-revolutionary rumor and modified it to: “Cleaning the temples, inviting the real gods, the old soldiers lead the way, and the small soldiers

are promoted.” Chairman Mao’s instructions fully reflect the revolutionary line on cadres. We should utilize the guidance of veteran proletarian revolutionaries, who play an important role in teaching, helping, and bringing up the next generation of revolutionaries. It is also crucial to vigorously cultivate successors for the proletarian revolutionary cause—not just a few, but thousands or millions. To neglect the role of cadres is wrong. But when it comes to veteran cadres, we should not simply follow seniority rules and dismiss their performance in the current class struggle and ideological battles. In the past, their experience in battles, such as during the Northern and Southern campaigns, was important, but what matters more now is how they perform in the current class struggle and the struggle between two lines. If their thinking is revisionist, can they fight for the proletariat? I do not believe so. Especially in critical moments, when selecting cadres, we should focus not just on their history but on their current ideological awareness in the struggle of two lines, whether they are old or new, local or military cadres. This should be the main criterion. When veteran cadres make mistakes, they should be given the opportunity to reflect and correct, with support to help them improve. The same principle should apply to new cadres. However, in some places, while errors made by veteran cadres can be allowed to be corrected and they are given the freedom to reform, new cadres are often harshly criticized without a chance for correction. This is unfair and detrimental to the unity of the party. Mao Zedong recently criticized people who looked down on the Children’s Brigade, pointing out that when you were in your teens or twenties, were you so wise? Of course, new cadres must be modest and cautious, avoiding arrogance and complacency. They should respect veteran cadres and learn from them. At the same time, veteran cadres should guide and mentor the new ones, passing on their knowledge and experience.

Training and developing millions of successors for the proletarian revolutionary cause is a major strategic task, a long-term plan that spans over a century. We must focus on this critical task and ensure that successors are cultivated from the top down. The problem of training successors is easier to address in local areas, but more challenging in the military. I propose selecting a person around 30 years old to be the deputy commander of a large military district. The debate on whether the Cultural Revolution was ultimately good or bad has been ongoing for a long time and runs through the entire process of the Cultural Revolution.

Peng Zhen's February Outline and Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois reactionary line both aimed to stifle the Cultural Revolution. Lin Biao also, at his core, followed a revisionist line similar to Liu Shaoqi's. Together with Chen Boda, he presented a political report prior to the Ninth Party Congress, advocating the theory of productive forces and proposing that the main task after the Ninth Congress be the development of production, attempting to reverse the Cultural Revolution under a seemingly legitimate guise. Chairman Mao rejected this political report and personally led the formulation of the political line for the Ninth Congress, affirming the need for continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity of the Cultural Revolution. After the Ninth Congress, under Mao's revolutionary guidance, the great victory of smashing the Lin Biao anti-party clique was achieved. The struggle, criticism, and reform movements continued to deepen. However, the debate over whether the Cultural Revolution was ultimately good or bad has not ended, especially since the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee. Since then, a right-wing revisionist tendency has been emerging sporadically across different regions. Figures like Long Shujin in Xinjiang, and others in Sichuan and Henan, have shifted the focus of the criticism away from Chen and Lin and attempted to reverse the Cultural Revolution. This practice is essentially a continuation of the struggle between two classes and two lines, and this conflict will continue in the future. Chairman Mao recently mentioned that the evaluation of the Cultural Revolution should be seen in terms of a ten-year period, reminding us that we need to be prepared for a long struggle.

Comrades have recently read articles criticizing Confucius, pointing out that Qin Shi Huang replaced one form of exploitation with another, leading to a revolution that was condemned for over two thousand years. So, how much more will the Cultural Revolution be criticized? Of course, there will be criticism, but we must prepare ourselves for the fact that in ten, twenty, or even more years, there will be people trying to vindicate Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao. Confucius has been dead for thousands of years, yet people still worship him. While Qin Shi Huang was revolutionary in his time, he was condemned for over two thousand years. The same will be true for the Cultural Revolution. Opposing the Cultural Revolution is equivalent to opposing the decisions made at the Ninth and Tenth Party Congresses. This is not just a minor issue; it is about supporting revisionism and capitalist restoration. This is my

understanding. Those who oppose the Cultural Revolution are inevitably advocating for bourgeois dictatorship. Comrades, do not think that there are no longer any “capitalist roaders” today. This is incorrect. In some places, there is a trend of saying that there will no longer be “capitalist roaders” and even that the term should not be mentioned at all. Some even disagree with including the term in discussions about amending the Party constitution. This is an absurd argument! As long as class struggle exists, the bourgeoisie will continue to seek agents within the Party, and there will always be capitalist roaders. If we deny the existence of capitalist roaders, we would be negating all past movements: the “Three-anti” and “Five-anti” campaigns, the anti-rightist campaign in 1957, the 1959 anti-right deviation campaign, and the Four Clean-ups campaign. All of these would be denied. Therefore, it is important to insist that this term remains in the Party constitution. This is a major issue, not a trivial one. As for those who have made errors by following a capitalist road but have been helped to correct their mistakes, that is good! But this does not mean we can now claim that there are no capitalist roaders. Capitalist roaders existed in the past, they exist now, and they will continue to exist in the future. Some people, even today, still implement bourgeois dictatorship over the masses and claim that the “rebel factions” have no good people. Such statements show no trace of being a Communist! Marxism, in its essence, is about rebellion. Our ancestors, Marx and Engels, led us in rebellion. The “Communist Manifesto” itself is a manifesto for rebellion. Today, under Chairman Mao’s leadership, we are continuing the revolution. Some criticize us for rising through rebellion, but they are right. Communists come from rebellion. The Chinese Communist Party, under Chairman Mao’s leadership, fought against imperialism, feudalism, and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and only through rebellion did we achieve victory and take power. What’s wrong with that? During the Cultural Revolution, we rebelled against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. What’s wrong with that? Some people were once part of the rebel factions, but now they criticize the rebels. This shows their thinking has changed, that they have forgotten the past. Weren’t we rebelling when we fought the landlords and distributed land? Wasn’t that rebellion? When we fought Japan, wasn’t that rebellion? When we fought Chiang Kai-shek, wasn’t that rebellion? If that wasn’t rebellion, then what was? Some people have forgotten all this. Of course, in a great revolution, it is inevitable that bad

elements will mix with the good, that some bad people will join the rebel factions. This is not surprising. When we first organized the Workers and Peasants Red Army, it wasn't pure either! That's inevitable. How can one criticize the rebels and claim there are no good people among them? Saying that rebels have no good people is essentially denying oneself! Those who say this have forgotten who led the rebellion, and they've forgotten the legacy of the rebel factions. A Communist should be a rebel against the old world. What else should they do? A Communist who says such things is betraying the Communist Party! A Communist must rebel against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes.

Of course, for most people, these are internal contradictions within the people, and the issues can be addressed through ideological reflection and by adjusting one's worldview. The key is to transform one's worldview through Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. For some, this transformation may be difficult. There are two types of contradictions: some can be transformed in a positive direction, while others may become worse. Some people may realize their errors and improve or completely change, transforming an enemy contradiction into a contradiction within the people. Conversely, some internal contradictions within the people may transform into enemy contradictions.

In the minds of some of our comrades, the Cultural Revolution is not seen as the inevitable result of class struggle since liberation, but rather as a sudden, unexpected event, like a bolt from the blue. Some even go so far as to call the Cultural Revolution a "big misunderstanding," which is extremely reactionary. They have a whole set of arguments: "Old cadres return to their positions, new cadres return to their units, the personnel supporting the Left return to the military, and the Cultural Revolution was a big misunderstanding." Is this a problem of thought or a typical idealistic view of history? Since they regard the Cultural Revolution as a big misunderstanding, they are dissatisfied with everything in the present, always waiting for everything to return to normal. They view development not as a spiral ascent but as merely spinning in a closed circle. In factories, they implement strict control and suppression, and in schools, they bring back the "intellectual primacy" system. In short, everything is being redone in the old format. What kind of ideology is this? It is a typical form of vulgar evolutionism. Marxist dialectical materialism believes that all things are in constant forward motion and development. These advocates of restoration verbally acknowledge di-



alectical materialism, but in practice, they oppose it. When it comes to enterprise management, they advocate for the full restoration of old rules and regulations that were once swept away by the masses. They are enthusiastic about implementing piecework wages, time-based wages, and bonuses. They claim that this will stimulate enthusiasm, but they fail to think about what the Chinese revolution relied on for several decades. Was it bonuses, piecework wages, or time-based wages? No, we relied on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, on the billions of revolutionary masses, and on the small amount of grain and rifles. If material incentives were the key to success, then why did the workers in Leningrad revolt under the Soviet regime, where industrial stagnation and external and internal crises were severe? The Cultural Revolution was not driven by material incentives; it was driven by the awakening of the masses and by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, which mobilized the broad revolutionary masses. Of course, this does not mean that we do not care about the people's lives, but caring for the people's lives and engaging in material incentives are two different things. Improving labor productivity should be done through technological innovation and mechanization. It is necessary to improve the people's living standards appropriately, based on the development of production. But implementing piecework wages and bonuses is not about caring for the people's lives; it is a great insult to the working class. The railway soldiers who built so many railroads didn't rely on piecework wages. These soldiers earned only eight yuan a month, with no bonuses. They relied entirely on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Some of the departments involved may not understand this. Two central ministries were promoting this and even tried a pilot program in Shanghai, but the workers drove them out. This issue is directly related to the Cultural Revolution. I am raising this issue here, and I hope that comrades in study groups will return and organize struggles in these departments, or at least reflect the situation to the central authorities. Some areas have raised the question of whether we can restore the pre-Cultural Revolution regulations. In a planning meeting, someone answered firmly that this is not possible. He explained three points: first, we oppose the old system of control, repression, and restriction; second, we oppose the emphasis on bonuses; third, although the old system may have been correct in the past, once production has developed, we cannot simply apply the old model unchanged. It's like adults cannot wear children's clothes. This worker understands dialectics.



What he said is correct—things develop, and our leadership thoughts and work must keep up and adapt to the new situation. We must firmly oppose regression, as there is no way out in regression. Yet, some people now want to turn back. Mao Zedong taught us: **“We must make discoveries, inventions, creations, and progress. Any arguments that stop progress, are pessimistic, unproductive, or full of pride and complacency are wrong.”** To carry out the criticism of Lin and rectify the Party, we must thoroughly continue the movement, which involves toppling the “Confucian temple.” Confucius was the first systematic and comprehensive philosopher in Chinese history to advocate idealism. All the conservatives praise Confucius, and Lin Biao is the modern counterpart to Confucius—thus, criticizing Lin and criticizing Confucius can and must be combined. We must eliminate the “Confucian temple” from our minds. Confucius lived during a period of great social upheaval in China when society was transitioning from a slave system to a feudal system. He hated social change, desperately tried to preserve the slave system, and opposed the feudal system, attempting to block the progress of history. When Confucius served as the prime minister of the state of Lu, he killed the reformist Shao Zhengmao within seven days of taking office. His student, Ran Qiu, had reformist ideas, so Confucius incited other students to attack him with drumbeats. Chairman Mao said that Confucius had some tyrannical and fascist tendencies. Due to his backward policies, he was ousted three months after taking office. Although he was removed, his desire for a revival of the old system did not die. He traveled around and, seeing the favorable situation, cried out “rituals are collapsing and music is decaying,” thinking it was a bad thing. Yesterday’s *People’s Daily* published an article by Zhe Jun, and I hope everyone reads it carefully. The article is excellent. (Note: On January 13th, *People’s Daily* published an article by Zhe Jun titled “Confucius’ Doctrine of the Doctrine of the Mean is a Philosophy Against Social Change.”)

Some people have no affection for Marxism-Leninism, but they linger on and are deeply attached to revisionism. They are uncomfortable with the new things that emerged during the Cultural Revolution, but are very nostalgic about the old things. Chairman Mao said: “The capitalist ideological system and social system are already ‘fading into the dusk, on the verge of death, and their fate is on the brink, they are unsure of the next day,’ while only the communist ideological system and social system are surging forward with an overwhelming force, with a mighty power,

sweeping across the world, and retaining its beautiful youthfulness.” As a communist who takes communism as the goal of struggle, why would one be so attached to old things? This is an issue we comrades here should study carefully. I mainly want to encourage everyone to study Chairman Mao’s important instructions since the Cultural Revolution and keep in mind the three principles of adhering to Marxism and rejecting revisionism. Recently, Chairman Mao also said that if China were to develop revisionism, comrades should be alert. He criticized the Politburo for not discussing political issues, the Military Commission for not discussing military matters, and generally not engaging in politics. Chairman Mao’s instructions apply to the Party, government, military, civilian sectors, and all aspects of society. He is telling us to focus on the major issues, to learn and discuss the great significance of the Cultural Revolution. This is a major matter that comrades should discuss. Whether revisionism will emerge in the future will still be in the superstructure. Chairman Mao has repeatedly instructed and personally directed us to sing the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points of Attention, so that we can always remember that unity in action is the key to victory. We need to correctly understand Chairman Mao’s instructions to better implement the spirit of the 10th Party Congress, unite, and strive for even greater victories.





1974

**Letter from Wang Hongwen and Jiang Qing to  
Mao Zedong, sending the compilation of ‘Lin Biao  
and the Way of Confucius and Mencius’ from  
Peking University and Tsinghua University**

Wang Hongwen and Jiang Qing

**1973.12.30**

Chairman,

We have reviewed the material “*Lin Biao and the Way of Confucius and Mencius*” compiled by Peking University and Tsinghua University and believe it is highly beneficial for the current criticism of Confucius. There is an urgent need for similar concise materials across the country.

We propose that this material be distributed to all provinces, cities, autonomous regions, military branches, major headquarters, and departments under the State Council as a reference for the current campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. We are submitting the material for your review. Please provide instructions.

Wang Hongwen and Jiang Qing  
January 12, 1974



## **Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao's Remarks During the Military Commission Office Meeting on Reports from the Three General Departments Regarding the Campaign to Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius (Excerpt)**

Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao

**1974.2.8**

When Comrade Zhong Hua from the General Staff Department was reporting, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao (hereafter Zhang):

Don't read the report word for word. Focus on key points; the leading cadres must grasp things themselves. Fifty-seven big-character posters—more than thirty thousand people, yet only fifty-seven posters. The Chairman said that criticizing Confucius did not start in May 1973; earlier he didn't speak of it. At the 12th Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee he already talked about it.

When Comrade Cai Qian had not clearly explained the issues regarding Yan Zhongchuan and Wen Yucheng, Zhang said: You have left many issues unclear. You say things are not deeply or thoroughly analyzed, but you mention no specifics. I only heard about Zhang Ting's issue today.

When other leading comrades criticized the General Staff leadership for being too weak, Zhang said: As for your major issues, of the ones I am aware of, not a single one has been resolved. For example, someone from the General Staff Operations Department went to Shandong and, together with Yuan Shengping, cursed Haoliang. The report you gave me—I criticized it section by section—yet you sent back just a few pages resisting the criticism. I don't want to get involved. The husband of Ai Ling is in your Second Department—still unresolved! Shanghai provided you with materials, but you haven't provided anything. Not many people know about these issues—why not mobilize the masses to expose them?

Comrade Wang Hongwen (hereafter Wang): She has both problematic statements and problematic actions. Qiu, Li, and Ye were directing matters over there.

Zhang: You just say everything is fine; once it reaches you, you say it's fine.

Wang: You must fully mobilize the masses to expose these problems.



Zhang: Zhang Ting's attempt to reverse the verdict has still not been handled. This is not only a problem of the lower levels—what about the few of you at the top?

Wang: The General Staff leadership is rightist—very rightist. The masses criticize you for being passive ever since 9·13, and they are justified. Many issues have titles but no conclusions. For example, Wen Yucheng and Huang Yongsheng—after they cultivated their networks for so many years, if you do not deal with several of their people, who will you rely on?

When other leading comrades asked about Lei Yingfu, Wang and Zhang: Detention is one matter, but it must be thoroughly investigated; otherwise he will be held for two years and then released again.

Wang: The General Staff leadership has not been effective in leading the Criticize Lin and Rectify the Style of Work campaign—truly ineffective.

Zhang: This is the first time I have heard from your department about the Children's Corps. I objected to it. Fifty years from now, the Chairman and Vice Chairman will have to be found in kindergarten. These issues remain unresolved. They must be studied, discussed, resolved, and implemented.

Wang: Criticizing is one matter; implementing solutions is another.

Zhang: If you do not grasp major issues, responsibility cannot be placed solely on you; the Military Commission also bears responsibility—some matters can be put this way. Your morale and attitude still have problems; you let the masses push you forward.

When other leading comrades gave instructions on the General Staff's movement, Zhang: You must boldly mobilize the masses. Do not be afraid. If bad elements take advantage of the situation and jump out, that is beneficial. Ensure that combat command is guaranteed. Some of the formulations raised by the Air Force are worth considering. Do not settle old historical accounts—what old accounts? Do not fire sideways shots; unresolved historical issues should be written upward in small-character posters. As for the situation in the General Staff—do you (addressing Comrade Cai Qian) have a thorough understanding? I think you may not necessarily know more than I do.

## **Wang Hongwen's Speech During the Meeting with Comrades from the Sichuan Dazhu Automobile Factory Study Class in Beijing**

Wang Hongwen

**1974.2.8**

I haven't made any preparations. Yesterday, Comrades Xian, Deng Kui, and Jiang Qing told me that the comrades from the Dazhu Automobile Factory are going back, and I feel that no matter how busy I am, I must meet with them. The reason is that this factory is very important; it is the country's only one of its kind, and the country really needs the vehicles produced by the Dazhu Automobile Factory. The military especially requires these vehicles for their equipment. I want to say a few words that I hope will help resolve the issues.

This time, the comrades came to Beijing, and although their time here was a bit longer, they gained a lot. Today, compared to when we first met, there is a big difference. Their spirit has changed. The Dazhu Factory now has hope. But does that mean that all the problems have been solved and there are no more struggles? I don't think so. After the comrades return, they will still face various problems. There will still be struggles, and sometimes they might even be quite intense. So, what should we do? The comrades must follow the Party Central Committee's instructions and hold onto the big direction of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius. No matter how many problems arise, they must be solved through this campaign. This will help unite all the workers in the factory. Now, the nationwide campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius is being launched, and Dazhu is no exception. This is the greatest driving force to solve the problems at Dazhu. After returning, the comrades must first focus on the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. In addition, they must be vigilant against sabotage and disruption by class enemies. While the comrades may feel that their problems are solved, their thinking is clearer, and the Dazhu factory has changed its appearance, the class enemies will not be satisfied. We must remain alert and take action against activities. If these two points are well grasped, we can solidify and develop the achievements made by the study class. Leaders

at all levels must focus on major issues, which means criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius, focusing on class struggle and ideological struggle, and addressing the specific situation in Sichuan by criticizing the erroneous line of Liang Xingchu, Chen XX. Many of Sichuan's problems were caused by the implementation of Lin Biao's line. When you came here, some wanted to criticize, while others were afraid to do so, hesitant. During the first meeting, there was no speech, no one dared to expose contradictions. But through study, these issues were resolved, and now the spirit has improved. Therefore, we must continue to focus on the criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius as our top priority and never relax on it.

Having a common enemy and a shared goal makes the direction for building socialism clear. So, the focus must still be on the direction of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius. Just now, Comrade Xian Nian said that we should not hold grudges against our class brothers. Among the masses, and within the workers, we must unite on the basis of Mao Zedong Thought, but when it comes to class enemies, we must criticize and struggle against them without hesitation. Some leaders, like Comrade XX from their factory, still have three grievances about the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: resentment, frustration, and bitterness. (Comrade Deng Kui interjects: "Chairman said in Tianjin, actually it's just one grievance: resentment.") The Cultural Revolution was personally initiated and led by the Chairman; if you are resentful, who are you being resentful against? Therefore, don't make general mistakes; the Cultural Revolution has already been going on for eight years. If you didn't understand it in 1966 or 1968, that can still be understood, but our Party's 10th Congress has been held, and if you still don't understand, it's no longer a small problem. As Communist Party members, it's a matter of whether or not you are following Chairman Mao's revolution, whether or not you are for revolution or whether you are late in making the revolution. I hope that comrades who still have resentment can quickly change their stance. If they remain resentful, sooner or later they will be overthrown by the masses and abandoned by history.

Some people advocate restoring everything to the way it was before the Cultural Revolution. This is wrong. This is the thinking of Confucius—the thinking of regression and restoration. It's about restoring the rites, or "li." We are people who are involved in industry, and some want to

return to the period before the Cultural Revolution, rejecting all new things. This is restoration. Are we advancing or retreating? We advocate moving forward. Whether you support or oppose the Cultural Revolution is fundamentally about whether you support socialism or capitalism and revisionism. This issue must be resolved. I don't know whether there are such people in Dazhu, but such thoughts and such individuals definitely exist. This campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius must also address the attitude toward the Cultural Revolution. Isn't it supposed to be connected to reality? This is a very important practical issue. For example, some people are very interested in abolishing the grassroots revolutionary committees. Where did this wind come from? It's worth studying. Comrades, you need to pay attention, some people want to restore the old system of factory directors, chief engineers, and workshop managers, replacing the new system of the Cultural Revolution—the revolutionary committees. This is wrong. Chairman Mao has said: "Revolutionary committees are good!" And they are good because of the "three combinations" (military, cadres, workers, old, middle-aged, young). I've heard that in Sichuan, there's a saying of "using workers to replace cadres." This is a new term. What does "using workers to replace cadres" mean? The Central Committee never said this, but these cadres emerged during the Cultural Revolution. Some people don't even acknowledge that they are cadres, calling it "using workers to replace cadres." I am such a cadre, but some do not acknowledge that I am a worker. There are also units where they talk about ranks, such as level 18, 19 or higher national cadres. In a report for a meeting, it said that only those above level 19 could attend. I criticized this on the report: "I don't qualify to attend this meeting," and this caused a big change. Some people are trying to find all kinds of ways to limit the new forces. In Jiangxi, there was a counter-revolutionary rumor: "Clear the temple, bring in the real gods, the old general returns to his position, the little soldiers take the side path." The Jiangxi Provincial Party Committee even made a statement in a big meeting, claiming that the rumor was said by the Chairman. After the Chairman saw it, he said that the first two lines weren't the key; the real issue was in the last two lines. The Chairman changed it to: "The old general leads the way, and the little soldiers are promoted." The Chairman directly refuted the rumor. (Xian Nian: There is also a forged Central Document No. 51, which is aimed at restoring the old old order by overturning the political movements that

happened after the liberation.) Comrades, when you hear these rumors, you must harshly criticize them. The forged Document No. 51 is meant for restoration, to bring Chiang Kai-shek back, and to bring people like Lin Biao and Liu Shaoqi to power. Why do some people within our revolutionary ranks accept these counter-revolutionary rumors? It shows that their thoughts have changed. They are dissatisfied with the Cultural Revolution, so they are more likely to accept them. Moreover, there is a responsible cadre in a unit who curses the rebels, calling them all bad. I said, "You've just cursed yourself." (Xian Nian: We are also rebels, rebelling against the Kuomintang.) (Deng Kui: Even Marx was a rebel.) Marx is the ancestor of rebels; The Communist Manifesto is a manifesto of rebellion. (Deng Kui: In Henan, there was a secretary who didn't even allow the rebels to marry, saying it would "cut off their descendants.") (Xian Nian: See how much hatred he has for the Cultural Revolution!)

When the Party constitution was amended, some people didn't want to write about the capitalist roaders, saying that there are no capitalist roaders anymore. Of course, that's an issue of understanding. So, were Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao capitalist roaders? And what about that county party secretary? What about Chen Dezhi from your factory? Chen Dezhi could be called a degenerate or a corrupt element. (Xian Nian: He could be called a bad element.) There is still struggle, and it is still very intense. That's why we must continue to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius and keep solving this issue. Many units' problems cannot be solved, and I think an important factor is that the attitude toward the Cultural Revolution hasn't been resolved, nor has the issue of the ninth and tenth line struggles been solved. If not handled well, it could cause our socialist country to regress and become corrupt. Of course, there are different types of contradictions here, and they must be handled correctly, but the problem must be solved.

There are many rumors against the Cultural Revolution, and they exist everywhere. Some people say that the Cultural Revolution was a misunderstanding. This is very reactionary. Comrades, don't split into this faction or that faction. Within the working class, whether it's workers or cadres, we must unite through criticism and self-criticism, and direct the criticism toward Lin Biao and his ancestor Confucius. Criticize them harshly and criticize their rumors and sophistry against the Cultural Revolution. I didn't prepare anything, I mainly came to see everyone.

If I've said something wrong, feel free to criticize me, and even post a big-character poster. I hope everyone will focus on production and get the cars out quickly.

Jinan Workers Reprinted, March 4, 1974

## **Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao during the report on the situation of the ‘Criticize Lin Biao, Criticize Confucius’ Movement From the Three Departments**

Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao

**1974.2.8**

When the report was about to end,

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: What do you think is the most difficult problem? What should be done next? Who will speak?

When the report reached the issue of the unresolved problem with the Standing Committee members, Comrade Wang Hongwen said: How many Standing Committee members?

After the report was finished, Comrade Wang Hongwen said: If you (referring to the younger comrades) have any opinions, feel free to raise them. When some comrades mentioned difficulties in addressing the issue of the three departments, Comrade Wang Hongwen said: Don't view it as so difficult. I believe the situation in the three departments is good, and the vast masses and grassroots cadres in the three departments are good. The cover can be uncovered. If it can't be uncovered, we'll smash it. If it still can't be uncovered, we'll use bombs to blow it up!

When some comrades raised critical opinions about the leadership of the Military Commission and the General Staff,

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: I agree with your opinion. You can criticize the Military Commission and the General Staff if you have issues with them. Your style is a bit higher than his (referring to a certain leader). (After saying this, Zhang Chunqiao left.)

When some comrades mentioned that middle-level cadres still had concerns, Comrade Wang Hongwen said: You should find ways to encourage them. When some comrades mentioned that some leaders wanted revolution but were also afraid of revolution, Comrade Wang Hongwen said: That's a good point! When some comrades mentioned that the four vice chiefs had written a letter to Comrade Hu Beiwén, Comrade Wang Hongwen said: (To Comrade Zhang Caijian) Did you sign it? What's the point of signing that? In that situation, what's the need to reply to that letter? Why bother? The impact on the masses is

huge! So when people say there's a cover-up from above, I don't think that's wrong. When some comrades said the masses exposed a leader's statement to another leader, saying, "We are close friends, dependent on each other, inseparable," Comrade Wang Hongwen said: This is a serious issue. The General Staff's problems must be solved, including the problems with the Operations Department, the Third Department, and the Confidential Bureau. Didn't Comrade ××× just mention that the situation is complex? That's right. You need to study it further, continue mobilizing the masses, uncover the cover-up, and expose the leadership issues of the General Staff, including you (referring to Comrade Zhang Caijian). As for what was said about "dependent on each other," are you saying the masses are wrong? You people above should remove your own cover-up, and the problem will be solved.

When ××× said that Lin Biao's group was very focused on controlling the Third Department as a tool for class struggle, Comrade Wang Hongwen said: The proletariat, for the sake of revolution, must control this tool; the bourgeoisie, for the sake of counter-revolution and restoration, must also control this tool.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: This type of intelligence department needs to be watched closely, as in class struggle, both classes are fighting for control. He continued: From the recent exposures, it can be seen that there aren't many people trying to cover things up; they are a minority. As long as we mobilize the masses, it can be done, and we should have confidence. The General Staff has improved compared to before, but we still need to continue overcoming right-wing thoughts and mobilize the masses to uncover things. We need to expose the cover-up from above. There will be difficulties, but they are not insurmountable. This time, we must make a firm decision to expose it. If it can't be uncovered, we'll smash it. If it can't be smashed, we'll use bombs to blow it up. This might sound a bit extreme, but we must uncover it. Wang Hongwen said: I'd like to discuss an issue with you. In the previous stage, you wrote a report. Should we write big-character posters? Considering the importance of this department, we had already criticized it once. Now, to truly uncover the issues within the General Staff and better mobilize the masses, do you think it's feasible to use big-character posters? You should set some appropriate guidelines, placing big-character posters in the classified area. For matters involving confidentiality, you can write small-character posters. Use big-character posters for matters concerning



Huang, Wu, Ye, Li, Qiu, and issues related to the 10th route struggle. Use small-character posters for technical and business secrets. This approach will benefit the movement. We've discussed this issue, and now I'm bringing it up for your consideration. The guidelines should not be too complicated. There is a momentum issue with big-character posters. Big-character posters can inspire each other and broaden our thinking. Some cadres are still at a crossroads, and this could help prompt them.

Wang Hongwen said: When someone proposed adding a few people from the Standing Committee to lead the movement, I agree with having younger people, those with energy, to take on a few positions.

When some comrades mentioned that the masses wanted to post big-character posters, but were hesitant because the General Staff's party committee had regulations prohibiting them, Wang Hongwen said: Recently, I've observed some situations, and based on experiences from certain units, this issue can be considered, but there are two conditions: First, we must pay attention to confidentiality; second, work cannot stop. Some people are not afraid of small-character posters, but once big-character posters are used, they get scared. In the past, there was an experience where many confidential units, during the movement, didn't dare post big-character posters or expose issues. As a result, problems exploded during the Cultural Revolution, and those units had the most issues. In Shanghai, all the confidential units I worked with became difficult to manage toward the later stages of the movement. On the other hand, civilian factories generally had good mass mobilization during each movement. During the Cultural Revolution, many units broke through and made progress. Compared to now, there weren't as many deaths as during the Cultural Revolution. So, we should discuss with the General Staff to fully uncover the issues within the General Staff by posting big-character posters in certain areas. Wang Hongwen said: When some comrades mentioned that the leadership of the three departments had longstanding connections of over thirty years, Wang Hongwen replied: "Besides old relationships, there are also nepotistic ties." When Comrade ××× mentioned the issue of the relocation of troops from the North to the South, Wang Hongwen said: Cai Qian, this matter is worth the General Staff's attention. Recently, I reviewed some materials, and I saw that the Air Force and Navy had written reports to the central leadership and Chairman Mao. They didn't mention how many troops were transferred, but the Air Force and Navy had moved a large number of

troops to the South. To move a regiment, it needs the approval of the Chairman, so how did they do it? They moved troops one company at a time, one battalion at a time. They even moved twelve companies but not yet a whole regiment. All of this was done through the Operations Department. How many naval ships were relocated? Seven, eight, nine—until the September 13th incident. Some of them were still on the way, some advanced units had already arrived, and others were still surveying the terrain. It was only after the September 13th incident that they stopped. This was a big conspiracy. So, Cai Qian, the Operations Department needs to do a good job.

## **Remarks made by Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao during the Operations Department's report on the situation of the 'Criticize Lin Biao, Criticize Confucius' campaign**

Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao

1974.2.8

When the report mentioned the issue of Yan Hongfu, the former deputy director of the Defense Emergency Response Office and liaison for the Lin Biao group (currently under arrest),

Zhang Chunqiao asked: Have you reported this to the General Staff Department? What did the report say?

Comrade Jin Yufeng responded: Yes, we reported it, and the report mentioned that an investigation should be conducted.

Zhang Chunqiao said: You can't defend yourself now, don't always think you're right. After handing it over to the Operations Department, did you ask about it? Did you take a responsible attitude? Yan Hongfu was so reactionary, and the Operations Department was so lenient, and the General Staff Department didn't take any action. With such a serious issue, as a Communist Party member, why didn't you report it to the Central Committee? What is your conclusion about Hongfu? (Jin replied: No conclusion was made.)

Wang Hongwen asked: Why wasn't a conclusion made?

Zhang Chunqiao said: You're the team leader, why didn't you make one? You don't have a firm attitude. You just gave a long explanation, all saying you did well, but didn't mention your shortcomings. The report needs to be investigated.

Zhang Chunqiao said: Comrade Caiqian, Yan Hongfu is such a bad person. When did you first know about it? (Comrade Zhang Caiqian replied: I only realized it during the Operations Department meeting this time.) You didn't know before? Did you know about these poems? (Zhang Caiqian replied: I didn't see the poems, I knew there were poems but didn't know there were so many.) Did you know about Yan Hongfu stealing confidential information? When did you first know about it? Did you hear a couple of sentences about it, or did you know it clearly?

(Zhang Caiqian replied: Not very clear.) Don't be vague; you need to clarify what you mean. When the report reached the point that Yan Hongfu had stolen a large amount of confidential information during the study session,

Wang Hongwen asked: How could he steal so many core secrets during the study session? I don't believe it was actually a study session. The purpose of holding a study session should have been to study Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's writings. I noticed this issue during the investigation of the "5.16" case. You knew he had such serious problems, yet you allowed him to do whatever he wanted, placed him in such an important department, and let him steal secrets.

When the report mentioned that Yan Hongfu's study group moved to the anti-sabotage office and was balanced with another study group,

Wang Hongwen said: How can class struggle be balanced? The Operations Department is for military operations; how can they balance things?

Zhang Chunqiao said: A lot of confidential information from the General Staff has been taken. Comrade Caiqian, how will you explain this to the Central Committee?

Wang Hongwen said: If the Soviet revisionists and American imperialists really come to attack, I suspect the Operations Department will have a "maintenance committee." If a war really breaks out, Comrade Caiqian, the General Staff will have a "maintenance committee chairperson and vice-chairperson," with a full set of personnel. Why should we send this (referring to economic plans) to them (referring to the anti-sabotage office)? Wang Hongwen said: Why give them the whole military strength and economic plans? The anti-sabotage office is supposed to handle anti-sabotage, not deal with our information. This issue must be thoroughly investigated. Such important material is being centralized here—no matter who authorized it, it must be investigated. This is essentially our intelligence. Why do you need all this material?

Zhang Chunqiao said: This needs to be clarified—who made this decision? Zhang Chunqiao asked: What issues does ××× have?

Wang Hongwen said: The head and deputy head of the anti-sabotage office were sitting with Yan Hongfu, even showing him confidential materials. They are still reusing him, even though he is a staunch ally of Lin Biao. Cai Hongjiang, you need to keep an eye on him; don't let him escape. (Zhang Caiqian said: He won't escape.)

Zhang Chunqiao said: You can't rely on that. Wang Hongwen said: This is not good, not good. Measures need to be taken; he should be kept at a distance. You (referring to Cai Hongjiang) need to handle this properly. If he dies, you'll be responsible. If he escapes, you'll be responsible. If something happens, I'll hold you accountable. Caiqian, if we remain careless for too long, it will be too late. We must be careful, or they might eliminate him to silence him. This time, we need to be cautious. If something happens, I'll come to you, Caiqian. In the rear, Qiu Ruiguang, son of Qiu Huizuo, had six people watching him. He escaped four times, including once when he made it all the way to Diaoyutai. Do you think all the people watching him are trustworthy? When the report reached the point where the Operations Department's Party committee was discussing Yan Hongfu's theft of secrets, and some believed there was no evidence to show that the secrets had been sent to Hong Kong, Wang Hongwen asked: Which Party committee member thinks this way? What is the basis for saying nothing was taken? There are many issues here. Cai Hongjiang said it's a problem of understanding, but I think that's wrong. After "September 13," it might have been understandable at first, but once we have discovered all of Yan Hongfu's crimes, continuing to say this is no longer a matter of understanding—it's a matter of stance. They are aligning with the enemy's position. You haven't investigated it thoroughly, and you haven't dealt with it, yet you say nothing was sent to Hong Kong? What about sending it to the Soviet revisionists?

Zhang Chunqiao said: Do you know if it was sent to Moscow? When the report reached the point where the Party committees of the department and the General Staff were discussing the Yan Hongfu issue, and someone told him about it,

Wang Hongwen asked: Who told him? Measures need to be taken against such a person. To support the masses, at the very least, he should be removed from the Anti-Sabotage Office and made to explain his actions. The previous resolution was not thorough; today we need to study how to handle this.

Zhang Chunqiao said: The Anti-Sabotage Office used to be Lin Biao's intelligence-gathering agency, but now it has become an office used to attack us.

When some comrades said that Lin Biao and Ye Qun wanted Yan Hongfu to gather intelligence as quickly and sensitively as a radar, including any new opinions or proposals from the central leadership,

Wang Hongwen asked: Sensitive like a radar, Caiqian, when did you know this? The 5th Air Force already had a group of people like this, collecting intelligence everywhere. Lin Biao's words clearly show the issue, including "what new opinions the central leaders have." Who is this aimed at? Isn't it obvious?

Zhang Chunqiao said: Given how many secrets Yan Hongfu has stolen, he should have been arrested long ago. Zhang Chunqiao asked: How many people are there in the Anti-Sabotage Office? (Everyone answered: 14) How many are defending Yan Hongfu?

When the report turned to how the next phase of the movement should be carried out and there were differing opinions among the masses, Zhang Chunqiao said: There is no such thing as universal agreement! If everyone agrees, the Operations Department would be finished! Your (referring to Cai Hongjiang) mood is wrong.

When some comrades reported that the Lin Biao anti-Party group had three black lines extending to the Operations Department: one was Lin and Ye's liaison officer Yan Hongfu; the second was the Four Big Kings, Wen and Yan; the third was the small fleet,

Zhang Chunqiao said: Your order of listing is wrong. Huang, Wu, Li, and Qiu should be listed first. Why did you put Yan Hongfu first? This is not just a matter of order, it's a big problem. If you estimate the situation in the General Staff this way, you're making a mistake. The big fleet is formidable! Then comes the small fleet, and only third is Yan Hongfu. This is no small matter. I always feel like you're not focusing on Huang, Wu, Li, and Qiu. Why can't the investigation into Yan Zhongchuan's case move forward? It's because there's no emphasis on it. Yan Hongfu is just a small pawn. Getting the order wrong will lead to mistakes.

When some comrades mentioned that there were still ten issues to discuss with Cai Hongjiang,

Zhang Chunqiao asked: Are all these issues related to Cai Hongjiang? (Answer: Yes.) Why are all the issues you mentioned related to Cai Hongjiang? (Answer: We've studied it, with some emphasis.) You've been organizing this together! (Some comrades replied, "No.") I find this strange! I'm not protecting Cai Hongjiang, but why don't you mention Huang Yongsheng and others? Why are all ten issues related to Cai Hongjiang? What about Zuo Yong? Are those people just dead tigers? If you reveal the issues about Huang, Wu, Li, Qiu, Wen, and Yan, I'll listen. If ten issues include Cai's, Zuo's, Wang's, then it would make sense.

Wang Hongwen said: We're not defending Cai Hongjiang. It's fine to expose issues with Cai Hongjiang, but don't confuse the main issues with the secondary ones.

Zhang Chunqiao said: You can list all ten issues and post big-character posters. Is the problem in the Operations Department mainly Cai Hongjiang's issue? Today, you didn't mention Wang Fuzhi or Zuo Yong. Your list of black lines is also wrong. Do you have clarity in your mind about the order of the enemies? If you write big-character posters, I won't oppose it, but it's up to you, we won't interfere.

Wang Hongwen said: Both big-character posters and small-character posters are fine.

When some comrades suggested that the Central Military Commission send a work group or observation group to the Operations Department to guide the work,

Wang Hongwen said: Historically, sending observation groups has not had good results.

Wang Hongwen said: Let's stop here for today, but we will have another meeting. After you return, you need to go back and start organizing the masses to continue exposing the issues. The situation is good, mainly the leadership problem has improved compared to before, but it's still not enough.

Wang Hongwen said: You need to clarify the priorities. The issue of moving troops from the north to the south has been mentioned, and we definitely need to investigate it thoroughly. I have already reviewed the materials from the Air Force and Navy. You should also go back and check, to find out exactly what happened. Some problems are clear, some are still unclear. If Cai Hongjiang is involved, then you should take the lead in investigating it. If Zhang Caiqian is involved, you should also take the lead. You all need to clarify the issues. I've reviewed the phone records from the Air Force, and they are connected to the Operations Department. Don't make conclusions yet, investigate it clearly first. You can also look through the phone records from the Operations Department. Be thorough in your investigation. The issue has been mentioned in the Air and Navy meetings, but it has not been fully clarified yet.

## **Vice Chairman Wang Hongwen's important telephone instructions to Tan Qilong**

Wang Hongwen

**1974.3.16**

1. Some leaders of the two factions in Zhejiang, firstly, do not criticize Lin Biao and criticize Confucius, and secondly, do not criticize Chen Liyun and Nan Ping. Some people have been going to factories and rural areas to organize, seize guns, materials, and vehicles, etc. This completely goes against the big direction of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius and is an extreme mistake. Those people outside should return to their original units and participate in the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius.

2. The Provincial Party Committee, especially the Provincial Military District, has not firmly implemented the two gun confiscation orders from the Central Committee and the Central Military Commission. This is a mistake, and they must make a self-criticism to the Central Committee and the Central Military Commission.

3. Some of the main responsible persons in the Provincial Party Committee, especially the Secretary and members of the Standing Committee, who have gone to other places to recuperate, should return to their work positions and join the masses in criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius and getting the work done. Those who do not return should be seriously dealt with by the Provincial Party Committee.

4. While criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius, it is important to ensure that industrial and agricultural production is properly arranged, especially agricultural production. We must carefully manage it, and the measures must be implemented.

As for the problem of Yao Guobiao in Wenzhou, who seized guns, this is no longer a simple mistake. The Provincial Military District's action to arrest him and detain him in the province should be supported. This



phone call was personally made by Vice Chairman Wang to Comrade Tan Qilong, and the record was later double-checked. Vice Chairman Wang said: “The Central Committee discussed this issue the night before yesterday, and these are the points I have summarized.” On March 21st at 6:25 p.m., a call came from Vice Chairman Wang’s office, conveying his instructions, changing “leaders of the two factions in Zhejiang” to “some leaders of the two factions in Zhejiang.”

Wang Hongwen, Vice Chairman, gave an important telephone directive.

March 16, 1974, 2:05 AM

**Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao's interjections  
during the briefing to leading comrades of the Central  
Military Commission on the communications troops'  
activities in criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius**

Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao

**1974.3.18**

Wang Hongwen said: Start, (to Huang Wenming) do you want to speak? Don't just read from the script, briefly talk, time is short, there are many people, just talk about what problems exist, and then listen to everyone's opinions. When Huang Wenming mentioned that before February 11, we neither advocated nor prohibited large-character posters,

Wang Hongwen said: In fact, we didn't allow them to be posted, that's how it is!

When the report came up that this week the communications troops were preparing to hold a criticism meeting,

Wang Hongwen asked: Are the communications troops mainly referring to those in Beijing? How many people are there?

Wang Hongwen said: (to Huang Wenming) Do you still have any problems now?

When the report mentioned the issue of a post-meeting after the "June 21" meeting, Comrade Zhou Shizhong said: I didn't attend.

Comrade Huang Wenming said: You attended, and this can be verified. (Someone interjected: It was Li Ruhong who mentioned it.)

When the report mentioned that Comrade Zhou Shizhong had twice asked someone to send regards to Lin Liguao,

Wang Hongwen asked: Who sent the regards?

Comrade Huang Wenming said: Zhou Shizhong.

When the report mentioned Li Zuopeng revealing to Comrade Zhou Shizhong that Wen Yucheng was "not revolving around the Red Sun," Comrade Wang Hongwen said: Lin Biao's "May 19" speech already talked about "revolving around the Red Sun." Li Zuopeng then went to Qingdao and Xuzhou to repeat it. Comrade Huang Wenming continued the report. Comrade Wang Hongwen said: (To Comrade Huang Wenming) The Politburo is having a meeting tonight, and this meeting

should be finished earlier. It's best to keep it short and concise so that the grassroots comrades can share their views. The representatives of the masses started their reports.

When the report mentioned that Comrade Zhou Shizhong was involved in reporting the Shanghai case,

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: That's connected to the struggle over the line. In fact, most of Shanghai's electronic industry was for civilian use, and most of it had developed through handcrafts. This group of people wanted to take control of this industry, which was against Chairman Mao's instructions at that time. The factories weren't allowed to provide, so they were pressured with tasks. At that time, Shanghai was overwhelmed. One person said it was from the Central Committee, and another person said it was from the Central Committee. The Fourth and Seventh Ministry of Machinery all said it was from the Central Committee, but the real projects discussed by the Central Committee could not be implemented. It was all just pressure, with no way to proceed. Because many of the national projects were tied to Shanghai's supporting industries, many key materials couldn't be supplied. They came up with a national uniform distribution plan, delaying the whole country's project coordination. They took everything and then redistributed it. At the 1970 planning meeting, I was also upset. You all represent the Central Committee, but the real tasks from the Central Committee couldn't be implemented.

When the report mentioned Li Zuopeng using the "6910" meeting to deny Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the electronic industry,

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: If they had been allowed to control the electronic industry for another year or two, by now, I think it would have been completely ruined. Everything would have been deadlocked. We were working on military industry, producing large quantities of tubes and storing them in warehouses, and others couldn't use them. The production units were losing money.

When the report mentioned that the purge of Shanghai was personally arranged by Comrade Zhou Shizhong,

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: The method they used to deal with Shanghai was to undermine the foundations, to arrest the directors. It wasn't just about dealing with Shanghai.

When the report mentioned that Comrade Zhou Shizhong had an extremely hostile attitude, calling the "Criticize Lin, Criticize Confucius"

campaign “Criticize Zhou, Correct the Wind,” refusing to attend the Standing Committee meetings, and verbally abusing others,

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: What are you all going to do about his words?

When discussing not fearing retaliation from Comrade Zhou Shizhong, Comrade Wang Hongwen said: Not afraid of being beheaded, not afraid of going to jail, not afraid of your wife divorcing you... If you're not afraid of these, then what else is there to be afraid of?

When the report mentioned the previous two expanded meetings of the Military Party Committee and the General Staff sending work teams,

Comrade Wang Hongwen asked: Did you send a work team this time? (To Comrade Zhang Caiqian) Did the General Staff send one?

Comrade Zhang Caiqian: The movement is managed by the General Political Department, and the General Staff did not send a work team.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: The General Political Department didn't send one either?

Comrade Huang Wenming answered that the General Political Department did not send a team.

When the report mentioned that the work teams sent by the General Political Department had not had a good effect,

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: Who was the head of the General Political Department's work team?

After the report concluded, Comrade Wang Hongwen asked: Do you have any other opinions, any different opinions? The response was: No different opinions.

At this point, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao, based on the report mentioning the communication troops' movement being covered up, which was related to Comrade Zhang Caiqian,

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: Caiqian, people are saying you are a cause of the issue, and they have some criticism of you. Aren't you going to speak up, make a statement? Explain it clearly in front of everyone!

Comrade Zhang Caiqian: He (referring to Comrade Zhou Shizhong) talked about his mistakes and his relationship with Comrade Huang Wenming. I said your movement is managed by the General Political Department, and you can reflect this to the General Political Department. The relationship between comrades should be clarified at the Party Committee meeting.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: Look at what you're saying, what's

the purpose? People are saying this is a struggle over the line, and you're talking about something else!

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: It's a struggle over the line.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: With just these few words, people are using your title as Vice Chief of the General Staff, Zhang Caiqian, to speak.

Comrade Zhou Shizhong said: I want him to report to Vice Chairman Ye.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: What do you mean by asking him to report?

Comrade Zhou Shizhong said: I want someone from above to come.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: Zhou Shizhong, are you being wronged? Do you want someone from above to come and "judge your case"? Why ask for people to come?!

Comrade Zhou Shizhong said: I have made mistakes, and I want to explain.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: Explain? What are you explaining? The responsibility lies with you first. What have you explained? We believe the vast majority of the communication troops will figure out your issues.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: There are so many people in the communication troops; I don't believe your problem can't be resolved.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: You said most of it has been explained, but I have a question for you: Why wasn't the new encryption machine given to the Chairman?

Comrade Zhou Shizhong said: Huang Yongsheng removed it and only gave it to the military security.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: Why did you carry out such an order?! Why didn't you report to the Chairman? In your mind, where is the Chairman?!

Comrade Zhou Shizhong replied: I didn't recognize it.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: How could you not recognize it? This is basic common sense. The whole army, the whole country, and the whole world know that Chairman Mao is the Chairman of the Military Commission. How could you not recognize that?

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: This is not a recognition problem.

Comrade Zhou Shizhong responded: Huang Yongsheng's notice was seen by the Standing Committee.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: Don't pass it off to the Standing Committee. You are the head of the communications troops!

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: How could you dare to carry out such an order? How could you not give the Chairman the secure communication device? As for this issue, my view is a bit different from theirs (referring to those reporting). It's not just about giving or not giving the Chairman a secure communication device. It's about how they used this device as a tool for their anti-party group's conspiratorial activities. Others didn't have it, but they did, so they could use this phone to contact each other.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: You didn't have one either, right?

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: The Chairman didn't have one, so what am I? Comrade Zhang Chunqiao added: This view isn't something I just came up with. After "September 13" (the coup attempt), I mentioned this in the Military Commission meeting, but there was no follow-up. Today, I am bringing it up again. If we are talking about conspiracy, using communication tools is the most obvious form. Zhou Shizhong, go ahead and explain.

Comrade Zhou Shizhong said: I didn't resist.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: It's not that you didn't resist, you resolutely carried out the order. You didn't report it to anyone. This matter needs to be investigated. Ye Qun wanted two machines, and you quickly provided them.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: Of course, how could we not provide it? Can this be called a unity issue?

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: Comrade Cai Qian, I am not satisfied with your statement just now. You should support the vast masses of the communications troops.

Comrade Cai Qian responded: Of course.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: "Of course"? What you said is wrong.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: Your statement is wrong.

Comrade Cai Qian replied: He (Zhou Shizhong) was talking about his relationship with Comrade Huang Wenming.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: Look at what kind of relationship issue this is!

Comrade Cai Qian said: The masses of the communications troops exposing and struggling against him is justified.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: Your statement before was wrong,

and your statement now is even more incorrect.

Comrade Cai Qian said: We do not intervene in the movement of the communications troops.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: You are a Communist Party member! When the communications troops encounter problems, do you, as the deputy head, have no responsibility?

Comrade Cai Qian said: Of course.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: The communications troops have been controlled by bad elements, and their power has been usurped. You, as the deputy head, are responsible. You can ask around. If you don't understand the situation, you can keep silent.

Comrade Cai Qian responded: I have no answer.

Wang Hongwen said: I think every time you attend a meeting, your stance on which side you are on is always unclear. Therefore, I criticize you as being right-wing. You should firmly stand with the broad masses of the General Staff and thoroughly expose the cover-up. You need to support the masses.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: At the very least, you should say this: I used to be a protector, but now I am no longer. (Comrade Cai Qian said a few more words.) Stop explaining; the more you explain, the more complicated it becomes.

Comrade Cai Qian said: I'm no longer a protector; I will examine my mistakes.

Comrade Cai Qian said: I only spoke with Comrade Zhou Shizhong once.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: If you had spoken twice, you wouldn't be saying this today.

Wang Hongwen said: Stop explaining. As for the General Staff, no matter what, we must definitely support the broad masses of the communication troops and expose the issues. The reason we called you to this meeting today, initially we planned to hear reports from other units, but after discussing with Vice Chairman Ye, the reason is that recently there have been many letters from the masses of the communication troops to the Central Committee, exposing a large number of issues that need to be addressed. We must fully mobilize the broad masses of the communication troops to continue exposing and criticizing, and these issues must be thoroughly investigated. Some major issues, such as the secure communication machine problem raised by Comrade Chunqiao

earlier, comrades, don't underestimate the importance of one secure communication machine; this is connected to the conspiracy of the Lin Biao group. If it's a conspiracy, Comrade Zhou Shizhong is involved, and you cannot shirk responsibility for this. By resolutely implementing and carrying out such a counter-revolutionary order, you have shown where you stand, or rather, which command you are aligned with. This is not a simple question of understanding. To treat it as such would be wrong. Why would Huang, Wu, Li, Qiu, Ye Qun, and Hu Min get one, but the chairman can't be equipped with one? If it's military equipment, the chairman of the Military Commission is Chairman Mao, as Comrade Chunqiao just said. The broadcasting of television, while a public display, is in fact a counter-revolutionary propaganda, aimed at Lin Biao's group to prepare for their counter-revolutionary coup and create conditions for their rise to power. Comrade Zhou Shizhong, you personally supervised the arrangements and directed the reception, all of it was your doing. I don't think I'm mistaken, am I? Can we really say this is just a simple problem of understanding? Let's analyze the timing of the situation at that time (Comrade Zhou Shizhong: At that time, I didn't know about the Ninth Party Congress second plenary session). I don't care whether you knew or not, but did you report such an action to the Chairman or the Central Committee? Was this action not something that Huang, Wu, Li, and Qiu instructed you to carry out? Is this a unity issue? Is it an issue between comrades internally? This was a conspiracy by Lin Biao's group to prepare for their rise to power. These issues, you must explain clearly to the Party, to the Central Committee, and to the broad masses of the people. You've gone to so many places and said so many things, creating so much public opinion for Lin Biao's group. Is this a unity issue?

Recently, there have been a considerable number of letters from the masses in the communication troops. Of course, there may be some inaccuracies in individual cases, but the overwhelming majority of their opinions are correct. They are concerned that the issues within the communication troops cannot be resolved and are requesting that the Central Committee help address them. This meeting today is being held under these circumstances. Through the Criticize Lin, Criticize Confucius movement, we must link it to the actual situation of the communication troops. The issues surrounding the ten aspects of the line struggle should be resolved. As comrades mentioned earlier, the communication troops are a key



unit. If the problems here are not clarified, we will be unable to ensure communication, especially in wartime, which will make it impossible to secure communications. Therefore, we must thoroughly investigate and clarify these issues. Here, the primary issue is leadership. The masses have concerns about the leadership of the communication troops' Party Committee. Aside from Comrade Zhou Shizhong, other comrades have not been effective. The letters from the masses, as well as the opinions directly heard earlier, reflect this issue. Those who have made mistakes must clarify their errors and stand with the masses. This includes Comrade Zhou Shizhong. I hope you will clarify the issues and seek the understanding of the masses. Otherwise, as some comrades just mentioned, they cannot trust you. If you still insist on a reactionary stance, how can the masses trust you? If you still resist, go ahead and resist! We believe the broad masses, who are loyal to Chairman Mao's revolution, will ultimately clarify these issues. I hope that the leading cadres stand with the masses to resolve the problems within the communication troops, especially the comrades on the Standing Committee of the Party Committee. Because the Lin Biao anti-Party clique placed great importance on this department, the issues within the communication troops are as critical as those in the Operations Department or the Third Department. As some comrades just mentioned, if Lin Biao was planning a coup, not controlling communications would be unthinkable! A large number of facts have already been presented. The leadership must work with the broad masses, through the Criticize Lin, Criticize Confucius movement, to address the actual issues within the communication troops and ensure that the department is under the control of revolutionaries loyal to Chairman Mao. Only then can we guarantee uninterrupted communication and contact in case of any situation. Otherwise, there will be dangers in the future. The Party Committee must clearly explain to the masses that retaliation is not allowed, and they should be encouraged to fully expose problems. Anyone engaging in retaliation should be dealt with severely according to Party discipline, and may even be expelled from the Party or the military. This guarantee must be made; without such a guarantee, the Party Committee cannot proceed. The Party Committee must show the masses this stance. The Party Constitution stipulates that if the masses have grievances, they can report them to Chairman Mao or the Central Committee. Even if some of the issues raised by the masses are inaccurate or contain errors, they should still be allowed to speak out,

and retaliation is prohibited, except in cases of counter-revolutionary activities. When it was mentioned that Comrade Zhou Shizhong was the Party Committee Secretary, Comrade Wang Hongwen said: The masses are afraid to sign a big-character poster individually; they often sign collectively, which reflects their concerns about possible retaliation. We must trust the majority of the masses. While some people may have concerns, the comrades in the Party Committee must work to address them. For those involved in the Tenth Line Struggle, as well as the cadres who made mistakes with Zhou Shizhong, the policies must be clarified. Those who have made errors must come forward to expose and criticize them, and if they correct their mistakes, that should be the end of it. Last time, when the Party Committee reported plans to hold a meeting, the delay in timing was due to the consideration that the masses had just been mobilized, and it would be easy to just go through the motions. This time, we hope that the movement in the communication troops will not go through the motions again, and that the issues will be thoroughly clarified. When someone mentioned that Comrade Zhou Shizhong had made attacks against Chairman Mao, Comrade Wang Hongwen said: "We must criticize and struggle against it harshly." Comrade Wang Hongwen continued: "There were also large-scale actions."

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao added: The organization was very tight, including the mobile communications units.

Comrade Wang Hongwen responded: Even those belonging to Chairman Mao were not given.

Comrade Zhou Shizhong said: I have a few words to say to the leaders. On the night of July 4th, 1969, when I arrived at the communications unit, I immediately became deeply involved in the electronic industry. The tasks were heavy, and I followed people rather than the Party, leading to a series of serious mistakes. There are some discrepancies in the report from Comrade Huang Wenming just now, but I will not discuss them here; I will write a report and explain the situation to the Central Committee.

Comrade Wang Hongwen responded: Making such a statement is not appropriate. Your attitude is dangerous, Comrade Zhou Shizhong! If you really want to correct your mistakes, you must clearly explain the problems. Instead of clearly stating your position, you first mention discrepancies—this is the wrong attitude. Can this attitude earn the forgiveness of the masses? Your issues are very serious. Comrade Wang

Hongwen said: Don't be afraid of him. After listening today, you can go back and work on it. If there are any issues, we can study them further. The Party committee members need to be careful not to impose rigid constraints on the masses. In the past, we didn't advocate for big-character posters, but in reality, we didn't allow them to be posted. Not advocating and not stopping them is essentially imposing constraints. First, we must fully mobilize the masses. Once the issues are exposed and the masses have no objections, then we can hold meetings. Some comrades are afraid of big-character posters, but this is wrong. Chairman Mao advocates for great criticism, great openness, big-character posters, and big debates. Some comrades treat big-character posters as if they are a flood or a wild beast. What is there to be afraid of? I say if you are a good person, there is nothing to fear; bad people, of course, will be afraid. We need to make it clear to everyone: don't be afraid of posting big-character posters. Reprisal and retaliation are not allowed. We must stand by the truth and not fear retribution. Go back and discuss it, and push the movement forward.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: Go back and work on it.

Comrade Zhou Shizhong said: I support the central leadership's instructions and must clarify things to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: There's also the issue of explaining things to the masses. If you're going to explain things to the Chairman and the Party Central Committee, you must first explain things to the masses. Otherwise, you'll just say that you've explained everything to the central leadership. Your problems aren't secret. You could say that you drilled right into the Lin Biao anti-Party group. You didn't follow the Party, and people are divided by class. Who did you follow? You didn't follow Marx or Chairman Mao, so who did you follow? You followed Lin Biao's party. You didn't follow Chairman Mao's instructions. We, as comrades, can't be easily deceived. The masses are watching, and it's not so easy to fool them.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: We'll be watching your actions.

**Wang Hongwen's and Zhang Chunqiao's Instructions on  
Xie Kecheng's letter reporting that the Criticize  
Lin Biao, Criticize Confucius campaign in the Garrison  
Command was cold and inactive**

Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao

**1974.4.7**

Zhang Chunqiao's instruction:

It is suggested that the Municipal Committee distribute this letter (referring to the letter written by Xie Kecheng, Secretary of the Political Department of the Shanghai Garrison, on April 2, 1974, reflecting the lack of enthusiasm in the Garrison's "Criticize Lin, Criticize Confucius" movement) to the Standing Committee of the Municipal Committee and the Standing Committee of the Garrison Party Committee. The Municipal Committee should convene a joint meeting of both committees to discuss and help the leadership of the Garrison take the initiative. Please consider and decide.

Wang Hongwen's instruction:

I agree with Comrade Chunqiao's opinion. Please forward it to Comrade Tian Shui for further handling.

A copy was made by the Office of the Wenzhou Revolutionary Committee on August 7, 1974.



## **Wang Hongwen's speech to the leaders of the Operations Department**

Wang Hongwen

**1974.5.5**

On the afternoon of May 4, 1974, Wang Hongwen had a discussion with the leaders of the Operations Department, Cai Hongjiang, Li Li, and others. The following issues were addressed:

1. The issue of transferring troops from the north to the south must be treated as a key focus. The masses should be mobilized to thoroughly investigate, leaving no stone unturned. Work diaries, notes, telephone records, and duty logs should all be reviewed. Anyone who is involved or knows anything should provide clues and materials. Even if there are no records, people should try to recall and write it down. The investigation should be directed at the “big fleet” and the counter-revolutionary conspiracies of the Lin Biao anti-party group must be completely uncovered. At the same time, the issues within the Operations Department must also be fully investigated. If these issues are not addressed now, they will continue to be a problem in the future.

The issue of transferring troops from the north to the south is being investigated by the navy and air force, and some materials have been collected. You have also sent some materials here. However, I still feel that the issue is not completely clear. Not all troop transfers involve conspiracies, but there are indeed some conspiracies involved, and you need to analyze them. For example, why were so many troops transferred to deal with the scale of the Jiang Clique's divisions and regiments? There are already many naval and air force units in Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Shanghai, so why transfer troops from the north? Why were troops from north of the Yangtze River transferred? Why were southern troops not used? In any case, there is something fishy here—there are both genuine and false elements. It is a mix of truth and falsehood. Therefore, your party committee should focus on researching and analyzing the issue, and not easily affirm or deny things. For matters that are uncertain or difficult

to handle, you should report them to the central government. Depending on the situation, you can either submit a comprehensive report or a specialized one.

2. The issue of transferring troops from the north to the south is related to your current investigation into the Lin Biao anti-party group's attempts to carry out a counterrevolutionary coup in the capital. There is a connection between the two, and you should mobilize the masses to act freely while conducting both tasks simultaneously. Engage the masses to expose and investigate, allowing everyone to participate. This will motivate their enthusiasm and make the movement more active. The Lin Biao anti-party group always used legal forms to carry out counterrevolutionary activities, so you need to have a mindset of understanding the enemy situation. Present the materials and allow the masses to analyze and study them. Identify which are conspiracies and which are not, and make sure everything is clear.

3. You must repeatedly explain the policies and do a good job working with those who are informed. Keep the focus of the struggle on the "big fleet," primarily addressing the issues related to it. You must strictly differentiate between the two types of contradictions—those of different natures. Do a good job with the informed people; those who are involved should not be afraid. They should expose the problems and clearly state them. For those who have made mistakes, the goal is not to defeat them, but to help, educate, unite, and win them back. If Lin Biao could pull them over, why can't we help them return to the revolutionary path laid out by Chairman Mao? At all times, we must follow Chairman Mao's policies, unite the majority, and minimize the scope of the struggle.

4. The leadership teams of various departments and bureaus should primarily be formed from within their own ranks, rather than relying on transfers from outside. Based on experience, transferring from outside has not been effective. You should cultivate and select young and excellent cadres from within the struggle itself and incorporate them into the leadership teams.

5. Continuously summarize experiences. Actively mobilize the masses, while criticizing and exposing, and summarizing experiences as you go.

Strengthen organizational leadership. Through the great movement of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius, and through the mass campaigns of exposure and criticism, we aim to raise everyone's awareness of class struggle and ideological line struggle, and unite the broad masses of cadres.



## **Wang Hongwen's speech to the leaders of the Operations Department**

Wang Hongwen

**1974.6.27**

Comrade Bai Ruibing spoke just now, and Comrade Xian Nian also spoke; I agree with both. Comrade Bai Ruibing's speech was very comprehensive, and I believe that if comrades follow this spirit after returning, the issues in Shandong will be solved even better. Comrade Xian Nian raised some important points in his speech and criticized some incorrect views, all of which are very important. I hope comrades will implement them after returning. Recently, I've been busy with other matters and didn't have time to study the issues in Shandong thoroughly. I only spent a little time listening to some opinions, without thinking deeply. The main responsibility for solving the problems lies with Comrades Xian Nian, Deng Kui, Zhenhua, and everyone else.

This time, the key enterprises from Shandong came to Beijing to attend the report meeting on criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius. After a period of study, everyone has made significant improvements. Although it took a bit longer than expected, it was necessary. As Comrade Xian Nian said, he felt responsible for the time spent, and I thought about it; it was indeed necessary. Solving ideological problems can't be done in just three to five days. It takes time. During this period, everyone studied Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong's works, as well as a series of central documents, critically analyzed Lin Biao and Confucius, and connected the study to the reality in Shandong. The comrades' awareness of class struggle, line struggle, and the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has greatly improved, and confidence has been built in solving the problems of some key units. These four months were worth it. In the past, comrades did not sit down to study the problems; some units were unable to express their just opinions, and incorrect ideas were either not criticized or not criticized deeply, and the problems weren't solved. Now, everyone has sat down and carefully thought about the problems, examined them according to Mao Zedong's and the Party's instructions, criticized the errors, and the ideological issues have

been addressed. This is a good thing, and I believe the time spent was necessary. Comrade Xian Nian just spoke very comprehensively, and I don't have much to add, but there are a few things I want to address. If I'm wrong, I hope comrades will criticize me.

First, after comrades return, there will be a lot of work and many things to do. So, what should be the main focus? I hope comrades, after returning, will concentrate all their efforts on carrying out the Criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius movement. There are countless tasks, but we need to focus on the most important ones. The current priority is the Criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius movement, which must be carried out in a lasting and in-depth manner. Relating it to the situation in Shandong, we must further expose and criticize Yuan Shengping's counter-revolutionary crimes, and also criticize and investigate a series of counter-revolutionary political rumors in society. This means we must first focus on class struggle and line struggle. This is the most important task. No matter how many things there are, this point must not be relaxed.

After the issuance of the Central Document No. 17, a few people in society, including some bad elements, incorrectly estimated the situation, thinking that Document No. 17 was about "correcting deviations" and that "the earlier phase went too far," while others believed that the movement was "almost over." In fact, the situation is the opposite. Document No. 17 is meant to help the Criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius movement develop better. It's not about "correcting deviations"; there were no deviations. The overall Criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius movement is on the right track nationwide. The goal is to remove distractions and allow the movement to continue in-depth and for a long time. I hope that after returning, comrades in Shandong will prioritize this task above all else. If this work is done well, the problems in some units will be solved faster and more effectively.

At the same time, comrades must recognize that the deeper development of the Criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius movement will encounter various resistances and difficulties. There will be interference from right-wing or extreme "left" elements. The erroneous views that Comrade Xian Nian criticized earlier will also emerge and cause disruption. A small group of class enemies will try every means to sabotage the work. Even within our Party, there will be different understandings. A lot of work will need to be done to eliminate these disturbances. Don't

think that just because the problems have been addressed here, things will go smoothly when you return. I don't think so; comrades need to be mentally prepared. But I believe comrades will definitely be able to carry out the Criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius movement in depth. This is my first point.

When the Central Political Bureau was studying the Shandong issue, everyone had an opinion and asked me to mention it in this meeting. This is related to the future issue of "filling in the gaps." Comrade Bai Ruibing mentioned this issue in his speech just now. Recently, in Shandong and other places, a small number of people have been seeking positions of power. Some individuals and units have even suggested that the current Party organizations and revolutionary committees should be completely overthrown and rebuilt. We believe this is a mistake. One can be revolutionary without holding a position. Why must one always seek a position? Seeking a position shows lack of ambition. Anyone who seeks a position should not be given one. If one is truly revolutionary, can correctly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, has credibility among the masses, and is trusted by them, there is no need to seek the position — the masses will recommend you to the leadership role. The idea that the bigger the faction, the stronger the position, and the greater the desire for power, is wrong. Even if one seeks a position, if the line is incorrect, if it is not following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line but rather revisionism, division, and conspiracies, sooner or later they will collapse.

The Shanghai Revolutionary Committee was established relatively early. After the January Revolution and the seizure of power, it was set up soon after, but at that time, it was not officially approved. Comrade Spring Bridge told the Chairman that the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee had not yet been approved. The Chairman said, "As long as the masses approve, it is fine." So, the key issue is not whether you seek a position, but whether the masses approve of you. If you implement the correct line, the masses will recommend you. If you don't implement the correct line, you will collapse. As a Communist Party member and revolutionary, one should not have such thoughts. A revolutionary can be a revolutionary even in the workshop or in the production team. Seeking a position is not proletarian thinking; it is thoroughly bourgeois thinking. This is a small minority. In the next phase, when Shandong carries out the task of "filling in the gaps," this issue will also occur. Of

course, as leaders, we must pay attention to combining old, middle-aged, and young cadres when filling in positions and make sure all parties are considered. This is the responsibility of leadership. In selecting cadres, as Comrade Bai Ruibing mentioned, we should use the five criteria for successors proposed by the Chairman. It is not about the size of the faction; just because one's faction is large doesn't mean they should be given a high position. If the faction is large but does not follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, does not meet the five criteria, they should not be given a position, and they should not participate in leadership. Of course, no one is perfect. If someone is mostly following Marxism and not revisionism, and has shortcomings or errors in their work, it is a matter of helping and educating them — it is about looking at the mainstream. If someone is not following Marxism but following revisionism, they certainly should not be in leadership.

In the next phase of leadership team building, we must do the work well. Some may seek positions, and they need to be educated. Those who seek positions should not be given them. The leadership should select cadres who meet the five criteria from among the masses. Those who have made mistakes need to study hard, correct their mistakes, and win the trust and support of the masses.

Another point, comrades, especially comrades in leadership positions at all levels, is that we must seriously summarize the lessons learned from our experiences. The Cultural Revolution has lasted for more than eight years, and Shandong has experienced several cycles of problems. Soon after seizing power, Wang Xiaoyu made mistakes. After Wang Xiaoyu's downfall, Yuan Shengping also formed one faction to suppress another, but the root cause was his implementation of Lin Biao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Some individuals in the Provincial Party Committee also made mistakes. It is essential for us to learn from those who have made mistakes, which is very necessary. In the early stages of the Cultural Revolution in Shandong, Comrade Tan Qilong made mistakes. After seizing power, not long after, Wang Xiaoyu made mistakes. During the process of dealing with Wang Xiaoyu's errors, aside from Yuan Shengping's counter-revolutionary needs, some comrades also made mistakes. During the process of dealing with Wang Xiaoyu's errors, aside from Yuan Shengping's counter-revolutionary needs, some comrades also made mistakes. Why? It was because they did not seriously summarize their experiences and lessons. Therefore, in the current

process of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius, linking it to Shandong's reality, and exposing Yuan Shengping's actions, we must learn from the mistakes of the past. We should not keep repeating the same mistakes. When one faction suppresses another, it leads to no good results. We must continue to follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, resolutely act according to the Party's policies, and unite the majority. Only in this way can we carry out the revolution and improve production in Shandong. There are still some comrades who must learn from their own mistakes, and this is especially important for comrades in leadership positions to take seriously.

One major reason some comrades made mistakes is that they failed to correctly treat the masses. Those who suppressed others could not properly deal with the masses and made mistakes. Similarly, those who were oppressed and rose up against their oppressors but did not handle the masses correctly also made mistakes. The Central Seventeenth Document conveys an important spirit: nationwide stability. Comrade Xianian just criticized many wrong viewpoints, one of which is that some have attacked the Twelfth Document's provisions prohibiting the formation of alliances and the establishment of factions, claiming that the document was created by a small group of people, and so on. In fact, the Twelfth Document was formulated based on Chairman Mao's speech, and after it was written, it was approved by him. The Seventeenth Document follows the same process—it was also written according to Chairman Mao's instructions and was approved by him.

One key issue addressed in the Seventeenth Document is stability. After the Cultural Revolution, we successfully defeated the two counter-revolutionary factions led by Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao, achieving great victories. The situation nationwide is very positive and improving. Whether in terms of revolution or production, the situation is flourishing. Of course, some problems remain to be solved. Some are unresolved issues left over from the Cultural Revolution that need to continue to be addressed, while others are new issues, but these are secondary, not the main issues. As the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius deepens, these problems can be resolved. To consolidate and further develop the great situation nationwide, especially in advancing the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, stability is necessary. There should no longer be any formation of factions, building of power bases, or creating alliances. The situation is different now compared to the early days

of the Cultural Revolution, and such actions are not needed anymore. Recently, I saw reports from Huainan City, Anhui Province, where some people held meetings and broadcasted messages criticizing the Twelfth and Seventeenth Documents, which is completely wrong. I'm not sure if the same is happening in Shandong. These two documents were issued to better guide the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius.

In the view of some people, they believe that these two documents are wrong because they hinder their ability to form factions and promote bourgeois sectarianism. However, the vast majority of the masses strongly support them, while only a few people are unhappy. There are also some comrades who are very good; they established "combat teams" and "contact stations," and as soon as they saw the documents, they immediately dissolved them. Recently, the central authorities discussed and decided to issue another document focusing on "grabbing the revolution and promoting production." The movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius must deepen, and production must also be improved.

The situation in Zaozhuang has already influenced the larger situation. I hope comrades in Zaozhuang will go back and clarify how their situation is related to the overall situation. If things do not improve there, it will have an impact on the entire nation. They must make the determination to improve the situation. The same applies to other places in Shandong. In places where progress is slow, the key lies in leadership. Leaders must mobilize the vast majority of cadres and the masses to improve production.

Currently, some leadership cadres are not taking the lead in grabbing the revolution and promoting production. Instead, they are neglecting their responsibilities and running away at the slightest sign of difficulty. A few have left their positions without permission and are not working at all. Some have been absent for a long time, and no one knows where they have gone. There is even a county party secretary in Shandong who could not be found for a whole year. For such individuals, I believe their wages should not be paid. If this is not being enforced in Shandong, it is wrong. Especially for cadres who are absent for a long time, they should not receive wages. We are a socialist country, and in socialism, no work means no pay. Why should wages be given to those who don't work? If a cadre has been absent for a long period and insists on receiving wages, they should go to the masses and discuss whether they should receive them. For the few cadres who repeatedly fail to improve despite being

educated, they should be dismissed from their positions. For those in the masses who are absent from work for a long time, education is necessary, but for the very few, appropriate actions must be taken. These are the few things I wanted to share with you. I do not know much about the issues in Shandong, and there are many things I have not fully understood. What I've said may not be entirely accurate, but I wanted to share my thoughts. If any mistakes were made, I welcome comrades to criticize. I believe the comrades at the Shandong report meeting, after more than four months of study, the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, and exposing and criticizing Yuan Shengping, will definitely improve the revolution and production in their respective units and live up to the expectations of the Central Committee and Chairman Mao. There is one more thing I need to mention. The situation in Shandong has already been discussed. Since the implementation of the Ten Articles, a great deal of work has been done, and the situation is very good. Now, we need to continue developing this favorable situation, and one very important issue is to implement policies. During the investigation of the May 16th incident, due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao's anti-party group, which, in direct terms, was the sabotage of Yuan Shengping's actions, the mistake of overgeneralization was made.

Previously, a lot of work was done by the provincial party committee to implement policies. However, some units still face resistance, and some individuals refuse to admit their mistakes. This is not the responsibility of grassroots cadres. The upper leadership organs must take on some responsibility. It is wrong to label good people as counter-revolutionaries and to confuse two different types of contradictions. This needs to be solved, and it must be solved. There is no need to be hesitant. If it's a mistake, just correct it! The mistake in handling the May 16th issue was mainly not due to grassroots cadres, but due to the sabotage of Yuan Shengping. The provincial committee bears some responsibility. Leaders at all levels must solve the issue in a timely manner and rehabilitate the affected individuals. They should not be reluctant or hesitate. Additionally, regarding the comrades in the military, several comrades have mentioned that the army, navy, and air force stationed in Shandong made significant contributions to the work of supporting the left-wing. The favorable situation in Shandong is inseparable from the efforts of the three support forces. The individuals who made mistakes are in the minority, and these mistakes were primarily due to the interference and

sabotage of Yuan Shengping. Comrades, you must distinguish between Yuan Shengping and the comrades who were supporting the left. Even if a few comrades implemented some of Yuan Shengping's erroneous ideas, we should still help them and act with fairness. The solution is not to simply eliminate them. We need to separate the main stream of the support work from the minority deviations, and distinguish between Yuan Shengping and the broader three support forces personnel. We cannot adopt the approach of just eliminating or persecuting those who make mistakes. This spirit is reflected in the Central Documents No. 12 and No. 17. As long as we correctly implement the Party's policies, I believe the situation in Shandong will continue to improve.



## **Wang Hongwen's Speech at the General Staff Militia Training Work Symposium**

Wang Hongwen

**1974.9.22**

I don't have much to say. Comrades Peng Shaohui, as well as leaders from the General Political Department and the General Logistics Department, have already spoken. I would like to briefly mention a few points, and other comrades can elaborate further. Since the Cultural Revolution, the militia has achieved significant results across various fronts. They have made great contributions in defending the sea, border, and air defenses, as well as in advancing revolution, promoting production, work, and combat readiness. In many regions, the militia has played an important role in safeguarding socialist revolution and socialist construction. Today, we have representatives from the Xisha Islands, ethnic minority regions of Yunnan, Xinjiang, Guangxi, and Guizhou. In short, all border regions, including Heilongjiang, have made great achievements. Although the conditions on the borders are harsher than in the interior, comrades have diligently guarded the coastal defenses and fought against the enemy, making significant contributions.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, especially during the Cultural Revolution, there has been intense struggle between two opposing lines, particularly in how to build the militia. In ten major ideological struggles, the Lin Biao clique sabotaged militia development. At the 1970 militia work meeting, Huang Yongsheng and his group made many absurd remarks, which comrades have criticized. These destructive activities affected the militia's work. Lin Biao said that the militia was outdated, but he didn't actually want to abolish it. Rather, he sought to construct the militia based on his own ideology and line, opposing the use of Chairman Mao's thoughts and line for building the militia. So, has this issue been fully resolved? Not yet. Lin Biao has fallen, he is dead, and Huang, Wu, Li, and Qiu have been arrested, but their ideological poison has not been completely eradicated. Therefore, the struggle against Lin Biao remains a very important task. Up until now, the situation has changed a lot, but I believe that the ideological

poison of Lin Biao has not been fully eradicated among a few people. The struggle between the two lines regarding militia development is still very sharp. The Central Military Commission issued Document No. 162, and there are various interpretations of this document. From the materials I have seen, the majority of units and comrades support it, but there are a few who either do not fully support it or even oppose it, or only agree with certain parts. Apart from Lin Biao's sabotage, there are also differing opinions among a few comrades within our own ranks. For example, some comrades in this meeting have expressed concerns about the issue of transforming the militia. When the topic of transformation is raised, they seem uncomfortable, as if it's something that cannot be touched or changed. This is wrong. Why can't the militia be reformed? Let me make it clear to everyone: the transformation of the militia was proposed by Chairman Mao. This issue has sparked too much debate, and the materials from across the country reflect this problem. Some comrades even attack this idea, claiming that it was invented by a certain comrade from Shanghai, but that's not true. It was Chairman Mao who raised this idea. Reforming the militia is a basic principle. Not only the militia, but also the People's Liberation Army, senior cadres, and every comrade must undergo transformation of their worldview through struggle. So why is it so uncomfortable when the term "transformation" is mentioned? It makes no sense at all!

Document No. 162 primarily forwards the experience from Shanghai. The establishment of the Shanghai militia was based on Chairman Mao's instructions to arm the leftist forces. On July 31, 1967, based on several instructions from Chairman Mao and the situation in Shanghai, Chen Boda wrote a report, which was approved by Chairman Mao. It was circulated to Premier Zhou, other comrades in the Cultural Revolution Group, and marked with circles for further attention. The report, submitted to the Chairman on the 31st, led to the establishment of the "Cultural Revolution Propaganda and Defense Teams" (Wengong Wuwei) in a few large factories that had performed well in the Great Union in August. After the establishment of the Wengong Wuwei in Shanghai, Chairman Mao inquired about the situation every year. When he met with me, he would always ask whether the Shanghai Wengong Wuwei still existed. Now, it is called the Shanghai militia. The formation of the Shanghai militia was approved by Chairman Mao and has been established and grown under his kind care. Therefore, last year, the State

Council and the Central Military Commission forwarded the materials from Shanghai. These materials are not only applicable to urban militias but also to rural militias. Some comrades may not fully understand this situation, so I will clarify it today. Why did the Shanghai Wengong Wuwei change to the Shanghai militia, and why are some people still attacking it? Lin Biao and his faction attacked it for many years, and even after September 13, some continued to criticize it. But this was not something done by that person in Shanghai; it was something that grew under Chairman Mao's guidance. Upon strict examination, the work of the Shanghai militia also had flaws and problems, and while it was not perfect in executing Chairman Mao's instructions and guidelines, the overall direction was correct. In terms of the militia's tasks: in wartime, they join the army to support the front lines and cooperate with the People's Liberation Army in combat; in peacetime, they safeguard socialist revolution and construction, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This aligns with the mission and is consistent with Chairman Mao's teachings on the organization, politics, and military. This is the situation I want to explain to you all. At this meeting, a few comrades also raised concerns. Regarding Document No. 162, I have shared the situation as I know it.

Another point I would like to mention is that we need to summarize our experiences and lessons learned. In the 25 years since the liberation, how much experience and how many lessons have been learned in militia work? I believe that every region and unit needs to carefully summarize its own experiences, particularly focusing on the lessons learned from the struggle of correct versus incorrect lines. This is very necessary. For example, during the early stages of the Cultural Revolution, when the struggle was intense, many militia organizations became paralyzed and fractured. The experience and lessons from this must be carefully analyzed. Even now, some areas have managed to organize militias, but their influence among the masses is low. In some regions, militias have even participated in factional armed struggles. I think it is important to seriously summarize these experiences and lessons. Only by doing so can we clarify the issues in terms of the line, increase awareness of class struggle and the struggle of correct versus incorrect lines, and improve our understanding of militia work. Over the 25 years since liberation, especially in the eight years of the Cultural Revolution, the national situation has changed significantly. Through nine or ten major line

struggles, significant changes have occurred. Militia work must keep up with the changing situation and be elevated to a new level. We need to summarize our experiences in this regard. Only then can militia work advance further. Otherwise, we risk stagnating and standing still. From my observations, some comrades are still using the methods from the early days of liberation to handle militia work, stuck in outdated practices. That cannot work. The militia is not just about standing guard or military training; the more important task is to engage in ideological education, enhance class struggle and line struggle awareness. Otherwise, even if they carry guns, they could serve either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, or even serve the counterrevolutionaries. For instance, in Yunnan, there was an example where a militia squad leader was bought off by the enemy—this is a lesson we must learn from. At this meeting, we have comrades from the military regions, provincial military districts, garrison districts, command centers, and border defense forces from inland areas, as well as comrades from the grassroots level. I hope everyone will summarize their experiences and lessons learned, and I believe this is very necessary.

Some comrades have raised the question: why did the Liberation Army Daily stop publishing the militia column? The reason is that some things in the past were wrong, and the articles published were incorrect. For example, on May 17, 1973, the Liberation Army Daily published a militia lecture that stated the militia should not handle internal contradictions among the people, and that when the enemy was sabotaging, the militia could only report to the commune or production team but should not take action themselves. This was completely wrong. I once asked the comrades at Liberation Army Daily who was behind this idea—when encountering bad people sabotaging production, how could the militia not take action and not struggle? What is the militia for if they do not fight? In essence, this is about removing the militia from class struggle. If the militia is not engaged in class struggle, what is the point of its existence? Of course, the article also talked about combating enemy sabotage activities, but the way it prescribed to deal with them was filled with many restrictions, effectively canceling class struggle. In reality, it was about maintaining the bureaucratic status quo, like having officials on the fence and soldiers in drawers. This was entirely wrong. Such publications had to be stopped. Now, a rectification is underway, and I hope they will publish good articles from now on. Publications like

these must not be allowed to continue because they mislead the militia down the wrong path. Some people supported this viewpoint, and such articles continued to be published until last year, but this is wrong. I hope comrades will seriously study Marxism, Leninism, and Chairman Mao's works, and improve their ability to distinguish between true and false Marxism. Some matters need to be carefully discerned. Publications like these should not be allowed to continue; if they do, it will be dangerous. And it's not just that article; I haven't looked at all the articles in detail, but Liberation Army Daily reviewed them themselves, and found many errors. Because of these errors, they had to be stopped.

**Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao's  
interjections at the briefing meeting on the  
Militia Training Work of the General Staff**

Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao

**1974.9.22**

When Comrade Peng Shaohui reported that during the 1969 downsizing of organizations, the headquarters, military regions, and provincial military districts' military affairs and mobilization departments were merged, weakening the militia work force and not matching the current militia work tasks, and suggested restoring and strengthening them,

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: I do not agree with this view. It is not about this problem. The problem lies in whether the whole Party pays attention, whether the military region Party committees pay attention. It is possible to have a large organization, but if the Party committee does not pay attention, the problem is not solved. Such opinions ultimately still boil down to the need to increase personnel, not to summarize experience from the standpoint of the line. This problem cannot be solved.

When the report mentioned that some comrades suggested resuming the Militia Bulletin,

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: Stopping the Militia Bulletin was good; if it hadn't been stopped, it would have been terrible. It only propagated wrong things and did not speak from the line. I told Li Desheng to stop it. Now, someone is saying stopping it was wrong.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: Some of these are completely wrong, and some have still not been fully rectified. For example, on May 17, 1973, the People's Liberation Army Daily published a Militia Lecture that set many rules and regulations. One of the regulations stipulated that the militia cannot handle contradictions among the people, and can only handle contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. This is an erroneous view. It says that if the militia discovers the enemy sabotaging, they can only report to the brigade or commune and cannot arrest them. This is not called carrying out class struggle; where does this lead the militia? I asked Zhang Zhi, if a thief comes to steal from your home, would you catch him or not? It is not about whether you can

handle contradictions among the people, but how to handle contradictions among the people. The militia has two major tasks: in peacetime, to defend socialist construction and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Why can they not handle contradictions among the people? Later the Military Daily criticized this problem, and there were several other articles, which also contained errors.

When the report concluded, Wang Hongwen asked: The State Council and the Military Commission issued Document No. 162, everyone has studied it, right? To what extent have you accepted it? What is your view on this form (referring to the Militia Command)? Do you support it or not? Full-time armed cadres are different from military cadres. Conflicts have been going on for a long time; they did not just appear now. Since the Cultural Revolution in 1966, every year I come into contact with these people, there have been such conflicts. The factory where I worked was like this: there were full-time cadres and part-time cadres; there were conflicts between full-time and active-duty personnel, and conflicts between full-time and part-time personnel—the conflicts were extremely serious. Now this organizational form is related to this matter, and the conflicts have not been resolved for a long time. After 1970, when it was stipulated which problems full-time cadres would manage, the conflicts became even sharper. Now what organizational form is good, this needs to be carefully studied.

When the report mentioned that the meeting proposed several plans: one, to establish a Militia Command; two, to establish a People's Armed Department; three, to establish a Mobilization Department,

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: A county with tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands of militia, can a few people manage it? It cannot be managed. You still have to rely on the masses, rely on Party organizations at all levels; without relying on the masses and Party organizations, it cannot be managed well. Doing militia work without understanding factories or the countryside cannot be done well. I do not understand the countryside situation, so I cannot explain the combination of labor and military work clearly. We, wearing military uniforms, can speak about military matters, but when it comes to labor, we cannot. Many problems cannot be explained clearly. The organizational form has been debated for a long time. For several years it has been under debate—Shanghai has debated, Beijing has debated, military regions, provincial military districts, garrison districts, and the garrison commands have all debated.

Organizational problems do not necessarily require so many people. Having more people does not necessarily mean it will be done well. If you do not study it from the standpoint of the line, do not follow the mass line, and do not build the militia according to Chairman Mao's line, even placing two hundred people in an armed department will not solve the problem. I do not know the situation in Beijing. In Shanghai, one district has one hundred thousand or more militia and so many factories. How much can two hundred cadres in one district understand in a day?

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: Are we still going to speak today? Speaking is difficult; it is inconsistent with the meeting, and inconsistent with the minutes—what should we do? Speaking might instead make thoughts more confused. Today we were invited just to take a photo.

Wang Hongwen said: How can it be explained if it is different from the minutes?

Zhang Chunqiao said: It is a bit difficult for me to speak! I haven't seen the minutes. I could fully agree, or fully disagree—how do you expect me to speak?

Wang Hongwen said: Should we have a discussion? Just receiving and taking photos—what is the point? We need to speak. Now it looks a bit difficult.

Can we explain it clearly by just talking? If we do not conduct serious investigation and study, and only grasp a little good experience, it is very difficult to solve the problem. The situation has developed; from 1965 until now, the situation has developed greatly. Militia work must adapt to this development, and understanding must keep up. Now the militia situation is developing so rapidly that the methods for militia work before 1965 no longer work.

Proposing the transformation of the militia—some people, upon hearing the word “transformation,” react strongly. Transforming the militia is what Chairman Mao said. These two words have met with some opposition. Some people question, “Who invented this? How can the militia be transformed? Can the militia not be transformed? Can the People's Liberation Army not be transformed? Each of us must transform ourselves in struggle.”

The idea of transforming the militia meets with a lot of resistance. At this meeting, there were also different views on transformation—I heard some. What do you say? In Beijing, the debate was once very intense;



it has not been completely resolved, and at the meeting, I also heard different views. We must summarize the experiences and lessons. Since the Cultural Revolution, what are the experiences and lessons of militia work? Do not only focus on the business; if the line problem is not solved, it cannot be done well. Now the militias in Jiangxi and Zhejiang are still engaging in armed struggles! I do not have much experience, but I always feel something is not quite right. If the line is not solved, militia work cannot be done well. It becomes soldiers on the wall, officers in the drawer, or officers on the wall, soldiers in the drawer—there are various ways of putting it. Militia work has been implemented according to the “three implementations” for so many years; how well has it actually been implemented? In some regions, militia organizations are good; in other regions, the lists exist, the battalion commanders and political instructors exist—they are all on paper.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: You say it is necessary to increase armor repair personnel. I think it is still better for workers to manage the anti-aircraft artillery; workers manage anti-aircraft artillery better than the troops. They deal with machinery every day. Most of the soldiers are peasants, and only after training do they learn to handle it. One is a worker, the other is a peasant turned soldier—I believe it is still better for the workers to manage.

Wang Hongwen said: The anti-aircraft artillery in Shanghai was originally incomplete. The workers made parts by themselves and improved the unreasonable places.

Zhang Chunqiao said: Simply increasing staffing is not enough. Increasing staffing is bottomless.

Wang Hongwen said: Whether to rely on the broad masses or a few people is actually a line issue.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: Militia weapons warehouses—one per province? Isn't that crazy? They should be dispersed; centralized management will not work. How can it be feasible in wartime? We must summarize the experience. The person who made this suggestion is completely detached from the masses, used to acting like an official or a master, and does not understand the situation below.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: If a warehouse is built in Xinjiang, it takes half a month from Urumqi to the border—how can that work in wartime? Warehouses must be built according to local conditions. When some comrades mentioned that in Beijing, more than ten thou-

sand worker-militia patrols in peacetime had greatly reduced petty theft, Wang Hongwen said: On May 17 last year, the People's Liberation Army Daily published a Militia Lecture article saying: "When the militia executes production protection tasks, if they encounter acts that damage production, they may advise and stop them; for individual serious cases, they may report to the production team or commune, but they are not allowed to handle it themselves, much less use guns or force." Such publications must be stopped. On the surface, it seems to care about production, but in reality it does not. Communes and factories organize militias on a large scale, combined with production, not only completing militia tasks but also production tasks. The article also said: "In peacetime, the use of militia armed forces must be strictly controlled, and care must be taken with manpower. Chairman Mao teaches us: 'We must use our human and material resources very sparingly, and strictly avoid waste.' The militia is a mass armed organization not separate from production; they are the main labor force on various production lines. Therefore, in peacetime, the duties assigned to the militia should be minimized. Places that do not require constant guarding should not use the militia. Duties that can be handled by the army or militia police should not use the militia. Even for duties that must be undertaken by the militia, strict control must be maintained. For example, if the militia needs to be dispatched to coastal defense posts, border posts, air defense posts, or to protect railways, bridges, and important warehouses, the county (city) armed department must, according to higher-level instructions and actual needs, coordinate with the stationed troops and relevant departments to calculate the required manpower and submit it for approval by the county (city) party committee and military department." This set forth some extremely cumbersome rules and regulations. If an enemy situation occurs in coastal defense, the militia cannot handle it—they must get county approval first. This is truly incomprehensible; it tells the militia not to act, but in reality it means the militia should not carry out class struggle.

When some comrades mentioned that 30 or 40 people from Hebei Province came to the Beijing Military Region to petition, and the military region could not handle it, and called to have the Beijing militia deal with it,

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: During the January Storm, the East Sea Fleet was stormed, and they all relied on the worker-militia to

handle it. Wang Hongwen said: Do not oppose the army against the masses. Zhang Chunqiao said: I have said that if personnel from the Three Supports and Two Armies handle mass disputes, dissatisfaction will inevitably arise; it is still better to rely on the masses themselves to resolve it. If the army goes, and people hit you, you cannot strike back. They are all workers, so it is easy to handle; a little physical action does not matter.

Wang Hongwen said: What I want to talk about is summarizing experience. The General Staff, General Political Department, and General Logistics Department all need to summarize experiences and lessons. First, the three major headquarters must solve this problem, then we can persuade each military region to solve the problem; if we cannot solve it ideologically, the lower levels will be even more confused, and how can the problems below be solved?

Zhang Chunqiao said: On the militia issue, line struggle has lasted a long time; it also existed during Huang Yongsheng's period. When forwarding Shanghai experience, the word "transformation" was deliberately crossed out. When the document reached me, I saw that the Military Commission's instructions had crossed out these two words, so I changed a sentence in the Shanghai militia experience document to "experience of arming workers and transforming urban militias." It was not without struggle. At that time, I did not know who crossed it out; later I learned it was Li Desheng who crossed it out.

Comrade Wang Hongwen said: In July 1967, Comrade Chunqiao pointed out in a report to Chairman Mao: "If rectification is proposed at the present time, the conditions of the militia are not mature, and there will be many troubles. It would be better to establish a workers' 'Armed Defense' organization, developing from small to large, from unarmed to issuing guns, and gradually establish a people's armed force based on the rebel faction. Because I have heard Chairman Mao mention several times the issue of transforming the militia, and the issue of not being too quick to take back the guns seized by the rebel faction, connecting this with the demand raised by the Shanghai worker rebels, the above idea was formed. I do not know whether it is appropriate. If the general direction is correct, could it be tried out in Shanghai? Please instruct." This issue was the subject of very intense debate in Shanghai at the time; the debate began first in the Shanghai Garrison Command. Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: At that time, some guns were issued in Shanghai.

Should we report to Chairman Mao whether to take them back? Chairman Mao said, why take them back? Those people can have guns, why can't these people have guns? They are all workers!

Wang Hongwen said: The Shanghai militia was established in August 1967, at that time called "Cultural Attack, Armed Defense." Chairman Mao was very concerned and asked every year whether "Cultural Attack, Armed Defense" still existed. The Shanghai militia grew under Chairman Mao's personal instructions and care. Now, someone attacking this point is unreasonable.

Zhang Chunqiao said: Chairman Mao mentioned it several times, and only then did it take a written form.

Wang Hongwen said: During Huang Yongsheng's time, there was struggle. After the 1970 militia work meeting, there were many opinions at lower levels. The Garrison Command sent a team to seize power. The formal raising of this issue was still after "September 13."

Zhang Chunqiao said: In my report to Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao instructed: I agree, please have ×, Zhou, and the comrades of the Central Cultural Revolution Group read it. All circled and read. The document exists in the General Office of the Central Committee but was not issued.

Wang Hongwen said: The ideological problems of the three major headquarters must be solved first. When speaking of transforming the militia, the speech is not firm. What exactly is going on? Do you support this issue or not?





1975

## Wang Hongwen's Speech on Instructions Regarding the Study of Chairman Mao's Theories

Wang Hongwen

1975.1.14

Regarding Chairman Mao's instructions on theoretical issues, they must be comprehended word by word, sentence by sentence. I myself have not fully understood Chairman Mao's instructions; I have asked him several times. Chairman Mao provided explanations. Even now, I have not fully grasped them. Chairman Mao's instructions further developed the Marxist principles concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat and profoundly elaborated the theory of continuing revolution. Chairman Mao's instructions tell us that we must both carry out revolution in the superstructure and continue the revolution in the economic realm. To restrict the bourgeoisie's legal rights, to eliminate the soil in which capitalism can grow, to strike at newly emerging bourgeois elements, and to prevent the restoration of capitalism, in order to struggle for the transition to communism—this is the task of the entire Party. Chairman Mao's instructions have several sections. The first section is the outline, pointing out the necessity and importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the second section analyzes the economic system of socialist countries, pointing out that in socialist society there exist bourgeois legal rights, there exists the soil for the growth of capitalism, there exists the danger of the restoration of capitalism, and the important conditions for preventing the restoration of capitalism; the third section, based on the analysis of class relations in socialist countries, points out the possibility of the emergence of capitalism and the bourgeoisie. My understanding of these sections is as follows: that is, although Chairman Mao explained repeatedly, it still cannot be said that I have understood them thoroughly.

**“Why did Lenin say about the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie,”** why only mention Lenin and not mention Marx and Engels? Marx and Engels proposed the dictatorship of the proletariat; the dictatorship of the proletariat is the essence of Marxism (someone asked what is meant by essence). Essence is the most essential, the most core, the most refined part of Marxism; it is the dictatorship of the proletariat. If the dictator-



ship of the proletariat is removed, there is no Marxism. But Marx and Engels only had the experience of the Paris Commune, and had not yet established a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, their practical experience was also limited (referring to the dictatorship of the proletariat). Stalin did not have a deep understanding of bourgeois legal rights. In 1936 he proposed the elimination of classes, which was a considerable theoretical error. Later, he gained some understanding, for example, in *The Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* he pointed out the contradiction between productive forces and relations of production. He declared that classes no longer existed, but still carried out class struggle, for example, he dealt with several main leaders of the opportunist line, and resolutely suppressed the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Belarus. He gained understanding but did not form a systematic theory; the problem lies here. (1) Lenin wrote many works on the development of Marxism; (2) around the October Revolution, Lenin faced more practical tasks, establishing the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with seven years of experience; (3) Lenin's struggle against the Second International traitor Kautsky was very sharp, he had experience fighting revisionism, and in struggle developed Marx's theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, Chairman Mao here only mentioned Lenin, and not Marx and Engels, because Lenin defended, inherited, and developed Marxism. Only mentioning Lenin and not Marx and Engels does not mean that Marx and Engels did not propose the dictatorship of the proletariat; it means that Lenin had more practical experience in this aspect under the dictatorship of the proletariat, closer to the reality of socialist revolution.

**“This issue must be clarified.”** My Marxist foundation is not good; if I am unclear, I ask! I also want to trace to the root, so I asked Chairman Mao several times. Which issues need to be clarified? For example, in socialist political power and the state economic system, are there capitalist elements, bourgeois legal rights; why capitalism arises, and how to limit it; whether the economic base needs continued revolution, and how to carry out the revolution; the principle of distribution according to labor, the eight-level wage system, which are socialist distribution principles, why it is said that if not done well, capitalism and the bourgeoisie will emerge. Speaking of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it concerns these issues; without discussing these things, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be explained clearly. If theory is confused, ac-

tions will inevitably be blind. This is what Chairman said: “If this issue is not clarified, revisionism will arise. The whole country must know.” If the people of the whole country do not understand the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, how can they exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? The dictatorship of the working masses is the majority oppressing the minority exploiting class; this is the oppression of new and old bourgeois elements.

**“These are not much different from the old society.”** Chairman Mao said there is a difference: one is that it is a socialist country, and the ownership has changed, that is, the class nature of state power has changed, the dictatorship of the proletariat has replaced the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and the relations of production have changed. The working people are not only the masters of the state, but also the masters of the means of production. But the spirit of the Chairman’s instructions emphasizes that there is not much difference; this is raised from the perspective of bourgeois legal rights. Lenin said this one sentence: **“There is no bourgeois state of the bourgeoisie,”** which is the same. What is bourgeois legal rights? The basis of bourgeois legal rights is private ownership, or the core. Its characteristics and features are hierarchy; formal equality conceals factual inequality. Its class content is the exploiting class oppressing the working people. Bourgeois legal rights are a product of capitalism and still inevitably exist under the socialist system. Because capitalism could not contain socialist elements, socialism is established on the ruins of capitalism. In terms of content, the eight-level wage system, distribution according to labor, monetary exchange—this is not much different from capitalist society. If socialist society has distribution according to labor, first, it is a socialist principle of distribution, second, it is bourgeois legal rights. Saying it is a socialist principle means the elimination of exploitation, which makes it different from capitalism; bourgeois legal rights, with distribution according to labor also divided into levels, is actually unequal, not much different from the old society. Essentially, mainly from the hierarchical system of distribution, it inherits the bourgeois hierarchical system. The characteristic and feature of bourgeois legal rights is hierarchy. **“This can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat.”** Why must it be restricted? After Chairman Mao raised this issue, I was both clear and unclear. Chairman Mao told me to think for myself, and then I became relatively clear. From the negative side, bourgeois legal rights are also the soil that produces the

bourgeoisie. In the Soviet revisionist system, wage differences were large; implementing high wages, high bonuses, and high rewards produced privileged layers and privileged classes. From the positive side, under our consolidated dictatorship of the proletariat, with the Chairman's revolutionary line and correct policies, some necessary restrictions have been placed on bourgeois legal rights, but these restrictions have not yet eliminated the soil that produces the bourgeoisie. If not restricted, bourgeois legal rights will develop, expand, and run rampant freely; for example, bonuses dominating, material incentives, and this could further develop capitalism. Chairman Mao repeatedly raised this issue, saying that the Soviet revisionist system cannot be followed. Liu Shaoqi implemented it and the danger was great; Lin Biao also actively wanted to use this to develop capitalism. "If people like Lin Biao come to power, it would be very easy to establish a capitalist system." Chairman Mao said this because he predicted that people like Lin Biao would still appear, and establishing capitalism would be easy. Why? Considering the lesson of the Soviet revisionists—"satellites in the sky, the red flag on the ground"—and multiple party line struggles, especially the lessons of the tenth line struggle, recalling international and domestic historical experience makes it clear. Therefore, Chairman Mao said, **"One must read more Marxist-Leninist books."** If the theoretical questions are not clarified, these phenomena cannot be understood clearly.

Why did Chairman Mao quote Lenin saying: **"Small-scale production constantly, every day and every hour, spontaneously and massively produces capitalism and the bourgeoisie"**? At that time, Lenin made this statement when small-scale production had not yet entered collective farms. Now that our country has collectivized, is it still applicable? My understanding is that Chairman Mao quoted this passage from Lenin to restore Lenin's thought, because Stalin did not recognize that socialist society had classes and class struggle, and did not see the enormous influence of the spontaneous forces of small-scale production. Chairman Mao raising this passage shows that Lenin's judgment has not become outdated. Then, does Lenin's statement fit our country's situation? Chairman Mao repeatedly explained the reasons why it does fit: (1) we still have remnants of individual production; (2) small-scale production includes peasants from previous individual production—they come from small-scale production, and the inherent characteristics of small-scale production still exist, such as selfishness (note: in the

Huanggang edition it is rendered as “private ownership”), spontaneous capitalist tendencies, habitual forces, etc. When developed to a certain extent, capitalism will emerge. When Chairman Mao explained it this way, I understood much more clearly; the principle was exactly here.

**“A part of the working class, a part of the Party members—this situation also exists.”** At first, I did not understand this instruction from Chairman Mao. Why talk about this after discussing small-scale production? Chairman said: Think about it—your working-class part, your Party-member part, which class do they come from? Could it be from the landlord class or the bourgeoisie? This instruction from Chairman Mao was proposed based on analyzing the class relations in socialism and the actual situation of class struggle in socialism. It is a significant development of Lenin’s thought, fully illustrating the sharpness and complexity of class struggle in socialist society. The restoration of capitalism has a class character; it is not only the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists—within our leading class and vanguard, bourgeois elements and counter-revolutionaries may also emerge.

**“In the proletariat, among administrative staff, there also exists the emergence of bourgeois lifestyle tendencies.”** Someone raised this question: Is there a difference between the proletariat and the working class? My understanding is: The proletariat includes the working class as well as a portion of tenant farmers. Within the proletariat, among administrative staff, there also arises bourgeois lifestyle tendencies. (1) The scope referred to is broader; (2) bourgeois tendencies are multi-faceted, reflecting political, ideological, and economic aspects across all fronts; (3) bourgeois lifestyle tendencies are very widespread, affecting personal degeneration, the state becoming revisionist, and influencing the next generation. Chairman Mao attaches great importance to this issue. Only now have I fully understood that bourgeois lifestyle tendencies are the hotbed for producing bourgeois elements, the soil for generating capitalism, and a means to cultivate people’s pursuit of enjoyment, special privileges, and detachment from the masses. It is an important factor in shaking the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao’s major development of Marxism-Leninism is that he enriched and developed Marxism ideologically and theoretically. (1) If the theoretical issue of the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is not clarified, revisionism will arise—this is the first time in the his-

tory of the development of Marxism that such a scientific conclusion has been put forward in a clear, sharp, and affirmative manner; (2) Distribution according to labor is a bourgeois legal right, and is not much different from the old society. This is a major theoretical issue concerning the economic relations and class relations of socialist countries that Chairman Mao sought to resolve, and is a major development of Marxist economics; (3) Bourgeois legal rights can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat—Lenin said this, Stalin did not; Chairman Mao inherited and developed Lenin's thought; (4) A part of the working class, a part of the Party members, can also give rise to bourgeois elements. This is a concrete analysis of the actual situation during the socialist period, and it gives new content to the scope of dictatorship in a proletarian dictatorship state.

Now the “Thirty-Three Quotations” have been published, and Chairman Mao has read them several times. The Chairman said: **“Two of the items need to have their order reversed, and adding a few more is very good.”** This is a complete system; this is the most fundamental thing for the proletariat. With this outline, the road for reading is opened.

To view bourgeois right, one must apply the method of “one divides into two”; that is, one must affirm its historical role, and also see its negative aspects, and must not allow it to expand, develop, and spread unchecked. If you affirm it too much, excessively enlarge its role, then do you still want communism? Do not, in applying “one divides into two,” criticize it to excess, making it seem extremely bad, as if it could be immediately abolished; do you then still want socialism? You must view it dialectically, with “one divides into two.” The Thirty-Three Quotations were read by the Chairman; the arrangement of their order itself already constitutes a complete system; if you disrupt it, it will not be good. Repetition is fine; each item has its emphasis—how you grasp it is up to you. The quotations were compiled according to the sequence of the Chairman's instructions, and therefore they constitute a complete system. In order to understand the Chairman's instructions more deeply, they were selected and compiled on the basis of the Chairman's four sections of instructions. It is one thing, not two things. Speaking of the “Quotations,” although the “Quotations” do not have section titles, once you look at the structure it is very clear—it is precisely the Chairman's few passages, and they should be divided into four parts:

“The Question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat,” “The Question of Bourgeois Right,” “The Question of the Emergence of New Bourgeois Elements,” and “The Question of Study.” When discussing the later issues, one must not depart from the dictatorship of the proletariat. The later issues are further elucidations of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the beginning there may be a situation of “letting a hundred flowers bloom”; there is a process of study and comprehension, a process of deepening. Do not be afraid to speak; let everyone speak; understanding will deepen, then understand again, then summarize, then understand again, and deepen further.

Some people say that as long as bourgeois right exists, capitalism is bound to emerge. Bourgeois right is the soil and condition for the emergence of capitalism, but whether capitalism can emerge, whether capitalism will inevitably emerge, does not lie in bourgeois right itself. Bourgeois right has two possibilities: one, under the guidance of the revolutionary line, it can serve socialist construction; the second situation is that, in front of people who have been invaded by capitalism, whose capitalist thinking is serious, bourgeois right will then develop, spread unchecked, and produce capitalism. Therefore, the decisive point is the line and ideology. To restrict bourgeois right under the dictatorship of the proletariat is to talk about the line; to restrict bourgeois right is to restrict its negative effects. This is forward looking, looking toward communism, so it must be restricted, must be guided to serve socialist construction. Therefore, Chairman Mao particularly emphasized reading some Marxist-Leninist books, emphasized raising the three levels of consciousness. Apart from the question of eliminating classes, the two most important factors for communism are: first, material conditions; second, communist consciousness. Without these two conditions, “distribution according to need” cannot be achieved. I have already said that the “Quotations” form a complete system; if you reverse the order, it will not be conducive to understanding Chairman Mao’s instructions. This was arranged after repeated consideration, compiled and arranged around the order of Chairman Mao’s instructions on theoretical questions. Some comrades say that the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be explained clearly. If it cannot be explained clearly, do not force it—start from reality, explain as much as you can, and if you cannot explain it clearly, then study again and explain again. Do not let the fact that it cannot be explained clearly bind your hands and feet. Not

explaining won't do—how will the people of the whole country know? The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat must not be talked about or interpreted chaotically; seek truth from facts. Of course, speaking this way does not mean being afraid to speak. If the first time you speak you are wrong, the second time you correct it, it becomes deepened. Without study, who can explain it clearly?

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## **The Conversation Between Wang Hongwen and Jiang Qing (Regarding Arts and Film)**

**1975.4.4**

Wang Hongwen: The film industry recently held a meeting. Tonight we invited representatives from that meeting, as well as several factories in Beijing: Beijing Film Studio, New Film Studio, Science Film Studio, and the August First Film Studio. Comrades from the Ministry of Culture are also participating. The purpose is that we recently watched the films we produced ourselves, and now we see rapid progress and great improvement. We want to take this opportunity to meet everyone and say a few words, mainly asking Comrade Jiang Qing to speak.

Jiang Qing: I have no preparation either. One meeting follows another. Last night and this noon I took a little time to read the opinions of comrades who watched two films and sent them to Hongwen. In the past few days I have watched all the films for this meeting, except for the second part of Dukou Mountain; I have watched everything else. I did not know about this meeting and I do not know why I was informed. Although Comrade Hongwen and I are not part of the State Council, I have been in charge for seven years and Comrade Hongwen for three or four years. Since I know about it, I must take some responsibility. Overall I feel that there should be no sense of inferiority, whether in the film industry or in film art, especially in science and education films. In the past two years there have been great achievements. But there are also many problems. From what I have seen and felt, your study of Chairman Mao's instructions, Marxist-Leninist writings, and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat may not be sufficiently deep or thorough, to varying degrees. Some of you cannot focus on it, and in some places there is even resistance. Some people spend their whole day busy with trivial matters. I think this is not acceptable. We must have proletarian politics take the lead. We must follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, which requires independence, self-reliance, hard work, striving to improve, and working diligently. When comrades make some progress, I encourage them. For example, I encouraged the film West Suburban Park of Shanghai using Shanghai offset printing technology. It can be shown, and improvements can be made as it is used. Today, I watched



the oil-based multilayer film from Baoding. Both the negative and positive film are our own. Overall, it has made much greater progress than before. The clarity is slightly lower, the contrast high, the tone harsh and not soft—these are the flaws. Overall it is better than before. In my view, it has surpassed West Germany and Japan, it has surpassed Soviet revisionism, and it has left Soviet revisionism far behind.

Today I will give a suggestion and submit it to the State Council. Overall I feel that New Zealand is good, and I also watched the two parts of *Crossing the River* which are also good. I did not watch them side by side for comparison, I relied on memory. You find the locations, and I will look; this side is ours, that side is foreign. Why do I recommend these two films? I feel that your positive education is not solid enough, so I chose two negative teachers to educate you. In my own growth and along the revolutionary path I took, I received education from two major negative teachers. As a child, I hated feudalism very much. Feudal forces struck my mother, and to protect her I was pushed to the ground, and my teeth were broken—one tooth even turned yellow; that tooth is the same one. From childhood I resisted feudalism. I received education from two negative teachers: feudalism and foreign devils.

When I was young I studied English, but I refused to learn it, saying it was a form of foreign servitude. Yet I still had to score 60 points, otherwise I could not graduate. Later I realized it was just a tool, but by then it was too late to make up for it, and we were poor and had no money. In 1931, during the “September 18th Incident,” imperialism, as a negative teacher, had a huge impact on me. I feared becoming a slave of a conquered nation, I ran about calling people to action, joined the Party’s peripheral organizations, and later became a Party member. These two negative teachers prompted me to move toward revolution. I also belonged to a youth being contested by the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. At fifteen, I was already being contested, and I chose the path of proletarian revolution. The first Marxist-Leninist book I studied was Lenin’s *The State and Revolution*. Afraid of problems, I studied it six times. I only vaguely understood it at first, but once I understood it I applied it. At that time, all I understood was that the bourgeois state oppresses the people. After the “September 18th Incident,” the national patriotic movement surged. Some said that the student movement was

disruptive. I could not understand it, I hid in the woods and cried in anger. I could not explain the reasoning, and no one explained it to me. Now we have the Party and the Chairman leading us in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism, and counterrevolutionaries, limiting bourgeois legal rights, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Each of us has undesirable elements in our minds, to varying degrees, myself included. We all have the issue of public versus private. Public and private are opposing but unified; without the public there is no private, and without the private there is no public. For a Communist Party member, a member of the Communist Youth League, or a patriot, which should come first, public or private? I believe public should come first.

The bright side and the dark side are also opposing but unified. Whether one sees the motherland as having more of a bright side or a dark side is a matter of principle. It should be said that the bright side is greater. Regarding oneself, whether the bright side or dark side is greater must also be assessed appropriately, and one must regularly examine oneself. Yesterday I talked to workers and examined myself. I have private interests, and sometimes the private side causes problems. When private interests take the lead, things are not so pure. But from the perspective of my overall history, I have basically prioritized the public.

In the past three months I have caught colds five times. Even after working several days and nights in a row, I worked as hard as I could. Of course, doing this is not entirely correct. As a soldier next to the Chairman, I should protect and use my health responsibly, so I can work a few more years for the revolution; I should not lie down. Today, seeing your reactions, I feel very pleased and somewhat moved. Some people work desperately to get rich, to achieve fame, or to establish a family. We do not worry about food or clothing, our conditions are so good, yet the things we produce are very crude. Sometimes I do not even want to watch them. For example, the later parts of *The Guerrilla on the Plain*—the colors do not match, everything is messy. The director is not doing their job properly, the cinematography is poor, and the lighting is wrong. It is chaotic. Look again—today the directors and actors are all here, right? Some of the problems in your films are due to lighting techniques, and some are due to the film itself. The film you use may have low sensitivity, Weston 64 degrees, whereas I use imported film, 80–100

degrees. Your film has less latitude. If you are familiar with the process, you can work without a light meter, but I carefully use a light meter, measuring even the background. I am not doing this for fame. I do it to train myself to hear sound, observe light, and see what I can tolerate. Immersing myself in this work is helpful. On this point, some people say I play with objects and lose ambition. I have taken many photos, and some people have praised me, which pleased me—that is private. Comrades, I burned all the large photos I had taken, dismantled my studio, and handed everything over to Xinhua News Agency, entirely to the Party. Some said I was wasting resources. In fact, I bought everything myself, so my waste is far less than yours. Xinhua reporters have about a 30 percent success rate, which is already good. I can achieve about 80 percent success, often completing an entire roll of film successfully. This depends on conditions, diligence, and courage.

Qianjiang Li Wenhua Zhang Dongliang—I caught you at the Summer Palace to practice my lighting techniques. You refuse stubbornly. You are so rigid. People fear failure and reputation loss, but I am not afraid. It's not that I think I'm great or brilliant; I dare to act. I hope you start thinking from the perspective of 800 million people, from 95% of working people, to bring glory to the socialist motherland. You should willingly be a stepping stone. I am just a small stepping stone. Some people, especially those working in darkrooms, do not want to be stepping stones.

South Advance, North Fight is no worse than The Guerrilla on the Plain. I tell you to use a soft-focus lens, but the director simply will not use it. The actors requested it several times, yet it was not used, which made me afraid to watch it. Who is the cinematographer? (Cheng Yin answers: Nie Jing.) Why was he not allowed to use it? (Cheng Yin: The soft-focus lens did not match the previous and following shots.) The director should be disciplined. You are all just eating for nothing. The night scenes in South Advance, North Fight are completely unacceptable. The night scenes in Pigeon were done so well, yet you are just eating for nothing. When private interests take the lead, it is terrible. On the great revolutionary road, it is enough to be a small stepping stone. Without ideals, you are just eating for nothing. You cannot treat your labor as a commodity to sell. At Beijing Film Studio, what “publicly owned by all the people”? Since Liu Shaoqi it has not been. The Cultural Revolution changed it

a little, but not much. Now it is “three self[s] and one center.” Today I am calling names. I have paid enough attention to you, but what have you produced? Of course, I cannot completely deny everything. *South Advance*, *North Fight* is still good; it was still revised according to my ideas. *Taking the City by Strategy* was filmed three times. You have paid a lot of tuition with that. I have already paid enough attention to you and told you a lot, haven’t I? Qianjiang! Your approach is still that of the Soviet revisionists. For the revolution, you must have ambitious aspirations. Now all the people in the world are watching us; the oppressed peoples are watching us. We must take on this responsibility. Whether we become revisionist or not concerns not only the 800 million people in our country, but also oppressed nations around the world. We must follow the Chairman’s guidance: do not engage in big-power chauvinism, do not seek hegemony, be modest and cautious, but also bold and composed. Today we have achieved some results. We just discussed the advantages and disadvantages. Before Eastman stops importing film, we must produce our own. Both the positive and negative film must be our own. I checked, and it is still acceptable. Set a schedule for when. Make the coating more even. Some techniques I do not understand. Cinematographers must pay attention to exposure and focus. In *A Cold Heart*, everything from the main character to the background is clear. We only have the main character in focus. The cinematographer must work harder on focusing. Our focus is just a tiny point, aimed at ourselves, and the rest is unclear.

Recently I read two reports, one by a historian, one by an economist. They said that in the West, people look at today’s China with the perspective of Qing dynasty officials looking at the West. This edition has not been dismantled; print five hundred copies to give to you, and also to Science Film Studio. I spent a lot of time looking for *Pigeon*. I have spent a lot of time watching films with you, which took up my time. It is because your thinking is not liberated; you cannot break the framework. *Pigeon* is a major poisonous film, a very good negative teacher, with many lessons to learn. It is not only instructive in terms of technical skill and technique, but also in content—it deceived us. It claimed there was no way out, but in reality it was about personal struggle, achieving fame and establishing a family. None of you mentioned this. Capitalism has no future, yet it shows later generations traveling

the world, pursuing personal success, using all artistic means to portray someone becoming successful. Where does he “become successful”? It is when his father wants him to sell the boat and return home. So much screen time is spent depicting him reflecting on an island—a rather long segment—before he returns from sailing. It deceives people, and none of you addressed this. The second deceptive aspect is that it claims to show world travel, but in reality we do not see him traveling the world. Most of it analyzes the inner world of youth, using various angles and many shots: madness, loneliness, joy, using all kinds of lighting. The courage shown is remarkable; even now there are some shots I do not know how they were filmed. The sea is shot very distinctively, wonderfully, and with constant variation. I spent years watching the sea in Qingdao. At that time, some people called me a fool or a weirdo. In heavy rain, I would wear a raincoat and jump onto a stone in the seaside park to watch the sea change—surging waves, sunny days, rainy days, windy days.

This film has almost no actors; it is mostly sea and a small boat. The sea could be dull, but watching it is not dull—you want to keep watching. You here are all detached from youth and cannot understand them. When the girl jumps into the water, you did not see it; only the Bayi Studio mentioned it was unexpected. That is wrong. I completely anticipated it. If it were me, I would go into the water. I initially thought the youth had died, but later learned he was sailing back and I wanted desperately to see him. I have experienced such scenes in my childhood, and I still do—this may be temperament; it has not changed.

The emotions of youth are portrayed very meticulously, without any distortion. The two actors have no makeup, or very little; the female lead is natural, the male lead is also natural. Film makeup should not be heavy or exaggerated. Especially in narrative films, it should look very natural. Twelve reels basically depict one sea and one boat, but the conflicts are many. The courage is great. The studio had to invest a considerable cost and mobilize all resources. If the film cannot attract an audience, the studio would go bankrupt and people would lose their jobs, so every means must be used to present the story. I see that the film aims to address the distress of capitalist youth. It attempts to solve this problem, but ultimately still follows the path of achieving personal success. At the start, both characters are innocent. When deciding whether to sell

the boat, they face a serious, adult choice. The film's strengths must be fully recognized: it is both bold and cautious, and the midtones are rich. Today, watching Ju Hua's film, the reds and greens are overwhelming, the contrast too strong, and the dark areas too prominent. The first few shots are bluish. These are secondary issues. The main thing is that our films have come out: New Zealand is good; in *Crossing the River*, the clothing is not green but yellowed like Kuomintang uniforms—maybe it is still a lighting issue? I do not know what the original colors were.

Wang Hongwen: The clothing at that time tended to be yellowish.

Jiang Qing: The bourgeoisie works hard to make money, achieve fame, and establish a family. They are so diligent. We work for the revolution. We must not treat ourselves as commodities. We should not eat like workers, peasants, and soldiers without serving them; we should not dress like workers, peasants, and soldiers without serving them; we should not live like workers, peasants, and soldiers without serving them. We must serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers. We must study the Quotations, line by line. Study the writings of Chunqiao and Wenyuan. Chunqiao's writings focus on ownership. He cited Chairman Mao's speech at the First Plenary Session of the Central Committee. Did you pay attention to that?

Additionally, the greatest danger for our Party is not dogmatism but empiricism. Without studying theory, what will guide you? In the past, during the Yan'an Rectification Movement, the main danger was dogmatism. Empiricism is an accomplice of revisionism. We must study Chairman Mao's works and the Marxist-Leninist Quotations seriously. I will not speak much more. I will give you a reading list. Workers study this way, peasants study this way, and you should study well too. We can learn from foreign things, but we must not learn from the Dowager Empress. The Chairman said: "Use the past for the present, use foreign things for China." Why reject what is good in other countries? We can learn from it. We have not yet surpassed it, and all comrades must understand this issue.

Division of labor is necessary, but it is not capitalist. Capitalist division of labor makes people stupid. The Soviet revisionist approach is too detailed; it aims to cultivate versatile people rather than making them slaves of division of labor. A director does not know how to operate a camera,

the cinematographer does not understand the drama—each knows only a little, and then uses that little to threaten the Party, to threaten the people. That is not monopoly? In the past, we isolated ourselves and did not cooperate—this cannot happen. A few years ago, I was furious: some things from Shanghai dyes were not used, Shenyang's not used—it cannot be like this. You cannot monopolize and isolate yourselves. You discuss for two days and then speak. My words may be somewhat one-sided or inappropriate; please criticize me.

Wang Hongwen: Comrade Jiang Qing has just spoken, and I completely agree. Whether it is the film industry or the film studios, we still need to make joint efforts to catch up with the world's advanced level. Comrade Jiang Qing just mentioned that we must have ambition. Why can the Western bourgeoisie produce good films, yet we in the Eastern proletariat cannot? I believe we definitely can achieve it. We cannot crawl forward. I have set a goal: within three years, we will not rely on Eastman or imports; we must use our own.

Jiang Qing: I said that we already have some “dignity films.” We have released some that have asserted our pride. Not everything should be so gray and dismal. Capitalism cannot produce good films; they want our Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy and South-North Battle.

Wang Hongwen: Comrade Jiang Qing has spoken. There are dignity films. Those sent from Baoding and Shenyang show progress compared to the past.

Jiang Qing: Also Shanghai.

Wang Hongwen: I estimate that in three years we can stop importing.

Jiang Qing: I have watched most of the science and educational films. Today I especially want to praise science and educational films—they have made great progress, though some still need improvement. Narrative films I watch only when invited; for science and educational films, I will also point out some that you need to produce, which should serve national industrial and agricultural production. Narrative films are too long; I cannot watch them all at once—it is too exhausting. I watch them in several sittings, only two reels at a time.

Wang Hongwen: In these past few years, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee, and relying on the efforts of the working class, we have established a considerable foundation. Within about three years, we can stop importing foreign films and produce narrative films entirely with our own.



Jiang Qing: When will the British equipment arrive?

Liu Qingtang: In the second half of this year.

Jiang Qing: Then in the first half of the year we must push forward ourselves. The benefits of doing so outweigh the drawbacks.

Wang Hongwen: We just discussed this; pushing forward is advantageous, with few disadvantages. You must continue to develop the film industry, the film stock, and projection equipment. You must make good films. At present, the first priority is to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Chairman Mao's instructions, to learn the Quotations, and to study the writings of Chunqiao and Wen Yuan carefully. First, you must study well—carry out the revolution, promote production, and promote scientific research. Only by learning well and arming your minds can our own film industry be developed even better.

Jiang Qing: In the past, we were the “Sick Man of East Asia,” with foreigners pressing the Chinese under their feet. Now we must have national pride. Today, under Chairman Mao's leadership, 800 million people hold their heads high. I have a book—at some point we must read it. Regarding inventions, a British scholar said that Western European industry developed based on ancient Chinese science. I want to print this article and distribute it to you. He is a professor at Cambridge and lives in hardship; give him some payment. The Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Williams, asked us: why, at that time, when you had the compass and the south-pointing device, did you not sail to the South Seas yourselves, and instead Columbus discovered the New World? How should I answer?

Wang Hongwen: First, make sure learning is done well. I want to emphasize again this time: we must implement the “Three Combinations” properly—scientific research, practical use, and production—and everyone must cooperate together.

Jiang Qing: The issue of the “Three Combinations” is very important. If they do not implement the “Three Combinations,” directors, actors, and cinematographers will all become disconnected.

Wang Hongwen: It should combine the old, middle-aged, and young generations. Recently I saw a piece from Keying Film Studio, *Small Hydropower* (Liu Qingtang: the author is from Mountain Village Small Hydropower). He has been an assistant cinematographer for many years. This is the first time he is handling work independently, and he is also leading a young person. Doing it this way is very good. This is not



about you becoming a “teacher” again—the old Confucian saying “once a teacher, forever a father” is not what we are following. Every profession must implement the “Three Combinations.”

Wang Hongwen: If the combination is done well, there will be more, faster, and better results with less waste. This aligns with Chairman Mao’s line and avoids disconnection and squabbling. In the past, under Lin Biao’s line, there was always mutual blame. Everyone should work together and first examine their own shortcomings instead of immediately blaming others. If scientific research is insufficient, don’t first blame others. If production departments have problems, first look at yourself. The usage departments also have this issue. There has been significant progress recently, which is inseparable from collaboration. From a side perspective, there are still some problems in coordination, such as between regions or between usage and production. Everyone should coordinate themselves. In short, strictly demand of yourself, don’t just focus on others. Doing the “Three Combinations” well can further improve work. Break the foreign frameworks; don’t follow others creeping behind—be bold in practice.

Jiang Qing: We must catch up head-on.

Wang Hongwen: It’s okay to pay a little tuition for learning, but we can’t keep paying forever.

Jiang Qing: How many years have I been paying? Now I am leading the review teams, criticizing your directors, cinematographers, and actors—mainly, directors and cinematographers will no longer keep “paying tuition” for you.

Wang Hongwen: We must break past frameworks. Some must be broken—without breaking, nothing can stand. We must take big strides forward.

Jiang Qing: The subjective world must be transformed. Some people in the factories need to go down to learn from the working people. Xie Tian, Ling Zifeng, and others, including those at the Bayi Studio, take high salaries but don’t work. If they don’t go down, they cannot be transformed into new people. I want you to learn from the Chairman. During the “Four Cleanups,” Chairman Mao told Zhou Yang: if you don’t go down, I will have you escorted by armed force. If you refuse, I will implement the proletarian dictatorship. Politely, we call it doing what one is capable of—learning a little of the noble qualities of the working people. Take this message back with you. How much money

does your Beijing Film Studio owe the state? You want money before writing a script—this is against state rules. Money obsession, parasites, garbage heaps. Some people treat themselves as a commodity; some, without a product, still stretch out their hands for money—they are selling emptiness.

Wang Hongwen: That's a blank check.

Wang Hongwen: You must study Chairman Mao's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, identify where bourgeois legal rights exist, and check all industries to see where bourgeois legal rights are trapping us, preventing us from moving forward. We must kick them aside and take big strides forward.

Jiang Qing: Cheng Yin, you are one of the "Four Great Commanders" of Beijing Film Studio, and there are also the "Four Small Commanders." Bayi Studio has them too. Over these past years, you've been pulled along. What is "Three Selves and One Center"? Cheng Yin, explain. Self-combination, self-creation, self-financing, turning the state-owned system into one with dividends—these you all shared, including Qian Jiang and Li Wenhua. Did Bayi Studio implement it? (Answer: They did.) Cheng Yin, you were a reporter in the army, and I assigned you to shoot South to North Campaign. You've forgotten your roots. Later, when you returned, you must analyze yourself, learn something, and write honestly. The self-criticisms you gave me before were all false. This time, during this study, recognize something and write honestly.

Wang Hongwen: Overall, everything has two sides: there are achievements and problems. Achievements are significant, problems are not few.

Jiang Qing: Correct.

Wang Hongwen: I hope everyone works together to improve the film industry and filmmaking. I am an outsider to the film industry and can only offer general suggestions for reference.

Jiang Qing: Our film stock has low latitude and low sensitivity. Can we push this further? Moving from Weston 64° to 80° will make it easier. Shooting with 64° is difficult, especially for bees, and you have it even harder. With 64°, you don't dare use light boldly.

Wang Hongwen: Break these frameworks.

Jiang Qing: I've also shot 13D° West German film, which is not bad. It's okay for still subjects, but not for moving ones.

Jiang Qing: Can we release it this year?

Gu Ming: Dyeing and printing methods are fine; oil-soluble film has

bigger weaknesses. The Baoding color negative is designed for lighting, unlike Eastman, which is dual-purpose. We still need to surpass them.

Jiang Qing: We must surpass. Analyze it, dissect it, catch up, and don't have any inferiority complex. Study it, don't blindly imitate.

Jiang Qing: All cinematographers must take apprentices. Master and apprentice—the master is a teacher for a day, a father for life. This is the way of Confucius and Mencius.

Wang Hongwen: Each unit must also carry out two sets of the “three-in-one combinations.”

Jiang Qing: Those who won't go down to the grassroots—I will have people escort them there under armed guard. Go back and convey this. My work is no less than anyone else's; in a day, aside from eating and sleeping, I am working. My working hours are longer than others'. I have never known what a Sunday is. It is just “big viewing” and “small viewing”: big viewing is watching films, small viewing is reading documents. I never calculate working hours. What is all that about? Yading, have you arranged directing work for Xingang and Yongshou? (Yading: It has been arranged.) Help them write the shot breakdowns, and if the roles fit, they can also act. Why has *The Sea Hawk* still not been sent to me? I am unhappy about this. If you still don't bring it, I won't watch it. (Yading: The materials were scattered during the Cultural Revolution. Some were taken to Shanghai. It has been delivered today.) *Ten Thousand Rivers and Mountains* must be produced while I am still alive. Otherwise I cannot complete the task Chairman Mao assigned to me—what then? As for Chen Qitong, don't keep criticizing him. He must be protected somewhat. Don't use my name to pressure him. Find ways to help him and get the play produced. This is a major subject. The twenty-five-thousand-li Long March has no play, no film; it is disheartening. I am worried too. With such a big team, and the play still not coming out. I hope the comrades here can think about this: we are Chinese people who have stood up. We are Communists, Communist Youth League members, patriots. We have a responsibility to make substantial contributions to humanity. Where is Li Wenhua? He doesn't dare see me. Don't be like Li Wenhua—rushing to make *The Scout* and producing that kind of “ya-ya-wu.” Remember: time never returns once it has passed. It is extremely precious; you must seize the time to make up for the past. Some people are guilty, but it is not too late to make up for it. Strengthen study, remold your worldview, and launch a movement of

theoretical study. Is that good or not? Take three days of vacation devoted entirely to theoretical study, even more is acceptable; we can afford it. Develop the habit of serious study. Starting last December, although I was ill for three months, I still read through Chairman Mao's Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, On the People's Democratic Dictatorship, The Struggle in Jinggangshan. I read The State and Revolution twice, Critique of the Gotha Program twice, read through the Five Volumes as well, and read the Quotations. But it is still not enough. We must study one passage at a time and read other books in connection with it. We must link it with practice, starting with ourselves, analyzing ourselves. I do not believe that you have so much "public-mindedness" and no "private interests," that you have so much brightness and no selfishness. The majority of comrades put the "public" first—I affirm that your accomplishments are great, but there are many problems. This year we must send our films out into the world. Japan wants our Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy, South to North Campaign, and Sparkling Red Star. Do you have the courage to respond? When can you deliver them? Will May be possible?

Gu Ming: We are responsible for the films; there is no problem.

Wang Xiong: South to North Campaign has already been supplied to them in Japan for film copying.

Jiang Qing: For the other two films, can they be processed using the dye-printing method?

Li Gaofeng: They can reach the level of New Zealand.

Jiang Qing: That is fine. Just add some additional processing. Your film developing and printing factory has become unacceptable—completely chaotic. Anyone can go in, and people enter without wearing work clothes. There must be a proper system.

Wang Hongwen: From now on, for films submitted for review, a title card must be added. Has everyone seen New Zealand? If you haven't, it's very good—let everyone take a look.

Jiang Qing: Have you seen it? Also look at the oil-soluble process; note how many steps are in the intermediate film.

Wang Xiong: We first make the reversal, then the reversal print. The reversal film is still in testing, and the effect is not yet very good.

Wang Hongwen: Pay attention to summarizing experience—what works, and what fails.

Jiang Qing: Where was New Zealand processed?

Wang Xiong: The negative was done at New Film Studio; the positive print was at the developing and printing factory.

Jiang Qing: That's good. Marcos is good, and Crossing the River is also acceptable. I also suggest you watch The Net, which only has about ten lines, and Moratorium, which also has very few lines. The Net had a very low budget, with just a few people, but it left a deep impression. In Red Star, there is a young actor who appears everywhere, but makes no impression. Now it's been revised, which may improve it.

Wang Hongwen: Let's end today's meeting here.

(Source: Transcript provided by the Film Bureau of the Ministry of Culture, April 4, 1975, 10:00 PM)

## Wang Hongwen's Speech at the Provincial Party Work Meeting and County Party Secretary Meeting

Wang Hongwen

1975.7.9

On the evening of July 9, the provincial party committee convened a meeting with the heads of the various units attending the provincial work conference and the county party secretaries. At the meeting, Comrade Tan Qilong, on behalf of the provincial party standing committee and himself, delivered a self-assessment. Vice Chairman Wang and Vice Premier Ji gave important speeches.

During this period, Comrades Deng Kui and I, with the approval of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee, came to Zhejiang for some research and to assist the provincial committee in resolving issues within Zhejiang. Over the past few days, we participated in the provincial committee's standing committee meeting and visited several units. From my observations of Zhejiang's overall situation, as comrades have mentioned, it is generally good, but there are still some issues. These problems must no longer be postponed; they must be addressed, and the solutions should be found quickly.

Are the solutions difficult? After discussing with Deng Kui, we felt that it is both difficult and not difficult. The key issues are always these: the root cause lies in the line (the political line), the key lies in leadership, and the primary responsibility lies with the leadership of the provincial committee. Everyone here is a leader at some level, and I would like to offer a few thoughts:

**1. Learning Issues:** Comrade Qilong just now made a self-criticism on behalf of the Provincial Committee, mentioning that the primary reason for errors was poor study. This refers to the Provincial Party Standing Committee. Many comrades also discussed that the main reason is the failure to thoroughly study Chairman Mao's series of instructions and the spirit of relevant central documents. This is a lesson that we should all learn, myself included. Currently, the whole Party and nation are

studying Chairman Mao's important instructions on theoretical issues, and reading works by Marx, Engels, and Mao is becoming a trend. Zhejiang cannot be an exception and must accelerate its pace to catch up. The key leaders at all levels, especially at the provincial, regional, and county levels, must lead the way in studying thoroughly. The learning issue should become institutionalized, with monitoring and checks to ensure it continues. Not only should we study Marx, Engels, and Mao's works well, but we should also deeply understand and frequently review the central documents.

Zhejiang has many good units. Above the county level, there are good departments, and these experiences and examples should be summarized and promoted to help everyone learn. For instance, we visited the gearbox factory, which is a very good unit. The party committee there studies well, frequently reviewing central documents. Last year, when some places and units tried to rapidly promote cadres and recruit members into the Party, they resisted the trends and did not expand recklessly. A key reason for this was their focus on learning. The factory's revolution and production are thriving, as they focus on learning.

The importance of criticism is also stressed. Criticizing revisionism, bourgeois legalism, and capitalist tendencies is necessary alongside study to create a unified approach in key areas such as understanding, policy, planning, leadership, and action. This approach, referred to as "the five unifications," is seen as vital for the ideological and practical success of the Party and its work, which is demonstrated by the successful units such as the gearbox factory. The factory's success is attributed to its dedication to study and unity within its leadership.

**2. The issue of unity.** Chairman Mao repeatedly emphasized that the Proletarian Cultural Revolution has lasted for eight years. Now, stability is key. The entire Party and military must unite. This year, the Cultural Revolution has lasted for more than nine years, and we must more resolutely implement Chairman Mao's directives. Zhejiang, located on the southeastern coastal frontline, bears the responsibility of defending the eastern gate of the motherland. We must not let any enemy find an opening. The province's 34 million people, along with the People's Liberation Army stationed in Zhejiang, as well as the vast majority of cadres, Party members, and the working class, must unite under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the central leadership of the Party. This

means that within the working class, there should be no further internal division or disputes, but a focus on unity. Whether a region or a unit can achieve good unity depends first on the unity of its leadership. The leadership of the gear factory mentioned earlier is a good example of this, as they easily achieve the five unifications: unified understanding, policy, planning, command, and action.

Under Chairman Mao's personal leadership, our Party has many good traditions in handling internal contradictions, as outlined in *The Work Methods of the Party Committees*. I hope comrades will read this work. However, due to the interference and destruction caused by Lin Biao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, many of the Party's good traditions and systems have been undermined to varying degrees in Zhejiang.

We should restore the Party's good traditions. Chairman Mao said that in Party life, **"the understanding, support, and friendship between the secretary and committee members are more important than anything else."** He also stated, **"We all come from all corners of the country. Not only must we be good at uniting with comrades who share the same opinions, but we must also be good at uniting with those who have different views from our own and working together with them."** Mao further emphasized, **"We must also be good at uniting with those who have opposed us but have been proven by practice to have made mistakes."** These are Chairman Mao's teachings. I suggest that the comrades in Zhejiang, starting from this Provincial Party Committee work meeting, should work together to change certain unhealthy practices in Party life. Leadership at all levels must take the lead in avoiding words or actions that harm unity. Everyone should strive to be a model in implementing Chairman Mao's instructions on stability and unity.

**3. On the Issue of Work Style.** Cadres at all levels, especially the leadership, must immerse themselves in the front lines, engage in labor, and conduct research. Recently, *Hongqi Magazine* published an article titled "Advocating Research and Investigation," which I suggest everyone study carefully. We must work together with the masses to advance both revolution and production. In some regions and units, there has been a rise in individualistic practices among a few cadres. The expansion of bourgeois legal rights and the abandonment of the Party's glorious tradition of hard work and struggle have been observed. Recently, during visits to some factories, we found cases where, in some places, cadres were leading in



hoarding housing and indulging in leisure activities, neglecting the lives of the masses. This issue deserves our attention. The broad masses are dissatisfied with such conditions. Our cadres must make a real change in their work style, so the enthusiasm of the masses can be fully mobilized. We are confident that, as long as the whole Party unites further, adheres to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and implements his important instructions, the revolutionary and production efforts in Zhejiang will soon experience a new phase. Finally, regarding this meeting. The general situation of this meeting was good. The Standing Committee exchanged their thoughts and openly shared their opinions. After everything was said, everyone was calm and reasonable, with a gentle atmosphere. The Provincial Standing Committee has not had many such meetings in the past, right? Some comrades have expressed that they still need to observe, and are not very confident. However, we all should have confidence. During the criticism of Lin Biao and the rectification campaign, the Provincial Standing Committee and Comrade Tan Qilong made some mistakes. Just now, Comrade Tan represented the Provincial Standing Committee and himself in making self-criticism. We should trust that they will correct these mistakes, and they will correct them well. We hope that the broad masses of cadres and leaders at all levels in Zhejiang will support the work of the Provincial Party Committee and the work of Comrade Tan Qilong. Chairman Mao taught us that if a mistake is made, it should be corrected, and the faster and more thoroughly it is corrected, the better. Chairman Mao said that if mistakes are made, they should be corrected, meaning we should not dwell on them. I hope comrades will consider the larger situation, look ahead, and unite the entire provincial military and civilian population to develop Zhejiang's great prospects.

Entered from 'The Speech by Comrades Wang Hongwen and Ji Dengkui at the Provincial Work Meeting for Unit Organizers and County Party Secretaries (Record)', issued by the Zhejiang Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China, July 22, 1975.



1976

## **The Central Leadership's Instructions on solving the Problems of the Zhengzhou and Lanzhou Railway Bureaus**

Wang Hongwen

**1976.2.15**

On February 15, 1976, from 1:00 to 2:00 a.m., central leaders such as Wang Hongwen, Hua Guofeng, Ji Dengkui, and Wu De met with the comrades from the Henan and Gansu Provincial Party Committees, the Zhengzhou and Lanzhou Railway Bureau Party Committees, and the Temporary Leading Group of the Ministry of Railways, and gave the following instructions.

Comrade Wang Hongwen's speech:

I completely agree with Comrade Guofeng's opinion. Comrade Guofeng has just conveyed Chairman Mao's recent important instructions, and everyone should seriously follow Chairman Mao's instructions. As long as we follow Chairman Mao's instructions, the issues will definitely be resolved properly. Comrade Guofeng has already mentioned that we must continue to focus on revolution, promote production, and guide the masses to counter the right-wing reactionary tendencies.

In jointly criticizing the right-wing reactionary tendencies, we must strengthen the unity between the two factions of the masses. Through this criticism, we should work together to improve transportation and production. This is the overall situation; we must ensure that the railway functions smoothly and that we accomplish, or even exceed, our transportation plans. I hope everyone will keep the overall situation in mind and not bring personal grievances into the matter. Do not vent your anger on the masses. Please pay special attention to this point. We believe that everyone will not act in this way. By criticizing the right-wing reactionary tendencies, we will unite the majority of cadres and the masses. We must prioritize the overall situation. The situations are different, and some comrades are more eloquent in certain aspects, so let them speak. Overall, everyone must do thorough and detailed political and ideological work. Over the past few years, there have been both

positive and negative experiences in handling the issues between the two factions. If not handled well, problems can easily arise. I believe that after this period of work, the Ministry of Railways has made self-criticism, the two provincial party committees have put forward good suggestions, and everyone will definitely do a good job.

## **Instructions by Central Leadership to the Representatives Attending the National Planning Work Symposium (Transcript)**

Wang Hongwen

**1976.2.15**

Guofeng, Hongwen, Jiang Qing, Wude, Xilian, Wenyuan, Deng Kui, Guixian, Zhenhua, and Zhifu comrades met with all the representatives from various provinces, cities, and autonomous regions attending the National Planning Work Symposium.

Comrades Guofeng and Hongwen provided instructions.

Comrade Hongwen:

Comrade Guofeng just spoke, and I have no objections. I would like to add one point, which may not necessarily be correct. Overall, the planning symposium has been a success. Grassroots comrades participated in the meeting and provided feedback to the relevant central departments, firing a critical “shot.” This “shot” was very effective.

This meeting involved studying Chairman Mao’s instructions and deepening the criticism of Deng [Xiaoping]. In my view, comrades from the central departments have not studied as thoroughly as those from the provinces, cities, and regions, especially when compared to grassroots comrades. The same goes for the criticism of Deng; the central departments have not been as thorough as the comrades from the local areas. Our suggestion is that after returning, comrades from the provinces, cities, and regions should connect this with practical work and deepen the criticism of Deng. The comrades from the central departments must work even harder. This time, the senior officials did not study as well or criticize as thoroughly as the grassroots comrades. As Chairman Mao said, higher levels are often not as good as lower levels, and leaders are often not as good as the masses. I hope comrades in the central departments will study diligently and deepen the criticism of Deng. If

the superstructure is not properly managed, it may affect the economic base, or even damage it. Not long ago, Chairman Mao mentioned that production relations can harm productive forces. (Comrade Wen Yuan interjected: “This was said in the context of railway transportation, referring to the harmful consequences of the rightist wind of reversing verdicts.”)

Let us all work together to deepen the criticism of Deng, strengthen unity, and improve both the superstructure and industrial and agricultural production.

Entered from “Instructions Given by Central Leading Comrades During Their Meeting with Representatives Attending the National Planning Work Symposium (Recorded Transcript)” in Wenshang County, Shandong Province.

## **Excerpt from Wang Hongwen's Speech in Pinggu County**

Wang Hongwen

**1976.10.03**

If revisionism arises in the central leadership, what will you do? Overthrow it! If someone else engages in revisionism, I will overthrow them. If I engage in revisionism, you should rebel against me as well. Of course, it would be best if revisionism did not occur, but that is only a personal wish; in reality, it is impossible. Since the founding of the country, we have seen individuals like Gao Gang, Rao Shushi, Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping emerge—so it is impossible for it not to happen. In the future, there might even be people like “Tang Xiaoping” or “Wang Xiaoping,” so we must remain vigilant! It is not just Deng Xiaoping who may engage in revisionism. The emergence of such figures is possible; it would be strange if it didn't happen.

We must align ourselves with the poor and lower-middle peasants, and you must also align yourselves with the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants. You need to spend more time in rural areas and keep your eyes wide open to watch out for revisionism, including from me. I am someone who both listens to others and doesn't listen to others.







# Appendix

## The Life of Comrade Wang Hongwen

In December 1934, Wang Hongwen was born in Kaiyuan Village, a suburb of Changchun City. As is widely known, among the people in Northeast China today, nine out of ten trace their ancestral origins to Shandong Province. Wang Hongwen's ancestors were also part of the migration known as "*Chuang Guandong*" (crossing the Great Wall to the Northeast). However, due to the passage of time, by the generation of Wang Hongwen's father, even they could no longer clearly recall where their ancestors had originally "crossed" from.

Kaiyuan Village was very close to the provincial capital of Jilin Province, Changchun, at that time. The Northeast is known for its black soil, which is fertile and rich, and its abundant mineral resources. During the puppet Manchukuo period, the Japanese built many large factories in this region, which contributed to the strong industrial foundation in Northeast China. However, at the time, the people in Kaiyuan Village were still very poor, mainly due to the harsh rule of the puppet Manchukuo regime.

Wang Hongwen's family had been farmers for generations and was considered poor peasant. The Northeast is vast with a sparse population, and the land is fertile, so the grain grown each year was enough to feed the family. Wang Hongwen's father was named Wang Guosheng, and his mother was Yang. After marrying into the Wang family, Yang gave birth to five children: four sons and one daughter, filling the family with hope.

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Guosheng, and his mother was Yang. After marrying into the Wang family, Yang gave birth to five children: four sons and one daughter, filling the family with hope. Wang Guosheng was naturally cheerful and optimistic, which was partly due to his love for watching “Er Ren Zhuan” (a traditional form of Chinese comedic performance). At that time, the “Er Ren Zhuan” performances in Northeast China often featured historical stories, many of which were set in ancient times, with the Three Kingdoms period being particularly popular. Some performances portrayed Zhao Yun, while others focused on Guan Yu (known as Guan Di, the “God of War”). In any case, they all glorified these figures for their loyalty, righteousness, and their combination of both literary and martial prowess. Wang Guosheng particularly admired these two figures. As an illiterate farmer who could only make a living through farming, he placed his hopes on his sons, wishing that they could achieve greatness like Guan Yu. Therefore, he gave his four sons names that all contained the character “Hong”, symbolizing greatness and strength. His eldest son was named Wang Hongwen, the second son Wang Hongwu, the third son Wang Hongshuang, and the fourth son Wang Hongquan—each name carrying a certain significance and sounding rather thoughtful.

When Wang Hongwen was born, the puppet Manchukuo had already been established for more than three years. The Japanese imposed brutal oppression and exploitation on the people of Northeast China, and the people there lived in extreme suffering. Wang Guosheng’s family was already poor, and the situation became even more difficult under these harsh conditions.

Wang Hongwen later recalled that from the day he was born, he never had a full meal. By the time he was four years old, he was still living with his mother at home. At that time, children were supposed to begin their education and learn to read at the age of four, but Wang Hongwen’s family had no money to send him to school. At the age of five, Wang Hongwen began to form a group of like-minded playmates—children of similar age from nearby families. They often played together, going to the river by the village to catch fish and swim. During the cold winter days, they would stay indoors and play at home instead. By the age of seven, children from wealthier families in Wang Hongwen’s village had already started going to school, and Wang Hongwen himself had

attended a private school for three months. However, due to financial difficulties, his family could no longer afford to send him to school. Not only could he not continue his education, but Wang Hongwen also had to take on some labor to help increase the family's income. What could a seven-year-old child do? Wang Hongwen's aunt had married into a wealthier family and needed a young child to help with her family's pigs.

When Wang Hongwen's mother proposed letting her son help with the pigs at his aunt's house, Wang Hongwen's uncle considered that it was better to hire a relative's child than a stranger. Furthermore, Wang Hongwen was bright and quick-witted, and he greeted his uncle in a warm and familiar way. His uncle, pleased, agreed to the arrangement. Thus, at the age of seven, Wang Hongwen became a pig herder. Since he worked at his aunt's house, where there was a family connection, he could eat there, which helped save food for his own family. In the autumn, his aunt's family even gave his family some grain as payment. Although he was not beaten or scolded, he often faced disdain. His aunt's children, because of their wealthier status, looked down on the dirty, shabby Wang Hongwen. They frequently took advantage of their parents' absence to bully and scold him. However, Wang Hongwen never complained to the adults and silently endured their mistreatment.

Wang Hongwen ate with these children every day, but while they finished their meals and went to school, he had to go out to herd pigs. Seeing his aunt's children go to school while he had to tend to pigs left Wang Hongwen with an indescribable feeling of sadness. One time, when his aunt's son was studying at home, Wang Hongwen couldn't help but take a glance at the book. Immediately, he was mocked by the other children: "You're a pig herder, can you even understand this? Hurry up and go back to herding pigs!" This comment had a profound impact on Wang Hongwen. Later, when Wang Hongwen became a soldier and had the opportunity to receive an education, he worked diligently. Despite having no prior educational foundation, he was able to attain a certain level of literacy. This determination stemmed from his childhood experience of being a pig herder, watching other children go to school while he couldn't, and from the sharp words of his aunt's son, which deeply motivated him to seek knowledge. In 1948, Changchun was liberated, and the People's Liberation Army (PLA) also arrived in

Wang Hongwen's village. After the PLA arrived, the land was distributed to the farmers. At that time, there were not as many idols as there are today, and the common idol for everyone was the PLA soldier. To join the army was considered an honor for the whole family, which inspired Wang Hongwen to think about enlisting. He discussed it with his parents, and they supported his decision. However, Wang Hongwen was only fourteen years old at the time, which was below the recruitment age. Seeing his son unable to join the army, Wang Hongwen's father also wanted to enlist, but unfortunately, he failed the physical examination. As a result, neither father nor son was able to join the PLA. However, the idea of becoming a soldier had firmly taken root in both of their hearts. At fourteen, Wang Hongwen was unable to join the PLA and had to continue working on the farm at home. His father was in poor health, so Wang Hongwen became the main pillar of the family. He took on the household responsibilities, and with the help of the mutual aid group in the village, the farm work did not fall behind. By the autumn harvest, the family had a good crop, and they were able to eat and dress warmly that year.

In 1950, the Korean War broke out. After careful consideration, Mao Zedong decided to send troops to Korea. The slogan "Resist America, Aid Korea, Protect the Homeland" quickly spread across the country. The Central Military Commission, in addition to deploying some troops to Korea, also decided to recruit locally in Northeast China. After receiving some military training, these recruits would serve as the follow-up forces of the Volunteer Army and enter the battlefield in Korea.

Across Northeast China, a large-scale recruitment campaign was launched, and many people eagerly volunteered to join the army. When Wang Hongwen heard that Changchun, not far from his home, was recruiting soldiers, he didn't consult his parents first. Instead, he got into a horse-drawn cart and went to register. After signing up, he returned home and told his parents about it. He was recruited by the Changchun suburban People's Government to join the 27th Army, 80th Division of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army. Wang Hongwen served as a guard and later as a communications clerk (team leader level) in the division headquarters, participating in the Korean War. Upon hearing this, Wang Guosheng felt both happy and worried. He was happy be-

cause the Wang family finally had someone in the army. However, he was also concerned because Wang Hongwen was the pillar of the family. If he left, there would be no one to do the farm work, and the family's livelihood would be very difficult. Moreover, Wang Hongwen was only sixteen years old, and the battlefield in Korea, with its constant gunfire and explosions, was extremely dangerous. There was a very real possibility that he might never return. In the end, however, Wang Guosheng still supported Wang Hongwen's decision to join the army. The mutual aid group in the village also decided to support the family by helping with the farm work. With their help, Wang Hongwen was able to leave with peace of mind and go to serve in the army.

When Wang Hongwen was about to leave, his parents sent him to the edge of the village with tears in their eyes. His younger siblings clung to his hands and refused to let go. Wang Hongwen also felt very sad, but he didn't shed any tears.

Once in Korea during the Korean War, Wang Hongwen became a communications soldier. Being a communications soldier was a very dangerous job, as it often required running through heavy gunfire to deliver orders and instructions from higher-ups to the front lines. However, Wang Hongwen was quick-witted and always completed his tasks successfully, managing to avoid injury during this time, which was considered quite fortunate.

As the situation in Korea gradually stabilized, the Volunteer Army decided to form a band to enrich the soldiers' leisure activities. Following the decision of the unit leaders, Wang Hongwen joined the band and learned to play the bugle. From then on, Wang Hongwen frequently traveled with the band to perform at the front lines, participating in social activities with the soldiers. In these activities, Wang Hongwen was enthusiastic and worked hard. He loved to learn, and whenever he encountered something he didn't understand, he would ask those with higher cultural knowledge for guidance. Over the years, Wang Hongwen accumulated a wealth of cultural and historical knowledge. Seeing Wang Hongwen's excellent performance, the organization decided to recruit him into the Communist Party. Soon after, he was promoted to an officer position. When the Korean War ended, the Volunteer Army units returned to



China in batches. Wang Hongwen's family waited anxiously for news of him, but they couldn't get any updates for a long time. Eventually, Wang Hongwen sent a letter home, informing his family that his unit was part of the last batch to withdraw from Korea. This news reassured his family. Afterward, his unit was relocated to Wuxi City, Jiangsu Province. In 1956, Wang Hongwen returned to his hometown in Northeast China.

"Dad! Mom! I'm home!" Wang Hongwen shouted before he even entered the house. When he entered the inner room, he found his mother sitting on the kang, crying, and his younger siblings all gathered around, their faces solemn. Seeing him return, there was no joy on their faces.

"What's going on? Where's Dad?"

"Brother, Dad passed away three years ago," Wang Hongwu was the first to speak.

"What?"

Wang Hongwen was struck like a bolt of lightning upon hearing this.

"Why didn't anyone tell me? Why did you all keep this from me?"

As he spoke, tears began to fall from Wang Hongwen's eyes. It turned out that his father, who had been seriously ill for a long time, had passed away in the third year after Wang Hongwen went to fight in Korea. In order to prevent him from being distracted while on the battlefield, his family had kept the news of his father's death from him. Wang Hongwen ran to his father's grave and cried bitterly. The villagers, who knew that Wang Hongwen had returned from the Korean battlefield and had become an officer, crowded around the narrow doorway of the Wang family home to see him.

After spending some time at home, Wang Hongwen returned to his unit as per military regulations, awaiting his assignment. At that time, the country was in great need of a large number of personnel for its construction efforts. Shortly after returning to his unit, Wang Hongwen received notice to attend training in Nanjing. He was assigned to the Nanjing

Reserve Officer Training Corps as part of his demobilization process. In September 1956, Wang Hongwen, wearing the military uniform issued to him and carrying the belongings provided by the army, traveled to Nanjing to attend the training. After completing the short-term training, he was assigned as a reserve second lieutenant, at the deputy platoon level. He was then assigned to the Shanghai No. 17 National Cotton Mill. The mill was a large factory at the time, with thousands of employees. A few days later, the factory's organizational department called Wang Hongwen in for a meeting and informed him that the organization had assigned him to work as a security officer at the Second Textile Factory. At the time, socialist New China was on the brink of a construction boom, and factories were in need of technical personnel. The organization wanted to assign him to this position to cultivate his skills in this area. The very next day, Wang Hongwen reported to the factory.

As a security officer, Wang Hongwen had no technical knowledge. So what did he do? He started studying books on textile machinery maintenance. Whenever he encountered something he didn't understand, he would ask senior technicians and experienced workers for guidance. He was assigned to work with an excellent technical mentor, who was very enthusiastic about teaching him. Wang Hongwen was young, smart, and diligent in his work, and quickly mastered the skills required for his job.

Thanks to his hard work and determination, Wang Hongwen gained the recognition of both his colleagues and superiors at the factory. Not long after, during the re-election of the workshop party branch, the young Wang Hongwen was elected as a committee member and appointed as the security director of the second textile workshop. Later, Wang Hongwen was sent to Chongming Island for reclamation labor. The life there was very difficult, but Wang Hongwen worked extremely hard. He worked there for two years, and during this time, he had to return to Shanghai for more than ten days to undergo surgery for appendicitis. Once the reclamation work was completed, the reclamation team was set to return to Shanghai. However, the newly established Chongming Farm needed to retain some people as cadres. The organization considered Wang Hongwen for this, but he refused and insisted on returning to Shanghai. In accordance with the principle of voluntary service, the organization did not force Wang Hongwen to stay. So, Wang Hongwen

left Chongming Island and returned to the National Cotton Mill No. 17. The organization arranged a new job for him at the factory's security department as a staff officer, and from then on, his monthly salary was 64 yuan. After returning to the National Cotton Mill, Wang Hongwen also continued his education by attending night school and graduated from junior high, earning his diploma. Not long after, Wang Hongwen married Cui Gendi, a caregiver at the factory's nursery. They had three children: a daughter named Yaping, and two sons named Yajun and Yamin.

On June 12, 1966, Wang Hongwen led a group of people to post a big-character poster titled "Peel off the Painted Skin to See the Truth" next to the factory's medical office, which caused a stir throughout the factory. All seven people who signed the poster were members of the Communist Party. As a result, the factory's Party Committee, along with the Shanghai Cotton Spinning Company, stopped Wang Hongwen's work. Soon after, the Shanghai Textile Industry Bureau's work team and the Municipal Party Committee's work team were dispatched to the factory.

On November 6, 1966, Wang Hongwen became the commander of the "Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters" (abbreviated as Gong Zong Si), a revolutionary rebel organization in Shanghai. However, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee opposed his actions and tried to block his attempts to organize and engage in political activities. On November 10, in the early hours, over 10,000 rebel workers from Gong Zong Si occupied Shanghai's train station. They boarded two trains bound for Beijing, intending to go to the central government to accuse the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee of following a bourgeois line. However, the two groups were detained at Anting Station and Nanjing Station. Despite multiple efforts to persuade him, Wang Hongwen remained resolute in his determination to continue the revolutionary rebellion. This led to the Anting Incident, where thousands of Shanghai and railway workers gathered at Anting Station to support the rebellion and blocked the trains by lying on the tracks. Subsequently, Zhang Chunqiao, representing the Central Cultural Revolution Group, personally negotiated with Gong Zong Si at Anting and agreed to their legitimate demands, officially recognizing the organization's legal status.

On January 8, 1967, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen established the Shanghai Revolutionary Command to take over the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and the Shanghai People's Government. They also issued the "Letter to All Shanghai People," marking the beginning of the January Storm. Chairman Mao gave high praise, saying: "This is one class overthrowing another class; this is a great revolution. When the revolutionary forces in Shanghai rise up, there is hope for the entire country." On February 5, the Shanghai People's Commune was established, but after Mao's judgment and criticism, it was renamed the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee.

In January 1969, at the 9th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), Wang Hongwen was elected as a member of the Central Committee. In August 1973, at the 10th National Congress of the CPC, he was elected as a member of the Central Committee, the Politburo, the Standing Committee of the Politburo, and the Vice Chairman of the Central Committee. He was also made a member of the Central Military Commission and later became a key member of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, continuing to enjoy Chairman Mao's trust and support. Mao Zedong once said to Zhang Chunqiao, "Wang Hongwen has been a farmer, fought in wars, and worked as a worker. His experience is stronger than yours and mine."

After Mao's death, bourgeois reactionary elements gradually took power. On October 5, 1976, Wang Hongwen, along with others, was lured into a meeting at Huairan Hall, where he was arrested under the manipulation of Hua Guofeng and Ye Jianying. Afterward, he was subjected to violent retaliation by the bourgeois reactionaries, enduring severe physical and mental torture, including repeated electric shocks and drug injections. After prolonged and brutal abuse, he was brought to court in a state of delirium and was convicted on various charges, receiving a sentence of life imprisonment. (According to Qiu's memoirs, during his imprisonment, they arranged a special chair for him. When he relaxed his body, the handcuffs and shackles would tighten sharply, and a nearby buzzer would emit a piercing and unbearable sound. They used "wheel tactics" against him, constantly administering truth serum, providing only enough food to keep him alive, and using various methods of torture for several days. It is said that when he was brought back, he was

foaming at the mouth, collapsed unconscious, and in a near-death state.) In mid-July 1977, the 3rd Plenary Session of the 10th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing. The meeting passed the “Resolution on the Restoration of Comrade Deng Xiaoping’s Positions,” reappointing Deng Xiaoping as Vice Chairman of the Central Committee, Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission, Vice Premier of the State Council, and Chief of the General Staff of the People’s Liberation Army, thus assuming the “three vice-chairmanships and one chief” positions. The meeting also passed the “Resolution on the Anti-Party Group of Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing, and Yao Wenyan,” which stated: “The party membership of Wang Hongwen, a bourgeois opportunist, conspirator, counterrevolutionary double dealer, and new bourgeois element, as well as Zhang Chunqiao, a Nationalist spy, Jiang Qing, a traitor, and Yao Wenyan, a class enemy, is forever revoked, and all their party and non-party positions are to be canceled.”

In 1980, Wang Hongwen’s siblings were granted permission to visit him at the Qincheng Prison. Wang Hongwen had three brothers and one sister: Wang Hongwu, Wang Hongshuang, Wang Hongquan, and Wang Guilan. The siblings were still living their ordinary lives. Wang Hongwu and Wang Hongquan worked in farming in their hometown of Changchun: Wang Hongwu was in Xinyin Village, Xinyang Township, in the Green Garden District of Changchun, while Wang Hongquan was in Baijiatun, Xinyang Township. Wang Guilan lived in Jilin City and was a housewife. Wang Hongshuang joined the army in 1958 and later, in 1962, transitioned to work at the Wugong County Aircraft Maintenance Factory in Shaanxi Province.

When Wang Hongwen’s siblings received the notice, they traveled to Beijing. They were allowed to meet Wang Hongwen at Qincheng Prison for a total of four hours—two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon. This was the only meeting the siblings had with Wang Hongwen in many years. During the visit, Wang Hongwen urged his siblings to work diligently and take good care of their mother. According to Wang Hongwen’s younger brother, Wang Hongshuang, from 1986 onwards, Wang Hongwen was transferred from Qincheng Prison to the Beijing Fuxing Hospital, which is under the Ministry of Public Security.

He lived in the same building as Zhang Chunqiao. Wang Hongwen's wife, Cui Gendi, and their three children lived an ordinary life in Shanghai. Cui Gendi kept in frequent contact with Wang Hongwen's siblings through letters, and she also made several trips from Shanghai to visit them in their hometown in Northeast China. After Wang Hongwen was placed under investigation and isolation, the staff conducted a search of his home and found bulk Maotai liquor. The discovery puzzled the staff, as they couldn't understand why Wang Hongwen had bought so much bulk Maotai. At that time, Maotai liquor was considered a high-end product, with a bottle costing around seven or eight yuan.

However, Wang Hongwen's salary was only 68 yuan per month. If he were buying the liquor for himself, he could have afforded only a few bottles, but since he often entertained others, it was clear that the amount he bought would not have been enough for his personal use alone. Wang Hongwen was known for his strong ability to drink, and he particularly enjoyed Maotai. He discovered that the staff at the Great Hall of the People would gather up the leftover Maotai after each banquet and sell it for 2 yuan per bottle. Seizing this opportunity, Wang Hongwen bought a large amount of the liquor. In fact, the bulk Maotai was primarily sold to internal staff members. When Wang Hongwen purchased the alcohol, some of the staff would mock him, saying, "You think you can get a bargain? No way!" despite the cheap price.

On August 5, 1992, *People's Daily* published the obituary of Wang Hongwen, which read as follows:

"Xinhua News Agency, Beijing, August 4: Wang Hongwen, the principal criminal of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary group, passed away from liver disease on August 3, 1992, in Beijing. Wang Hongwen, 58 years old, was sentenced to life imprisonment and deprived of political rights for life by the Supreme People's Court Special Tribunal in January 1981. After being diagnosed with illness in 1986, Wang Hongwen was sent for medical treatment. According to Duan Yuezhong from the cremation section of the Babaoshan Funeral Home in Beijing, Wang Hongwen was cremated there after his death. His wife and brothers attended the farewell ceremony. Duan Yuezhong recalled, "His brothers looked very much like him!"

Thus, the proletarian revolutionary leader, Comrade Wang Hongwen, ended his life.

## **Wang Hongwen's Younger Brother Reminisces About the Past**

One of the “Gang of Four,” Wang Hongwen, has been dead for many years. Like that period of history, the name “Wang Hongwen” has also become part of history. Unlike the Wang Hongwen who was once extremely influential and dominant in Chinese politics during the 1970s, his family, who had lived for generations off the land and oxen, continued to live in a mountain village in Northeast China, leading a simple and honest rural life. When Wang Hongwen was at the height of his power, they did not rise with him. When Wang Hongwen fell from the political stage, their lives remained unchanged.

What Wang Hongwen's elderly mother regretted until her death was that from the time Wang Hongwen left home at the age of 17 until his passing, she only saw him once. Wang Hongwen's political ambitions led to the painful separation of his family.

Born in 1932 in Kaiyuan Village, Xixin Township, Luyuan District, Changchun, Jilin Province, Wang Hongwen's father was Wang Guosheng, a hard-of-hearing, honest farmer. His mother, Wang Yangshi, was naturally timid, cautious, and kind-hearted. The Wang family had been farmers for generations.

As a child, like most poor farming families of the time, Wang Hongwen had no formal education, having only studied “Hundred Family Surnames” for three months. In his early teens, he worked as a pig herder for a landlord. As a child, he was fair-skinned, quiet, and well-spoken, and was recognized as a good boy in the village, well-loved by the neighbors.

At 17, he enlisted in the army, and except for returning home once in 1958 after being transferred, he never returned. In the third year after he enlisted, his father Wang Guosheng passed away from lung disease. Five years after being imprisoned in Qincheng, his mother Wang Yangshi died of a cerebral hemorrhage. Wang Hongwen was the eldest son, with three younger brothers and one sister. His second brother was Wang



Hongwu, his third brother was Wang Hongshuang, who enlisted in 1958 and was later transferred to the Wugong County Aircraft Repair Factory in Shaanxi Province in 1962, where he has since retired. His fourth brother was Wang Hongquan, a farmer in Baijiatun, Xixin Township, who passed away in 1996 from tuberculosis. His sister, Wang Guilan, worked as a homemaker in Jilin City. Wang Hongwen's siblings and their descendants are ordinary workers and farmers. Kaiyuan Village, where Wang Hongwen was born, is one of the larger and wealthier villages in Xixin Township. Standing at the front of the village, it is hard for me to imagine what the village looked like in Wang Hongwen's childhood. Today, Kaiyuan Village is very picturesque. Two years ago, a traditional-style village gate was built at the entrance, with a pond on one side and a small river beyond it. On the other side, there are rice fields with a light yellow hue. Inside the village gate, there is a community of green trees and red-tiled houses.

After some inquiries, I finally found the home of Wang Hongwen's second brother, Wang Hongwu. Wang Hongwu lives with his eldest son. The Wang family was having lunch when I arrived—on the table, there was a bowl of white rice and two plates of stir-fried potato slices, along with a few salted duck eggs. The children were eagerly fighting over the salted eggs. When they heard I had come for an interview, Wang Hongwu and his wife put down their bowls and chopsticks, inviting me to sit on the heated bed (*kang*). To avoid disturbing the family during their meal, I stepped outside the room.

The Wang family lives at the western end of the village. Apart from their house, which is a mud house, the surrounding houses are all red-brick buildings, either newly built or old, with large tiled roofs. The houses are neat and well-maintained. Looking at their dilapidated, nearly collapsing mud house and the obvious signs of poverty in their home, I couldn't help but reflect on Wang Hongwen's former image as a vice chairman of the Central Committee in Beijing, exuding power and authority. A deep sense of history welled up inside me, as if I could hear the winds of time rushing past my ears. "From the time my elder brother left home to join the army until his death, I only saw him twice," Wang Hongwu said. Wang Hongwu is two years younger than Wang Hongwen and is already in his sixties. From his facial features, it's clear that Wang Hongwu and

Wang Hongwen resemble each other. Wang Hongwu's hair is messy and graying, his face is lined with wrinkles, and his eyes have a somewhat vacant look. He speaks in a somewhat slow and wooden manner. Wang Hongwu's wife is from Huanghua Tun, Daling Township, Gongzhuling City, Jilin Province. She is tall and thin, with a small face, which suggests that she was very beautiful in her youth. Wang Hongwu rolled a leaf cigarette, took a puff, and said to me: "After my older brother's 'incident,' we rarely have outsiders visit. A couple of years ago, someone from Anhui came to my house, but left after just a short visit. You are the second outsider to come here." After saying this, Wang Hongwu briefly, and expressionlessly, recounted Wang Hongwen's life: Wang Hongwen joined the army and went to Korea to participate in the Korean War just one month after enlisting. After returning to China, he was transferred to work at the Shanghai Cotton Textile Factory No. 17 as a security officer. When the Cultural Revolution began, Wang Hongwen rebelled and became the deputy director of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. In mid-August to early September 1971, Chairman Mao visited the south, and Lin Biao's plot to assassinate Mao was exposed. Wang Hongwen helped to protect Mao and assisted the Nanjing Military Region in eliminating Lin Biao's faction. Later, Mao transferred Wang Hongwen to the central government. In October 1976, Wang Hongwen, as one of the "Gang of Four," was arrested and detained at the Qincheng Prison in Beijing. In November 1992, Wang Hongwen died of liver disease at Qincheng Prison.

After saying this, Wang Hongwu lifted his cloudy old eyes and continued, "Actually, I don't know much about my older brother. From the time he left home to join the army until his death, I only saw him twice. After my older brother left home, our father never saw him again. Our mother saw him once when he returned home after being demobilized. It was during the Great Leap Forward, and he didn't stay long when he came back; he left again soon after."

One day in 1980, Wang Hongwu and his siblings suddenly received a notice that they could go to Beijing to visit their older brother, Wang Hongwen. The four siblings quickly packed their belongings and set out on the journey. For many years, Wang Hongwen had had little contact with the family and rarely wrote to them. Wang Hongwu and his sib-

lings knew very little about his situation in Beijing. When the “Gang of Four” fell from power, they heard rumors that during the arrest of the “Gang of Four,” there had been gunfire and that Wang Hongwen’s arm had been broken. The family was deeply worried. Thus, throughout the journey, the four siblings were anxious and silent, with no one speaking. Upon arriving in Beijing, they met with their sister-in-law who was waiting for them, and together, they went to QinCheng Prison to visit Wang Hongwen. That day, they spent a total of four hours with Wang Hongwen—two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon. They had arrived early and waited in the visiting room at Qincheng Prison. When Wang Hongwen was called out, he sat across from them. At first, Wang Hongwu felt a bit of unfamiliarity upon seeing his older brother, but he quickly realized that the man in front of him looked no different from the image he had seen on film and television, though he appeared thinner, pale, and slightly swollen.

Soon, Wang Hongwu saw his sister-in-law tear up, and a wave of sorrow surged within him. He reached out and tugged at Wang Hongwen’s arm, asking, “Big brother, I heard that when they arrested you, they shot you and broke your arm. Is that true?” Wang Hongwen raised his arm and showed them that his arm was not injured. He explained that when he was arrested, no gunshots were fired. Instead, he had been told that he was going to attend a secret meeting, and they wouldn’t allow him to bring a bodyguard. Upon arriving at the meeting, he was immediately arrested. Afterward, Wang Hongwen reminded his siblings to work hard, not to carry burdens, and to live their lives well, taking care of their health and looking after their mother. After saying these things, his words grew scarce.

In September 1974, Wang Hongwu visited Dazhai and, on his way back, passed through Beijing. He decided to stay overnight in Beijing and try to meet his older brother. That evening, he called his brother from the guesthouse. After much effort, he finally got through, but it was Wang Hongwen’s secretary who answered the phone. The secretary informed him that Wang Hongwen wasn’t available and that if he wanted to meet, he would have to wait until after midnight. Although Wang Hongwu was eager to see his brother, he didn’t want to bother him given how busy he must have been. So, he decided against visiting and left for Changchun

the next day. When Wang Hongwu spoke to his brother at Qincheng Prison, he mentioned the time he had tried to meet him in Beijing. Wang Hongwen's eyes lit up at the memory. He asked Wang Hongwu for the exact date he had called him. After thinking for a moment, Wang Hongwen said that he had indeed been in Beijing on that day, but his secretary hadn't told him that his younger brother had come. At that point, Wang Hongwen's expression showed a hint of regret. The year after Wang Hongwu and his siblings visited their older brother in Qincheng Prison, in 1981, Wang Hongwen's mother passed away due to a cerebral hemorrhage. "We didn't benefit from Wang Hongwen's status."

Like Wang Hongwen's father, Wang Hongwu was a simple, honest farmer. In his earlier years, he served as the village team leader and later as the village's security director. After Wang Hongwen moved to Beijing, the Wang family became well-known in their locality. Wang Hongwu himself became a respected figure, with many people from the village and surrounding areas coming to him for help with various matters. Wherever he went, if he mentioned he was Wang Hongwen's brother, things immediately got done. During those years, he helped the village and surrounding areas in many ways, including purchasing a car for the village and other affordable agricultural and construction materials.

Wang Hongwen's mother was also highly respected by the people in the village. On several occasions, the villagers invited her to attend meetings, where she was treated with great honor. She was seated at the center of the stage, assisted by the Red Guards whenever she got on or off the stage, or even went to the restroom, with everyone calling her "Grandmother Wang."

In 1974, the Wang family tore down their old house to build a new one. Wang Hongwu helped by arranging the purchase of bricks, tiles, and wood. The house frame, doors, and windows were completed, and the villagers offered to help with the construction. However, Wang Hongwu's mother, being cautious and careful in her approach, disagreed with the villagers helping, fearing that it might lead to some negative consequences. Despite her objections, the villagers insisted on assisting, and the matter dragged on for over a month before the villagers finally went ahead and helped build the house. After Wang Hongwen was arrested

in Beijing, the Wang family faced great pressure. Shortly after his capture, people from the village came to force the Wang family to move out of their house. They took iron picks and crowbars and demolished the four rooms of their home, taking away the bricks, tiles, and wood. Wang Hongwen's mother and his younger brother Wang Hongwu were generally well-liked and respected in the village. After their house was demolished and they had nowhere to live, the villagers, seeing their plight, took the initiative to help Wang Hongwu build a new house. However, Wang Hongwu no longer had the money to build a brick-and-tile house, so he had to settle for constructing a three-room mud house. The Wang family lived in this humble mud house for over 20 years and was never able to afford to build a new one.

Due to the negative impact of Wang Hongwen's political downfall, Wang Hongwu was soon removed from his position as village security chief.

I had heard a rumor that when Wang Hongwen was the Vice Chairman of the Central Committee in Beijing, the government had given money to his mother. Additionally, the road from the city to Xixin Township and then to Kaiyuan Village was reportedly built because of Wang Hongwen. During the interview, I raised these two issues with Wang Hongwu and his wife. Regarding the road, Wang Hongwu immediately responded without hesitation: "Yes, the road was built, but it wasn't an asphalt road. It was made of mountain soil. However, it wasn't built just because Wang Hongwen was born in Kaiyuan Village. Even if Wang Hongwen hadn't been born here, the road would have still been built."

As for the money given to Wang Hongwen's mother by the government, Wang Hongwu's wife said, "At the time, we heard rumors that the government gave money, but we never saw it. No one gave the money to us directly." "Big Sister-in-law has returned many times." Wang Hongwen's wife, Cui Gendi, was a worker at Shanghai Cotton Textile Factory No. 17. Her family lived in Shanghai, with both her father and mother working as factory workers. After marrying Wang Hongwen, she had three children: two sons and one daughter, with the eldest being a daughter. Now, all three of their children are working in Shanghai. Cui Gendi was particularly close to Wang Hongwen's family back home. After Wang Hongwen was sent to Qincheng Prison, she wrote many letters to his sib-

lings and also returned to Kaishan Village from Shanghai several times. Each time she returned, she would travel from Shanghai to Changchun, then from Changchun to Jilin City, where she would stay at Wang Hongwen's sister's house for a few days before heading back to Xixin Township in Changchun. At that time, the road from Xixin Township to Kaishan Village was difficult to navigate and lacked public transport, so it would take her over an hour to walk the three or four kilometers.

The last time Cui Gendi visited Kaishan Village was in the summer of 1995. She stayed in Jilin City, Baijiatun, and Kaishan Village for three months. When she stayed at Wang Hongwu's house, she would sleep in the west room, cleaning up the messy space herself. She wasn't bothered by mosquitoes or flies and got along well with Wang Hongwu's wife. During meals, she ate whatever Wang Hongwu's family had, except for any undercooked dishes. Sometimes, she would even help Wang Hongwu's wife cook the meals. Wang Hongwu's wife recalled, "Big Sister-in-law didn't live in luxury in Shanghai either. She often talked about coming to the countryside to live, wanting to raise pigs, chickens, or other valuable animals." After a pause, she continued, "She said she would come back this year, but now it's almost September, and she hasn't returned, so we are afraid she might not be able to."

Wang Hongwu gazed into the distance, as if looking to see whether his sister-in-law had returned. After the interview ended, I asked Wang Hongwu if there were any childhood photos of Wang Hongwen or pictures of their mother. Wang Hongwu said there were none. He explained that when their mother passed away, he had planned to take a photo of her, but in the end, he didn't.

As Wang Hongwu saw me off, we exchanged a few casual words. I learned that his family farms 10 acres of land, which is enough for their needs. Wang Hongwu also mentioned that his eldest daughter-in-law works at a local velvet factory, earning over 510 yuan a month.

(Excerpt from *Family* magazine, December 1998 issue)



## Comrade Wang Hongwen in Prison

——Excerpt from The Memoirs of Qiu Huizuo

After the verdicts of the ‘Two Cases’ were announced, the Qincheng Prison allowed Huang, Wu, Li, Qiu, and Wang Hongwen to live together. They exchanged some extremely important information. It was in Qincheng Prison that Wang Hongwen revealed to Qiu Huizuo the brutal torture he had endured. Regarding Wang Hongwen’s extremely poor physical condition, Qiu Huizuo noticed Wang’s frail health when they first met. When Qiu asked the reason, Wang Hongwen said that from the very first day of his detention, he was forced to wear heavy restraints that automatically tightened. If he struggled, they would tighten further, like the tightening of a curse. If he used force to resist, it would throw him to the ground. After putting on the restraints, he was never allowed to remove them, and he had to wear them even while sleeping at night.

Originally, Wang Hongwen was detained in the basement of the Great Hall of the People, where there were “electronic sound devices” that went off every few minutes. The sound was excruciatingly uncomfortable, irritating the nerves, making one feel restless and unable to control their agitation... Once, while he was drinking hot water, he fell asleep before he could drink it. Suddenly, the noise jolted him awake. The water was still scalding hot, and it felt like he had just experienced a nightmare. Wang Hongwen said that every morning, he was given only a bowl of thin porridge. For lunch and dinner, he received a small cornmeal bun. He ate less than four liang (about 200 grams) of food each day. He was so hungry that his body became weak, and he couldn’t even lift his head. He also suffered from aftereffects—sometimes, right after eating, he couldn’t even remember what he had eaten.

Before the public trial, they finally gave him a little more food, but it was still poor, and he became swollen.” (Cheng Guang, *Dialogue of the Soul*, Volume II, Hong Kong Beixing Publishing, 2011, pages 865-866, subsequent references will cite page numbers only). “After arriving at the prison, they conducted a ‘room check’ every two hours. During each



check, they would speak to me, and even if I was asleep, they would wake me up without exception.” (Memoirs of Qiu Huizuo, Volume II, New Century Publishing, 2011, page 931). Regarding the interrogation of Wang Hongwen, he said that during the interrogation, the “electric sound device” would pause for a while. Wang Hongwen mentioned that he longed to sleep and sometimes would fall asleep during the interrogation, or would become so exhausted that he couldn’t speak anymore. (Page 866).

What methods did the special investigation team use to force Wang Hongwen to “confess” and “admit” his crimes? Wang Hongwen explained: “To obtain certain information, they often used the ‘wheel battle’ technique on me. Sometimes I would fall asleep while talking. They had injected me with drugs several times. Once I was injected with this drug, no matter what I did, I couldn’t sleep. I felt particularly agitated and in great pain. I resolutely refused to take the injection, but they forcibly administered it. Later, the condition they offered was: as long as I cooperated and confessed, they would stop the injections.” (Memoirs of Qiu Huizuo, New Century Publishing, 2011, page 931). Wang Hongwen said that in order to reduce his suffering and survive, he admitted to everything and would say whatever they wanted him to say. (Page 866).

Qiu Huizuo said: “After three or four days, we were sitting in the yard for ‘airing out.’ Wang Hongwen was the last to come out. He had barely taken a few steps when he suddenly collapsed to the ground like a board, foaming at the mouth. Just as we were about to help him, the guards immediately said, ‘Don’t touch him, it’s very dangerous. We can only let him recover on his own slowly.’ After two or three minutes, Wang Hongwen slowly turned to his side, with blood coming from his nose and his face covered in dust. When he saw us sitting there, he gave a faint, bitter smile.” (Memoirs of Qiu Huizuo, New Century Publishing, 2011, page 931).







