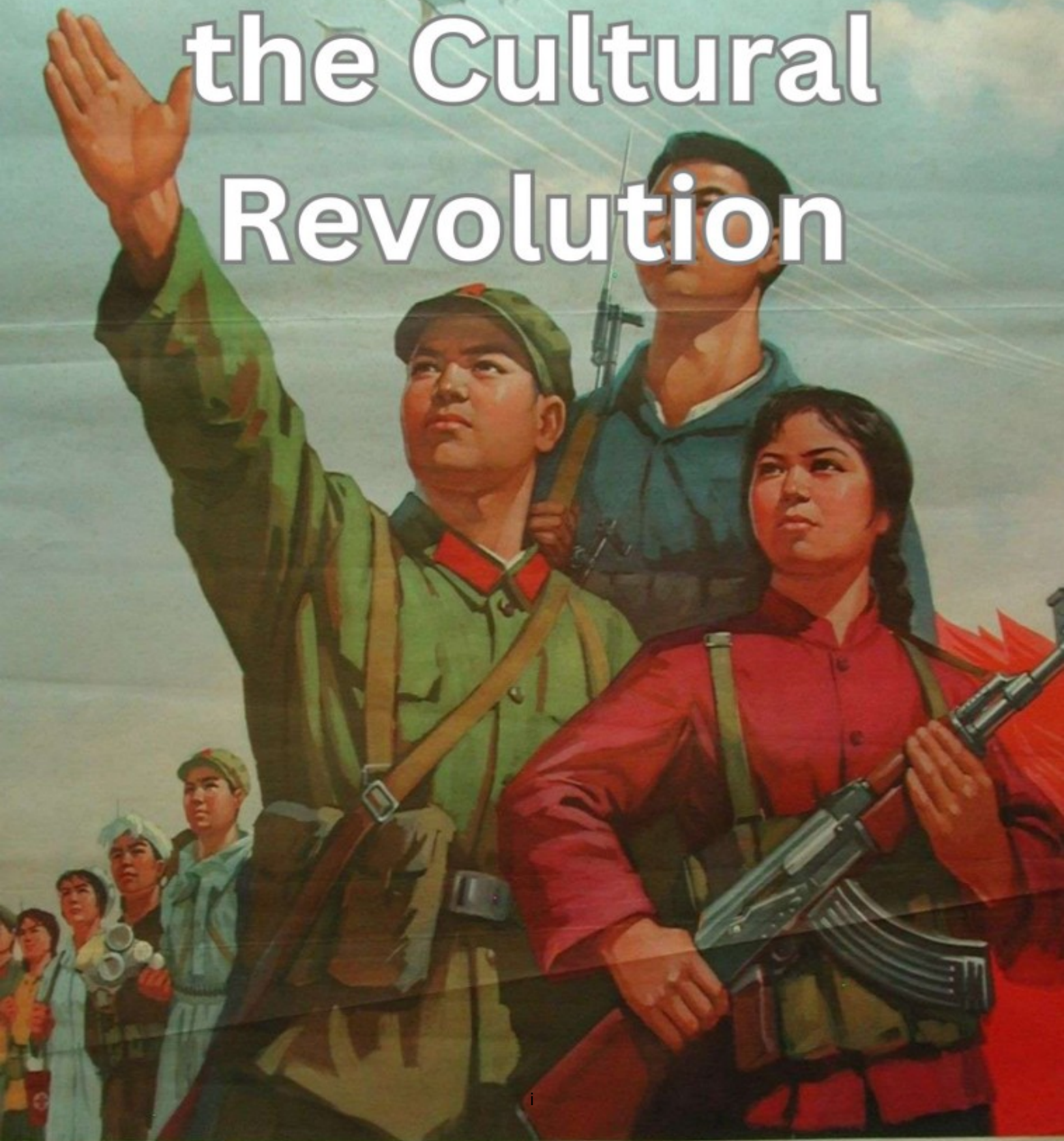


A Brief History of the Cultural Revolution



增订新版

“文化大革命”

简史

席宣 金春明 著

一、社会主义革命的新阶段

在无产阶级专政下继续革命，是一场触及人们灵魂的大革命，是我国社会主义革命的一个更深入、更广阔的新阶段。

无产阶级专政下继续革命，是无产阶级专政的一个新阶段。无产阶级专政下继续革命，是无产阶级专政的一个新阶段。无产阶级专政下继续革命，是无产阶级专政的一个新阶段。

二、和曲折

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Added a new version of the preface

This book, which was published 8 years ago, has been reprinted many times, and it is still out of stock from time to time. The publishing house plans to republish the book, so we took the opportunity to make more detailed revisions to the book, and according to some readers' suggestions, we added a "Cultural Revolution" memorabilia for easy reference. Regarding the inappropriateness of certain historical facts, judgments, and expressions in the book, we have made revisions and supplements by referring to the research results and commentary articles of some scholars and experts in the past eight years. We hereby express our deep gratitude. For this updated edition, I still hope to receive corrections from readers.

author

December 2004

Introduction

Twenty years have passed since the great political storm in the name of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" that devastated the land of China. However, the wounds left by the unprecedented civil strife are deep and huge, difficult to heal for a long time, and sometimes aching. It reminds and urges people to think and study why in socialist China in the 1960s, under the conditions of the Communist Party of China in power, there were "mistakenly launched by the leaders and used by the counter-revolutionary groups to give the party, the country and the people civil strife with serious disaster"? Why did it last for as long as 10 years after several twists and turns? What lessons does it leave us that must be kept in mind? and so on. The "Resolution on Certain Historical Issues Concerning the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 27, 1981, has a clear understanding of the nature, guiding ideology, outline process, main responsibilities, and main experiences of the "Cultural Revolution" It is an important guiding document for studying the history of the past 10 years. As a historical science, the history of the "Cultural Revolution" requires in-depth research on many issues under the guidance of the "Historical Resolution", and the actual situation of some specific historical events needs to be further explored and clarified. In particular, it is necessary to continue to work hard to explore the historical motives and internal connections behind the various complicated characters and events, as well as the development trend that does not depend on human will. This is a major concern of the entire party and the people of the whole country, and of course it can only be accomplished with the concerted efforts of all parties. However, the first to bear the brunt are historians, especially those who are professionals in the history of the CCP.

Both of us are professionals who have been engaged in the teaching and research of the history of the CCP for decades. The research work on the history of the "Cultural Revolution" has been going on for nearly 20 years. Due to the special complexity and twists and turns of the history of the "Cultural Revolution", it is still not possible to say that some issues have been analyzed clearly. However, we believe that the 10-year history of the "Cultural Revolution" has indeed come to a systematic elaboration, in-depth research and discussion. However, there is indeed a considerable gap between the current situation of the study of the "Cultural Revolution" and the urgent needs of the masses to understand history and earnestly learn from experience and lessons. A thorough analysis and research summary of major historical events often takes a long time, even the efforts of several generations. However, the responsibility of studying the history of the "Cultural Revolution" should never be left to future generations. The witnesses of the "Cultural Revolution" of our generation have a duty-bound responsibility. It is this heavy sense of historical responsibility that made us muster up the courage to write this "A Brief History of the "Cultural Revolution"" and contribute our research results to readers as the opinion of our family. I hope it can make a small contribution to the study of the history of the "Cultural Revolution", and at the same time, through discussions and exchanges, it can also promote our own research on the history of the "Cultural Revolution". Due to our research level and conditions, there may be some inadequacies in the book. Criticism and corrections are welcome.

December 1995 in Beijing

Chapter One: The Historical Background and Causes of the "Cultural Revolution"



The "Cultural Revolution" that occurred in 1966 was like a sudden hurricane, sweeping across the land of China in a short period of time, bringing the Chinese people into a catastrophe that lasted for more than 10 years. When this catastrophe loomed, people generally didn't know where it started. Not to mention ordinary people, even the senior cadres of the Communist Party of China have generally behaved as "very incomprehensible, very careless, and very incompetent" for a long time. People can only "comprehend the spirit" from the highest instructions, central documents, and chief executive speeches, and "guess the trend" from the gossip in the streets and alleys. This special historical phenomenon caused the "Cultural Revolution" to be chaotic and hazy from the very beginning, making it difficult for people to see what happened.

After the Jiangqing counter-revolutionary clique was smashed in 1976, while exposing and criticizing the crimes of the "Gang of Four", people inside and outside the party and Chinese and foreign scholars made a lot of comments on the "Cultural Revolution", and the exploration of the causes of the "Cultural Revolution" became a research hotspot. People searched for the reasons for the "Cultural Revolution" from different angles and levels in terms of politics, economy, culture, international communist movement, etc. These valuable efforts have begun to clear away the layers of fog that shrouded the "Cultural Revolution", allowing everyone to see some causal connections and regular things.

However, due to the divergent opinions and many clues, it makes people dizzy and unclear. It seems that all the ills that existed in Chinese society before the "Cultural Revolution" were closely related to the occurrence of the "Cultural Revolution". Some people even said: "The road of the 1950s was the road leading to the 'Cultural Revolution'." They believed that the "Cultural Revolution" was an inevitable outcome of the socialist system. However, when people turn their attention to other former socialist countries, they will find that the main disadvantages of Chinese society, such as the rigid political and economic system, excessive concentration of power, and personality cult, also exist in other former socialist countries. , although manifestations and severity vary. Although there were some disturbances in those countries, the "Cultural Revolution" did not occur. Can those troubles be called "mini-Cultural Revolution" or "a derivative form of the Cultural Revolution" like some comrades? Obviously not. The fact is that China's "Cultural Revolution" has its specific meaning: it was initiated and led by the leader of the ruling party himself under the conditions of socialism, guided by the so-called "theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat", and organized by the Party Central Committee. The committee made a decision and called on the whole people to participate, shrouded in the halo of anti-revisionism and anti-revisionism. The focus of the movement was to rectify the so-called party in power who took the capitalist road. Hundreds of millions of people have exposed the dark side of the party and the

country from bottom to top, and seized power in an all-round way. Obviously, such a "Cultural Revolution" is unique in the history of the international communist movement and is a special product of China's special historical conditions.

The scientific value of history lies in the fact-based research on specific historical processes with the help of detailed historical materials, revealing essential and regular knowledge, so that it can be used as a reference. To explore the cause of the "Cultural Revolution", we can only conduct a specific analysis of the historical process at that time and before, and find out the specific and dominant reasons from it. Taking the various malpractices that existed in Chinese society before the "Cultural Revolution" as examples, deducing them, and linking them with the "Cultural Revolution", although some truths can be said, and it can also inspire and educate people, but it is still unclear Why the "Cultural Revolution" happened to the Chinese people cannot yet be answered by historical science.

The "Resolution Concerning Certain Issues Concerning the History of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party made a scientific conclusion on the cause of the "Cultural Revolution". After more than 20 years of testing, it has been proved that those leading theories are in line with historical reality, are profound and pertinent, and are authoritative documents guiding the study of the "Cultural Revolution".

The "Cultural Revolution" took place under China's special historical conditions. We believe that this special historical condition can be explained from the following three aspects.

1. The interaction between "Left" theory and "Left" practice

Starting from the misjudgment of the main domestic contradiction

The "Left" theory and "Left" practice mentioned here mainly refer to the period after 1957. Why use 1957 as a dividing line? This is because China was a class society before the three major transformations of private ownership of the means of production were basically completed in 1956. The "Left" mistakes that occurred in the party at that time were mainly mistaking friends for enemies, expanding the scope of attack, and narrowing the allies; inappropriate strategies and methods were adopted in the struggle. After the three major transformations were basically completed, the objective conditions and principal contradictions of Chinese society underwent fundamental changes, and the exploiting classes were basically eliminated. As a result, the party's mission has also undergone a fundamental change, that is, from mainly "shattering the old world" to "building a new world." Therefore, the "left" after 1957 mainly manifested itself in the understanding of the nature and development stage of socialist society, how to correctly understand and deal with class relations in socialist society and other issues. The "Left" leaning theory and practice at this time not only had a connection with the "Left" in the past in terms of cognitive and historical roots, but also had major differences in objective social conditions and the actual content of the theory. Clarifying this distinction is of great significance for figuring out what kind of vicious development of "Left" theory and practice eventually led to the "Cultural Revolution". This is the first thing that needs to be explained.

Looking at the objective historical process, the development of the "Left" trend of thought in the Chinese Communist Party after 1957 did indeed start from an improper assessment of the domestic

class situation and a misjudgment of the main domestic contradiction.

Originally, after the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production in mainland China was basically completed, the Chinese Communist Party made a correct decision in a timely manner, proposing a major decision to transform the principal contradiction and shift the focus of work. The "Eighth National Congress" of the Communist Party of China held in 1956 pointed out in the resolution on the political report: "The main contradiction in our country is already the contradiction between the people's demand for the establishment of an advanced industrial country and the reality of a backward agricultural country, and it is already the people's desire to build an advanced industrial country. The contradiction between the need for rapid economic and cultural development and the current situation that the economy and culture cannot meet the needs of the people. The essence of this contradiction is the relationship between the advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces when the socialist system has been established in our country. Contradictions among them." This expression of the main domestic contradiction is not accurate enough in words. One is that it is easy to misunderstand that the newly established socialist system surpasses productivity in all aspects, but this is not the case; moreover, a good and advanced social system and good and advanced production relations are The reason is that it can adapt to and promote the development of productivity; if not, its advanced nature is doubtful, and it does not mean that the bigger and more public, the more advanced it is. The second is that it is easy to misunderstand that my country's socialist system is already perfect, and there is no need for reform and adjustment. Although there are inaccuracies in the expression of the main domestic contradictions in the "Eighth National Congress", the basic spirit they want to express is correct, and they can give people a very clear understanding: the main task of the whole party and the country in the future is to develop social productive forces .

Is the resolution of the political report of the "Eighth National Congress" "made by Liu Shaoqi behind Chairman Mao's back" and "a revisionist thing that advocates the theory of the extinguishment of class struggle" as it was propagated during the "Cultural Revolution"? no. The fact is: Liu Shaoqi presided over the drafting of the political report of the "Eighth National Congress", repeatedly studied it with Mao Zedong, and made serious revisions according to Mao Zedong's opinions. Mao Zedong thought that he revised it very well, and wrote the title on the title page of the sample draft in his own hand: "Political Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Eighth National Congress", and wrote "Liu Shaoqi" below it. At the First Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, Mao Zedong also praised this report as "a very good outline." It can be seen that Mao Zedong personally participated in the revision of the Political Report and agreed with it.

During the meeting of the "Eighth National Congress", Mao Zedong did express the need to reconsider the textual expression of the main contradiction in the draft resolution of the "Eighth National Congress" on the political report. For example, he believes that the essence of the principal contradiction should be summarized more from the contradiction between man and nature. Before and after this, he has proposed many times to mobilize all positive factors and deal with various contradictions in order to concentrate on "struggling against nature" and "opening war against the earth". However, he did not make a theoretical generalization, which shows that he has not considered maturity. It can be seen that on the fundamental issue of the transformation of the principal contradiction, he has the same views as other leaders of the central government. When reviewing the draft resolution of the "Eighth National Congress" political report, an opinion was put forward, pointing out that if the contradiction between man and nature is only mentioned, it is easy for people to ignore the various social contradictions that actually exist. Mao Zedong accepted this opinion and agreed with the formulation of the "Eighth National Congress" political report resolution, although somewhat reluctantly.

After the "Eighth National Congress", the Hungarian incident that shocked the whole world occurred, and Western countries took the opportunity to set off another anti-communist upsurge after Khrushchev's secret report. In the face of this big storm, the Chinese Communist Party is calm and calm. On the whole, for a period of time, Mao Zedong did not change the basic judgment of the "Eighth National Congress" on the main domestic contradictions and the situation of class struggle. However, one of the most basic lessons that Mao Zedong concluded from the Hungarian incident is: "The basic problem in some Eastern European countries is that class struggle has not been done well." This will inevitably affect his analysis and decision on domestic conflicts and events in the future.

The occurrence of the Hungarian incident also prompted Mao Zedong to devote a lot of energy to explore the problem of correctly handling the contradictions among the people. During this period, Mao Zedong made many speeches in Beijing and other places around the main domestic contradictions. In March 1957, he said at the Tianjin Party cadre meeting: Now the work of class struggle is basically over. The so-called "basically ended" means not completely ended. It means that the large-scale, mass class struggle is basically ended, as mentioned in our "Eighth National Congress". Our entire Party wants to engage in construction, to study science, to be a professor in a university, to conduct experiments and study science in scientific institutions, to be an engineer, to be a technician, to be a doctor, and to lead the whole society in the struggle against nature. , from revolution to construction, from past revolutions to technological revolutions and cultural revolutions. In the article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People" published by Mao Zedong in the same year, he also discussed the issue of shifting the focus of the party's work from a theoretical perspective. He said: "Our fundamental task has changed from liberating productive forces to protecting and developing productive forces under new production relations." From the historical materials quoted above, it can be seen that until the beginning of 1957, Mao Zedong's views on the main domestic contradictions were still the same. The resolutions of the "Eight National Congress" were unanimous.

The Serious Impact of the Anti-Rightist Struggle

Only two or three months later, the anti-rightist struggle broke out. This is considered "a large-scale, mass class struggle". In fact, this "class struggle" is largely artificial. The anti-rightist struggle not only misclassified a large number of intellectuals, patriotic democrats, and party cadres as "rightists", causing them and their families to suffer great misfortune, but also retarded the development of Chinese science and culture and encouraged "leftists". The expansion of the trend of thinking has a major impact on the historical process of Chinese society and even on the occurrence of the "Cultural Revolution".

The anti-rightist struggle took place during the rectification movement of the Communist Party of China. On April 27, 1957, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued "Instructions on the Rectification Movement". The "Instructions" stated: In order to adapt to the new situation from the revolutionary period to the construction period, and to overcome the growing bureaucratism, sectarianism and subjectivism within the party, it is necessary to carry out a general and in-depth rectification movement throughout the party. In order to better mobilize all positive factors, unite all people who can be united, and strive to build a great socialist country. On April 30, Mao Zedong invited leaders of various democratic parties and democrats without party affiliation to have a discussion, and welcomed them to help the Communist Party rectify the movement. On May 1, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's "Instructions on the Rectification Movement" was published in the "People's Daily" and other newspapers. On May 2, the "People's Daily" published an editorial "Why the Rectification Movement", calling on the masses to help the Communist Party rectify the movement. At that time, there was an upsurge of broad masses actively criticizing and making suggestions to the party across the country. Most people are well-intentioned. However, it is undeniable that in some places and units there are indeed a very small number of elements hostile to the party's leadership and the socialist system. leadership position. During the process of helping

the party to rectify, or due to lack of social experience, or due to extreme thinking, some people made some sharp remarks that were not completely in line with reality, and carried out activities such as petitions and demonstrations, causing chaos for a while. Regarding the situation at that time, Mao Zedong initially estimated that "the wind suddenly blows and wrinkles a pool of spring water", and he didn't think it was serious; he even used various channels and public opinion propaganda to encourage everyone to speak out boldly. Later, he changed his view on the situation, thinking that "dark clouds overwhelmed the city, ready to destroy it." If there was no counterattack, some party organizations might collapse. Therefore, the whole party was mobilized to counterattack and a large-scale mass struggle was launched, which resulted in the serious expansion of the anti-rightist struggle.

The changes in the middle can be seen from the party directive "Organize Forces to Counter the Rampant Attacks of Rightists" drafted by Mao Zedong for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 8, 1957. The document believes that in China, "there is a certain danger of a 'Hungarian incident'. Now we are taking the initiative to rectify the possible 'Hungarian incident', and divide it into various institutions and schools for drills, to deal with it, and to divide it into many Little 'Hungary'". Two years later, in 1959, in a conversation with foreign guests, Mao Zedong said: The Hungarian incident is a great lesson for us. Thousands of Little Hungary incidents have been carried out in China. Failure to do so will be very dangerous to socialism. From these words, we can see the impact of the Hungarian incident on Mao Zedong's judgment of China's situation, and it can also be used as a footnote for the anti-rightist struggle to adopt "fishing" and "leading snakes out of their holes". How much it is man-made.

The serious expansion of the anti-rightist struggle has brought many unfortunate consequences to the party and the country. Among them, the most direct and overall problems are the miscalculation of the domestic political situation and the sudden change in the judgment of the main domestic contradictions. During

the anti-rightist struggle, Mao Zedong wrote many instructions, articles and editorials one after another, all of which made excessively serious judgments on the issue of class struggle. For example, in the July 1st editorial "Wen Wei Po's Bourgeois Orientation Should Be Criticized" written for the People's Daily, it was judged that the rightists were bourgeois reactionaries, which regarded the bourgeoisie as a fully existing class. In the article "The Situation in the Summer of 1957", Mao Zedong said: "During the period of our country's socialist revolution, the contradiction between the anti-Communist, anti-people, anti-socialist bourgeois Rightists and the people is a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy, an antagonistic and irreconcilable It is a life-and-death contradiction." He also believes that the anti-rightist struggle "is a great socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. The socialist revolution on the economic front (on the ownership of the means of production) in 1956 alone It is not enough, and it is not consolidated. The Hungarian incident is proof. There must be a thorough socialist revolution on the political front and an ideological front." This provided a theoretical basis for the continuous political movement in the future.

It was based on this series of "left" judgments that Mao Zedong affirmed in his speech at the Third Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held from September to October 1957: "The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the basis of socialism. The contradiction between the capitalist road and the capitalist road is undoubtedly the main contradiction in our society today." This passage is a fundamental change from the judgment on the main domestic contradictions at the "Eighth National Congress" held a year ago. Mao Zedong's erroneous conclusions about the main domestic contradictions were endorsed by the Central Plenary Session, which will inevitably lead to corresponding changes in the main tasks of the entire party and the entire policy. This is a major theoretical error and decision error.

For the change in the judgment of the main domestic contradiction, Mao Zedong explained it at a meeting of the team leaders of the Third Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee. He said: The "Eighth National Congress" document stated that the large-scale class struggle was basically over, because the bourgeoisie beat gongs and drums at that time, and they were submissive, and the problem was not fully exposed. The problems of the bourgeois intellectuals, the ideological problems of the well-to-do middle peasants, the political power and ideology of the bourgeoisie, and the problems in the superstructure were all very unclear at that time. After this outburst, the bourgeoisie wanted to rebel, and the problem became clear. Therefore, it should be said that the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is the principal contradiction. From this explanation, it can be clearly seen that the mistake in judging the main contradiction at the Third Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee is a theoretical reflection of the serious expansion of the anti-rightist struggle.

Summarize wrong practice, extract wrong theoretical viewpoints, use them to guide practice, and then conduct theoretical generalizations to upgrade the wrong theory step by step, and then use them to guide practice. This interaction began with the anti-rightist struggle.

derived a series of errors

Due to the misjudgment of the principal contradiction, a series of misjudgments will inevitably be derived from the theoretical viewpoint of classes and class struggle in socialist society.

First of all, in order to confirm that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the main contradiction in my country's socialist society, it must be affirmed that there is still a bourgeoisie in a complete sense under the conditions of socialism. In March 1958, Mao Zedong said at the Chengdu Conference that there are two exploiting classes and two working classes in the country. This point of view was confirmed in Liu Shaoqi's work report at the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress held in May

of the same year, and was explained as follows: the two working classes refer to workers and peasants, and the two exploiting classes, "one is the bourgeoisie that opposes socialism. Rightists, the overthrown landlord-comprador class and other reactionaries", and the other is "the national bourgeoisie and its intellectuals". In this way, the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Party used the authority of the Congress to formally negate the correct judgment made by the First Session of the Eighth National Congress on the main domestic contradiction. At the same time, it also changed the correct judgment on the attributes of intellectuals held by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1956, that is, the vast majority of intellectuals have become state workers, have served socialism, and are already members of the working class. a part of".

The reason for the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China to reclassify intellectuals as bourgeois in general is clear. In the anti-rightist struggle, 550,000 rightists were drawn, the vast majority of whom were intellectuals. So there was a theory at that time, which believed that the old bourgeoisie had been deprived of their property due to the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, and they had no power. Now those who can compete with the proletariat for leadership are mainly bourgeois intellectuals, because they have knowledge, and knowledge cannot be taken away from their heads. So they have capital and can compete with us for leadership. The misjudgment of the attributes of intellectuals is obviously also summarized from the erroneous practice of the anti-rightist struggle.

It is assumed that there are still two exploiting classes in mainland China that has entered a socialist society, and theoretically it will inevitably encounter insurmountable difficulties. Because according to the basic principles of Marxism, class is an economic category, and the existence and characteristics of classes can only be explained from the economic relationship, that is, the relationship between people's possession of the means of production, and the basis for distinguishing and classifying classes can be proposed.

These theoretical viewpoints have been fully demonstrated by Marx and Lenin, so there is no doubt in theory, and they should be handled accordingly in practice. In the long-term work of the Chinese Communist Party, whether it is land reform or socialist transformation, it is based on whether people own the means of production, what they own, how much they own, and how they use them to distinguish classes. Therefore, it was determined that there were still two exploiting classes in the country. At that time, a question arose: my country's land reform had already been completed, and the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production had been basically completed. On what grounds could it be said that there were still two exploiting classes? This is the question that needs to be answered.

Mao Zedong tried to answer this question. In November 1958, he said at the Wuchang Conference that the economically exploited class is easy to eliminate, and now we can say that it has been eliminated; the other is the political and ideological class, which is not easy to eliminate and has not yet been eliminated. found. During the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held from November to December of the same year, Mao Zedong wrote in a handwritten speech outline: Don't be busy announcing the elimination of exploitation and the elimination of class issues (ideologically and politically the landlord bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie still exists). This brings up the erroneous view that there are "political and ideological classes" in addition to "economically exploiting classes", which deviates from the basic principles of Marxism. The logical deduction of this point of view inevitably leads to the belief that classes and class struggle are ubiquitous and ubiquitous phenomena in socialist society. This was a major theoretical error, and it was the beginning of the slide from historical materialism to historical idealism on the issue of class and class struggle, which had an increasingly harmful effect on guiding practice.

This error is still derived from wrong practice. The anti-rightist struggle delineated "bourgeois rightists" according to the

performance of people's political thoughts in history and at that time. In the later stage of the movement, the "standards for classifying rightists" were formulated. Although 16 "standards" were set out to stipulate what situations should be classified and what situations should not be classified, the facts have proved that most of them are still wrong. It is unscientific and impossible to find a scale that can measure people's political thinking and distinguish their class composition. Because people's political and ideological conditions cannot be pure and unchanging, but can be changed, and there may be inconsistencies between the outside and the inside. The unscientific nature of classifying according to political ideology is also manifested here.

After the establishment of the viewpoint that the contradiction between the two classes and the two roads is the main domestic contradiction, according to the philosophical viewpoint that grasping the principal contradiction of things, other contradictions can be easily resolved, grasping class struggle has gradually become the key point of China's political life, social life and even economic life. Theme: The "Left" ideological trend characterized by the expansion and absolutization of class struggle has gradually developed rapidly within the party and society.

A Major Upgrade of the "Left" Leaning Theory

Although the content of the "Great Leap Forward" that began in 1958 was mainly a struggle against the natural world, it was after the anti-rightist movement that "decentralization of cadres", "intellectuals confide in the party", "planting red flags, pulling out white flags", criticizing Under the political pressure of the "tide watchers" and "autumn reckoners", there was a big bang. It can also be said that it is an attempt to promote the development of productive forces as soon as possible by means of political campaigns. In the early days of the "Great Leap Forward" movement, the "Left" trend of thought was rampant, and the "communist style" prevailed, which brought bad results to all aspects of work. Mao Zedong and other central leaders noticed this situation. The two Zhengzhou conferences, the

Wuchang conference, and the Shanghai conference all made certain efforts to rectify the "Left". However, the focus of this series of "Left" rectification work is on some practical work, and does not involve the guiding ideology of the movement. At the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (Lushan Meeting) held in July 1959, it suddenly changed from rectifying the "Left" to anti-Right. In a more "Left" form, it put forward the view that there is class struggle in the Communist Party. The "Left" leaning theoretical point of view has undergone another major upgrade.

When the Lushan Conference was held, the consequences of the "Great Leap Forward" had already been clearly exposed. The meeting was held to correct "Left" mistakes in practical work. Peng Dehuai, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Minister of National Defense, wrote to Mao Zedong during the meeting. The content of the letter was summed up. left" question. No matter in terms of content or expression of this letter, history has already concluded that it is correct. However, this letter was identified as the "programme of right opportunism" and became the basis for suppressing and attacking people inside and outside the party who had doubts about the "three red flags" and launching a national campaign to repel "the rampant attack of right opportunism". by the head. Criticizing Peng Dehuai's erroneous practice also pushed Mao Zedong to make a new theoretical generalization. In one of his instructions, he wrote: "The struggle that took place in Mount Lu is a class struggle, a continuation of the life-and-death struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the course of the socialist revolution in the past ten years." The debate of different opinions within the party is mistakenly identified as class struggle, thus directly extending class struggle to the Communist Party.

The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which was held immediately after the Lushan Conference, wrongly launched criticisms against Peng Dehuai, and included Huang Kecheng (member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and chief of the general

staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Zhang Wentian, who spoke at the Lushan Conference and basically agreed with Peng Dehuai's views. (Alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, first vice minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Zhou Xiaozhou (alternate member of the CPC Central Committee, first secretary of the Hunan Provincial Party Committee of the CPC) and other comrades have become so-called anti-party groups. The plenary session passed the "Resolution on the Mistakes of the Anti-Party Group Headed by Comrade Peng Dehuai" and the resolution "To Defend the Party's General Line and Fight Against Right Opportunism". The plenary session held that: "Right opportunism has become the main danger within the party at present. Uniting the whole party and the people of the whole country, defending the general line, and repelling the attack of right opportunism have become the main combat tasks of the party at present." The wrong tendency is "Left", but doing the opposite, calling on the whole party and the whole country to fight against the Right, will inevitably promote the proliferation of "Left" trends of thought, causing more serious consequences.

After the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, a puzzling "anti-rightist" struggle was set off from the central government to the localities and even the grassroots. Some cadres have become cute "Left" during the "Great Leap Forward", but they still have to check their "Right deviation"; Labeled "right-leaning elements". Since then, the "Three Red Flags" have been regarded as gods, and no disrespectful remarks about them are allowed.

Under the impact of the "anti-Right deviation", not only the process of rectifying the "Left" was interrupted, but also the slogan of "continuing the Great Leap Forward" was put forward despite the serious difficulties in the economic field that had gradually emerged, and thus was punished by objective economic laws. This has become the main reason for the unfortunate situation of three years of severe economic difficulties caused by the imbalance of economic

proportions, the severe shortage of materials, the people's life is very difficult, and a large number of people died abnormally.

The Crucial Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee

The viewpoint of distinguishing classes according to political ideology and the existence of class struggle within the party is an important pillar of the "Left" theory. The establishment of this point of view has led people to turn more and more attention to the class struggle within the party, resulting in tension within the party and abnormal political life, which already contains the genes of the "cultural revolution". Unfortunately, the errors in theoretical understanding were not only not corrected in time, but also deepened step by step in practice, and finally formed a complete form, and was raised to the height of the party's guiding ideology, becoming a guideline for carrying out various tasks, and becoming a leader in educating party members, cadres, and the masses. In this process, the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in September 1962 played a key role.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Beidaihe Central Work Conference held before it, Mao Zedong made many speeches on issues of class, situation, contradictions and unity within the party. He believed that the bourgeoisie would exist throughout the historical period of socialism, and attempted to restore capitalism, which was the root cause of revisionism within the party. Therefore, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road is protracted. He asked the whole party to talk about the issue of class struggle every year, every month, and every day. He believed that there would be no Marxism without class struggle, and class struggle would take 10,000 years. These words were later summarized as the basic line of the Communist Party of China in the entire historical stage of socialism, and taught people to observe and analyze everything from the perspective of class struggle in social life, and "never forget class struggle."

Mao Zedong said at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee that he was "revisiting class struggle" this time. This statement requires analysis. As mentioned earlier, class struggle has always been an important part of his talks and an important area of work for him. He has never relaxed, let alone given up, and there is no need to "revisit". However, this "revisiting class struggle" does have some special background.

After three years of severe economic difficulties, people gradually calmed down and thought more seriously about the "three red flags". In early 1962, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held an enlarged working conference (also known as the Seven Thousand People Conference) in Beijing. When discussing the experience and lessons of work since 1958, responsible cadres at all levels and at all levels expressed dissatisfaction with some issues related to the "three red flags" in their speeches. Although Mao Zedong tolerantly suggested that everyone "vent anger during the day and watch a play at night", he stated in principle in his speech that he should take leadership responsibility for certain mistakes. However, according to Jiang Qing's speech during the "Cultural Revolution", Mao Zedong was "suppressed with anger" for that conference, and only Lin Biao (Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, who succeeded Peng Dehuai as Minister of Defense after the Lushan Conference in 1959) In the speech at the meeting, "the heart is grateful".

Lin Biao said in a speech at the "7,000-person meeting" that these difficulties occurred "precisely because Chairman Mao's instructions, Chairman Mao's warnings, and Chairman Mao's ideas were not followed." "When our work is doing better, it is when Chairman Mao's thoughts can be implemented smoothly, and when Chairman Mao's thoughts are not disturbed. If Chairman Mao's opinions are not respected, or are greatly disturbed, things will go wrong." Mao Zedong appreciated these intentional flattery, which seriously violated objective reality.

At that time, there were different opinions and propositions within the party on the understanding of the economic situation and the policy measures that should be adopted. Regarding the estimation of the economic situation, Mao Zedong believed that the most difficult period has passed. Liu Shaoqi and other central leaders believed that it was still in an "extraordinary period" in view of the large fiscal deficit in 1962 and the large gap between supply and demand of commodities. For some policies and measures, such as the production responsibility system in the form of "household production contract" in rural areas, it was wrongly adopted in the campaigns such as "pulling the white flag", "anti-rightist deviation", "rectification and rectification", and "democratic remedial classes". Criticizing and punishing party members and cadres rehabilitating and other work have different understandings. It is normal for there to be disagreements and even disputes within the party, and they can be resolved through research and democratic discussion. However, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee held in September 1962 and the Central Work Conference held before the meeting, Mao Zedong made a wrong judgment and summary of the practice before and after the 7,000-person meeting. Criticize opinions that differ from his as "dark wind", "independent style", and "overturning the verdict", and regard this difference as a struggle between taking the capitalist road or the socialist road, and even think that this is the struggle between the party and the Communist Party. The revisionism that emerged at the upper echelons within the country further raised the issue of "how the party should deal with revisionism within the domestic party", and the misunderstanding of the expansion and absolutization of class struggle developed rapidly.

During this period, certain changes and developments in the international and domestic situations also promoted the "Left" trend of thought within the party. For example: the disputes between the two parties in China and the Soviet Union became more and more intensified, and the differences became public and affected state relations. The leaders of the Soviet Union adopted a great-power chauvinist attitude and exerted pressure on China from military,

political, and economic aspects. After 1961, the United States gradually intervened in the Vietnam War, from the "special war" with money and guns, to the direct participation of the US military in the war, and the war approached the southern gate of China. The Indian army also invaded my country's Xinjiang and Tibet with the support of the Soviet Union. Domestically, the Taiwan authorities carried out a series of political mobilizations and military deployments, taking advantage of the mainland's temporary economic difficulties at that time, calling for "counterattack on the mainland." Some reactionaries, embezzlers, and criminals in society took advantage of the opportunity to carry out activities, and various crimes increased. Faced with this situation, Mao Zedong, as the main leader of the party, promptly reminded the whole party to pay attention to the issue of class struggle. This undoubtedly has a corresponding objective need. The problem is that the intensification of class struggle to a certain extent in a certain period of time and within a certain range is regarded as a comprehensive class struggle, and class struggle is placed in a position that covers everything. This was the result of an unrealistic estimate of the contradictions within the party and the domestic and foreign situation, and it was a theoretical mistake with serious consequences concerning the class struggle in socialist society.

Social education movement set off "class struggle"

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, Mao Zedong raised the issue of carrying out socialist education in urban and rural areas across the country. After the meeting, some areas carried out rectification and socialist education. The Baoding area of Hebei Province carried out the "small four clean-ups" (that is, cleaning up accounts, cleaning up warehouses, cleaning up property, and cleaning up work points), and some cadres were found to be overeating, occupying, embezzling and theft. The Hunan Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China spent three months training 1.2 million cadres at all levels above the production team leader in the spirit of the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee. Through training, let these cadres accept the

following understanding: "The current class struggle is fierce, whether in rural areas or urban areas, the sabotage activities of class enemies are rampant, and a black wind of anti-socialism is blowing very hard"; "Class struggle The reaction within the party is also serious." In its report to the Party Central Committee, the Hunan Provincial Party Committee believes that it is necessary to "thoroughly lift the cover of the current class struggle" and "blow the east wind with great fanfare, attack the enemy, and curb the black wind."

At the Central Work Conference held in February 1963, Mao Zedong recommended the experience of carrying out the socialist education movement in Hunan Province and the "Small Cleanups" in Baoding area. Based on this, he put forward the thesis that "class struggle, once grasped, will succeed", and urged all localities to Pay attention to class struggle and socialist education. The meeting determined that a socialist education campaign should be carried out in rural areas, and that the "five evils" (i.e., against corruption, against speculation, against extravagance and waste, against decentralization, and against bureaucracy) should be carried out in cities. In this way, the political movement centered on class struggle was once again gradually pushed across the country.

Under the guidance of the ideology of "class struggle, once you catch it, you will be effective", in the regions and units that carry out socialist education in urban and rural areas, many so-called class enemies have been caught at once, and many so-called class struggle phenomena have been exposed. Therefore, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China believes that: "Currently there is a serious and sharp class struggle in Chinese society", and the "Four Cleans" movement in the countryside and the "Five Antis" movement in the cities "both attack and crush the rampant attacks of capitalist forces. socialist revolutionary struggle". Just in September 1963, Mao Zedong formally established the guidelines of "taking class struggle as the key link". Putting class struggle in the "outline" position has actually been confirmed at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee. Putting forward the slogan of "taking

class struggle as the key link" is bound to bring all work into the track of class struggle.

In the socialist education movement, due to the guidance of "Left" ideology, many coercive methods were adopted, some cadres who were suspected of committing the "four unclear" mistakes, and some cadres who had such and other faults in their life style and work style were often punished. In the case of false evidence, it is regarded as a bad person. In this way, a group of so-called class enemies were caught. This creates the illusion of "you don't know if you don't do it, and you are startled when you do it". After being taken aback, check the right deviation, oppose the right deviation, and then go to catch the "class enemy". The more anti-rightist ideology, the more "left", and the more "class enemies" are caught. If there are too many, then startle again, check the "right deviation" again, and go to catch it again, forming an interactive effect. Because the socialist education movement in urban and rural areas was only carried out in local areas and units, and was later incorporated into the "Cultural Revolution", it failed to form an overall political movement that swept across the entire continent, but it caused great shock and influence in society.

During the socialist education movement, several policy adjustments were made, and some corrections were made to some deviations that occurred during the movement, which to a certain extent reduced the losses caused by the movement. However, through this campaign, the scope of "class struggle" became wider and wider, and the number of "class enemies" increased, creating the illusion that the situation of class struggle was very serious. This illusion had a great impact on the leadership's decision-making thinking. It is a huge impetus to the upgrading of the "Left" theory.

In December 1964, Mao Zedong put forward the concepts of "bureaucrat class" and "leaders taking the capitalist road" in a commentary on the report on the socialist education movement. In January 1965, in "Some Issues Presently Raised in the Rural Socialist Education Movement" (i.e., "Twenty-Three Articles"), he

stated: "The focus of this movement is to rectify those in power within the party who are taking the capitalist road. ". And think: "The people who support these establishments, some are below, and some are above", "There are even some people who work in the provincial and central departments and oppose socialism." This further provides a theoretical policy basis for shifting the focus of class struggle to the Chinese Communist Party and the party's leading organs.

Excessive criticism in the field of ideology

The mistake of exaggerating and absolutizing class struggle inevitably extends to the ideological field. In May 1963, Shanghai "Wen Wei Po" published an article written by Ke Qingshi, the first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee at that time, and Jiang Qing, Mao Zedong's wife, who organized articles on Meng Chao's new Kunqu opera "Li Huiniang" and Fanxing (the United Front Work Department of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee at that time). Minister Liao Mosha's "Ghosts Are Harmless Theory" to conduct political criticism, claiming that these articles and works are serious manifestations of class struggle in the ideological field. Since then, a series of novels, movies, and dramas have been published in national newspapers, such as "Liu Zhidan", "Raging Tide", "Xie Yaohuan", "North Country Jiangnan", "Early Spring and February", "Stage Sisters", "Lin's Shop", "The City That Never Sleeps" ", "Soldiers Coming to the City", "Catch the Strong", "Red Sun", "A Thousand Miles Against the Wind" and so on. Most of these criticized works were relatively excellent works created and screened during this period, but at that time, they were all considered to be expressions of the sharp class struggle and the struggle between the two roads in the literary and art circles, and put the "bourgeois ", "revisionist", "big poisonous weed" and other political hats. Many who have seen these rather popular works are bewildered by this harsh political critique. Under the influence of the "Left" trend of thought where class struggle is the key link, and under the influence of exaggerated class education, people sincerely or against their will examine themselves for "the concept of class struggle is too weak"

and "forgot the teachings of Chairman Mao". To a large extent, it formed the ideological basis for the broad masses to accept the "Cultural Revolution".

At the end of 1963 and in the middle of 1964, Mao Zedong successively wrote two instructions on literature and art work, and put forward severe criticism. He criticized the Ministry of Culture as the "Ministry of Emperors, Generals and Ministers", "Ministry of Talented Scholars and Beautiful Women", and "Department of Dead Foreigners". He believes: "All kinds of art forms - drama, folk art, music, fine arts, dance, film, poetry and literature, etc., have many problems and a large number of people. Socialist transformation has achieved little effect in many departments so far." At that time, Mao Zedong thought of the literary and art associations: "These associations and most of the publications they have (it is said that there are a few good ones), for fifteen years, basically (not all of them) did not implement the party's policy, and they were officials. Be a master, don't get close to the workers, peasants and soldiers, and don't reflect the socialist revolution and construction. In recent years, they have fallen to the brink of revisionism. If you don't seriously reform, you will definitely become a Hungarian Petofi one day in the future. Groups like clubs." Mao Zedong's harsh criticism of literary and artistic work is obviously unfair and exaggerated. It cannot be said that there were no bad phenomena in the literary and art circles at that time, nor could it be said that there was no bourgeois influence, but generally speaking, there were mainly "Left" problems in the literary and art circles at that time, and the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" could not be truly implemented. Mao Zedong looked at the literary and art circles from a more "left" perspective and criticized them politically, which greatly shocked the literary and art circles. The Ministry of Culture, various associations in the literary and art circles, and various literary and artistic units directly under the Ministry of Culture immediately carried out inspections and carried out rectification according to the two instructions. Vice ministers of the Ministry of Culture Qi Yanming, Xia Yan, Xu Guangxiao, Xu Pingyu, Chen Huangmei, Shao Quanlin, party secretary of the

Writers Association, Yang Hansheng, vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, and Tian Han, chairman of the National Theater Association, all received false and excessive criticism. The leading group of the Ministry of Culture has been reorganized.

Beginning in the summer of 1964, this kind of criticism expanded to various academic fields such as philosophy, economics, history, and education. Philosophers criticized Yang Xianzhen, vice president of the Central Party School of the Communist Party of China, for his theory of "combining two into one"; economics criticized the economic thought of Sun Yefang, director of the Institute of Economics, Chinese Academy of Sciences; The so-called "non-class viewpoint" and "concession policy" theory. In criticism, different academic viewpoints are regarded as a struggle between two classes and two roads, academic issues are regarded as political issues, and the relevant people are mistakenly labeled as "revisionists" and "anti-Party elements". Hats, draw unrealistic conclusions. What's more, whenever a certain academic point of view is criticized, many people who hold the same opinion, even though some are not familiar with the object being criticized, will be implicated and suffer undue blows. The nationwide and violent political movement that took place later was dubbed the "Cultural Revolution" which had nothing to do with its content, and here we can find the reason.

dire situation assessment

Under the interaction of the theory and practice of the expansion and absoluteization of class struggle, in 1965, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong made an unrealistic estimate of the domestic situation, and painted a terrible scene:

More than one-third of the rural power is not in our hands;

A considerable majority in the factories and enterprises, the leadership is not in the hands of the Marxists and the working

masses;

Schools are monopolized by bourgeois intellectuals;

Most of the literary and artistic world has fallen to the brink of revisionism;

There is a "bureaucrat class" that "sucks the blood of workers" in China, and there are "people in power taking the capitalist road" in the party;

A large number of representatives of the bourgeoisie and counter-revolutionary revisionists have mixed into the Party, the government and the army.

Having made such a serious assessment of the situation, in Mao Zedong's eyes, "the party's revision and the country's discoloration" have become a real danger. Therefore, he has repeatedly raised the question of "what should be done if there is revisionism in the central government" on different occasions. On October 10, 1965, Mao Zedong said in a conversation with the first secretary of the large area and the commander of the large military area: Revisionism has emerged in the central government, what should you do? If there is revisionism in the central government, you will rebel. And how did Mao Zedong himself think about reversing this situation? He believes that in the past, the struggle in the factories, the struggle in the countryside, the struggle in the cultural circles, and the socialist education movement could not solve the problem, because they were only tinkering, and they did not grasp the class struggle as a whole. . Therefore, he believes that it is necessary to use a form to mobilize hundreds of millions of people to expose our dark side from the bottom up. This kind of mass movement, which in his mind could completely solve the problem, was later called the "Cultural Revolution."

The interaction between "Left" theory and "Left" practice is a fundamental reason for the occurrence of the "Cultural Revolution". The above is only a general analysis of the development of the "Left"

trend of thought in the Communist Party of China before the "Cultural Revolution" and the "Left" practice under the guidance of the "Left" ideology, and their interactive influence, depicting a general Outline. As for the detailed analysis, it is not a task that this brief history can accomplish.

The root cause is not the only reason. Interpenetration and mutual influence without other reasons will not necessarily lead to the occurrence of the "Cultural Revolution". For other reasons, we will discuss below.

2. The Interaction Between Personal Arbitrariness and Personality Cult

Power was too concentrated on individuals, and the party lost the ability to restrain its own leaders. This important flaw in the organizational system was another important reason for the occurrence of the "Cultural Revolution". Because it is only theoretical mistakes and misjudgments of the situation that cannot be corrected by fully promoting democracy and concentrating collective wisdom. The mistakes in political theory combined with the flaws in the organizational system make it difficult to restrain and correct the mistakes of leaders.

What's the problem? Deng Xiaoping once gave this answer: "We said that the system is the decisive factor, and the system at that time was like that. At that time, everyone attributed everything to one person. We did not object to some problems, so we should bear some responsibility. Responsibility. Of course, under that condition, the real situation is difficult to oppose." The "system at that time" mentioned here obviously refers to the excessive concentration of power and the cult of personality, rather than the correct organizational system of the party. Then, how did this high concentration of power and fanatical personality cult come into being, and what role did it play in launching the "Cultural Revolution"? Some historical research is required.

The Emergence and Development of Excessive Concentration of Power

As we all know, the fundamental organizational principle of the Communist Party of China is democratic centralism. Since Lenin clearly put forward this organizational principle, it has been generally accepted by the Communist Parties of the Third International. The Communist Party of China has always regarded democratic

centralism as the fundamental organizational principle and written it into its own party constitution. Theoretically speaking, democratic centralism is a correct organizational principle superior to bourgeois democracy. Mao Zedong also repeatedly said that democratic centralism is democracy based on the centralization of democracy and under centralized guidance. To extreme democratization, to laissez-faire that undermines discipline."

However, since this organizational principle still needs to be gradually perfected in practice, and form operable specific norms, especially since the Communist Parties of various countries have been involved in harsh class struggles since their establishment, the democratic side has not been fully developed. On the other hand, the aspect of centralization has been overemphasized and emphasized, so that democratic centralism is rarely implemented correctly in the communist parties of the world. Objectively speaking, when the proletariat has not yet gained power and the Communist Party is in an underground and armed struggle, it is correct and historically necessary to properly emphasize the aspect of centralization. When the Third International was founded in 1919, considering the need to promote and lead the revolution, and in view of the lessons learned by the Second International that it was too loose, it adopted a centralized leadership system by drawing on the experience of the Russian Bolshevik Party. As a branch of the Third International, the Chinese Communist Party is naturally influenced by it. The historical practice of the subsequent international communist movement proved that the highly centralized organizational guidance of the Third International did more harm than good. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935 made important changes. Later, the Communist International was also disbanded, but its influence did not disappear with it.

The Chinese Communist Party has been in a special environment of armed struggle for a long time in history. In order to meet the needs of brutal revolutionary wars, it must be highly centralized and unified. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Communist Party of China adopted the "Decision on Unifying the

Party Leadership in the Anti-Japanese Base Areas and Adjusting the Relations Between Various Organizations" in September 1942 in view of the sharp struggle against the enemy, the scattered base areas, the uneven quality of cadres, and some incoordination. , formally determined the party's unified leadership principle. This decision pointed out: "The party is the vanguard of the proletariat and the highest form of proletarian organization. It should lead all other organizations, such as the army, government and popular organizations. The unity and centralization of the leadership of the base areas should be manifested in the fact that each base area has a The party committee that leads everything in a unified way." These regulations are correct in principle, and played an important role in coordinating the relationship between the party, government, military and civilian organizations, concentrating forces, unifying command, and ensuring the victory of the revolutionary war in a war environment. . However, in the process of implementing the party's unified leadership, it often becomes to varying degrees that the party decides everything or even manages everything. Although the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has repeatedly pointed out that the leadership of the party is ideological and political leadership, which is achieved through the exemplary role of party members, but during the revolutionary war years, it was neither possible nor possible to formulate clear regulations so that all aspects of work can get what they want . The situation where the party decides everything and the party manages everything, under the premise that "everything is subject to war", can't see any serious disadvantages from the appearance.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the system of highly centralized power under unified leadership was inherited. In the early days of the founding of the People's Republic of China, on the one hand, it was necessary to continue to complete the tasks left by the democratic revolution, and on the other hand, it was necessary to prepare for socialist transformation; the work in all aspects was complicated, and the struggle was sharp, and it was necessary to unify the pace and concentrate the strength. In order to

meet the requirements of the situation at that time, it was also necessary to put forward the slogan of "oppose decentralism".

After the socialist transformation was basically completed, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China began to notice that a system with excessive concentration of power was not suitable in an environment of peaceful construction, and a relatively and appropriate decentralization of power was required. In Mao Zedong's famous report "On the Ten Major Relationships" made in April 1956, he specifically talked about the relationship between the central government and local governments. He pointed out: "On the premise of consolidating the unified leadership of the central government, we should expand the power of the localities, give the localities more independence, and allow the localities to do more things." At the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Liu Shaoqi made The political report pointed out: "An important task in the country's work at present is to further expand democratic life and fight against bureaucracy." He also pointed out: "In recent years, some departments of the central government have taken too many affairs into their own hands. ...This is not conducive to local work, but also distracts the energy of the central government and develops bureaucracy. It is impossible to imagine that in a country as large as ours, the central government can take care of all kinds of affairs of the country, and do everything Do it well." These statements in the political report reflect that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has seen that excessive concentration of power is an important reason for bureaucracy and is not conducive to the development of the creative spirit of the people. Deng Xiaoping also pointed out in his "Report on Amending the Party's Constitution" that "inappropriate and excessive centralization not only manifests itself in economic work, cultural work, and other state administrative work, but also in party work." Therefore, in the party constitution, the scope of powers of the central and local governments, as well as the higher and lower levels, should be properly divided. Deng Xiaoping also pointed out in this report when expounding historical experience: "When the 'Left' opportunism is in a dominant position in the party,

the bias in the relationship between superiors and subordinates is excessive concentration."

The major decisions passed by the "Eighth National Congress" had just begun to be implemented when they were interrupted by the anti-rightist movement. With the development of "Left" ideology characterized by the expansion and absolutization of class struggle, the situation of excessive concentration of power has not been alleviated, but has been strengthened step by step. During this process, Mao Zedong proposed in the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958 that the first secretary of the party committee should be "Marx plus Qin Shihuang". This kind of inappropriate formulation summarizes the party's unified leadership principle more clearly and definitely as "the party leads everything", and in practice it evolves into the party decides everything and the party manages everything. Even the first secretary of the party committee leads everything, monopolizing power and arbitrarily arbitrarily. And it has become a habit for many years, and it is commonplace inside and outside the party.

Rules and practices that encourage personal arbitrariness

From the perspective of the party's organizational principles, collective leadership is one of the highest principles of the party's leadership, and it is the embodiment of democratic centralism in the party's leadership work. Even if it is stipulated that the party leads everything, it should refer to the collective leadership of the party, that is, the leadership of committees at all levels. This system is implemented well, and many mistakes can be avoided. However, in actual work, there is often a phenomenon of "using the appearance of collective leadership to cover up the essence of individual arbitrariness" (Deng Xiaoping's "Eighth National Congress" report). The occurrence of this phenomenon is certainly related to the influence of Chinese feudal tradition, but it also has a lot to do with some written regulations or unwritten practices that may encourage personal arbitrariness.

In March 1943, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee adopted the "Decision on the Adjustment and Streamlining of Central

Organizations", which stipulated: "Between the two plenary sessions of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee is responsible for leading the work of the entire party and has the power to decide all major issues. The Politburo presumed that Comrade Mao Zedong was the chairman. The Politburo should hold regular meetings twice a month." "The Secretariat is an administrative organ that handles daily work according to the policies determined by the Politburo. The right to handle and decide on all daily issues." "The new secretariat is composed of Comrades Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and Ren Bishi, with Mao Zedong as the chairman. The chairman has the final decision on issues discussed at the meeting." In this decision, although the nature and scope of powers of the Secretariat were stipulated, in the scattered war environment in the base areas, it was impossible for the Politburo meetings to be held twice a month according to the regulations, and the role of the Secretariat became more prominent. Mao Zedong's "final decision" "power" is also expanding. Due to Mao Zedong's extraordinary wisdom, rich political experience, and extensive and profound knowledge, the entire party and the people of the whole country achieved great victories in the democratic revolution and socialist transformation under his leadership. It should be admitted that during this historical process, Mao Zedong did not abuse the "right to make the final decision." It can be learned from historical materials that Mao Zedong not only excelled in the aspects of firm stance, far-sightedness, resourcefulness and good judgment, but also was good at listening to different opinions and uniting those who had opposed him. He has the ability to reject all opinions and insist on correct decision-making, but also respects the majority and is not stubborn. These are the important reasons why he was able to make immortal achievements in the Chinese revolutionary cause and was heartfully loved by the whole party and the people of the whole country.

Neither the Seventh nor Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China stipulated this kind of "right to make the final decision." However, Mao Zedong's lofty prestige and high concentration of power, in fact, did not tolerate opposition, creating

possible conditions for the leader to be arbitrary. Under such conditions, the personal qualities of leaders often play a very important role in the rise and fall of revolution and construction. When leaders can correctly understand and analyze social and historical conditions, unite with the masses of the people, correctly reflect the wishes of the people, represent the interests of the people, and implement the will of the people, the cause will develop successfully; otherwise, the cause will suffer setbacks and failures . Throughout the history of the Chinese Communist Party, such examples are quite common.

Deng Xiaoping once made a realistic evaluation of Mao Zedong's leadership work. He said: "Generally speaking, before 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership was correct. After the anti-rightist struggle in 1957, mistakes became more and more numerous." Changes in leadership work conditions are synchronized with changes in leadership style. "Since the criticism against aggressive progress in 1958 and the 'anti-rightist deviation' in 1959, the democratic life of the party and the country has gradually become abnormal, and patriarchal phenomena such as one word, individuals deciding major issues, personality worship, and individuals overriding organizations have continued to grow. "What is the reason for the change in leadership style? Let us quote a document: "When the Party faced the new task of shifting the focus of its work to socialist construction and therefore needed to be particularly cautious, Comrade Mao Zedong's prestige also reached its peak. He gradually became arrogant, gradually divorced from reality and the masses, subjectively Dominance and personal arbitrariness are becoming more and more serious, and they are increasingly overriding the Party Central Committee, so that the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the Party and the country are continuously weakened and even destroyed." From the above three quotations, we can see that a The moment and trajectory of a great revolutionary leader on the wrong path.

cult of personality is reinforcer

Excessive concentration of power, coupled with personality worship, forms an interaction: excessive concentration of power encourages personality worship, and personality worship strengthens personal arbitrariness, which finally leads to historical tragedies. In this interaction, the personality cult is the intensifier, which can be clearly seen from the historical examination.

The cult of personality is a decadent historical heritage inherited from the old society. It is a consistent principle of Marxism to oppose the cult of personality. However, from the perspective of the history of the international communist movement, its influence and consequences cannot be ignored or underestimated. There have been two serious personality cults, that of Stalin and of Mao Zedong, both of which had enormous unfortunate consequences.

Originally, the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong himself had long noticed the possibility of preventing the phenomenon of personality cult, and took certain preventive measures. At the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong proposed to pass a resolution prohibiting birthday celebrations for party leaders and prohibiting the use of party leaders' names as names of places, streets, and companies. Although this was an important and far-sighted decision, later practice proved that such measures alone were not enough to play a decisive role in preventing the occurrence of the cult of personality. At the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Deng Xiaoping solemnly raised the issue of opposing the cult of personality in his report on revising the party constitution. He also pointed out: "The cult of personality is a social phenomenon with a long history. This phenomenon will not fail to have some reflections in our party and social life." The language is very euphemistic, but the question is, after all, clearly posed. It is a pity that the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China did not further raise the awareness of the whole party and take effective measures to prevent personality cults on the basis of this clear understanding, so that it failed to effectively stop the flood

of personality cult thoughts in the future. This can also be said to be a manifestation of historical limitations.

Judging from the history since the founding of the People's Republic of China, before 1957, political life inside and outside the party was relatively normal and healthy. But it should also be noted that even at those times, there were already some problems. For example, in terms of theory and propaganda, more and more leaders are described as a single person, not as a group; revolutionary theory is described as an individual contribution, not as the crystallization of collective wisdom; all achievements are attributed to Individuals, do not talk or talk less about the role of the party and the people; say that leaders are absolutely correct, but do not talk about leaders will have shortcomings and make mistakes, and so on. There are some problems that have not been corrected in time, so that the personality cult phenomenon can develop without hindrance.

The Three Forces Driving the Cult of Personality

The development of the cult of personality is driven by three forces.

One is the broad masses out of sincere love for the leader. The Communist Party of China led the people to stand up and be liberated, freeing the people from the dire straits and becoming the masters of the new China. It is easy for the masses to focus their gratitude to the party on the party leader alone, and praise the leader as the red sun, the great savior, and the great benefactor. This is a simple feeling, and this feeling is obviously mixed with the influence of China's long-term feudal rule and the ideological constraints of small producers themselves. Marx once brilliantly analyzed the political and ideological characteristics of small farmers. He said: "They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented by others. Their representatives must at the same time be their masters, an authority standing above them, and Unrestricted government power, which protects them from other classes and showers them with rain and sunshine from above." The old China was a vast ocean of small production, and such traditional influence

from the old society was naturally impossible. disappears quickly. However, as long as the education and guidance are done properly, under the conditions of socialism, this traditional force may not necessarily become the tenacious driving force of the cult of personality, but it is the deep social foundation and good soil for the cult of personality.

The other is acquiescing, admiring, or even advocating personality cult from the leadership, which will definitely have a major impact. In March 1958, Mao Zedong proposed at the Chengdu Conference that there are two kinds of personality cults. One is correct, that is, worshiping the correct things of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, because the truth is in their hands; the other is incorrect. Worship means blind obedience without analysis. Mao Zedong's statement is specious, and the key point is to confuse two fundamentally different things, the worship of truth and the worship of individuals. Its objective effect is to give the green light to the personality cult that has sprouted and developed within the Chinese Communist Party. At the Chengdu meeting, Ke Qingshi, who was the first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China at the time, heard the news and proposed: "To believe in Chairman Mao, you must believe to the extent of superstition, and to obey Chairman Mao must be obedient to the extent of blind obedience." This kind of statement that absolutely violates the principles of Marxism has not been criticized as it should be, but has been appreciated. Some leaders who participated in the meeting also used it as the content of the meeting and conveyed it to some party members. Two months later, at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee held in May of the same year, this leader who advocated superstition and blind obedience was by-elected as a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

There is also a third driving force, which is the very small number of careerists, conspirators and people with ulterior motives in the party. They have long been deliberately seeking a new "dragon-climbing technique" cloaked in the cloak of Marxism. As soon as the

"correct personality cult" was established, some careerists detected the "political climate". They regard personality worship as the ultimate shortcut for "the one who wins one wins the world" and seeks personal power. In the summer of 1958, Kang Sheng, an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and head of the Central Theoretical Group, proposed: "Mao Zedong Thought is the pinnacle of Marxism-Leninism." At the end of 1959, Kang Sheng also proposed: "Mao Zedong Thought is the highest and final standard of Marxism-Leninism." Please note that Mao Zedong Thought at that time was considered to belong to only one person, not the crystallization of collective wisdom as it is now clarified. It should be pointed out that Lin Biao was the one who advocated the cult of personality the most. After the Lushan Conference, Lin Biao became Minister of National Defense and presided over the work of the Central Military Commission. In the military system, in the name of promoting "prominent politics", he promoted Mao Zedong's personality cult to achieve his political goals. At the "Seven Thousand People Conference" held in early 1962, Mao Zedong assumed his own responsibility in principle in his speech for the mistakes made in the work since the "Great Leap Forward". Lin Biao said at the meeting, "Chairman Mao's thinking is always correct", and repeatedly emphasized that things went wrong and caused difficulties because they "did not follow" Mao Zedong's instructions. "Chairman Mao's opinions cannot be tolerated." be respected, or be greatly disturbed". At the beginning of 1966, Lin Biao further pointed out that Mao Zedong's words "every sentence is the truth, and one sentence is worth ten thousand sentences". These words of Lin Biao were actually appreciated by Mao Zedong. Lin Biao's thesis of splitting Mao Zedong Thought was also supported by Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong said in a letter to the military leaders on December 16, 1963: After Comrade Lin Biao proposed the four firsts and the third eighth style of ideological and political work and military work in the People's Liberation Army, there has been a big improvement compared with the past. Development, more concrete and more theoretical. Therefore, under the slogan of "the whole country learns from the People's Liberation Army", Lin Biao's set was quickly promoted to the whole country. Because Lin Biao, Kang

Sheng and others hold high positions in the party and hold some power in a certain area, they also pretend that "Chairman Mao's works are the best", "Mao Zedong Thought holds the highest banner", "Marxist theoretical authority" and so on. Scary coat, so it can quite confuse some people, and has a greater inciting and demagogic effect.

Leadership attitude plays a key role

It is impossible for a cult of personality to take hold if it is not appreciated (at least tacitly) by its leaders. In the practical activities of creating a proletarian party, Marx and Engels repeatedly expressed their extreme disgust with the unprincipled praise of leaders that sometimes occurs in the labor movement. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin also resolutely opposed others' unprincipled praise of him. Therefore, the personality cult of Marx, Engels, and Lenin did not take place in the international communist movement. Before 1957 in China, the phenomenon of personality cult was not prominent. Since then, the cult of personality has intensified. The heavy responsibility of Mao Zedong himself cannot be shirked. In 1970, when Mao Zedong talked with American journalist Edgar Snow, he said, "There must always be a cult of personality." worship". It may seem a little strange that someone who proposed in the past to pass a resolution to take measures to prevent the cult of personality would openly promote it? According to common sense, when a wrong policy proposed and implemented by a leader has been proven to be wrong in practice, resulting in disastrous consequences and being opposed by some responsible persons, the leader should deal with the problem calmly and correctly. However, the leader himself insists that he is correct, and he must fight against all opinions and "go against the trend." When he continues to promote wrong policies and cannot obtain the support of the majority in accordance with normal democratic procedures, he has to rely even more on his absolute authority. Therefore, in his view, the cult of personality is indeed "needed".

Under the interaction of personal arbitrariness and personality worship, party members, the masses, and even party organizations have lost their role in monitoring and restricting leaders; the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism exist in name only, and individuals completely override collectives and organizations. This situation has become more and more obvious since the "criticism and anti-rash advancement" in 1958 (see Deng Xiaoping's discussion cited above).

At the Nanning Conference held in January 1958, Mao Zedong sharply criticized an editorial entitled "We must oppose conservatism and impatience" published by the "People's Daily" on June 20, 1956. The editorial was written according to the opinion of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. At that time, in industrial and agricultural production and rural literacy, there was a tendency to be rash and aggressive. The editorial pointed out: "Many of the impetuous advances from below are forced out by above." The "Resolution on Political Report" passed by the "Eighth National Congress" held three months later also clearly stated: "The task of the party is to pay attention to Prevent and correct right-wing conservative or 'left' risk-taking tendencies, and promote the development of the national economy actively, steadily and reliably." However, Mao Zedong insisted that anti-rash advancement was a wrong policy, which "disheartened 600 million people. ". Mao Zedong said, don't mention the term anti-adventurous - this is a political issue. He also said that the attack of the rightists threw some comrades to the edge of the rightists, and there were only 50 meters left, and they panicked, saying that "the present is not as good as it used to be", "the loss of aggressive advancement is greater than the loss of conservative", and it is necessary to study why writing The anti-adventurous editorial. I criticized the word "don't watch", that's scolding me, so I don't read it. And again and again and again sharp criticism. He took the problem so seriously that Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun and other central leaders who advocated publishing this editorial had to conduct self-criticism one after another. Since then, anti-"Left" leaning and anti-adventurous advancement have become forbidden areas. "Left" is better than right, and "Left" is

better than right. After the Nanning Conference, Mao Zedong did not often participate in the meetings of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. He often raised some issues before the meeting for everyone to discuss, and reported to him after the meeting. Only when he agreed did it count. Otherwise, it will either be discussed again, or it will be handled according to his opinion. The relationship between Mao Zedong and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee has actually become a superior-subordinate relationship.

Relations among members of the Politburo Standing Committee have also become increasingly dysfunctional. At the Lushan Conference in 1959, after Mao Zedong decided to criticize Peng Dehuai, at a small-scale criticism meeting, Zhu De, vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, criticized Peng Dehuai for his rough temper and stubbornness. Mao Zedong thought it was "scratching the itch" and interrupted Zhu De's speech. In the "anti-rightist movement" after the Lushan Conference, Zhu De was criticized for no reason. This shows that the Politburo Standing Committee members are no longer equals. At the National Work Conference held by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in December 1964, Mao Zedong criticized the Central Secretariat chaired by Deng Xiaoping and the State Planning Commission chaired by Li Fuchun as "two independent kingdoms." Individuals made unfounded accusations against important central leadership institutions, which also reflected abnormal leadership relations. When discussing the "Twenty-Three Articles", Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi had different opinions on issues such as the nature of the movement and the "capitalist roaders", and they formed their own opinions at the meeting. It is normal to have different opinions when discussing issues, but it is considered disrespectful to Mao Zedong; for this reason, Liu Shaoqi specifically apologized to Mao Zedong. Situations like the above show that central leaders have different opinions on some major issues. But the disagreement was never made public and was kept top secret. On the one hand, this shows that the leaders of the central government put the unity of the party and the interests of the party and the country as the most important thing. This is the fine tradition of the Chinese Communist Party and

the source of the party's strength. On the other hand, this practice of other leaders to submit to Mao Zedong also had some negative effects, which damaged the democratic life and collective leadership of the Party Central Committee and encouraged Mao Zedong's personal arbitrariness.

Reasons for cult of personality

There are also theoretical reasons for the formation of personal arbitrariness in the leadership system. For a long time, in books and documents about the history of the Chinese Communist Party, when it comes to the struggle within the party line in history, there are representatives of the wrong line. Since there are representatives of the wrong line, there must also be representatives of the correct line. In the history of the Communist Party of China, Mao Zedong was the representative of the correct line many times, which is actually in line with reality. However, if the issue of the line is made more and more serious and sacred, the disadvantage of absoluteness arises: if the line is wrong, everything is wrong; if the line is correct, everything is right. Since Mao Zedong is the representative of the correct line, anyone who disagrees with his views will naturally be considered as disagreeing with the correct line, or even said to be against the correct line. This political hat carries a lot of weight. Therefore, when Mao Zedong insisted on a certain idea, he often could not hear different voices, and everyone could only try to "understand the spirit" and "actively implement it." Lin Biao advocated that "what you understand should be implemented, and what you don't understand must be implemented." It was originally an ignorant theory that denied independent thinking and advocated blind obedience, but it was supported by quite a few people or regarded as a code of conduct. environment. Regarding this phenomenon, we cannot simply blame other central leaders for being "foolish and loyal", "having no courage", or just trying to "keep the black hat" and so on. Before the "Cultural Revolution", except for a few careerists such as Lin Biao, Kang Sheng, and Chen Boda, all the leaders of the central government were mainly motivated by maintaining the unity of the party and Mao Zedong's prestige (which was considered a valuable

asset of the party at the time). Moreover, in the case of personal arbitrariness, the attitude towards the leader is often regarded as the highest discipline. Anyone who persists in opposing a certain proposition that Mao Zedong has made up his mind to will not only be tolerated by Mao Zedong, but will also not be understood and supported by the leadership. Therefore, "Under that condition, the real situation is difficult to oppose" (see Deng Xiaoping's quote above).

Of course, judging from Mao Zedong's remarks throughout his life, he never theoretically denied the organizational principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership of proletarian parties. In fact, during his revolutionary career, democratic centralism and collective leadership was a topic he often talked about. Major decisions made by him are generally handed over to the central leadership for discussion and approval at a certain meeting. But when the democratic life of the party is not normal, the things he decides can always pass. This situation of "covering the essence of individual arbitrariness with the appearance of collective leadership" further strengthened Mao Zedong's will, making him think that the truth is always in his own hands, and he has more reasons to stick to his opinions. When he thinks he is adhering to the truth, adhering to Marxism and rejecting public opinion and "going against the trend", he believes that doing so is more important than following the party's organizational principles. Therefore, in order to adhere to what he believes to be the correct political line, he implements personal arbitrariness. This phenomenon is evident from just a few events that launched the "Cultural Revolution", which he does not consider to be a violation of democratic centralism.

A Few Examples of Personal Arbitrariness

The criticism of the script "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" is the "prelude" to the "Cultural Revolution". This is a major event that calls for a so-called mass criticism by the entire party and the whole country. Moreover, the attack in the article is directed at the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China, and more

central leaders will be involved later. Therefore, such an article is by no means just an ordinary critical article, but an event of great political significance. However, from the drafting of the article to its publication, it was kept secret from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for eight months. The comrades in the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee did not know, nor did the person in charge of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. It was all decided by Mao Zedong himself. This is an example of an individual arbitrarily deciding on a major global issue.

In December 1965, Mao Zedong listened to Lin Biao's slander and decided to convene an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in Shanghai to criticize Luo Ruiqing, the secretary of the Central Secretariat, vice premier of the State Council, and chief of the general staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. At that time, Vice Chairman Liu Shaoqi, who was in charge of the daily work of the Party Central Committee in Beijing, received a meeting notice but did not know the content of the meeting, so he asked Marshal He Long, a member of the Politburo in charge of the daily affairs of the Military Commission. He Long said: "Strange, you don't know, how could I know." The comrades who participated in the meeting did not know the details beforehand, so they could only face the fait accompli. This is an example of individual arbitrariness added to the collective.

In 1966, Peng Zhen presided over the formulation of the "Outline of the Report of the Five-member Group of Cultural Revolution on the Current Academic Discussion" (the "February Outline"), which was discussed and approved by the Standing Committee of the Central Committee in Beijing, and made a special trip to Wuhan to report to Mao Zedong (Mao had not yet expressed objection), it was issued as a central document. Soon, Mao Zedong personally decided to withdraw and criticize the "February Outline". This is an example of an individual negating a collective decision.

The enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in May 1966 marked the official launch of the "Cultural Revolution". The content of this meeting, such as criticizing Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi, and Yang Shangkun, designating it as an "anti-party group", and passing the "May 16 Notice", were all decided by Mao Zedong before the meeting. But when the official meeting was held, Mao Zedong lived in other places and did not return to Beijing. The meeting was chaired by Liu Shaoqi. This is an example of formal implementation of individual decisions through collectives.

The political life of the Party Central Committee is extremely abnormal, which is also reflected in the holding of the National Congress and the Plenary Session of the Central Committee. According to the provisions of the party constitution adopted by the "Eighth National Congress", the National Congress was changed to a permanent system with a term of five years and a meeting held once a year. The plenary session of the Party Central Committee is held at least twice a year. The party constitution of the "Eighth National Congress" made such a provision because "one of the basic requirements of the party's democratic centralism is the regular convening and full play of the party's congresses at all levels" and "it is to enable the congresses to become fully effective for the party. The highest decision-making organ and the highest supervisory organ". In fact, since the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress was held in 1958, there has been no National Congress before the "Cultural Revolution". After the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee "revisited class struggle," the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee was held four years later. Of course, there were more than one reason why the Congress and the Plenary Session of the Central Committee could not be held on time. Under the conditions of highly concentrated power on individuals, Mao Zedong believed that there was no need for "the highest decision-making organ and the highest supervisory organ." This cannot but be said to be one of the important reasons. During the "Cultural Revolution", most members of the Central Committee were unreasonably criticized and imprisoned, party

committees at all levels were smashed, and the form of collective leadership ceased to exist. "Chairman Mao's great strategic deployment" was directly issued to the whole country in the name of "supreme instructions" and put into practice. This is the clearest and highest form of personal arbitrariness.

Personal arbitrariness interacts with personality worship, pushing individual leaders to an authoritative position with a sacred halo above the masses and the central leadership collective, with the power to dominate and decide everything. Under such conditions, whether the major affairs of the party and the country are handled properly depends to a large extent on the leader alone. His words and deeds are related to the joys and sorrows of hundreds of millions of people, and even life and death. In this sense, it should be said with certainty: "Democratic centralism within the party and collective leadership have disappeared. This is a fundamental reason for the occurrence of the 'Cultural Revolution'."

Mistakes that violated the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership not only brought great misfortune to the party, the country, and the people of all ethnic groups, but also brought misfortune to the leaders who practiced personal arbitrariness, resulting in profound historical tragedies. It is in this sense that Deng Xiaoping said: "The various mistakes we have made in the past are certainly related to the thinking and work style of some leaders, but problems in the organizational system and work system are more important.... Even if Comrade Mao Zedong He was also a great figure who was seriously affected by some bad systems, which caused great misfortune to the party, the country, and himself." This is why we cannot ignore institutional issues when we study the causes of the "Cultural Revolution." The reason for putting it in a very important position.

3. The interaction between international anti-revisionism and domestic anti-revisionism

In the previous two sections, we reviewed and analyzed domestically, especially the internal political and organizational conditions of the ruling Communist Party of China. However, in the contemporary world, it is impossible for any major political change in any country to have an international background, and it is impossible for it to be divorced from the specific international environment at that time. What's more, such as China's "Cultural Revolution", which has the sacred goal of "anti-revisionism and prevention" and "overthrowing imperialist revisionism and anti-revisionism", has a major impact on the world. Its occurrence and development cannot be different from international The development and changes of the situation, especially the development and changes of Sino-Soviet relations among them, are closely related. This requires us to conduct a general inspection of this aspect and find out the connection between it and the development and changes of the domestic political situation.

The Evolution of Sino-Soviet Relations and the Proposal of Anti-Revisionist Slogans

The Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, was the most powerful "big brother" in the socialist camp at that time, and its prestige was very high among the Communist Party of China and the people of all ethnic groups in China after the victory of the revolution. At that time, "The Soviet Union's today is our tomorrow" became a well-known propaganda slogan, and it was indeed the vision and ideal of many people. However, after the death of Stalin in 1953, the situation gradually changed. The turning point in Sino-Soviet relations began with the Twentieth National Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in February 1956.

Scholars at home and abroad have different evaluations on the historical background, main content and historical status of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, and we are not going to comment on it here. However, one thing is certain, that is, Khrushchev, the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, made a secret report at the congress to attack and completely negate the party leader Stalin, and this triggered a crisis that caused huge losses to the international communist movement. The great political storm in the Communist Party of China was one of the important factors that aroused Mao Zedong's vigilance and awareness of the change in the "left" direction, and clearly put forward the slogan of opposing revisionism.

Originally, when the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU was held, the Chinese Communist Party gave considerable approval to the entire congress, except for raising different opinions on the issue of peaceful transition. In the "Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" published on April 5, 1956, which was discussed and approved at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee chaired by Mao Zedong, it was pointed out: "The cult of personality is a kind of long-term history of human beings in the past. A decaying legacy." "The struggle against the cult of personality launched at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a great and courageous struggle for the Soviet Communists and the Soviet people to clear away ideological obstacles on the way forward." But less than a year later, especially after experiencing the Polish incident from June to October 1956 and the Hungarian incident from late October to November of the same year, Mao Zedong's views on the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have undergone obvious changes. It was in February 1957 that he clearly raised the issue of anti-revisionism in his speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People". He said: "Revisionism, or right opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought, which is more dangerous than dogmatism."

However, the "anti-revisionism" proposed at that time was only one of the important tasks on the ideological front, and it was very

different from "anti-revisionism and prevention of revisionism" as the overriding top priority on the ideological and political fronts during the "Cultural Revolution". of. During this process, it experienced a tortuous development process of changes in the objective situation and deepening of subjective understanding from the "left" direction.

In the winter of 1957, Mao Zedong personally led the Chinese party and government delegation to Moscow to participate in the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Russian October Revolution, and participated in the representative meeting of the Communist Party and Workers' Party of the socialist countries, and made positive achievements in coordinating the relationship between the two parties in China and the Soviet Union. progress. In the conference declaration, many opinions of the CCP delegation were adopted, and a consensus was reached on some common main laws that countries on the road to socialism must follow. At this meeting, Khrushchev proposed that the Soviet Union should catch up with or surpass the United States in the output of the most important industrial and agricultural products in 15 years; Mao Zedong proposed that China should at the same time increase the production of steel and other important industrial products In terms of output, it has caught up with or surpassed the UK. This became the opportunity to launch the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958. The positive results of this meeting so encouraged Mao Zedong that he declared that in the balance of world political power, the east wind had prevailed over the west wind. That is, "socialism is developing upwards, while imperialism is declining".

However, following Khrushchev's ridicule of China's "Great Leap Forward" and the People's Commune Movement in 1958, the accusation of the Kinmen shelling and the establishment of a Sino-Soviet joint fleet and the establishment of a long-wave radio station managed by the Soviet side in an attempt to control The unreasonable request of the Chinese navy was severely rejected by Mao Zedong, and the relationship between the two parties in China and the Soviet Union deteriorated sharply. Especially before and after the Lushan Conference in 1959, Mao Zedong believed:

"Recently, right opportunists have rampantly attacked, saying that this is not good for the people's cause, and that is not good. Anti-China and anti-communist elements all over the world, as well as within the proletariat of our country and within the party, used to be chaotic. The bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois [bourgeois] opportunists who came in should cooperate internally and externally to attack rampantly." This includes "many opponents and skeptics among Soviet comrades." Therefore, he proposed: "A hundred flowers blooming, a people's commune, and a Great Leap Forward, these three things, Khrushchevs are opposed to, or are skeptical... These three things will be fought against the whole world, including a large number of opponents in the party. factions and skeptics." Mao Zedong also instructed Wu Lengxi, Chen Boda, Hu Qiaomu, etc. to compile a book on the People's Commune, and said: "I am going to write a long preface to refute the opposition all over the world." Although this book was not compiled and published later, and Mao Zedong's long preface was not read, the hatred for the "Khrushchevs" is beyond words. At this time, Mao Zedong already regarded revisionism, together with "reactionary imperialism and nationalism", as "enemies, liars, and black goods". But until the end of 1959, when Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Peng Zhen, Lin Biao, Chen Yi, Kang Sheng, Wang Jiaxiang, He Long, Tan Zheng, Chen Boda and others were called to Hangzhou to discuss the international situation and countermeasures, everyone was required to study: "Whether revisionism is It has become a system, so is it going to be done resolutely?" He still thinks: "The fundamental interests of China and the Soviet Union determine that the two great powers must always unite. Some disunity is only a temporary phenomenon, and it is still a matter of nine fingers and one Fingers." "The Khrushchevs are very naive. They don't understand Marxism-Leninism and are easily deceived by imperialism." It is still hoped that the "Khrushchevs" will change from evil to good instead of heading for a break.

However, the development of the objective situation does not depend on people's subjective wishes. Khrushchev could not tolerate the actions of the Chinese Communist Party and deliberately

launched an attack on the Chinese Communist Party. From June 24 to 26, 1960, the Communist Party and Workers' Party Conference of Socialist Countries held in Bucharest, the capital of Romania, became a turning point in the relationship between the two parties. On the eve of the meeting, the CPSU delegation led by Khrushchev suddenly distributed to the delegations of other countries the circular issued by the CPSU to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 21. During the meeting, Khrushchev took the lead in besieging the Chinese Communist Party, slandering the Chinese Communist Party as a "lunatic" and "going to start a war." Self-defense and protest against India's occupation of our territory was "pure nationalism." His attitude towards the Soviet Communist Party was The "Trotsky way" and so on. The CCP delegation headed by Peng Zhen followed the Party Central Committee's policy of adhering to principles and adhering to unity. On the one hand, they fought hard according to reason and carried out a serious struggle. They distributed a written statement at the meeting, accusing Khrushchev of the bad practice of conducting surprise attacks at the meeting; on the other hand, in order to take the overall situation into consideration, he still signed the communiqué issued at the meeting. Seeing that they could not persuade the CCP at the meeting, the leaders of the CPSU exerted pressure after the meeting, expanding the ideological differences between the two parties to state relations.

On July 16, 1960, the Soviet government suddenly sent a note to the Chinese government, unilaterally deciding to recall all Soviet experts working in China. From July 28 to September 1, a total of 1,390 experts in China were withdrawn, and more than 900 experts were terminated. At the same time, 343 expert contracts and contract supplements were torn up, and 257 scientific and technological cooperation projects were abolished. According to statistics, since the first Five-Year Plan, the Soviet Union has assisted China with a total of 304 projects. By the first half of 1960, 103 projects had been completed, and 201 projects were still under construction. When the Soviet experts withdrew, they took away all the drawings, plans and materials, and stopped the supply of

important equipment urgently needed for construction, so that some major construction projects and scientific research projects were forced to stop or interrupt, causing serious damage to my country's socialist economic construction. huge loss. In addition, in terms of trade between the two countries, restrictive and discriminatory policies have been implemented against China. One-sidedly tore up the agreement between China and the Soviet Union to reciprocally distribute the "Friendship" magazine and the "Su-China Friendship" magazine to each other. Since then, disputes and incidents on the border between the two countries have continued to occur.

In November 1960, Liu Shaoqi led the Chinese party and government delegation to Moscow to participate in the celebration ceremony for the 43rd anniversary of the October Revolution and to attend the representative meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union repeated the old trick of the Bucharest meeting, disregarding the agreement of the 26-nation drafting committee, and distributed a 60,000-word letter attacking the Chinese Communist Party to the delegations of all countries on the eve of the meeting. At the meeting, a siege of the Chinese Communist Party was organized, which almost brought the meeting to the brink of collapse. Since the majority of fraternal parties demanded unity and opposed splitting, the Chinese delegation headed by Liu Shaoqi made active efforts, and the Chinese and Soviet parties each made some concessions. statement". However, the relations between the two parties and countries of China and the Soviet Union continued to deteriorate irreparably.

In October 1961, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held its 22nd National Congress, and the Communist Party of China sent a delegation headed by Zhou Enlai to attend. But when Khrushchev publicly attacked Stalin at the meeting, Zhou Enlai left early to protest and went to Stalin's tomb next to the wall of Red Square to lay a wreath. Then, in the Sino-Indian border incident, the Soviet Union publicly issued a statement accusing China; in the Cuban missile crisis, Khrushchev compromised with the United States. All

these deepened Mao Zedong and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's understanding of the danger of revisionism. A public break with Khrushchev's revisionism was inevitable.

It was this international environment and the influence of the domestic "anti-rightist opportunism" in 1959 that made Mao Zedong's understanding of Soviet revisionism constantly escalate. At the Beidaihe Central Work Conference in the autumn of 1962, Mao Zedong further accused revisionism of serving international capitalism, but was actually counter-revolutionary. Emphasis: We will engage in 10,000 years of class struggle, otherwise, we will become Kuomintang and revisionists. At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Mao Zedong classified right opportunism within the Chinese Party with revisionism abroad. He said: China's right opportunism, it seems better to change its name, called Chinese revisionism. In this way, in Mao Zedong's mind, revisionism had been defined and positioned, and the remaining problem was to take specific measures to oppose it. Foreign scholars can also see this situation very clearly. An American professor wrote: "Mao always thought that Khrushchev was just a comrade who made mistakes, and he could turn his prodigal son back. From then on, in Mao's view, Khrushchev is already an incorrigible traitor."

An unprecedented international debate

From March 1963 to October 1964, for a year and a half, the two parties of China and the Soviet Union launched an unprecedented large-scale debate around the so-called "general line of the international communist movement". The country's Communist Party and Workers' Party participate in it, which has a wide range of international and great influence.

In March 1963, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union issued a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The letter stated that changes in the world situation and class forces on the international stage "require

the formulation of a general line for the world communist movement that is consistent with its fundamental tasks at the present stage." Therefore, the letter talked about "several issues of principle" that the Central Committee of the CPSU believed should be "the center of attention of the fraternal parties" and "the center of our struggle for our common cause". On June 14, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China responded to this, that is, a long letter entitled "Suggestions on the General Line of the International Communist Movement", which is divided into 25 items. The letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China said: "In our opinion, the issues we are talking about here are the central issues that need to be paid attention to and resolved in the international communist movement." However, many views of the two sides are completely different, or even opposite, so discussions have become necessary.

On July 5, the CCP delegation headed by Deng Xiaoping, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, held talks with the CPSU delegation headed by Suslov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Moscow. It is conceivable that the atmosphere of the meeting was not harmonious. While the talks were going on, on July 14, the Soviet Union suddenly published the "Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to Party Organizations at All Levels and All Communist Party Members of the Soviet Union" in newspapers and radio stations, thus making public the differences between the Chinese and Soviet parties. all over the world. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China believed that this was Khrushchev's "precious 'meeting gift' to the US imperialists to curry favor with the US imperialists" on the eve of the summit meeting between the Soviet Union, the US and the UK. Since the CPSU showed no sincerity in the talks between the two parties, the CCP delegation proposed to suspend the talks and leave the Soviet Union to return home.

The talks have broken down, replaced by a comprehensive and fierce debate between the two sides through various media means such as newspapers, radio, and television. The Soviet Union

published more than 2,000 articles opposing the CCP in just over three months from the publication of the open letter to the end of October. The Communist Party and Workers' Party of other countries also followed the baton of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and published many articles attacking the Chinese Communist Party. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China attached great importance to this. In addition to the counter-attack articles organized by the propaganda units of various newspapers and periodicals, a special writing team was formed by the Central Theory Group to write important articles that systematically expounded the views of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and refuted the fallacies and slanders of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. This type of headline article started from the publication of the first article "The Origin and Development of the Difference Between the Leaders of the Soviet Communist Party and Us" on September 6, 1963, and ended with the publication of "On Khrushchev's False Communism and Its Lessons from World History, a total of 9 articles, referred to as "Nine Commentaries". In these articles, based on the viewpoint that was dominant in the Communist Party of China at that time, that is, socialist society is still a society with classes. In this historical stage, there are always proletariat and bourgeoisie, the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. Guided by the viewpoint of fierce struggle between the two lines of Marxism, Marxism and revisionism, to analyze and judge the situation of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries in Eastern Europe and the entire international communist movement, emphasizing: "Insist on the revolution or oppose the revolution, adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat or oppose The dictatorship of the proletariat has always been the focus of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and all revisionism, and now it is also the focus of the struggle between Marxist-Leninists around the world and the Khrushchev revisionist clique." In October 1964, Khrushchev was elected by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union After the plenum removed all leadership positions, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published another concluding article on November 21: "How Khrushchev Resigned". The article stated: "The downfall of

Khrushchev was a great victory for Marxist-Leninists all over the world in their persistent struggle against revisionism, and it showed the great bankruptcy and failure of modern revisionism." The article said: "In the past eleven years, Khrushchev Hsiao-fu's deeds have shown everywhere that the policies he implements are: to unite with imperialism and oppose socialism; to unite with the United States to oppose China; against all fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionaries struggling against imperialism." The outline is very high, and the terms are very intense. At that time, because the main opponent in the debate, Khrushchev, had stepped down, the great debate ended naturally.

Regarding this great debate, Deng Xiaoping said the following when he met Gorbachev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on May 16, 1989: "Over the years, there has been a struggle against Marxism, social The understanding of doctrine. From the first Moscow talks in 1957 to the first half of the 1960s, the two parties of China and the Soviet Union had a fierce debate. I was one of the parties in that debate and played a not insignificant role. After more than 20 years of practice, looking back, both sides have talked a lot of empty words." He also said: "In the 1960s, the Soviet Union strengthened its military facilities along the entire Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian borders, and missiles continued to increase. One-third of all missiles in the Soviet Union, the army is constantly increasing, including sending troops to Mongolia, the total number reaches one million. Where does the threat to China come from? Naturally, China has come to a conclusion. 1963 I led a delegation to Moscow in 1999, and the talks broke down. It should be said that since the mid-1960s, our relationship has deteriorated and we have basically been cut off. This does not refer to those issues of ideological debate. In this regard, we do not think we are It was all true at the time. The real real problem was inequality, and the Chinese felt humiliated. Even so, we never forgot that the Soviet Union helped us build an industrial base during China's first five-year plan."

This great debate involves many aspects of the basic theory of Marxism, the core of which is what is socialism and how to build socialism. There are many issues that need to be cleared up and summarized, which is beyond the scope of this book. But one thing is certain from the point of view discussed in this question. That is, through this great debate, the "Left" views that have emerged in the Chinese Communist Party have been systematized and theoreticalized, and they have gradually penetrated into the ideological education of the entire party and the minds of each party member. At the same time, this great controversy convinced Mao Zedong that revisionism had come to power in the Soviet Union, and that the world's first socialist country created by Lenin had changed its color. Revisionism may come out, or the conclusions of people like Khrushchev may come out. This has increased the sense of urgency to carry out the anti-revisionist and anti-revisionist struggle in China. Neither of these two aspects could not fail to have a profound impact on the subsequent historical process.

Sino-Soviet Relations after Khrushchev

Khrushchev's resignation objectively provided the possibility of a turning point for the improvement of the relationship between the two parties in China and the Soviet Union. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China attaches great importance to this. Therefore, taking advantage of the opportunity to commemorate the 47th anniversary of the October Revolution, a high-level Chinese party and government delegation headed by Zhou Enlai was sent to Moscow under the circumstances that the celebrations did not happen every five or ten days. However, before the formal talks between the two parties of China and the Soviet Union started, they were sabotaged by the seriously absurd actions of a senior Soviet general. At the reception held by the Soviet government on the evening of November 7, when He Long talked with some military leaders including Marshal Chuikov of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Defense Minister Malinovsky actually said to He Long: "We have now put Helu Xiaofu got rid of it, and you should also follow our example and remove Mao Zedong from power. Then we can

reconcile." He Long rejected the other party's malicious incitement on the spot, and immediately reported to Zhou Enlai. Zhou Enlai immediately questioned Brezhnev and other CPSU leaders. Brezhnev covered it up with Malinovsky's drunken gaffe. Zhou Enlai immediately pointed out that this was not a "slip of speech after drinking", but a "speech of the truth after drinking". During the subsequent talks between the two party delegations, Zhou Enlai lodged a serious protest to the Soviet side, and Brezhnev had to apologize. This incident was linked to other circumstances, leading the Party Central Committee to conclude that what Brezhnev practiced was "Khrushchevism without Khrushchev". Since then, Sino-Soviet relations not only did not ease, but became increasingly tense. The Soviet Union increased its troops on the Sino-Soviet border to one million people, and stationed troops in the Mongolian People's Republic, forming a force to suppress China.

How much this incident touched Mao Zedong is naturally impossible to make an accurate research. However, during the period of the Communist International, the Soviet Union could change the leaders of other countries' parties through the organizational means of the Communist International. After the disintegration of the Communist International, during the Stalin era and for a period of time after that, the Soviet Union used to find internal support from other national parties and exert influence and pressure to carry out subversion from within in order to change leaders who did not follow its baton. It's not a secret. As a statesman and military strategist, Mao Zedong certainly knew that fortresses are easiest to breach from the inside, and it was impossible for him not to take precautions. Therefore, it is not difficult to understand why he paid more and more attention to the issue of "Khrushchev sleeping beside him". Unfortunately, on this major political issue that affects the fate of the party and the country, Mao Zedong did not adhere to the standpoint of dialectical materialism, but went to its opposite.

In the historical development of human society, there are often many accidental events, such as the above-mentioned Malinowski

event. However, these seemingly accidental events often contain and reflect the inevitability of objective historical laws, and with the different status and power of the characters in the accidental events, their impact on historical development is also different. Therefore, historical materialism teaches us to respect historical inevitability, but at the same time never ignore various contingencies. Marx once pointed out: "If 'chance' does not play any role, then world history will have a very mysterious nature. These contingencies themselves are naturally included in the overall development process and compensated for by other contingencies. However, the acceleration of development and delay to a large extent depend on these 'accidents', including the 'accidental circumstances' of the personalities of those who stood at the forefront of the movement from the outset." The cause is instructive.

International anti-revisionism catalyzes domestic anti-revisionism

The question of opposing revisionism was raised by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. In the beginning, the Chinese Communist Party's anti-revisionism was mainly external, opposing modern revisionism represented by Khrushchev. However, with the intensification of the contradictions between the two parties in China and the Soviet Union and the unfolding of the great international debate, the "Left" view of "taking class struggle as the key link" was gradually systematized and theoreticalized. Using this "left" theory to observe and analyze the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, it can be concluded that the leadership of the CPSU has been usurped by the revisionist clique, the world's first socialist country created by Lenin himself has changed its color, and most of the world Most Communist and Workers' Parties no longer believe in such conclusions as Marxism-Leninism, which have no basis and are inaccurate. At the same time, we must turn to this theory to observe and dissect ourselves, analyze and study whether the Chinese Communist Party also has the conditions to produce revisionism, and whether revisionist forces have emerged and grown. In this way, international anti-revisionism and domestic anti-revisionism are directly linked.

The process of the development of the matter is that Mao Zedong proposed the task of opposing revisionism and preventing revisionism in the country. At first, the focus was on preventing revisionism. That is, how to prevent revisionism from arising in China, and how to dig out the roots of revisionism preventively. For example, in May 1963, Mao Zedong issued instructions on seven materials for cadres in Zhejiang Province to participate in labor. He believes that cadres' participation in labor is a good way to "prevent revisionism", and he warns the whole party that if class struggle is relaxed, it will not take a long time. If there is a national counter-revolutionary restoration, the Marxist-Leninist party will definitely become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China will change its color. At the Hangzhou Conference held at that time, Mao Zedong emphasized that our socialist revolution, the "five evils" in the cities, and the "four cleansings" in the countryside are to dig the roots of revisionism. From these historical materials, it can be seen that until this time, Mao Zedong proposed the task of "anti-revision and prevention of revision" in the country, and the focus was still on "prevention of revision". Worries about the party's revisionism and the country's discoloration only reflect his excessive political vigilance.

Originally, as a leader of a proletarian party in power, it is natural and necessary to always pay attention to exposing and overcoming the dark side of the party and the country, so as to prevent the wrong path of oppressing the people internally and pursuing hegemony externally. Therefore, Mao Zedong's anti-revisionist and anti-revisionist ideas were accepted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and widely supported and embraced by both inside and outside the party. The problem is that if it is just a kind of political vigilance, even if it is a bit excessive, it will not cause too much harm. However, when this vigilance has been transformed into realistic estimates and policies, the nature is completely different. When Mao Zedong made a completely unrealistic estimate of the political situation of the party and the country and the relationship between social classes, did not give an accurate explanation of what revisionism is, and adopted a wrong method, the

original intention and serious consequences were inevitably formed. Deviation, this is where Mao Zedong's tragedy lies.

It was precisely because of his overestimation of the political situation within the Chinese Communist Party and at home that Mao Zedong gradually shifted the focus of his attention from anti-revisionism to anti-revisionism, and the focus of anti-revisionism shifted from the lower levels to the upper levels, and finally to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. front-line leaders. This can be clearly seen from some of his criticisms. For example: On December 5, 1964, Mao Zedong wrote in the report "Various Methods of Capitalist Operation and Management of Shenyang Smelter Plants" by Xie Fuzhi, then member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Minister of Public Security: "How much of our industry has been improved in terms of operation and management?" If it is capitalized, it is one-third, one-half, or even more. Only by checking and reforming one by one can we know." The instructions also said that the "main source" of this kind of capitalist management comes from above. The issue of "rectifying and reforming" China's state-owned enterprises has already been raised here. On the 12th of the same month, Mao Zedong's instructions to Chen Zhengren, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and head of the Ministry of Agricultural Machinery, to report at the Luoyang Tractor Factory made the issue more acute and serious. In the instructions, two new concepts of class enemies were put forward: "bureaucrat class" and "leaders taking the capitalist road". The instructions said: The bureaucratic class and the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants are two sharply opposed classes. These people have become or are becoming bourgeois elements who suck the blood of the workers... These people are the object of the struggle, the object of the revolution. The socialist education movement must not rely on them. Later, in January 1965, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a national work conference in Beijing, and formulated and approved "Some Issues Presently Raised in the Rural Socialist Education Movement" (referred to as "Article 23"). It clearly stipulates that the focus of the

campaign is to rectify those in power within the party who are taking the capitalist road. At the meeting, Mao Zedong also criticized Beijing for having two "independent kingdoms" (note: referring to the Central Secretariat led by Deng Xiaoping, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and the State Planning Commission led by Li Fuchun, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Vice Premier of the State Council).

By the autumn of 1965, Mao Zedong clearly raised the question of what to do if revisionism appeared in the central government. At the Central Working Conference held from September to October 1965, Mao Zedong asked: "If revisionism emerges in the Central Committee, what will you do?" On October 10, Mao Zedong said in a conversation with the first secretary of the region: revisionism has emerged in the central government, what should you do? If there is revisionism in the central government, you will rebel, and if the provinces have a small third line, you can rebel. This clearly shows that Mao Zedong has regarded the party's change of revisionism and the country's discoloration as imminent real dangers, and shifted the focus of domestic "anti-revisionism and prevention of revisionism" to "anti-revisionism", especially to solve the problem of "the central government's revisionism". doctrine" issue.

The above-mentioned interaction between international anti-revisionism and domestic anti-revisionism will inevitably have a major and far-reaching impact on the thinking of members of the Communist Party of China and the general public, and on the political life of the whole country. Mainly manifested in the following aspects:

First, the danger of a revisionist restoration among all party members and cadres is not only real, but imminent, thus creating a general sense of urgent and strong political crisis. At the same time, a sense of historical mission to uphold Marxism-Leninism, oppose revisionism, and promote world revolution emerged spontaneously. This blind and fanatical belief was once an ideological motivation for many people to participate in the "Cultural Revolution".

Second, under the impetus of the international debate, the "left" theory that existed in the CCP has been increasingly developed and systematized, and the theoretical form has become more complete. The great development of Marxism-Leninism ", "is an extremely great sign of the development of Marxism-Leninism to a new stage, that is, the stage of Mao Zedong Thought" and so on. This was believed by many people for a period of time.

Third, through mass propaganda and mass study, the anti-revisionist propaganda has become more and more in-depth and popular, and it has really become a household name and everyone knows it. This actually made ideological and public opinion preparations for the launch of the "Cultural Revolution".

Fourth, it promotes and develops a metaphysical way of thinking that is characterized by "opposing Soviet revisionism," and stifles any creative critical thinking that dares to raise doubts and negative opinions. "Whatever the enemy opposes, we must support; whatever the enemy supports, we must oppose." This quotation from Mao Zedong was made absolute and became a dominant mindset. Anyone who expresses slightly different views, even very reasonable ones, will be regarded as heresy, and will be discriminated against, criticized and attacked, and even labeled as a revisionist and tortured cruelly. This situation can only encourage blindness and stifle independent thinking, and make the whole nation fall into the abyss of disaster under the wrong guidance.

To sum up, it can be seen that this so-called struggle against modern revisionism, which focused on the great debate between the two parties in China and the Soviet Union, was indeed a strong catalyst and an important factor that effectively promoted the rapid expansion of the "Left" trend of thought in the Chinese Communist Party. And made direct ideological and theoretical preparations for the launch of the "Cultural Revolution".

4. Going to extremes in the vicious circle of three interactions

In the real life of China in the 1950s and 1960s, the three interactions were closely combined, mutually conditioned and promoted each other, forming a huge trend that was irresistible. Mao Zedong was not only the leader and guide of this trend, but at the same time his own thinking and actions were influenced and promoted by this trend, and he constantly went to the extreme of the "left".

Mao Zedong's serious misjudgment of China's political situation even made him worry that a "counter-revolutionary coup" would occur in the capital Beijing, and he also made practical preventive arrangements for this. Lin Biao disclosed the news at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in May 1966. Lin Biao said: "Chairman Mao has paid special attention to preventing counter-revolutionary coups in recent months and has taken many measures. After the Luo Ruiqing issue occurred, he discussed this issue. After the Peng Zhen issue occurred this time, Chairman Mao asked someone to discuss this issue again. The investigation Send troops to prevent counter-revolutionary coups and prevent them from occupying our vital positions, radio stations, and radio stations. The army and public security system have all been deployed. Chairman Mao has been doing this article for the past few months." Lin Biao's speech was later approved by Mao Zedong Reviewed and issued as a document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Mao Zedong did not delete or modify these words, expressing his acquiescence to what he said.

Lin Biao, who is best at guessing Mao Zedong's mentality, cried out at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in May 1966: "Whenever Chairman Mao lives, whether he is ninety years old or over one hundred years old, he will be our

supreme leader, and his words will be our actions. Whoever opposes him will be punished by the whole party and the whole country. If anyone behind him makes a secret report like Khrushchev's, he must be an ambitious person, he must be a big villain, and the whole party will punish him. Let the whole country discuss it together." These words came from the bottom of Mao Zedong's heart. Lin Biao was designated as his successor by Mao Zedong three months later. This speech may be an important step for him to rise up.

Mao Zedong was a stubborn and unyielding revolutionary who struggled all his life to realize his revolutionary ideal. As long as he believes that something is right, no matter how many people oppose him, he must stick to it to the end. There were very few things in his life where he threw in the towel. This is also the "anti-trend" spirit he advocated. This state was quite clearly revealed in his letter to Jiang Qing on July 8, 1966. He said: "There are more than 100 parties in the world. Most of them don't believe in Marxism-Leninism. Marx and Lenin have also been smashed by people. What about us?" Mao Zedong also said in the letter that China's anti-Party "They want to overthrow our party and myself." Taking the situation so seriously is entirely out of subjective assumptions. Based on this judgment, he felt that he must stand up, adhere to the principle of "anti-trend", and save Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary cause of China and the world from the raging waves of revisionism. For this reason, even if he was "beaten to pieces", he would not hesitate. Faced with the situation that he estimated that the "revisionist" forces in China were already deeply rooted and intertwined, Mao Zedong believed that only by fully mobilizing the masses and relying on the strength of the masses can victory be possible. Therefore, he made up his mind to mobilize hundreds of millions of people to launch a comprehensive class struggle across the country, causing chaos in the world, in order to completely wipe out all monsters and monsters, and finally achieve great order in the world. This is the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" subjectively conceived by Mao Zedong.

By studying Mao Zedong's thoughts and motives for initiating the "Cultural Revolution", it seems that a clearer explanation can be

obtained here. However, we consider that there are several issues that should not be ignored.

Anxiety about succession issues

The issue of successors includes two aspects: one is general, the succession of the younger generation to the older generation of revolutionaries; the other is specific, that is, the succession of the party leader Mao Zedong himself. Mao Zedong was extremely dissatisfied with the education situation at that time. When receiving foreign guests in August 1965, he said that we used to have no university professors, middle school teachers, and primary school teachers. We took all the people left by the Kuomintang and gradually reformed them. Just like them. Later he said at a meeting that most of the universities, middle schools, and primary schools are now monopolized by intellectuals from the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, and landlords and rich peasants. He believed that the school was monopolized by bourgeois intellectuals. It is obviously unrealistic to make such an estimate of my country's education situation in the seventeen years after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Out of his distrust of intellectuals, he suggested that someone younger, less educated, with a stable stand, and with political experience should take over.

Mao Zedong noticed some speeches and articles of Dulles, the former US Secretary of State, advocating that the US and its Western allies pursue a strategy of "peaceful evolution" against socialist countries. Mao Zedong said that based on the changes in the Soviet Union, the imperialist prophets also pinned their hopes of "peaceful evolution" on the third or fourth generation of China. We must make this prophecy of imperialism completely bankrupt. During this period, he paid special attention to the education of young people and the successors of the revolutionary cause. In June 1964, he proposed five conditions for his successor. He wants the whole party, especially the younger generation, to get tempered against restoration through class struggle. For this reason, he did not hesitate to take the risk of "chaos in the world", personally launching

and leading a storm of class struggle, so that young people can go through the storm and see the world.

At that time, in Mao Zedong's view, the more urgent issue was the issue of the party leader Mao Zedong's own successor. He has to personally choose a satisfactory and reliable successor for himself. Mao Zedong believed that Stalin's failure to choose his successor was an important reason for Khrushchev's emergence from the Soviet Union. Mao Zedong paid great attention to the selection and training of those who succeeded him. After 1962, he increasingly felt that Liu Shaoqi was not a reliable candidate and needed to reconsider. In June 1966, Mao Zedong said in a conversation with foreign guests: We are all over 70, and we will be invited by Marx one day. It is not known who the successor is, Bernstein, Kautsky or Khrushchev. There is still time to prepare. This shows that the urgent consideration of changing the successor was indeed one of the reasons why Mao Zedong was determined to launch the "Cultural Revolution".

Overemphasis on "broken"

Another factor that affected Mao Zedong's analysis and judgment of the situation was his one-sided views on the relationship between "breaking" and "establishing". Mao Zedong launched the "Cultural Revolution", which contained the dual intention of "breaking" and "establishing". However, in his philosophy, the relationship between breaking and building is "if you don't break, you can't build", "if the word breaks first, the word "establishment" is in it", "the chaos in the world leads to the great order of the world", etc., always put "breaking" in the first place. . This point of view does not conform to the materialist dialectics of Marxism, and has some metaphysical absolutism tendencies, but it also shows the character of Mao Zedong as a revolutionary. When he led the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people to fully realize the rule of "breaking" the Kuomintang, he also proposed the task of "establishing". He called on the whole party to focus on production and construction. "Other work in the city, such as the work of the

party organization, the work of the government organs, the work of the trade unions, the work of various other mass organizations, the work of culture and education, the work of austerity Anti-work, the work of news agencies, newspapers, and radio stations all revolve around the central work of production and construction and serve this central work." That being said, the actual work in the early days of the founding of the People's Republic of China was generally done in the same way, and brilliant achievements were made in rapid economic recovery and development. However, Mao Zedong's own attention was still mainly focused on destroying the old production relations, old ideology, and old living customs. He once said: "I pay more attention to institutional issues, production relations and superstructure issues. As for productivity, I have very little knowledge." After the founding of the People's Republic of China, various political movements continued, which is the practice prove.

Of course, Mao Zedong did not care about or advocate the development of productive forces. On the contrary, sometimes he emphasized a certain aspect of the development of productivity to an inappropriate height, such as the "Great Leap Forward" period to support the "Steel Marshal's account promotion" is an example. However, judging from more situations, he did focus on institutional issues, production relations and superstructure issues. This also reflects Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking, that is, without distinguishing between different historical conditions, he consistently overemphasizes the relationship of production, the reaction of the superstructure, emphasizes the role of ideology, and advocates the use of revolution to promote production. Therefore, he appreciates and affirms some plausible slogans such as "politics in command", "four firsts", and "highlighting politics". And when this kind of proposition hit a wall in practice, such as the failure of the "Great Leap Forward", Mao Zedong could not correctly summarize the experience and lessons, but generally looked for the reasons from the class struggle and the line struggle. As a result, he regarded the differences within the party as more and more serious, regarded the differences in different methods of building socialism as the struggle between two classes and two roads, and regarded the "dark side"

within the party and society more and more. Deeper and wider, resulting in a sense of crisis. It prompted him to make up his mind to wipe out all monsters and monsters in China with superhuman courage, establish a pure and perfect ideal society in the great destruction, and set a shining example for the world communist movement.

The Blurred Blueprint of "Great World Governance"

So, what was the ideal society that Mao Zedong pursued? He himself never stated explicitly.

What was the social goal that Mao Zedong wanted to achieve in launching the "Cultural Revolution"? In other words, what is the blueprint for the "great governance of the world" he is pursuing? This was not mentioned in the two programmatic documents of the "Cultural Revolution". The "May 16 Notice" only said what to "seize", "criticize", and "cleanse". The "Sixteen Articles" proposed to establish the "Four New" (new ideas, new culture, new customs, and new habits), but no one has made it clear what the "Four New" are. slogan. Therefore, strictly speaking, the "Cultural Revolution" did not have a complete program. For a revolutionary program always defines the constructive social goals to be pursued. Even the goal is vague, at least not a complete program. The social goals that Mao Zedong pursued in launching the "Cultural Revolution" can only be explored from other historical materials.

Just when the "Cultural Revolution" had just begun, on May 7, 1966, Mao Zedong wrote a letter to Lin Biao, which later became known as the "May 7th Directive". In this letter, Mao Zedong sketched the outline of an ideal society he envisioned, that is, workers, peasants, students, military, business, service industry, and party and government personnel all focus on one profession and learn other things at the same time. Students studying literature, engineering, agriculture, and the army must participate in criticizing the bourgeoisie and turn the whole country into a big school. On August 1, the "People's Daily" published an editorial titled "The whole country should become a big school of Mao Zedong Thought",

announcing the content of the "May 7th Directive" and emphasizing that: "All walks of life proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong The idea of building a revolutionary university that is both labor and agriculture, as well as literature and military, is our program." According to Mao Zedong's words, "we can cultivate hundreds of millions of communists with a high degree of political consciousness and comprehensive development." Newcomers to Socialism" will "be able to further build socialism more quickly, better and more economically, and can more quickly eradicate the social and ideological foundations of capitalism and revisionism." "In this way, the whole country will be a big school of Mao Zedong Thought and a big school of communism." It seems logical to derive such a conclusion from the "May 7th Directive". Because the "big school" where everyone is the same is built, the "three major differences" seem to disappear naturally, and everyone can become a "generalist", "They can work with a hammer, farm with a hoe, You can hit the enemy with the barrel of a gun, and you can write articles with the barrel of a pen." In this way, what Marx said in "The Critique of the Gotha Program" does not exist. Since everyone works and farms, there is no need for commodity exchange. This seems to be the basic feature of the communist society as portrayed by the classic writers. As for how to achieve "greatly enriched social products", the main condition and material basis for realizing communism, and the way to greatly develop science and culture so that all the people can become highly civilized newcomers to communism, no matter what Whether it was the "May 7th Directive" or the editorial of the "People's Daily" did not say a word. Obviously, the ideal society reflected in the "May 7th Directive" is to a large extent a utopian kingdom of egalitarian small producers based on a self-sufficient natural economy. Mao Zedong thought he had discovered a new world of communism, but in fact he fell into a wrong pattern of "Left" utopia with strong historical traces that violated the laws of social development.

The social concept put forward by Mao Zedong in the "May 7th Instructions" is by no means a whim, but has a profound ideological foundation, which can be traced back at least to 1958. In this year

and after that, Mao Zedong put forward a series of bold and provocative propositions. He believes, "Our direction should be to gradually and orderly organize industry (industry), agriculture (agriculture), commerce (exchange), learning (cultural education), and soldiers (militia, that is, the armed forces of the whole people) into a large commune, so that It constitutes the basic unit of our society." And according to the guidance of this thought, the people's communes were realized throughout the country. At the Wuchang Conference in December 1958, he published the "Biography of Zhang Lu" selected from "Three Kingdoms" and wrote an explanation. He admired Zhang Lu's original socialist policy based on small peasant egalitarianism, and used it to make historical comparisons and demonstrations for the egalitarian measures implemented in the People's Commune Movement. Including Zhang Lu's idea of an organization that is close to the integration of government and society, the combination of labor and military, free meals in restaurants by the side of the road, and methods based on persuasion. From here we can see the ideological origin of the "May 7th Directive". In addition, he also put forward some new views, such as thinking that our country is poor and white. Being poor is good, "being poor means thinking about change, working hard, and making revolution"; whiteness is better, "a piece of blank paper, without burden, is good for writing the latest and most beautiful words, and drawing the latest and most beautiful pictures." He advocates emancipating the mind, daring to think, speak and act. He proposed to do away with superstition, including with scientists and with the study of Marxism. He said: "The more books you read, the more stupid you become." Even reading Marxist books, you can't read too much, "If you read too much, you will go to the opposite side—become dogmatism or revisionism." He advocated the theory of continuous revolution, one revolution after another. The content and form of this revolution are "straw sandals have no shape, and they are shaped as they are beaten."

These views reflect the ideological characteristics of Mao Zedong's blueprint for socialism at that time. However, even an outstanding person with extraordinary intellect cannot surpass the

limited depth and breadth of conditions that the age can provide. When Mao Zedong was exploring the road of building socialism, the practice of building socialism in China had just started, and we ourselves did not have many successful experiences or lessons from failures to learn from. After the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the shortcomings of the Soviet socialist model have been exposed more, which cannot be ruled out. Although the developed countries in the West have started a new round of technological revolution, it is capitalism that he hates very much, and of course it is not lawful. Therefore, when Mao Zedong conceived the blueprint of China's socialist edifice, he could only rely on the experience of the war years and China's various assumptions about "a world of great harmony" since ancient times, as well as the incomplete accuracy of socialism and communism in Marxist works. Prediction. In the face of such historical limitations, even a great figure like Mao Zedong could not freely gallop on the social stage. The more imaginative and daring you are, the more likely you are to go terribly wrong.

Mao Zedong never completed the overall design of the socialist building he wanted to build, and he did not leave complete drawings. We can only see an unclear outline of the ideal society he envisioned from some of his speeches and writings at that time.

In such a society, the distribution should be approximately equal, and the implementation of the supply system is a better form. Gradually, food is free of money and clothing is free of money. Interestingly, according to the memory of Li Yinqiao, who was the head of Mao Zedong's guard: "Mao Zedong hated money the most. Mao Zedong once shook hands with Chiang Kai-shek, but Mao Zedong never touched money. Mao Zedong didn't touch money in Yan'an, and he didn't touch money when he moved to northern Shaanxi. After entering the city Let alone touch money." Mao Zedong said: "Alas, money is a very annoying thing, but I can't do anything with it." When Mao Zedong talked about life in the revolutionary base areas during the war years, he was always full of good nostalgia. He praised the supply system and hated the wage system. He said: Our

party is a party that has fought wars for more than 20 years and has implemented a supply system for a long time. Until the early days of liberation, they generally lived an egalitarian life, worked very hard, and fought bravely. These historical experiences are of great significance for us to solve the problems of socialist construction. In response to some comrades who held different opinions on the implementation of the supply system, Mao Zedong argued: Some people say that egalitarianism produces lazy people. How many lazy people have been produced in the past 22 years? I didn't see a few. I don't believe that if the supply system is implemented, people will be lazy, create less inventions, and be less motivated. Because decades of experience have proven otherwise. He also said: The supply system is a form that facilitates the transition and does not cause obstacles. Build socialism and lay the groundwork for preparing the transition to communism. Mao Zedong expressed his great dislike for the wage system. He said: After Liberation, the salary system was implemented, and after ratings, there were more problems. Some people often quarreled over grades, and a lot of persuasion was required. He scolded and asked: Could it be that the 25,000-mile Long March, the Agrarian Revolution, and the War of Liberation were paid for by salaries? These views of Mao Zedong are obviously derived from the successful experience of the past war years. He generalized, fixed, and absolutized the experience of military communism practiced by a small number of advanced elements nationwide under special conditions. He thought that what is applicable in a war environment can also be applied in a peaceful environment, and hoped to build a framework for a socialist society on this basis, but he was inevitably trapped in fantasy.

The society Mao Zedong envisioned was composed of many urban and rural people's communes, which were the basic organizational units needed to achieve roughly equal distribution. Mao Zedong said: The characteristics of the people's communes are: one is called big, and the other is called public. The land is vast and abundant, with a large population, workers, farmers, businessmen, soldiers, agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline fishing. Big, great, and a lot of people. Public means that

there are more socialism than cooperatives, and the remnants of capitalism are gradually eliminated. He said: The nature of the commune is the grassroots unit of the socialist structure that combines industry, agriculture, commerce, education, and soldiers. It is the organizer of production and life, and at the same time it reflects part of the role that the regime needs to retain. He believes that the people's commune is the best form to realize the two transitions (transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, and from distribution according to work to distribution according to needs). basic unit of socialist society. Obviously, Mao Zedong envisioned thousands upon thousands of relatively independent, self-sufficient, concrete and small social groups to emerge on the land of China, thus forming a "communist university". Such assumptions run counter to the requirements of the economic development trend towards the development of socialized mass production.

In such a society, equal distribution is implemented to ensure equality among people and maintain the revolutionary spirit of people. Mao Zedong was very dissatisfied with the special cadres, bureaucracy, and hierarchy that existed in my country's socialist society. He accused that: Salaries have to be graded, clothing is divided into three colors, food is divided into five grades, and desks and chairs are also graded. He also regards the phenomenon of "strict hierarchy, condescension, separation from the masses, not treating people equally, not relying on work ability, but relying on qualifications and power" as "bourgeois legal rights." He said: This unequal relationship between cadres and the masses - cat and mouse relationship or father-son relationship, must be eradicated. Mao Zedong's distaste for these social ills aroused his nostalgia for life in the base areas during the war years. He said: During the Anti-Japanese War, there were 2-3 million people. During the War of Liberation, 4-5 million people lived in military communism. There was no Sunday. The officers and soldiers were united, the army and the people were united, and they supported the government and loved the people. . He believes that the life of the supply system at that time was a Marxist style and had a communist nature. These views

of Mao Zedong showed his subjective conception of representing the interests of the people as his own responsibility. However, those social ills that have accumulated for thousands of years, in the real life with low political, economic and cultural development levels, it is expected that they can be wiped out through the impact of several mass movements. This idea has been proved by practice Just a harmful fantasy.

Some of Mao Zedong's ideas in exploring the path of socialism in China failed to continue to develop and form a system due to the failure of the "Great Leap Forward". However, he has not given up on those ideas. He believes that realizing those visions step by step is a continuous revolution. Those who disagree with his ideas, in his view, all want to take the capitalist road and engage in revisionism. Shortly before his death, Mao Zedong said indignantly: "Some comrades, mainly old comrades, are still at the stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution. They do not understand, resist, or even oppose the socialist revolution." He thought: "Why? Now that they have become high-ranking officials, they must protect their interests. They have good houses, cars, high salaries, and waiters, and they are even better than capitalists." From this, he made an astonishing mistake that the bourgeoisie is inside the Communist Party. broken. It can be seen that it was Mao Zedong's strong subjective idea to launch the "Cultural Revolution" to overthrow those in power who took the capitalist road and remove the obstacles to the realization of the purest and most perfect socialism in China. As a result, the "Theory of Continued Revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" centered on a political revolution in which one class overthrew another class under socialist conditions, and became the guiding principle of the "Cultural Revolution".

Mainstream is not a power struggle

By the way, here is an answer to a very popular and marketable point of view. This is what some people at home and abroad preach: The "Cultural Revolution" is a term for the power struggle among the top leadership of the Communist Party of China, and it is a "general

outbreak of power struggle" within the Communist Party; some people say that Mao Zedong launched the "Cultural Revolution" to overthrow the Liu Shaoqi, wait. This is a misunderstanding of the lack of a deep understanding of China's political situation, and it regards the result as the cause. It is undeniable that from the very beginning of the "Cultural Revolution" it was pointed out that it was necessary to seize power, and the entire process of the "Cultural Revolution" also ran through the seizure of power. Moreover, careerists such as Lin Biao and Jiang Qing really wanted to seize power. However, as far as Mao Zedong was concerned, if what he wanted to achieve was to exclude certain comrades from the central leadership, according to his status and authority in the party at that time, he did not need to mobilize troops and launch the "Cultural Revolution". Peng Zhen, Lu Dingyi, Luo Ruiqing, and Yang Shangkun, members and alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, secretaries and alternate secretaries, didn't they "go through" after a few small meetings? Liu Shaoqi, the state president and vice-chairman of the Party Central Committee, and Deng Xiaoping, the general secretary of the Party Central Committee, did not write 203 characters in pencil on an old newspaper (that is, "Bombarding the Headquarters-My Big-Character Poster") and "go on "Yet? Moreover, after Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping were "destroyed", the "Cultural Revolution" continued for ten years. How can this be explained? For Mao Zedong, who had supreme authority at that time, he could always find a reason to follow the "statutory" procedures to replace several central leaders, and it did not necessarily need to launch the "Cultural Revolution." Obviously, Mao Zedong launched the "Cultural Revolution" to destroy the "revisionist political line and revisionist organizational line" that permeated the land of China with his "left" eyes, and the representatives of this line hoped to "clean up the All pests are invincible." Therefore, he advocated that mass struggles like the "Cultural Revolution" should "be carried out many times" and "come again in seven or eight years."

What's more, after the founding of the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong's prestige among the whole party, the whole

army, and the people of the whole country was at its peak. Coupled with the increasing prevalence of personality worship, no one with a normal mind dared to dream of "he can replace him." The organizational principle of democratic centralism of the Communist Party of China and the procedure for producing leaders also make it impossible for someone to seize the leadership position of Mao Zedong against the will of the people. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Gao Gang and Jao Shushi also tried to seize the leadership power of the party and the country. Didn't they get "destroyed" during the "lobbying" period? Moreover, they never dared to openly plot Mao Zedong's leadership.

Some people quoted what Mao Zedong said in his meeting with Snow in 1970: "At that time, the party power, the power of propaganda work, the party power of each province, the power of each locality, such as the power of the Beijing Municipal Committee, I can't control it anymore. This proves that Mao Zedong's "big power has fallen to the side", and he launched the "Cultural Revolution" to regain the lost power. As for what Mao Zedong said, there is indeed room for controversy, because the words are clearly stated. However, this was said to foreign reporters to explain why there was a personality cult and why Liu Shaoqi was defeated. These two problems seem to be difficult to make other explanations. However, it is not difficult to understand that this is not the case as long as we examine the period of history before the "Cultural Revolution". You can also ask a rhetorical question: If Mao Zedong really lost power, would he be able to overcome all opinions and launch the "Cultural Revolution"? Saying things like "the Cultural Revolution is a product of power struggles and a tool of power struggles" is just grasping certain superficial phenomena and explaining them in terms of the conventions of bourgeois political party struggles.

The complex causes still need to be studied by multiple parties

Does this mean that only our point of view, namely, the "three vicious circles of interaction" is the correct conclusion to explain all

the contradictions and all factors that explain the causes of the "Cultural Revolution"? Of course not.

Regarding the reasons for the occurrence of the "Cultural Revolution", the "Resolution on Certain Issues Concerning the Party's History Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has made a scientific summary on the whole. The "Historical Resolution" pointed out: "The reason why the 'Cultural Revolution' occurred and lasted for ten years, apart from the direct cause of Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership mistakes analyzed earlier, there are also complex social and historical reasons." The listed social and historical reasons can roughly be attributed to: the lack of sufficient ideological preparation and scientific research for the development of socialist society; the leaders are accustomed to the methods and experience of mass struggles in the past, which led to the serious expansion of class struggle; for Marx, Engels, Misunderstand or dogmatize certain assumptions and arguments in the works of Lenin and Stalin, thus mistaking the magnification of class struggle as the defense of the purity of Marxism; , making the relationship within the party increasingly tense; the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the party and the country has been continuously weakened or even destroyed; in the history of the communist movement, the relationship between the leader and the party has not been correctly resolved, which has had a negative impact on the Chinese Communist Party wait. The "Historical Resolution" also pointed out: "China is a country with a long history of feudalism. Our party has waged the most resolute and thorough struggle against feudalism, especially the feudal land system and the tyrants and tyrants. However, the ideological and political legacy of feudal despotism for a long time is still not easy to clear up, and various historical reasons have prevented us from institutionalizing and legalizing democracy within the party and the country's political and social life. Laws have been enacted, but there is no proper authority. This provides a condition for the excessive concentration of party power on individuals, and the growth of personal arbitrariness and personality worship in the party, which

makes it difficult for the party and the country to prevent and stop it. The initiation and development of the Cultural Revolution'.

The "Cultural Revolution" is a complicated historical phenomenon, and its causes should naturally be investigated and studied in a more in-depth, more detailed and multi-faceted manner. We only made a general survey of the historical development of the ten years before the outbreak of the "Cultural Revolution", and hope that readers can get a clearer, more specific, and more realistic understanding of the development process of the "Cultural Revolution" that will be discussed below. understanding. The comprehensive launch of the "Cultural Revolution" combined the rolling of the three interactions, and the vicious expansion finally pushed the mainland of China into the abyss of comprehensive turmoil. This is a clue that today's historians have sorted out from the complicated historical process. For quite a long time, for the vast majority of those who witnessed the "Cultural Revolution", it was generally felt that this political storm came very suddenly. On the one hand, the flames of the man-made class struggle "taking class struggle as the key link" are already burning more and more vigorously; . Why is there such a huge contrast? The fundamental reason is that the social development of China at that time did not have the objective requirement of carrying out the "Cultural Revolution", and the masses did not have such a will.

From the economic point of view, after several years of adjustments, my country's economic recovery and development are relatively rapid, and social life is relatively stable. By 1965, the total industrial and agricultural output value of the country had reached 198.4 billion yuan, an increase of 59% compared to 1957, the highest level before the "Great Leap Forward". The country's financial situation has improved, and there is still a slight surplus in the balance of payments; the domestic market is stable, the supply of materials is gradually increasing, and people's living standards have improved. After three years of serious economic difficulties, the situation has improved rapidly beyond people's expectations. After adjustments, the relationship between the major sectors of the

national economy is more reasonable, and there is a renewed upward momentum. Since 1966, the third five-year plan for the development of the national economy has been implemented. The brows that the broad masses of the people frowned in difficult times have gradually been relaxed, and they are actively working and producing with confidence. That is to say, what the broad masses care about is to develop production, do a good job in construction, and improve their lives.

In terms of political life, although the socialist education movement in urban and rural areas is still going on, it is carried out under the leadership of the party committee and under the leadership of the work team that everyone has become accustomed to. "Left" regulations and behaviors have been corrected to some extent, and "it depends on whether to increase or decrease production" as one of the criteria for running a good movement, which has prompted the cadres leading the movement to devote part of their energy to organizing production. Moreover, by the spring of 1966, only about one-third of the counties and communes in the country had carried out socialist education campaigns. In cities, according to the statistics in July 1965, the number of units carrying out campaigns in the industrial and transportation system accounted for only 3.9% of the total; among others, such as finance and trade, culture, education and health, street enterprises and urban residents, only a very small number of units carried out pilot projects. Therefore, the socialist education movement did not produce a general shock to the whole party and the whole country, and the negative impact produced by the "left" practice in the movement was only partial from the whole country. Of course, due to the shortcomings of the political and economic systems, and the consequences of previous political movements, there are many contradictions among the people, some of which are quite acute. As long as these contradictions can be dealt with correctly and realistically, they are not insoluble.

Just when the domestic situation was developing relatively well, and the broad masses urgently demanded to improve construction

and improve their lives, a new great turmoil - the "Cultural Revolution" occurred when the vast majority of people were not mentally prepared.

[1] On October 23, 1956, a parade of 200,000 people took place in Budapest, the capital of Hungary, demanding that the consequences of the mistakes of the former leader Rakosi be removed, and that the former chairman of the Council of Ministers Nagy be reinstated. During the demonstration, there were bloody incidents that attacked radio stations, telephone exchanges, and arsenals. After Najib came to power, the situation took another serious development. A group of party and government leaders headed by Kadar set up a separate worker-peasant revolutionary government and requested the Soviet army to send troops to suppress it. On November 4, the Soviet army entered Budapest and quelled the turmoil. There are still different views on this event.

[2] After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party, a re-examination of the 550,000 rightists designated nationwide at that time was carried out, and more than 98% of them were wrongly designated and corrected.

[3] The general line of working hard, striving for the top, building socialism more quickly, better and more economically, and the "Great Leap Forward" and the People's Commune adopted by the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China were collectively referred to as the "Three Red Flags" in the newspapers at that time.

[4] "Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning Several Issues in Current Rural Work (Draft)", May 20, 1963.

[5] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 2, People's Publishing House, 1994 edition, pp. 308-309.

[6] "Selected Works of Mao Zedong", Volume 2, People's Publishing House, 1991 edition, p. 529.

[7] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 2, pp. 294-295.

[8] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 2, p. 330.

[9] "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Several Historical Issues of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China".

[10] "Selected Works of Marx and Engels", Volume 1, People's Publishing House, 1972 edition, p. 693.

[11] Cited from Tian Shan: "Records of Ye Qun in the "Cultural Revolution", see "Communist Members" No. 1, 1988.

[12] Deng Xiaoping: "Report on Revising the Party Constitution", September 16, 1956.

[13] Volume 3 of Selected Works of Chen Yun, People's Publishing House, 1995 edition, p. 274.

[14] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 2, p. 333.

[15] On June 28, 1956, workers marched and demonstrated in Poznan, an important city in the Republic of Poland, demanding an increase in wages and a reduction in taxes. During the parade, some people stormed the city's party and government organs, grabbed guns and shot at public security officers. The government immediately ordered armed suppression, and hundreds of people were killed, injured and arrested.

[16] Manifesto of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries (Moscow), November 1957.

[17] Kinmen bombardment refers to a two-month artillery battle launched by the Chinese People's Liberation Army against Chiang's troops stationed on Kinmen Island from August 23 to October 25, 1958. This intricate artillery battle, which was directed by Mao Zedong himself, including military, political, diplomatic, and propaganda, is also a typical international battle of wits. The result was to punish the Jiang army for its harassment and sabotage, to find out the strategic intentions of the US imperialists towards China, to expand the prestige of our army, and to retaliate against the Khrushchev clique's ambition to control China.

[18] "Mao Zedong's Manuscripts Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China", Volume 8, Central Literature Publishing House, 1993 edition, p. 488.

[19] Ibid., p. 463.

[20] Ibid., p. 391.

[21] Ibid., p. 463.

[22] Ibid., p. 601.

[23] "Mao Zedong's Manuscripts Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China", Vol. 8, p. 599.

[24] "Mao Zedong's Manuscripts Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China", Vol. 8, p. 599.

[25] Ibid., p. 601.

[26] The Sino-Indian border incident refers to the counterattack launched by the Chinese border guards at the east and west sections of the Sino-Indian border in October 1962 against the Indian army's invasion of our territory. On November 22, China unilaterally implemented a ceasefire across the board. On December 1, it took the initiative to withdraw to the Chinese side of the actual control line on November 7, 1959. Later, all the Indian prisoners of war were released.

[27] In August 1962, the Soviet Union sent 5,000 military personnel to Cuba to establish an offensive missile base, which was discovered by the United States. On October 22, Kennedy announced several decisions for an armed blockade of Cuba, and the US military was put on alert around the world. After several negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, it finally came to an end on October 28 when Khrushchev ordered the dismantling of offensive weapons, packaging and shipping back to the Soviet Union, and yielding to the pressure of the United States.

[28] Stuart Schram: "Mao Zedong", Red Flag Press, 1987 edition, p. 271.

[29] "Controversy on the General Line of the International Communist Movement", People's Publishing House, 1965 edition, p. 463.

[30] Ibid., p. 48.

[31] Ibid., p. 90.

[32] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 3, People's Publishing House, 1993 edition, p. 291.

[33] Ibid., pp. 294-295.

[34] "Selected Works of Marx and Engels", Volume 1, p. 393.

[35] Quoting from "Forty Years of the Communist Party of China", the 1991 edition of the Chinese Communist Party History Materials Publishing House, pp. 251-252.

[36] Ibid., p. 252.

[37] Mao Zedong said in his speech on June 16, 1964: Prepare for the funeral and successor issues. How to prevent revisionism and how to train the successors of the proletariat, I see five points: (1) Practice Marxism-Leninism instead of revisionism. (2) To seek the interests of the majority of the people, not for the minority, not for the exploiting classes. (3) Be able to unite the majority of people. (4) There must be a democratic style of work, not "one word", and no patriarchal style. (5) Make self-criticism when you make mistakes.

[38] "Selected Works of Mao Zedong", Volume 4, People's Publishing House, 1991 edition, p. 1428.

[39] Mao Zedong: "Speech at the Enlarged Central Work Conference", January 30, 1962.

[40] Mao Zedong: "Introducing a Cooperative" (April 15, 1958).

[41] Quoting from Quan Yanchi: "Mao Zedong who stepped down from the altar", see "Yan Huang Zi Sun" No. 2, 1989.

Chapter 2 The Full Launch of the "Cultural Revolution"



1. A strange fuse

A political storm that has brought great disasters to people of all nationalities in the country and caused great shock to the whole world was triggered by an article in a local newspaper that was not a big shot commenting on a play. A very strange and special phenomenon, very rare in Chinese and foreign history. This article is "Comment on the Newly Edited Historical Drama "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office"" published in "Wen Wei Po" on November 10, 1965. The author is signed by Yao Wenyan.

Yao Wenyan is a well-known "Left" literary critic, known for his "stick" in the literary and art circles, and was an editorial board member of the Shanghai Jiefang Daily. For Yao Wenyan's previous articles, many people at that time took it for granted that they despised and ignored them. But this article is unusual, with a very important and special background. It is indeed a tortuous and special historical phenomenon that the disagreement within the top leadership of the party, through the pen of a disreputable literary stick, appeared in the guise of criticizing a historical drama, and triggered an unprecedented catastrophe.

The origin of the original article

The "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" criticized by Yao Wenyan's article is a Beijing opera script written by Wu Han, a famous Ming history expert, a famous democrat, a member of the Communist Party, and the deputy mayor of Beijing at that time, describing the famous and upright official Hai Rui in the Ming Dynasty. Wu Han wrote this script in response to Mao Zedong's initiative. As early as April 1959, when the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a working conference in Shanghai, many comrades talked about advocating the need to speak the truth when summarizing the experience and lessons of the "Great Leap

Forward". At the meeting, Mao Zedong proposed to promote Hai Rui and learn from Hai Rui. He also told a story that reflected Hai Rui's upright spirit of not being afraid of the powerful, and said that although Hai Rui attacked the emperor fiercely, he was still loyal to the emperor. During the meeting, Mao Zedong watched an upright official play "The Card of Life and Death" (also known as "Three Women Fighting the Board") in which Hai Rui played, expressed his approval, and suggested that some historians should be found to study it and write some articles.

Hu Qiaomu, an alternate secretary of the Central Secretariat and vice-minister of the Central Propaganda Department, invited Wu Han to write an article for the People's Daily to evaluate Hai Rui more comprehensively after returning to Beijing from the Shanghai Work Conference. During the conversation, Wu Han also agreed to write another play with Hai Rui as the main character. Prior to this, Wu Han had already written the article "Hai Rui Curses the Emperor", which was published in the "People's Daily" in June 1959 under the pseudonym of Liu Mianzhi.

In August 1959, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee in Lushan, and wrongly launched a criticism of Peng Dehuai. At the meeting, Mao Zedong made some revisions and supplements to the speech at the Shanghai meeting, and raised the issue of distinguishing the so-called leftist Hai Rui from the rightist Hai Rui. He believed that the spirit of Hai Rui displayed by Peng Dehuai was "Rightist Hai Rui".

In September 1959, Wu Han published the article "On Hai Rui" in the "People's Daily". At the end of the article, a few paragraphs of scolding "right opportunists" were specially written, in order to express that what was advocated was the spirit of "leftist Hai Rui" and to draw a clear line with Peng Dehuai. This was also the method I used to protect myself when writing articles at that time.

After that, a number of dramas to promote Hai Rui were performed in various places, such as "Hai Rui's Shangshu" and "Hai

Rui's Back Fiber". In the second half of 1959, Ma Lianliang, a famous actor of Beijing Peking Opera Troupe, asked Wu Han to write a Hai Rui play for them. At the end of 1960, the script was written, originally named "Hai Rui", which mainly reflects the deeds of Hai Rui when he was the governor of Yingtian Mansion. After accepting the opinion of botanist Cai Xitao, he believed that the script was about Hai Rui's incident, not about his life, so he changed its name to "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office". Obviously, Wu Han's adoption of this title did not imply Peng Dehuai's intention to "dismiss from office". The Peking Opera "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" was first performed in Beijing in January 1961.

By 1962, differences in the understanding of the mistakes of the "Great Leap Forward" within the Chinese Communist Party and the understanding of the adjustment measures adopted to correct the mistakes and overcome difficulties developed. At the "Seven Thousand People Conference" held in January, Liu Shaoqi once said that many of the specific things mentioned in Peng Dehuai's letter are still in line with the facts. A member of the Politburo wrote a letter to the chairman of the Central Committee. Even if some words in the letter are wrong, it is not considered a mistake. At the same time, Liu Shaoqi also talked about Peng Dehuai's participation in the "Gao Gang and Rao Shushi Anti-Party Clique", and that they "both have international backgrounds". In June, Peng Dehuai wrote a long letter of about 80,000 words to Mao Zedong and the Party Central Committee, discussing his personal history in detail, conducting self-dissection and defending according to the facts, and asked the Party organization to review it. At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in September, Peng Dehuai's defense letter was regarded as a manifestation of "reversing the verdict" and was criticized by Mao Zedong. Under such a background, Jiang Qing, who had complained of illness for a long time and did not work, suddenly became excited. She told Mao Zedong many times that "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" had problems and needed to be criticized. Mao Zedong disagreed at first, but was later "persuaded". In 1964, Kang Sheng

also told Mao Zedong: "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" is related to the Lushan Conference and the Peng Dehuai issue.

In February 1965, Jiang Qing went to Shanghai. With the support of Ke Qingshi, the first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, she and Zhang Chunqiao jointly planned, and Yao Wenyuan wrote an article criticizing "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office". From the beginning of writing in early March to the publication in November, the entire writing activity was carried out in secret. Except for Mao Zedong, other members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee do not know. Mao Zedong said in a conversation with foreign guests in February 1967: "I didn't know at first, it was Jiang Qing who did it." "After the article is finished, give it to me to read, and say that this article is only for you to read." Mao Zedong read it three times before and after, which shows that he attached great importance to and supported this article. Jiang Qing later said: "I dared to organize this article because of the chairman's permission." The reason why he kept it secret from other central leaders was "because they would kill this article as soon as they knew about it." She also said: "Criticizing 'Hai Rui Dismissed from Office' is not only an academic issue, but a counterattack to Peng Dehuai's reversal." Carefully selected breakthroughs to attack certain central leadership comrades.

The article "Comment on the Newly Edited Historical Drama 'Hai Rui Dismissed from Office'" catches the wind and confuses the "returning the land" and "redressing the unjust prison" written in the Peking opera "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" with the so-called "single-handed style" and "reversal of the case" in 1961. Linking it together, insisting that "'retirement of land' and 'justification of unjust prisons' were the focus of the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist revolution at that time" and "'Hai Rui Dismissed from Office' is a reflection of this kind of class struggle" ", "It's a poisonous weed". The strange thing is that "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" written in 1960 actually reflected the "independent style" and "overturning the case" that appeared in

1961; thing. In order to achieve ulterior political goals, Jiang Qing and others even ignored the most basic facts!

An article sparks a political frenzy

After the publication of this outrageous, unreasonable, out-of-context, name-calling, and arbitrarily published article, it has aroused various speculations and discussions in the public opinion circle. The academic and theoretical circles were generally disgusted, and many people voted for newspapers to express their disagreement with Yao Wen yuan's article. At that time, no one asked the national newspapers to reprint it. Except for Jiang Qing and others, no one knew that the article was reviewed and approved by Mao Zedong for publication. Because Yao Wen yuan's article was outrageous and unreasonable, and publicly named and criticized famous scholars and senior cadres, except for the rapid reprinting in newspapers in eastern China provinces and cities, newspapers in Beijing and other provinces and cities did not reprint it for more than ten days. The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China adopted a prudent attitude. After a general understanding of the background of the publication of the article, it was not until 18 days later that various newspapers in Beijing reprinted the article. This aroused dissatisfaction with Mao Zedong who was in Shanghai at the time, and he further confirmed that the Beijing Municipal Committee was an "independent kingdom" that "needles can't be inserted, and water can't be splashed".

When People's Daily reprinted Yao Wen yuan's article on November 30, it added an editor's note based on the opinions of Zhou Enlai, Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, and Peng Zhen, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and First Secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, stating: "We hope that Through this debate, mutual debate and mutual criticism among various opinions can be further developed. Our policy is to allow both the freedom of criticism and the freedom of counter-criticism; for wrong opinions, we also adopt the method of

reasoning and seeking truth from facts Convince people with reasoning." Obviously, this policy of advocating equal academic discussions is inconsistent with Mao Zedong's intention and political purpose of approving the publication of the article criticizing "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office". Since then, newspapers and periodicals in Beijing and around the world have successively published some articles criticizing "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" from different angles, and also published a small number of manuscripts criticizing Yao Wenyan's article.

When Mao Zedong reviewed Yao Wenyan's article, he did not point out the "crucial issue" of "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office". On December 21, 1965, when Mao Zedong talked with Chen Boda and others in Hangzhou, he said: Yao Wenyan's article is also very good; the name was named, which greatly shocked the theater, history, and philosophy circles, but it missed the point. "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" "The key issue is 'dismissed from office'. Emperor Jiajing dismissed Hai Rui from office, and we dismissed Peng Dehuai from office in 1959. Peng Dehuai is also 'Hai Rui'". It seems that when the criticism of "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" has already begun, it is necessary to point out the "crucial issue". Mao Zedong's words made the criticism of "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" more heavily political. The whole party and the people of the whole country are very sensitive to political movements, especially the political movements that Mao Zedong clearly stated. Under the political conditions at that time, they could only support and respond. As a result, the critical movement expanded rapidly. By the beginning of 1966, the criticism of "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" not only involved all dramas and literary works with Hai Rui as the theme, but also extended to all major fields of social science such as history, literature and art, and philosophy. Many criticisms were published in newspapers and periodicals. The articles written by Wu Han and some other professors, experts, and scholars formed a nationwide wave of political criticism.

Two Contradictory Documents of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Faced with this situation, the Party organizations at all levels strongly demand that the Party Central Committee have a clear guideline. On February 3, 1966, Peng Zhen convened a meeting of the "Cultural Revolution Group of Five". This group was proposed by Mao Zedong in the second half of 1964. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China appointed Peng Zhen, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and executive secretary of the Secretariat, as the team leader. Team leader Kang Sheng, Vice Minister of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Zhou Yang, and President of People's Daily Wu Lengxi. Also attending the meeting were Xu Lique, Hu Sheng, Yao Qin, Wang Li, Fan Ruoyu, Liu Ren, Zheng Tianxiang, etc., who were in charge of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, the "Red Flag" magazine, and the Beijing Municipal Party Committee.

According to the opinions discussed at the meeting, the "Outline of the Report of the Five-member Group of Cultural Revolution on the Current Academic Discussion" (referred to as the "February Outline") was drawn up. Although this outline also contained many references and phrases of "Left" that were unavoidable under the circumstances at the time, the main purpose was to try to properly restrain the already launched critical movement, place it under the leadership of the party organization, and limit it to academics. Within the scope, it is not in favor of turning it into a concentrated and serious political criticism.

On February 5, Liu Shaoqi convened the Politburo Standing Committee in Beijing to discuss the "February Outline" (draft). It was revised by Peng Zhen, reviewed and approved by the Beijing Standing Committee, and sent to Mao Zedong in Wuhan by telegram on February 7. On February 8, Peng Zhen, Lu Dingyi, Wu Lengxi and Kang Sheng went to Wuhan to report to Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong expressed no objection to the outline, so it was issued by Deng Xiaoping on February 12 and issued to the entire party as a

document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Later, there was a saying: Kang Sheng disagreed with the "February Outline", and it was created "behind his back". It can be seen from the above that this is completely inconsistent with the facts. Kang Sheng participated in the whole process from discussion, drafting of documents to reporting to Mao Zedong, and did not raise any disagreement. This kind of lies is the advantage Kang Sheng took advantage of the person in charge of the drafting group of the "May 16 Notice". It was created by instructing others when I was on the "Two Roads Struggle Memorabilia".

The "February Outline" pointedly pointed out that the discussion should "adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts, and everyone is equal before the truth, and convince people with reason, and don't be as arbitrary and oppressive as a schoolboy." These words were later used by Zhang Chunqiao to provocatively distort them as being aimed at Mao Zedong.

While the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was studying and drafting the "February Outline", Jiang Qing and Lin Biao colluded with each other, and from February 2 to 20, 1966, Jiang Qing held a "Forum on Literature and Art Work in the Army" in Shanghai. Attending the meeting were Liu Zhijian, then Deputy Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Xie Tongzhong, Minister of Culture, Chen Yading, Deputy Minister, and Li Mancun, Director of the Propaganda Department. This meeting was very peculiar. The Jiang Qing who convened the meeting had neither a military position nor a party and government leadership position, so he could only use the name personally entrusted by Lin Biao. The meeting was held hastily. Before the meeting, even the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army didn't know what issues to discuss and could not make any preparations. It was called a panel discussion, but in fact it was just Jiang Qing talking about her set of "Left" literary and artistic views and her assessment of the literary and artistic

situation. She did not listen to it, and did not allow the comrades present to express their opinions freely. During the ten-day symposium, I watched more than thirty movies and dramas.

After the meeting, the members who participated in the meeting compiled a summary of the meeting to be reported to the Party Committee of the General Political Department. Jiang Qing was very dissatisfied after reading it, and gave the minutes to Zhang Chunqiao, who had no military position, to revise. According to Mao Zedong's opinion, Chen Boda made a special trip to Shanghai to revise it with Zhang Chunqiao. Mao Zedong revised this draft summary three times. According to Mao Zedong's opinion, this so-called "Summary of the Symposium on Literature and Art Work in the Army Entrusted by Comrade Lin Biao to Comrade Jiang Qing" was approved and forwarded to the whole party as a document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on April 10, with a comment saying: "The summary is of great importance to the class on the literary and art front. The analysis of the struggle situation and the principles, guidelines, and policies proposed are not only suitable for the army, but also suitable for the localities, and suitable for the entire literary and artistic front."

What is the main content of this document praised by Lin Biao as "using Mao Zedong Thought to answer many major questions of the cultural revolution in the socialist period, not only of great practical significance, but also of far-reaching historical significance"? The "Summary" first tried its best to discredit the achievements of literature and art work since the founding of the People's Republic of China, subjectively and arbitrarily judging that since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the literary and art circles basically did not implement "Chairman Mao's line in literature and art" and were "contradicted by an anti-Party and anti-socialist policy that was opposed to Chairman Mao's thought." The black line has ruled our politics". Then, it completely negated the progressive literature and art movement led by the Party in the Kuomintang ruled areas since the 1930s, which had a huge impact, and fabricated a so-called "black line of literature and art" that had

been carried through from the 1930s to after the founding of the People's Republic of China, saying nonsense: "The vast majority of left-wing literary and art workers are still 'bourgeois national democrats'." On the basis of this series of erroneous conclusions, the "Minutes" called for "resolutely carrying out a great socialist revolution on the cultural front and completely eradicating This black line". He also emphasized that "this is a arduous, complicated, and long-term struggle, and it will take decades or even hundreds of years of hard work. This is a major event related to the future of our country's revolution, and it is also a major event related to the future of the world revolution." The "Summary" "provided a historical and theoretical excuse for the storm of the "Cultural Revolution" to first blow from the literary and art circles, and at the same time, it also became a heavy spiritual shackle for the national literary and art circles. Although the "Summary" was directly concocted by Jiang Qing, it also reflected Mao Zedong's overestimation of class struggle in the cultural field and his determination to launch a "cultural revolution."

The process of formulating the "Minutes" revealed that Lin Biao and Jiang Qing colluded with each other to carry out their ambition to usurp the party and seize power. Jiang Qing went from Shanghai to Suzhou to conduct secret business with Lin Biao on January 21, 1966, before holding the "Army Forum on Literature and Art". On January 22, Lin Biao dictated instructions to the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army, which was conveyed by telephone by Ye Qun, then director of the "Lin Office". Lin Biao said: "Comrade Jiang Qing came to Suzhou yesterday and had a talk with me. She is politically strong in literature and art work, and is also an expert in art. She has many valuable opinions. You must pay attention to it, and take Jiang Qing seriously. Comrade's opinions should be earnestly implemented ideologically and organizationally." Jiang Qing later said bluntly that when she found Lin Biao, she wanted to invite "the 'God' of the dictatorship of the proletariat" to "attack those bourgeois "Representative figure", that is, to use the power of the People's Liberation Army through Lin Biao to realize their ambition to usurp the party and seize power. Lin Biao wanted to

use Jiang Qing's special status to gain higher power; Jiang Qing wanted to use Lin Biao's power to realize his political ambitions. The preparation of this "Summary" marked the beginning of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's collusion to use the "Cultural Revolution" to carry out counter-revolutionary activities.

The guiding tendencies of the two CPC Central Committee documents that were discussed and formulated almost at the same time were completely opposite. What Mao Zedong supported was Jiang Qing's "February Summary" rather than Peng Zhen's "February Outline". It took a while for people to figure it out. Later practice proved that the "Summary" created by Jiang Qing was extremely harmful. The emergence of the "black-line dictatorship theory of literature and art" not only completely negates the achievements of the cultural and art circles, but also confuses the thinking of the entire party and the people of the whole country, and encourages the trend of "doubt everything". The "black line dictatorship theory" soon spread to other fields, creating a basis for negating all the work done in the 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, and carrying out a so-called "Great Political Revolution in which one class overthrew one class". The critical movement added fuel to the fire.

The "Peng Luo Lu Yang incident" that shocked the entire party

Under the influence of Mao Zedong's thought: "What should be done if there is revisionism in the Central Committee", the misunderstanding of the expansion of class struggle further penetrated into the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and incidents that shocked the entire party occurred one after another.

On November 10, 1965, the same day that Yao Wenyuan's article "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" was published, Yang Shangkun, alternate secretary of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and director of the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, was removed from his post in the Central Committee. In

name, he was transferred to be the Secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee of the Communist Party of China, but in fact he was censored. He was charged with "secretly setting up wiretapping devices behind the central government" and "providing a large number of confidential documents and files to others for transcription without authorization". These charges were all framed by Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing, etc., and it was an unjust case. After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the former General Office of the Central Committee and Yang Shangkun's unjust case was reviewed. The General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China wrote a review report, which was approved by the Secretariat of the Central Committee for a complete redress. The re-examination report pointed out: "Comrade Yang Shangkun never engaged in conspiracy activities in the recording work of the confidential room of the Central Office. The so-called mistakes made by Comrade Yang Shangkun on this issue that were announced inside and outside the party in the past do not exist." The problem of transcribing archives is due to the normal use of archives due to the need to compile party history, military history, and war history. All have gone through strict review and approval procedures in advance, and there is no "leakage" problem. An entirely imposed charge.

Lin Biao, who was good at sensing the direction of the wind, immediately took advantage of this opportunity to act. On November 30, 1965, Lin Biao wrote a personal letter to Mao Zedong, and asked Ye Qun to bring along several copies they ordered others to write to frame the Secretary-General of the Central Military Commission, Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army, Secretary of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Deputy Secretary of the State Council. Prime Minister Luo Ruiqing went to Hangzhou to meet Mao Zedong with the material, and falsely accused Luo Ruiqing of opposing "prominent politics" and wanting to seize military power. This false accusation convinced Mao Zedong, and he supported and approved it. On December 2, Mao Zedong instructed: "Those who do not believe in emphasizing politics, and those who promulgate a set of eclecticism

(that is, opportunism) while emphasizing politics while overtly overshadowing them, everyone should be vigilant." This instruction clearly affirms Lin Biao's method of "emphasizing politics" was given, and he was given weapons to beat people. Anyone who opposes Lin Biao's "prominent politics" is "eclecticism," and "eclecticism" is opportunism and revisionism. Luo Ruiqing was put on such a political hat. Although some leading comrades of the central government at the time did not agree with this sudden and unreasonable criticism, there was nothing they could do.

From December 8th to 15th, Mao Zedong hosted an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in Shanghai to expose Luo Ruiqing back to back. Lin Biao's letter to Mao Zedong and those framed materials were printed and distributed at the meeting. On December 10, Luo Ruiqing, who was inspecting the troops in Kunming at that time, was taken to Shanghai by a special plane, and immediately quarantined and examined, depriving him of his legitimate right to defend himself. In April 1966, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved the conclusion of the review of Luo Ruiqing.

There is a very vivid paragraph in this conclusion, which can help people understand how under the cover of personality worship, right and wrong are reversed and people are convicted. Conclusion The first item listing Luo Ruiqing's "main mistakes" is: "Comrade Luo Ruiqing is extremely hostile to Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Lin Biao proposed to 'take the chairman's book as the highest instruction for all work in our army', but Comrade Luo Ruiqing said nonsense: 'It does not conform to our country's system'. Comrade Lin Biao proposed, 'Mao Zedong Thought is the highest and most living Marxism-Leninism', but Comrade Luo Ruiqing said nonsense, 'I can't say that, the highest, is there a second highest? The most living, Is there another living one?' 'The highest and the liveliest, it is difficult to understand, and it is difficult for foreigners to translate!' Comrade Lin Biao pointed out, 'Mao Zedong Thought is the pinnacle of contemporary Marxism-Leninism', but Comrade Luo Ruiqing said nonsense: 'Don't say this, it will have a bad influence on foreigners'.

Comrade Luo Ruiqing is not allowed to say that the formation of Mao Zedong Thought contains the factor of 'individual genius', saying 'no one dares to use individual genius now!' Comrade Lin Biao proposed, "Read Chairman Mao's book, listen to Chairman Mao's words, act according to Chairman Mao's instructions, and be a good soldier of Chairman Mao." Comrade Luo Ruiqing opposed the propaganda and introduction of these four sentences to foreign countries. Comrade Lin Biao instructed "The People's Liberation Army The Daily News wanted to frequently publish quotations from Chairman Mao, but Comrade Luo Ruiqing thought he was making too much of it." The contrast between what seems to be right and wrong today became the basis for Luo Ruiqing's conviction at the time, which is really a tragedy of the times. An old revolutionary with outstanding military exploits and outstanding achievements, and an important person in charge of the party, government and army, was knocked to the ground just like that. The wrong criticism and handling of Luo Ruiqing has exacerbated the tense atmosphere of the struggle within the party.

The next person to be criticized was Peng Zhen, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, executive secretary of the Central Secretariat, and first secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee. Without knowing that Yao Wenyan's article criticizing "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" was supported by Mao Zedong, Peng Zhen once resisted it for a period of time, which aroused Mao Zedong's resentment. When criticizing Luo Ruiqing, Peng Zhen said a few more fair words, which were considered to be "covering up" and "protecting". At the end of March 1966, when Mao Zedong was talking with Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao, etc. in Shanghai, Kang Sheng slandered Mao Zedong, saying that Peng Zhen asked why he published Yao Wenyan's article without saying hello, which was "on the chairman's head". Mao Zedong immediately accused Wu Han of writing so many reactionary articles, why did the Central Propaganda Department not greet him, but why did he have to greet the Central Propaganda Department when he published Yao Wenyan's article? He also said that the "February Outline" confused class boundaries and made no distinction

between right and wrong, which is wrong. The Central Propaganda Department is the palace of the king of hell. It wants to overthrow the king of hell and liberate the little ghosts! The Central Propaganda Department and the Beijing Municipal Party Committee cover up bad people, suppress leftists, and forbid revolution; dissolve. Mao Zedong said, I have always advocated that whenever the central authorities do bad things, I will call on the localities to rebel and attack the central government. He proposed to support the leftists, build a team, and carry out the "Cultural Revolution".

From April 9th to 12th, the Secretariat of the Central Committee held a meeting in Beijing. At the meeting, Kang Sheng conveyed Mao Zedong's speech in Shanghai at the end of March. The meeting criticized Peng Zhen and decided to draft a party notice to revoke and criticize the "February Outline". The meeting also decided to set up a cultural revolution document drafting group. On April 16, Mao Zedong hosted an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in Hangzhou, focusing on exposing and criticizing Peng Zhen. In late April, Peng Zhen was suspended from work. From the process of Peng Zhen's overthrow, we can see that under the condition of excessive concentration of power on one person, if there is a little resistance to the leader's mistakes, catastrophe will be imminent. Therefore, Deng Xiaoping said: "Under that condition, the real situation is difficult to oppose."

Since the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has been denounced as the "Hall of Hades", Lu Dingyi, an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, is naturally the "King of Hades". To "defeat the king of Hades and liberate the little devil", Lu Dingyi's doom is doomed. Later, some charges were added to Lu, such as "studying and applying Mao Zedong Thought, the pinnacle of contemporary Marxism-Leninism, as 'pragmatism', 'vulgarization', and 'simplification'", during the "Cultural Revolution" The position and views on the issue are "completely consistent with Peng Zhen" and so on. In fact, these are the crimes of wanting to add, there is no reason to worry about it. As for the claim that Lu

Dingyi's wife, Yan Weibing, wrote the "Anti-Party and Counter-revolutionary Anonymous Letter" and that Lu Dingyi was "closely involved", this is an unfounded deduction. Moreover, the content of the anonymous letter was to accuse Lin Biao and Ye Qun, and it was mainly written about life problems, exposing and condemning out of righteous indignation. Although the method of writing an anonymous letter cannot be said to be appropriate, it was a last resort under the historical conditions at that time, and it is unreasonable to describe it as "anti-Party and anti-revolutionary".

Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi, and Yang Shangkun were originally criticized for different situations and problems, but they were later forcibly linked together and designated as "anti-Party groups." These old comrades who shoulder heavy responsibilities in the Party Central Committee and are in charge of extremely important tasks such as party affairs, military affairs, propaganda, confidentiality, and capital work, have great reputation and are trusted by the entire party, all of a sudden have become "revisionists." , "Anti-Party Groups" were exposed and criticized within the Party. This could not but cause great shock and suspicion in the entire party, adding new tension factors to the already tense inner party life, and injecting new fuel into the already ignited fire of criticism.

On April 24, 1966, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held an enlarged meeting, and basically passed the "Notice of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" drafted by Kang Sheng and Chen Boda and revised and finalized by Mao Zedong seven times. The meeting decided to submit this notice to the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee to be held in the near future for discussion and approval.

The fire of great criticism intensifies

During this period, the momentum of "Revolutionary Great Criticism" became more and more fierce. Criticism of Wu Han is implicated in Deng Tuo, secretary of the Beijing Municipal Committee

of the Communist Party of China, and Liao Mosha, head of the United Front Work Department of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China, who wrote articles with Wu Han in the "Three Family Village" column. Then it was also implicated in "Frontline" magazine and "Beijing Daily", the publications of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China, which published "Sanjia Village Notes". On May 8, the "Liberation Army Daily" published an article "Fire at the Anti-Party, Anti-Socialist Black Line" by Jiang Qing's writing team signed by Gao Ju in a prominent position. The article said: "Deng Tuo's "Evening Chats at Yanshan Mountain" and the "Notes of Three Family Village" signed by Wu (that is, Wu Han) Nan (Ma Nan is Deng Tuo) Xing (Fan Xing is Liao Mosha) fully demonstrate that in the In our society, class struggle is still very sharp, complicated, and fierce." "Deng Tuo is the shopkeeper of the 'Sanjia Village' black shop opened by him, Wu Han, and Liao Mosha, and is the leader of this small group of anti-Party and anti-socialist elements. A leader. They used "Frontline", "Beijing Daily" and "Beijing Evening News" as anti-party tools, shot a lot of poisonous arrows, and rampantly attacked the party and socialism." The article declared: "'Come and not go, indecent Also'. We will definitely not let you go, and we will definitely not let go of all ghosts and monsters. We must open fire on the anti-Party and anti-socialist black line, and carry the socialist cultural revolution to the end. If we don't win a complete victory, we will never withdraw our troops." On the same day, "Guangming Daily" published an article "Keep Your Eyes Open and Distinguish the True from the False" by Guan Feng, a member of the "Cultural Revolution Document Drafting Group" and signed by He Ming. This article threateningly questioned "Frontline" and "Beijing Daily": "Are you a proletarian position or a bourgeois position? Are you a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat or a tool for promoting the restoration of capitalism? Are you going to leave? Where are you going?" These two murderous articles directly pointed at the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China, and those who know them know that they have "great origins" and that the storm is still to come.

Only two days later, Shanghai's "Wen Wei Po" and "Liberation Army Daily" published Yao Wenyuan's long article "Comment on 'Three Family Villages'" at the same time, declaring that "Frontline", "Beijing Daily" and "Beijing Evening News" "frantically carried out a countermeasure The Party's anti-socialist right opportunist, i.e. revisionist, line serves as a mouthpiece for reactionary classes and right opportunists to attack the party." It is necessary to "thoroughly dig out the roots of the 'Sanjia Village' and thoroughly eradicate the pernicious poison of the 'Sanjia Village'." On May 11, "Red Flag" magazine published an article "Comment on <Frontline> <Beijing>" by Qi Benyu, a member of the "Cultural Revolution Document Drafting Group". The Bourgeois Stand of the Journal". At that time, the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee was being held, and these articles were a direct response to the meeting's criticism of Peng Zhen and other comrades. In this way, the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China is already under siege, and the intention of further "digging the roots" is ready to be revealed.

All of this is obviously an organized and planned action by Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others. Lin Biao said in the political report of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China: "Chairman Mao once again launched a criticism of "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" and other big poisonous weeds. , an 'independent kingdom' that cannot be splashed by water, that is, the old Beijing Municipal Party Committee". Although the assertion in this passage is wrong, it also truly reflects some of the subjective intentions of those who launched the criticism of "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" and the development of that period of history.

Starting with the criticism of "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office", it quickly developed into the criticism of the "February Outline", the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and the Central Propaganda Department, involving many senior cadres of the party, and the spearhead of the struggle is increasingly directed at the party's internal affairs, " The "Left" error has developed to a very serious

level, and the full-scale launch of the "Cultural Revolution" is already imminent.

2. Program and leading organization for comprehensive mobilization

With the consent of Mao Zedong, under the direct command of Jiang Qing, the "Revolutionary Great Criticism" triggered by the article "Comment on the Newly Edited Historical Drama "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office"" became more and more popular, and gradually spread to the whole country within half a year. Many writers, scholars, newspapers, and publications were criticized by name, and the theoretical propaganda front was in chaos. From a geographical point of view, it has become national. However, the scope of this critical movement was still limited at this time, and it basically did not go beyond the ideological field, nor did it attract the full attention of the broad masses of workers and peasants and most cadres working in practical departments. Luo Ruiqing, Yang Shangkun, Lu Dingyi, Peng Zhen and other central leaders were exposed and criticized one after another, and a group of senior party, government and military cadres were implicated, which also caused a huge shock in the Chinese Communist Party. But at that time, this matter was still limited to a relatively small area within the party, unknown to the majority of party members and cadres, and had not yet had a great impact on the actual work departments. This situation is naturally dissatisfied with Mao Zedong, who is trying to launch a campaign of "openly, comprehensively, and bottom-up to mobilize the masses to expose our dark side", and wants to mobilize hundreds of millions of people across the country to participate in the campaign, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China needs to pass a formal guidance document and issue a public call. Therefore, it is necessary to convene a formal meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

An enlarged meeting of the Politburo was held in May

From May 4 to 26, 1966, the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing (referred to as the May Politburo meeting). In addition to members and alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, 8 people, including Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Guan Feng, and Qi Benyu, who were in charge of relevant departments and members of the "Cultural Revolution Document Drafting Group", participated in the meeting, a total of 76 people. Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, did not return to Beijing to attend the meeting, and entrusted Vice Chairman Liu Shaoqi to preside over the meeting. The situation of the meeting designated Kang Sheng to be responsible for reporting to Mao Zedong for instructions. The meeting had two main agendas: one was to expose and criticize the so-called "anti-Party mistakes" of Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi, Yang Shangkun and others, and the other was to pass the "Notice of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China."

At the beginning of the meeting, Kang Sheng gave a two-and-a-half-day long speech, conveying Mao Zedong's speeches or instructions on criticizing Peng Zhen, Lu Dingyi and other comrades since 1962. He also introduced the drafting process of the "Notice of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" to be passed at the meeting, especially emphasized that Mao Zedong revised it seven times, and pointed out which paragraphs and words were added by Mao Zedong himself. Such a document, under the political atmosphere at the time, naturally had to be passed unanimously. This was followed by a long speech by Zhang Chunqiao. He mainly introduced the "two-line struggle" on the literary front before and after the publication of "Comment on the Newly Edited Historical Drama 'Hai Rui Dismissed from Office'", focusing on attacking Peng Zhen and the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China. Then there was Chen Boda's speech. He used the method of "calculating the general ledger" to "expose and criticize" Peng Zhen. From historical attacks to reality, it seems that since Peng Zhen joined the revolution in 1923, he has been anti-Party and anti-Mao Zedong. The three speeches in the first four days

of the conference actually set the tone for the entire conference. In particular, the series of "supreme instructions" conveyed by Kang Sheng can only be comprehended with effort, and there is no room for doubt.

After listening to the introduction of the exposure and criticism of Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi, and Yang Shangkun in the past six months, the meeting launched a criticism of these four comrades. This kind of criticism is actually nothing more than bringing the wrong criticism of them before the meeting to a larger official central meeting, and further raising their voices, accusing them of crimes, and infinitely raising the outline. Luo Ruiqing and Yang Shangkun were deprived of the right to attend the meeting; although Peng Zhen and Lu Dingyi attended the meeting, they could only participate in part of the agenda and had no right to defend themselves. They were completely under criticism and scrutiny. In his speech at the conference, Lin Biao groundlessly linked the four of them together, pointing out that there was a so-called "Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi, and Yang Shangkun plotting an anti-Party clique" and falsely accusing them of "joining together to carry out subversion" and a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. The meeting decided to suspend Peng Zhen, Lu Dingyi, and Luo Ruiqing from their positions as secretaries of the Central Secretariat, and Yang Shangkun as an alternate secretary of the Central Secretariat, which will be submitted to the Plenary Session of the Central Committee for ratification and decision. Peng Zhen's positions as the first secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and mayor, and Lu Dingyi's position as head of the Central Propaganda Department were also removed. The meeting's wrong criticism and organizational handling of some central leaders who had important responsibilities, and the decision to organize a special review, seemed to prove that the central government had indeed "leaved revisionism", thus giving the whole party a serious illusion that the danger of restoration was imminent.

Brief Analysis of "May 16 Notice"

On May 16, the meeting passed the "Notice of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" (abbreviated as "May 16 Notice"). From a formal point of view, this notice is a comprehensive criticism of the "February Outline" drafted by Peng Zhen, but in fact it systematically expresses the erroneous theories about classes and class struggle in a socialist society that have gradually formed since 1957; It was the first relatively complete and comprehensive demonstration of what was later called "the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat". As a result, it had a major impact and became the first programmatic document to launch the "Cultural Revolution".

The "May 16 Notice" stated: "The central government decided to revoke the 'Outline of the Report of the Five-member Cultural Revolution Group on the Current Academic Discussion' that was approved on February 12, 1966." "The report outline of the so-called 'Group of Five' is actually just the outline of a report by Comrade Peng Zhen alone. It was created by Comrade Peng Zhen according to his own opinions behind the backs of Comrade Kang Sheng, a member of the 'Group of Five', and other comrades." Peng Zhen "adopted extremely unfair means, arbitrarily and arbitrarily, abusing his power, stealing the name of the central government, and hastily distributed it to the whole party." As mentioned above, these accusations are completely untrue. They are words fabricated by Kang Sheng, who took advantage of his presidency over the drafting of the "May 16 Notice" to instruct others to justify himself. However, although Peng Zhen participated in this high-level meeting of the party, he had no possibility to defend himself according to the facts. This shows that the political life in the party is already extremely abnormal. Under the conditions of individual arbitrariness and the prevalence of personality worship, the party's organizational principle of democratic centralism has been severely damaged.

The "May 16 Notice" called for "holding high the banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly exposing the bourgeois reactionary stance of those so-called 'academic authorities' who are anti-Party and anti-socialist, and thoroughly criticizing the academia,

education, journalism, literature and art the bourgeois reactionary ideology in the world and the publishing world, and seize the leadership in these cultural fields. But to do this, it is necessary to criticize the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have infiltrated into the party, the government, the army, and all walks of life in the cultural field at the same time. people, cleanse these people, and some have to transfer their positions". The "Notice" stated that they "are a group of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once the time is right, they will seize power and change from the dictatorship of the proletariat to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." Starting from the "Left" point of view, extremely exaggerating the enemy's situation, and seriously deviating from reality, these situation estimates and corresponding policies became the main basis for launching the "Cultural Revolution".

In fact, in the seventeen years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, all walks of life in the cultural field have done a lot of useful work, and the achievements are the main ones. In a big country with an extremely backward economy and culture, building socialism is an arduous and complicated task. The occurrence of problems and mistakes in actual work is an inevitable process in the development of the situation, the development of things, and the development of understanding. In essence, most of these problems and mistakes belong to contradictions among the people, and are not mainly a reflection of class struggle, let alone the planned "seizure" of class enemies such as "representatives of the bourgeoisie" and "counter-revolutionary revisionists". regime", the restoration activities to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. As long as the leadership pays attention to timely and correct reflection of objective things and takes effective targeted measures, various problems can be gradually solved. In fact, among the problems that exist, there are right problems, but they are mainly "left" problems. It is entirely subjective to think that the leadership in the cultural field has been usurped by the bourgeoisie at that time, and an overall struggle for power is needed. Moreover, linking the seizure of power in the cultural field with the so-called "representatives of the

bourgeoisie" in the party, the government, and the army sends out a warning that we are facing the real danger of the party's revisionism and the country's discoloration. It is an extremely wrong decision to achieve the goal of "consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat" through the characteristic "cultural revolution". The result is: self-disruption, self-denial, confusion between the enemy and ourselves and right and wrong, causing a nationwide civil strife and catastrophe.

The "Notice"'s criticism of the "February Outline" not only does not conform to the objective reality at all, but also seriously deviates from the principle of seeking truth from facts. Moreover, in the ten-point criticism of the so-called erroneous views in the "February Outline", there are also a series of theoretical views that clearly depart from Marxism, causing serious consequences. For example:

The "Notice" cites the famous assertion that "all class struggles are political struggles" in the "Communist Manifesto" as a basis, and believes that advocating the distinction between academic issues and political issues means "incorporating political struggles in the field of culture into assets." The so-called 'purely academic' discussions that the class often preaches". This is a misinterpretation of Marx's original work. The original intention of the "Communist Manifesto" is that class struggle must be a political struggle in terms of its core and ultimate purpose. This does not refer to any form of class struggle as political struggle. Many academic issues, especially in the social sciences, have some connection to class struggle, but not everything. In a socialist society where the exploiting classes have been basically eliminated, within the revolutionary ranks, different opinions and disagreements in many academic fields do not belong to the category of class struggle. It is obviously inappropriate to regard them all as political struggles. This statement in the "Notice" actually regards all academic issues as class struggle and political struggle, and regards all views and opinions that are different from "Left" theories as bourgeois trends of thought, thus negating the development of social science, The free academic discussion necessary for natural science has recklessly

abandoned the policy of "a hundred schools of thought contend". This theory of arbitrarily expanding class struggle is obviously incompatible with the Marxist theory of class struggle. During the "Cultural Revolution", a large number of theoretical workers, scholars, experts, and party and government cadres were branded as "reactionary academic authorities" and "counter-revolutionary revisionists" and were brutally persecuted. Problems are defined as the consequences of political problems.

The "Notice" also put forward the erroneous proposition that "the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure includes various cultural fields". The superstructure is the sum of ideology produced on a certain economic basis and various systems and facilities corresponding to it. It can be divided into two parts: the political superstructure and the ideological superstructure. In the political superstructure, the dictatorship of the proletariat is in line with the principles of Marxism. In the ideological superstructure of socialist society, there is no doubt that the class ideology of the proletariat —Marxism will occupy a leading position. But the ideology-cultural field is very complicated, and it is inappropriate to generalize that all dictatorships are required. Dictatorship is a means of coercion. When Lenin emphasized the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he also pointed out: "dictatorship, this is a cruel, severe, bloody, and painful word, and such a word cannot be spoken casually." Propositions such as "dictatorship in the field" will inevitably cause great ideological confusion, making people mistakenly think that coercive means of dictatorship should be adopted to solve problems in various cultural fields. The "Cultural Revolution" did exactly that. Not only all kinds of cultural and artistic works since the founding of the People's Republic of China, including literature, drama, folk art, music, art, film, dance and poetry, etc.; , capital, and repair of black goods"; and various writings and works that had a major impact on the victory of the revolution before the founding of the People's Republic of China were also falsely accused of being the products of the "black line"; a large number of staff in "various cultural fields" were "overturned" On the ground", "Only behave in a well-behaved manner, and no nonsense

is allowed." The prevalence of cultural despotism has caused a serious situation where a hundred flowers wither and all horses are silent. In the 1950s, Mao Zedong pointed out in "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People": "Treating the ideological problems among the people and the problems of the spiritual world with simple methods will not only be ineffective, but also very harmful. ... Only by adopting methods of discussion, criticism, and reasoning can we truly develop correct opinions, overcome wrong opinions, and truly solve problems." The "Notice"'s arguments about dictatorship in various cultural fields not only violate the basic principles of Marxism, and it is completely opposite to the above-mentioned thesis of Mao Zedong himself.

The "Notice" also denounced the Marxist viewpoint of "everyone is equal before the truth" as a "bourgeois slogan." This is under the dominance of the "Left" point of view, conflating two issues of different nature. Marxism believes that truth is the correct reflection of objective things and their development laws in people's thinking, and the consistency between subjective thinking and objective reality. The objectivity of truth is the first characteristic recognized by any materialist. It does not depend on the will of any individual, group or class. Therefore, everyone has the right to know the truth, grasp the truth, and uphold the truth. However, in a class society, due to the different social status of each person, knowing and grasping the truth cannot but be affected by class branding, especially in the aspect of knowing the truth in the social field. In this respect, therefore, the various classes cannot in fact be completely equal. Without acknowledging this aspect, understanding is incomplete, and it is even more wrong to exaggerate this aspect one-sidedly and lead to denying the correct principle of "everyone is equal before the truth". The "Notice" opposes "everyone is equal before the truth", which not only shows the confusion of theoretical viewpoints, but also objectively expresses a kind of feudal privilege thought, and supports superstition and blind obedience. In fact, it is advocating that the truth can only be mastered by certain people, and others cannot care about it, but can only bow their heads and obey orders. This view developed into the view of power and truth

during the "Cultural Revolution": power is truth. Whoever has more power has more "truth". Under the influence of this kind of thinking, it has caused endless struggles for power and power, and a serious situation where criticizing stigmata and defeating replaces presenting facts and reasoning.

The "May 16 Notice" miscalculated the political situation in the country and within the party, proposed the wrong object of struggle, formulated a series of "left" principles and policies, and propagated "left" erroneous views, all of which must be included in the future development of the movement. , have serious adverse effects.

Lin Biao's "May 18th" Speech and Organizational Adjustments

The keynote speaker at this meeting was Lin Biao, who ranked last among the five vice-chairmen of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. He made a long speech at the meeting on May 18. This speech is different. First of all, it is a big recitation of the "Coup d'etat Sutra". Talk about coup d'etat cases in ancient and modern China and foreign countries, and fabricate lies that some people within the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China intend to carry out coup d'etat and subversion. He said seriously: "Counter-revolutionary coup d'etat may occur, people will be killed, power will be usurped, bourgeois restoration will be carried out, and socialism will be eliminated." "Chairman Mao has paid special attention to preventing counter-revolutionary coups in recent months and has taken many measures." "The danger lies at the top." He also said: "When you pass the anti-Luo Ruiqing, anti-Peng Zhen, anti-Lu Dingyi and his wife, anti-Yang Shangkun, you can smell a little smell, the smell of gunpowder. Representatives of the bourgeoisie have infiltrated our party and the party. They have become the leading organ of the people in power, and they have mastered the state apparatus, the political power, the military power, and the headquarters of the ideological front. They unite to cause subversion and create chaos." "Civil and military cooperation, grasping public opinion, and They can carry out a counter-revolutionary coup." He shouted hysterically: "There are a group of

bastards, they want to take risks, they wait for the opportunity to act. They want to kill us, we will suppress them!" Lin Biao's sensational words, in the party Inside the center, everyone is in danger and an atmosphere of extreme terror is created.

Lin Biao also tried his best to advocate the cult of personality in his speech, praising Mao Zedong's personal genius. He said: "The geniuses of the nineteenth century are Marx and Engels. The geniuses of the twentieth century are Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong." raised to a whole new level". "Some people don't recognize geniuses. This is not Marxism." He claimed: "Every sentence of Chairman Mao's words is the truth, and one sentence exceeds our 10,000 sentences." "His words are the guidelines for our actions. Whoever opposes him will be condemned by the whole party and the whole country." Lin Biao's words that rudely undermined the party's organizational principles and promoted the cult of personality to the peak had a very bad impact on the meeting. Influence. The irony is that it was Lin Biao and his group who conspired to stage a coup d'état, opposed and attempted to murder Mao Zedong.

Lin Biao's speech was very demagogic and provocative. Not only did it strongly affect the atmosphere at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, but it was also conveyed to party organizations across the country as the new spirit of the Central Committee, causing many people to have the illusion that the Central Committee really had revisionism, and A counter-revolutionary coup is being prepared, which has had a huge impact. At that time, slogans such as "Defend Chairman Mao with blood and life" and "Defend the Party Central Committee to the death, defend Chairman Mao" and other slogans had a lot to do with Lin Biao's speech.

Lin Biao's extremely bad speech, which neither conforms to reality nor violates the fundamental principles of Marxism, was not criticized or resisted at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, but was accepted by the meeting. Coupled with the unanimous approval of the "May 16 Notice" two

days ago, it shows that Mao Zedong's "Left" theory of launching the "Cultural Revolution" has been accepted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China under the extremely abnormal political atmosphere at that time. Although these theoretical viewpoints seriously deviated from Marxism and China's reality, other leaders of the CPC Central Committee failed to detect it in time due to the expansion of class struggle and the gradual deepening of the misunderstanding of artificially created class struggle. In the extremely abnormal political life of the Party Central Committee, it is difficult to conduct serious and realistic discussions on the documents formulated by Mao Zedong himself. In the face of Mao Zedong's handwriting that Kang Sheng explained at the meeting in the document, he could only follow Mao Zedong's request and adopt the attitude that Lin Biao called "implement what you understand, and implement what you don't understand for a while." At the same time, limited by the conditions of understanding at that time, it is impossible for anyone to expect that the "Cultural Revolution" would develop to the point it was later. It was against this background that the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee accepted the "May 16 Notice". This meeting marked the dominance of the "Left" erroneous policy.

In the resolution passed at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee on May 23, in addition to the above-mentioned dismissal of the four comrades Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi, and Yang Shangkun, it was also decided to transfer Tao Zhu, the first secretary of the Central South Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, to the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee Standing Secretary and Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Ye Jianying was transferred to serve as Secretary of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Secretary-General of the Central Military Commission;

After the May meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, in accordance with the provisions in the "May 16 Notice" that "the original 'Cultural Revolution Five-member Group' and its

administrative organization were abolished, and the Cultural Revolution Group was re-established under the Politburo Standing Committee". The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice on May 28 announcing the formal establishment of the Central Cultural Revolution Group (CCR for short). The team leader is Chen Boda; the advisor is Kang Sheng (Tao Zhu was appointed as an advisor to the Central Cultural Revolution Group on August 2, but he was overthrown in January 1967, and served as an advisor for only 5 months); the deputy team leaders are Jiang Qing, Wang Renzhong, Liu Zhijian, Zhang Chunqiao; team members Xie Tongzhong, Yin Da, Wang Li, Guan Feng, Qi Benyu, Mu Xin, Yao Wenyuan. There were also members sent by the four major districts to participate. They were Guo Yingqiu from North China, Zheng Jiqiao from Northeast China, Yang Zhilin from Northwest China, and Liu Wenzhen from Southwest China. But these four comrades only participated in a few meetings of the Central Cultural Revolution in the early days of the "Cultural Revolution", and were quickly excluded.

According to regulations, the Central Cultural Revolution Group is directly "under the leadership of the Standing Committee of the Politburo", and is actually a special organization under the leadership of Mao Zedong alone. Therefore, from the beginning of its work, it left aside the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, and became the actual command organization of the "Cultural Revolution". On August 30, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued another notice: "During Comrade Chen Boda's sick leave or when he is away from Beijing in the future, his position as the head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group will be represented by Comrade Jiang Qing, the first deputy group." That is to say, Jiang Qing became the actual person in charge of the Central Cultural Revolution. Since then, the power of the Central Cultural Revolution has expanded day by day, and some members such as Wang Renzhong and Liu Zhijian have been pushed out, gradually forming a situation where Jiang Qing monopolizes power.

It is also necessary to mention here the "May 7th Instructions" issued by Mao Zedong during the enlarged meeting of the Politburo. Regarding the main content of this instruction, we have discussed it in the fourth section of the previous chapter and will not repeat it here. It is worth noting that the "May 7th Directive" was widely disseminated as the "Supreme Directive" during the "Cultural Revolution", and the requirements and viewpoints contained in it were in conflict with the development of socialist modern economic construction. negative impact. Especially in the "May 7th Instructions", Mao Zedong proposed: "The school system must be shortened, education must be revolutionized, and the phenomenon of bourgeois intellectuals ruling our schools can no longer continue." All kinds of schools under his leadership are all regarded as the territory ruled by bourgeois intellectuals, which is totally unfounded. On the contrary, for most of the seventeen years, due to "Left" errors, the intellectuals were not treated correctly, and most of them were suppressed and reformed, and there was no such thing as the so-called rule over the school. This "supreme instruction" was one of the bases for the immediate persecution of teachers after the "Cultural Revolution".

A series of measures launched across the board

In order to ignite the fire of the "Cultural Revolution" widely and violently throughout the country, Mao Zedong and the Central Cultural Revolution under his command adopted a series of extraordinary measures.

After the "May 16 Notice" was passed by the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, it immediately became a document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and was disseminated level by level within the party. Later, its content was disseminated to the society through newspaper editorials. With the programmatic documents officially approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the actual command organization of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, the "Cultural Revolution" was carried out across

the country as a large-scale political movement with an unprecedented posture and momentum.

On May 25, Nie Yuanzi, Secretary of the General Party Branch of the Philosophy Department of Peking University, and seven others posted a big-character poster slandering and attacking the Peking University Party Committee and the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China. This big-character poster with a sharp political nature was written under the instruction of Kang Sheng's people, with the purpose of "igniting a fire in Peking University and making it go up." The big-character posters pointed out that during the movement, the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Peking University Party Committee should "strengthen leadership and stick to their posts", "when the masses have risen, they must be guided to the correct path", "persist in reasoning", and "refute them theoretically". They demanded to criticize it, insisting that this is a clear rule of "suppressing the revolution of the masses" and "it is a complete opposition to the Party Central Committee and the revisionist line of Mao Zedong Thought." They called on "all revolutionary intellectuals, it's time to fight", "break all revisionist controls and all conspiracies and schemes, and resolutely, thoroughly, cleanly and completely wipe out all ghosts and monsters, all Khrushchev-style counter-revolutionary revisionism molecular". Immediately after the big-character poster was posted, it was strongly opposed by the teachers, students and staff of Peking University. In half a day, more than a thousand big-character posters refuting it were posted, and many people found the person who wrote the big-character posters to debate. Of course, there are very few people who support it.

Kang Sheng, behind the back of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, who presided over the work of the Central Committee in Beijing, sent the printed copy of this big-character poster to Mao Zedong, who was still in the south at that time. On June 1, Mao Zedong commented in a "Cultural Revolution Briefing": "This article can be broadcast in full by Xinhua News Agency and published in various newspapers and periodicals across the country. It is very necessary.

From now on, the reactionary fortress of Peking University can be broken." Mao Zedong also from Hangzhou Call Kang Sheng and Chen Boda to inform them. On the same day, Xinhua News Agency broadcast the full text of the big-character posters written by Nie Yuanzi and others. This fully shows that this big-character poster met Mao Zedong's need to launch the "Cultural Revolution".

Meanwhile, Mao took other unusual steps. Approved by Mao Zedong, Chen Boda led a working group to the People's Daily to seize power on May 31. They "mastered the daily pages of the newspaper, and at the same time directed the foreign news of Xinhua News Agency and radio stations." The day after the arrival of the working group led by Chen Boda (June 1), the "People's Daily" published an editorial entitled "Sweeping All Ghosts and Snakes". This editorial followed the tone of Lin Biao's speech on May 18, emphasizing that "the guns of the exploiting classes have been disarmed, and the people have seized their seals, but the reactionary ideas in their heads still exist" and "they will not give up.", "The continuous struggle on the ideological and cultural front in the sixteen years since liberation, until the exposure of the anti-Party and anti-socialist black lines in the large and small 'Sanjia Villages', is a restoration and anti-restoration struggle ". The editorial called for: "Beat the so-called bourgeois 'experts', 'scholars', 'authorities', and 'fathers' to the ground, and make them lose their prestige."

On June 2, the "People's Daily" published the full text of the big-character poster by Nie Yuanzi and others, and at the same time published the commentator's article "A Big-Character Poster Hailing Peking University". This article, drafted by Wang Li and Guan Feng and signed by commentators, falsely accuses Peking University of being "a stubborn bastion of anti-Party and anti-socialism" and that the Party Committee of Peking University is a "fake Communist Party" and a "revisionist party." They knocked down and completely destroyed their gangsters, gangster organizations, and gangster discipline", "no matter how high their positions are or how old their qualifications are." On the same day, with the consent of Mao Zedong, the reorganized CCP Beijing appointed a working group

headed by Zhang Chengxian to station at Peking University to "perform the functions and powers of the party committee" and lead the "Great Socialist Cultural Revolution."

On June 4, the "People's Daily" announced the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the reorganization of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee: Li Xuefeng, the first secretary of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, was appointed as the first secretary of the Municipal Party Committee, and Wu De, the first secretary of the Jilin Provincial Party Committee of the Communist Party of China, was appointed as the second secretary of the Municipal Party Committee. It was the first time since the founding of the People's Republic of China that the reorganization of the party committee in the dignified capital was immediately announced in newspapers and radio broadcasts. The above-mentioned series of extraordinary measures quickly aroused strong repercussions across the country. The number of people who spontaneously went to Peking University to read big-character posters, study, and "learn scriptures" reached tens of thousands every day, and the traffic was blocked.

Debate over the task force issue

Out of their trust in the Party and Mao Zedong, the young students first responded to the call and followed the example of Nie Yuanzi of Peking University and others to "rebel against revisionism." Students from high schools and middle schools took the lead, posted big-character posters, held criticism meetings, and quickly spread the movement from the capital and big cities to various places. The CCP's grassroots party committees are the first to bear the brunt, and have generally become the targets of "rebellion" and cannot carry out normal leadership work. The heads of many schools, institutions, and factories were accused of various crimes and exposed, criticized, and struggled. Schools were suspended, factories were suspended, and other serious chaos occurred. Some

grassroots units have asked their superiors to send people to strengthen their leadership.

At that time, Mao Zedong was not in Beijing. Under the chairmanship of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China decided to send working groups to Beijing universities and middle schools in accordance with the common practice of solving grassroots problems for many years and Mao Zedong's approval of sending working groups to People's Daily and Peking University. , leading the "Cultural Revolution". Many provinces and cities have followed suit, sending working groups to colleges and universities and some middle schools one after another.

The traditional approach of sending a working group to lead the movement is clearly aimed at maintaining the party's leadership over the movement and trying to eliminate the chaos that has occurred in many grassroots units. However, since launching the "Cultural Revolution" itself was wrong, the purpose was also ambiguous; people in different units had different understandings of the intentions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong in launching the "Cultural Revolution", and their views and attitudes towards the leaders of their units were also different. Therefore, from the beginning of the movement, it was divided into "rebels" (usually a minority) and "conservatives" (usually a majority), and they fought fiercely. After the working group is dispatched to each unit, it is impossible to completely detach itself from the struggle between the two factions, and it will inevitably cause many unmanageable contradictions with some masses and some grassroots organizations. In addition, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng deliberately instigated and instigated more and more incidents of driving away the working group. As a result, the working group not only failed to reverse the increasingly serious chaotic situation, but placed itself in a difficult position as the focus of contradictions .

In order to solve the existing problems and bring the chaotic situation under control, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, under the chairmanship of Liu Shaoqi, made eight instructions at the enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee held on June 3, stipulating that there should be "distinction between internal and external" and "pay attention to confidentiality." , "Don't put big-character posters on the street", "Don't engage in demonstrations", "Don't engage in large-scale denunciations", "Don't surround the houses of 'gangsters'", "No beating and insulting people" and other requirements. The transmission and implementation of the Eight Central Directives won the support and support of the majority of the masses and young students, but they were resisted by the "minority" in various forms. As a result, fierce confrontations occurred in some schools.

Kuang Yaming, the president and party secretary of Nanjing University, was dismissed from all his posts for criticizing the excessive actions of some students, and was labeled as a so-called "counter-revolutionary incident that suppressed the revolutionary mass movement". On June 16, the "People's Daily" reported the incident and published an editorial entitled "Mobilize the Masses Freely and Completely Down with the Counter-Revolutionary Gangsters". The editorial said: "For those departments and units whose leadership has been usurped by representatives of the bourgeoisie, this Cultural Revolution is a struggle to seize power and a struggle to change the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie into a dictatorship of the proletariat." The editorial believes: "The movement has just begun, and the masses have not yet been mobilized, so they blow the wind, spread rumors, create confusion, divert targets, set up numerous obstacles, and tie the hands and feet of the masses." Find them all, and beat them down, fight them down, and fight them down." The spirit of this editorial published under the chairmanship of Chen Boda was obviously in opposition to the eight directives of the Central Committee. Reflecting the existence of two distinct approaches in guiding the movement.

In this situation, the "June 18th" incident at Peking University had a greater impact. On June 18, some people from Peking University took advantage of the opportunity of the working group meeting to carry out activities wantonly, setting up a so-called "Ghost Fighting Platform", where more than 40 people including cadres, teachers, and students from the Party and Youth League were among them. During the struggle, there were phenomena such as smearing faces, wearing high hats, punishing kneeling, scuffling, and humiliating women. After hearing the news, the working group immediately dispatched to stop it. The leader of the working group broadcasted a speech to the whole school and closed the school gate for rectification. The working group reported this incident to the Central Committee in a briefing, saying that this is an act harmful to the revolutionary movement. The incident itself is a complicated class struggle, and bad people should be strictly prevented from destroying it, calling on students not to be fooled by class enemies. The Working Group also calls for organizations on the left to maintain the revolutionary order of the proletariat. Anyone who wants to fight must be approved by the working group. According to Liu Shaoqi's opinion, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China reposted this briefing on June 20, and added a note: "The Central Committee believes that the method of the Peking University working group to deal with the phenomenon of chaos is correct and timely. If this phenomenon occurs in all units, can refer to Peking University's approach." More than a month later, the briefing was revoked and became one of Liu Shaoqi's charges.

The working groups of various units in various places conscientiously implemented the "Eight Directives" of the CPC Central Committee and the spirit of the wholesale briefing of Peking University. To a certain extent, the phenomenon of chaos and fighting was curbed, and the chaotic situation that had already appeared was slightly overcome. However, this approach has aroused extreme dissatisfaction among a small number of rebels. It is believed that the working group has promoted the revisionist line and suppressed their revolutionary and rebellious spirit, which is a reactionary act of suppressing the revolution, thus intensifying the

confrontation between the working group and the "rebels". With the support and instigation of Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and his gang, incidents of driving away working groups occurred in many schools. In order to persist in their work, some working groups have inappropriately adopted certain measures called "removal of interference". Some units criticized some people who took the lead in "rebellion" and drove away the working group, and charged them with "anti-Party elements", "false leftists", and "rightist students". At that time, both inside and outside the party had different views in favor of and against such measures. However, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng exaggerated this, slandering it as "suppression of the masses", "white terror", and "opposition to the revolution", trying to add a heinous accusation to the working group.

On July 18, Mao Zedong returned to Beijing from Wuhan after "swimming the Yangtze River" that was widely publicized by the newspapers at the time. On the 25th, he said at a meeting with members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group and attended by the first secretaries of each region: "I went to Beijing for a week, and in the first four days I tended to protect Zhang Chengxian, but later I didn't agree." There is still a process of change in the views of the sent working group. Obviously, the reports and materials provided by Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng had a great influence on Mao Zedong. The more fundamental reason is that he believes that "the world will be in great chaos, and the world will be in great order." He believed that the "Cultural Revolution" in Beijing at this time was "deserted". He accused the task force of "playing a bad role and hindering the movement". He proposed that "there is no need for work groups, and the revolution should be carried out by revolutionary teachers and students themselves." According to Mao Zedong's instructions, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee issued the "Decision on Canceling the Working Groups of Colleges and Universities" on July 28. On the 29th, a meeting of ten thousand people was held in the Great Hall of the People, and the decision was announced in public. Li Xuefeng, secretary of the Municipal Party Committee, read out the decision of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee of the Communist Party of China on the 28th, and at the same time, according to the

instructions of the central government, he announced that universities and middle schools would be closed for half a year for a revolution. Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, and Deng Xiaoping attended the meeting and spoke. Liu Shaoqi said in his speech: "As for how to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, you don't know much about it. You ask us, and I will answer you honestly. I don't know. I think many other comrades in the Party Central Committee and members of the working group I don't know." Deng Xiaoping said that "the old revolution has encountered new problems." It should be said that it is very unusual for the top leader of the Party Central Committee to make such a revelation in front of tens of thousands of people. Before the end of the meeting, Mao Zedong stepped onto the rostrum and waved to the masses around the stage. The recording of this meeting was distributed to various provinces and cities for broadcast after the meeting, and the working groups in various places were withdrawn one after another. Since then, the crimes imposed on the working group have gradually escalated, and they have been accused of committing a wrong direction and route. The sending of the working group was accused of "actually standing on the standpoint of the bourgeoisie and opposing the proletarian revolution."

The debate within the party about sending working groups was actually a debate over the purpose and method of carrying out the "Cultural Revolution". Only by realizing the cultural revolution can we become a fully socialist country, which was proposed by Lenin shortly after the October Revolution. In 1958, Mao Zedong clearly proposed five revolutions, including the Cultural Revolution. At the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Liu Shaoqi also discussed the need for a cultural revolution. Therefore, everyone is in favor of carrying out a cultural revolution. However, the cultural revolution proposed by Lenin or our Party refers to eradicating illiteracy, improving the cultural quality of the people, and developing education, science, cultural and health services, etc. Many people have different opinions on whether the goal of the cultural revolution can be achieved in the midst of the chaos by leaving the leadership of the party organization to engage

in mass movements like at that time. In particular, there were great differences in views on the "chaos" that occurred at that time.

Different Views on "Chaos"

The vast majority of comrades in the Party Central Committee are worried about the turmoil that has occurred in the movement, hoping to maintain the party's leadership over the movement, and require certain restrictions on the violent development of the movement. The dispatch of the working group is a measure out of this consideration. Liu Shaoqi said at the enlarged meeting of the Central Standing Committee held on June 21: During the movement, the party and the group could not survive, and the organization was disorganized. This must be restored. For a rotten party committee, the working group can act on behalf of the party committee. He also mentioned at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee on August 1 that since mid-June, Chen Boda had proposed three times not to send a working group or to withdraw from the working group. Speaking to the working group", "I thought at the time that with such a large movement, some organizations in various colleges and universities in Beijing have already been paralyzed, and I was afraid that it would not be good to interrupt the party's leadership." Moreover, at that time, the vast majority of comrades in the Party Central Committee saw the "Cultural Revolution" as a link with the "Four Cleans Movement", and the "Four Cleans Movement" was carried out step by step, planned, and led by a task force sent by the superior. Mao Zedong also said at the enlarged meeting of the Central Standing Committee held in Hangzhou on June 12: The Cultural Revolution is a political struggle, a class struggle, including the Qing thought, the Qing politics, the Qing organization, and the Qing economy. Qing" is connected.

Mao Zedong's basic idea is "not afraid of chaos". He first agreed to send a working group, and the first working group sent was approved and approved by him. And in mid-June, he said at an enlarged meeting of the Central Standing Committee held in Hangzhou that there is no hurry to send a working group to the

school now, and let them make a big mess, and they are not afraid of chaos. But at this time a large number of working groups had already been dispatched, and their immediate withdrawal would inevitably intensify the turmoil. This was what most of the comrades in the Party Central Committee were most worried about. The change in Mao Zedong's views is directly related to his views on "chaos". In his letter to Jiang Qing on July 8, he talked about his views on "chaos" and some thoughts on the "Cultural Revolution". He believes that "the world is in chaos and the world is in great order." "The task now is to basically (impossibly) overthrow the rightists in the whole party and the country, and there will be a campaign to sweep away ghosts and monsters in seven or eight years. There must be multiple sweeps", "This Cultural Revolution is a serious exercise". Mao Zedong's idea of basically overthrowing the so-called rightists in the whole party and the whole country, and his later call to "openly, comprehensively, and bottom-up mobilize the broad masses to expose our dark side" are in general terms is consistent. In fact, this is to overthrow most of the leading cadres of the party and the country who he believes have embarked on the revisionist road. In order to achieve such a goal, Mao Zedong believed that it was no longer possible to adopt the usual methods, nor could it rely on Party organizations at all levels, but could only rely directly on the broad masses, causing chaos in the world and making it impossible for revisionists, large and small, to escape. Only then can the goal of world governance be achieved. So he praises chaos, advocates chaos, and supports chaos. But at that time, most of the leaders of the CPC Central Committee did not know these ideas of his. As mentioned above, at the "Cultural Revolution Activists Conference of Teachers and Students of Beijing Junior Colleges and Secondary Schools" held on July 29, Deng Xiaoping and Zhou Enlai said in their successive speeches that "the old revolution has encountered new problems." . Liu Shaoqi even said openly: "As for how to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", "I don't know either." The President of the State, the Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee, and the General Secretary did not know how to carry out a nationwide political movement and what its goals were. a characteristic.

Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others feared that the world would not be chaotic. They took advantage of Mao Zedong's erroneous judgments and propositions, deliberately pushed the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" to extremes, incited students, young workers, and young cadres who did not know the truth, attacked the party's leading organs at all levels, created social turmoil, and tried in vain to realize the "Cultural Revolution" seize power". In his speech to the Central Cultural Revolution Group on August 8, Lin Biao openly claimed that the "Cultural Revolution" was to "turn the world upside down, vigorously, violently, and stir up trouble. In the past six months, the bourgeoisie will not be able to sleep. The proletariat cannot sleep either."

As for the "chaos" in the "Cultural Revolution", it was interpreted at that time as chaos to mess up the enemy and temper the masses. At the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, when reviewing the mistake of sending a working group, a leading comrade of the region said: "We send a working group because we are afraid of chaos. Didn't the chairman say that most of the leadership is not in our hands Here, what chaos are we afraid of!" This is also an interpretation of "not afraid of chaos". In fact, in a country under the people's democratic dictatorship, the political power is in the hands of the people, and turmoil can only disrupt the people's governance of the country, causing damage and losses in all aspects of work, and disrupting the social order and harmony that have been built after years of hard work. Good rules and regulations are destroyed, this is a truth that has been fully proved by practice.

3. "Bombarding the Headquarters" and Criticizing the "Counterfeit Line"

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee Held

The vast number of party members and cadres, including senior cadres, had different understandings of the "Cultural Revolution" and the resistance and incomprehension of many practices, all of which were regarded by Mao Zedong as "resistance". This made him feel that it was necessary to further formulate a formal decision to launch the "Cultural Revolution" nationwide, to eliminate the so-called "movement resistance", and to make the fire of the "Cultural Revolution" burn more vigorously throughout the country. For this reason, he temporarily decided to hold a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China before returning to Beijing.

After a short period of hasty preparations, from August 1 to 12, 1966, under the chairmanship of Mao Zedong, the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing. A total of 141 Central Committee members and alternate Central Committee members attended the plenary session (26 Central Committee members and alternate Central Committee members were "decided" not to attend the meeting, and 13 Central Committee members and alternate Central Committee members asked for leave). A total of 47 people attended the meeting, including heads of central bureaus and party committees of provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, heads of relevant central departments, and representatives of "revolutionary teachers and students" from colleges and universities in the capital. Nie Yuanzi of Peking University also participated in the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in the name of a representative of "revolutionary teachers and students".

The meeting was originally scheduled to last for 5 days, with a total of four items on the agenda: 1. Adoption of the decision on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; 2. Discussion and approval of the central government's major measures on domestic and international issues since the Tenth Plenum; 3. Adoption of the meeting communiqué; 4. , Supplementary procedures for approving the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in May on some personnel changes in the central government.

On August 1, Liu Shaoqi reported at the conference the major measures taken by the Party Central Committee on domestic and international issues since the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, and assumed the main responsibility for the dispatch of working groups. Mao Zedong interjected, accusing the working group of "playing a role of suppressing and hindering the masses" and that "more than 90 percent of the working groups have done all kinds of bad things." The meeting was held suddenly at the beginning of nationwide turmoil, and many leading cadres were already under attack and besieged. The participants had countless thoughts about the content of the meeting, and hearing Mao Zedong's severe criticism of the working group made the atmosphere of the meeting extremely tense.

In the following two days of conferences and group meetings, the members of the Central Committee responsible for the work of some central ministries and commissions and major regions did not put forward systematic opinions or suggestions on how to carry out the "cultural revolution" in their speeches, but made self-criticism one after another. Check yourself for "failure to keep up with the situation", "failure to keep up with the chairman", "wrong direction and route", etc.

At the enlarged meeting of the Central Standing Committee held on August 4, Mao Zedong made more severe accusations against the faction working group. He said: "This is repression, it is terror, and this terror comes from the central government." He believed that sending the working group was "clearly standing on the side of the

bourgeoisie to oppose the proletariat", and openly said: "There are monsters and ghosts here." He announced: "The general meeting will not be held today, but a small group meeting will be held. I will pass on what I said here to everyone, and you will go to attend separately." This meeting highlighted that in the Central Standing Committee meeting, it is no longer possible to discuss issues on an equal footing. Mao Zedong's "Left" erroneous personal leadership actually replaced the collective leadership of the Party Central Committee, and everything is under the orders of one person.

The "big-character poster" of "Bombarding the Headquarters"

According to the original agenda of the plenary session, a decision on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was to be passed on August 5, and then closed. However, because Mao Zedong delivered a very sharp speech at the enlarged meeting of the Central Standing Committee on August 4, and because he was still planning more important decisions, the schedule of the plenum was postponed.

On August 5, Mao Zedong wrote "Bombarding the Headquarters—One of My Big-Character Posters," accusing him of "during more than 50 days since the dispatch of a working group in early June, certain leading comrades from the central to the local... ...Standing on the reactionary bourgeois standpoint, implement the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and suppress the vigorous cultural revolution movement of the proletariat." And said: "It is related to the right deviation in 1962 and the wrong tendency of 'left' in 1964 but actually right, wouldn't it be a wake-up call?" Although the big-character poster did not directly mention names, judging from the content, it was clear who was accused of being the head of the bourgeois headquarters and who needed to be bombarded. The original draft of this big-character poster was written by Mao Zedong with a pencil on the margin of a "Beijing Daily" on June 2, 1966. After it was transcribed, he revised it and added a title, and it was printed and distributed to the plenary meeting on August 7. The publication of this big-character poster changed the agenda and direction of the

Central Plenary Session, and began to expose and criticize Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, causing extremely serious consequences. Based on the direct basis of sending a working group, and dating back to the differences in the work guidelines of the CPC Central Committee since 1962, it is proposed that in addition to the Party Central Committee headed by Mao Zedong, there is another bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shaoqi, calling for bombardment of this Command, this is totally unconvincing. And it was precisely this "big-character poster", as the "People's Daily" editorial said, "sounded the clarion call for the march of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." On August 17, this "big-character poster" was issued as a "central document" and conveyed to the county and regiment level. After being copied and disseminated by the Red Guards, it quickly spread throughout the country. The wave of "bombarding" and "bombarding" the party and government departments of the central government and leading organs at all levels in various provinces and cities was born from this. In fact, even after ten years of exposure and criticism during the "Cultural Revolution", there was no evidence of the existence of a bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shaoqi. In addition, it is not advisable for one person in charge of the central government to suddenly write a "big character poster" for another person in charge of the central government.

The main content of the "Sixteen Articles"

The Plenary Session passed the "Decision on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (the "Sixteen Articles") on August 8. This is another programmatic document full of "Left" errors about the "Cultural Revolution" after the "May 16 Notice".

Regarding the targets of the "Cultural Revolution", the "Sixteen Articles" stipulates: "The focus of this movement is to rectify those in power within the party who are taking the capitalist road." The scientific concept puts forward a clear standard of judgment, so it is very arbitrary, and it will inevitably lead the goal of struggle to leading cadres at all levels of the party, causing confusion in the relationship

between the enemy and ourselves. It is a fundamental mistake in the "Sixteen Articles" to use subjectively fabricated imaginary enemies as the focus and target of the campaign.

Regarding the power to rely on for the "Cultural Revolution," the "Sixteen Points" stipulates: "The party's leadership must be good at discovering the left, develop and strengthen the ranks of the left, and resolutely rely on the revolutionary left." The document also proposes to "completely isolate the most reactionary right, Fight for the centrist". However, the document also fails to provide a clear standard for dividing leftists, centrists, and rightists. The uncertainty of this division of factions gave Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and Kang Sheng a lot of convenience, allowing them to arbitrarily confer leftist laurel crowns, and also abuse rightist hats to punish people, thus exacerbating the divisions and factions that have already occurred among the masses. struggle. At the closing meeting, Mao Zedong said: "I think there are parties outside the party and factions within the party. This has always been the case. This is a normal phenomenon." The legalization of factions and factionalism is an important reason why factional struggles intensified during the "Cultural Revolution".

Regarding the method of carrying out the "Cultural Revolution", the "Sixteen Points" repeatedly emphasized the need to "take the word 'dare' as the lead", advocated "full use of big-character posters and great debates to speak out", and publicly called for "don't be afraid of trouble." , "It can't be so elegant, so gentle, so gentle, courteous and frugal." The official decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China reaffirmed the inappropriate methods such as big-character posters and the requirement to encourage spontaneous and excessive struggles, which played a role in adding fuel to the fire and made the movement quickly Out of control, democracy and the rule of law have been trampled on even more recklessly.

With regard to the leadership of the "Cultural Revolution," although the "Sixteen Points" contained words such as "under the

leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong" and "the Party Central Committee's requirement for party committees at all levels is to uphold correct leadership," there was no corresponding statement. The specific provisions stipulated in this article left a way for "kicking out the party committee to start a revolution".

In the preparatory meeting to discuss the draft of the "Sixteen Articles", due to the efforts of Zhou Enlai, Tao Zhu and other comrades, the references to "gangsters" and "black lines" in the original draft were deleted, and some restrictive ones were added. Policies stipulate such as "correctly handle contradictions among the people", "combat with words, not with force", "unity with more than 95% of the cadres and more than 95% of the masses". These regulations were added through the efforts of some comrades during the meeting. However, subsequent practice has proved that these are only weak regulations mentioned incidentally. Since they contradict the main regulations that encourage the use of great democracy to rebel against the so-called capitalist-roaders as mentioned above, they are of great importance to the "Cultural Revolution" The vicious development did not produce much binding force.

The "Sixteen Articles", which was drafted by the Central Cultural Revolution Group and approved by Mao Zedong, made serious mistakes in the analysis and regulation of fundamental issues such as the object of the movement, relying on strength, methods, and leadership. However, since the vast majority of comrades attending the meeting lacked the necessary mental preparation and the possibility of participating in the discussion and deliberation normally and calmly, under such abnormal circumstances, this fundamentally wrong decision was passed by the plenary meeting . The adoption of the "Sixteen Articles" shows that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China officially confirmed the overall "Left" erroneous guidelines for the "Cultural Revolution" and completed the legal procedures for carrying out the "Cultural Revolution".

Central Organization Reorganization and Plenary Communiqué

On the last day of the plenary session, on August 12, an item was temporarily added to the agenda based on Mao Zedong's proposal: the re-election of members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. According to the list of candidates proposed by Mao Zedong, the results of the reelection expanded the number of members of the Politburo Standing Committee from the original 7 to 11. Namely: Mao Zedong, Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai, Tao Zhu, Chen Boda, Deng Xiaoping, Kang Sheng, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, Li Fuchun, Chen Yun. Lin Biao ranked next to Mao Zedong and became his successor. Liu Shaoqi dropped from second to eighth, and was actually disqualified as a successor. Chen Boda and Kang Sheng joined the Politburo Standing Committee. The plenary meeting did not re-elect the chairman and vice-chairman, and the vice-chairman positions of Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and Chen Yun were no longer mentioned in any documents after the meeting, and were canceled for no apparent reason. And Lin Biao is still called the vice chairman of the CPC Central Committee, and is the only vice chairman. Tao Zhu, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, and Ye Jianying were by-elected as members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Li Xuefeng, Song Renqiong, and Xie Fuzhi were alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and Xie Fuzhi and Liu Ningyi were by-elected as secretaries of the Central Secretariat. Yang Dezhi, Wei Guoqing, Luo Guibo, Zhang Jingwu, Xie Juezai and Ye Fei were replaced as members of the Central Committee. Mao Zedong said at the closing meeting: "This time there are some changes in the organization. The adjustments of the members of the Politburo, the alternate members of the Politburo, the secretary of the Secretariat, and the Standing Committee ensure the implementation of the Central Committee's decision and the communiqué."

The communiqué of the plenary meeting called for: "Raise higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, unite all people who can be united, overcome resistance from counter-

revolutionary revisionism and 'left' and right opportunism, overcome difficulties, overcome shortcomings, overcome mistakes, overcome The dark side in the party and society, to carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to the end."

Through the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, formal organizational procedures were completed, and the "Cultural Revolution" was imposed on the entire party and the whole country. After the meeting, Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and some other central leaders were successively examined and criticized. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China after the adjustment of the Plenary Session did not function normally. Only the Central Cultural Revolution Group played an increasingly important role under the direct leadership of Mao Zedong. The "Cultural Revolution" was carried out in an all-round way under such specific historical conditions.

Red Guards Act as Vanguards

One of Mao Zedong's major measures to ignite the fire of the "Cultural Revolution" was to support young students and make them the vanguard of "fanning the wind of the Cultural Revolution and lighting the fire of the Cultural Revolution" all over the country.

As early as early June, Red Guard organizations appeared in some middle schools in Beijing. At that time, the appropriateness of developing such an organization was controversial in the school and in the society, so it was not developed. In order to gain support from the leaders, the Red Guards from the High School Affiliated to Tsinghua University wrote to Mao Zedong and sent them two big-character posters titled "Long Live the Rebellious Spirit of the Proletarian Revolution". This "Left" radical and childish big-character poster unexpectedly won the support of Mao Zedong. On August 1, Mao Zedong sent a letter to the Red Guards of the Middle School Affiliated to Tsinghua University, warmly supporting their big-character posters that "justified the rebellion against the reactionaries", and said: "No matter in Beijing, in the whole country, or during the Cultural Revolution Those of you who adopt the same

revolutionary attitude, we will all give our warm support." This letter was issued as a document of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, and it was quickly spread throughout the country. For young students, the "Sixteen Points" praised them as "brave pioneers" and affirmed that "their general direction of revolution is always correct." These excessive evaluations, especially Mao Zedong's letter, played a huge role in mobilizing a large number of young people to "rebel".

On August 18, Mao Zedong, wearing a military uniform and a Red Guard armband, received millions of people and Red Guards from all over the country on the Tiananmen Gate Tower, expressing his firm support for the Red Guard Movement. Lin Biao made a provocative speech at the meeting. He declared: "The supreme commander of this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is our Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao is the commander in chief." "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution proposed by Chairman Mao is a great pioneering work in the communist movement and a great pioneering work in the socialist revolution." "This is a big battle, a general attack on the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes." He said: "We firmly support your proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to break in, dare to do, dare to revolution, and dare to rebel!" He called for "to overthrow those in power who are taking the capitalist road, to overthrow the bourgeois reactionary authority, to overthrow all bourgeois royalists, to oppose all forms of suppressing the revolution, and to overthrow all monsters and monsters", "to overthrow, to overthrow, to make They have swept away their prestige and prestige, and they will never stand up!" Since then, the Red Guard movement has developed rapidly in urban and rural areas across the country, like a prairie fire.

Along with the rise of the Red Guards movement, there was a large national chain. "Chairman Mao has always strongly supported the large-scale connection, and advocated that this kind of revolutionary action of the masses should be greatly promoted." On September 5, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council issued the "On the Organization of

Revolutionary Students in Foreign Colleges and Secondary Schools" and Revolutionary Faculty Representatives Come to Beijing to Visit the Cultural Revolution Movement", the state provides transportation expenses and living allowances. Students from all over the country flocked to Beijing, and Beijing students took the opportunity to disperse to various places, thus starting a nationwide series of tens of millions of people. As of late November, Mao Zedong had interviewed more than 11 million teachers, students and Red Guards in Beijing eight times. During the large-scale connection period, the national traffic was extremely congested, and the social order in large and medium-sized cities was disordered, which directly affected production, construction and people's lives. This is the prelude to the great turmoil in the country.

The content of the Red Guard Movement was initially to destroy the "Four Olds" (that is, the so-called old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits). After Mao Zedong received the Red Guards on August 18, under the instigation of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others, the Red Guards in Beijing and all over the country "killed the society" from the campus and "took to the streets", posted big-character posters, distributed leaflets, gave speeches, and A lot of excesses have been taken. Some Red Guards fought, punished, and ransacked what they identified as "class enemies"; smashed "feudal, capitalist, and repair things" they identified; ", "Anti-revisionist", "Red Guard" and other stereotyped names. At that time, almost all leading cadres in education, academia, journalism, literature and art, and publishing were criticized and ransacked as "gangsters," "capitalist roaders," and "counter-revolutionary revisionists." A large number of social scientists, Writers, artists, natural scientists, medical scientists, famous professors, editors, journalists, etc. were all criticized and ransacked as "reactionary academic authorities" and "counter-revolutionary revisionists"; many members of the Communist Party, Communist Youth League, cadres, Teachers and model workers were criticized as "royalists", "monsters", and "black minions". Even some students who have studied well are isolated and attacked as "revisionist seedlings". In the name of "destroying the four olds", some Red Guards burned

and destroyed the Chinese and foreign classics, precious cultural relics, calligraphy and paintings they had copied. According to incomplete statistics, by the end of September 1966 in Beijing, more than 32,600 households had their homes ransacked. In Shanghai, more than 84,200 households were ransacked between August 23 and September 8. In Tianjin, more than 12,000 households were ransacked. Many ancient temples, ancestral halls, archways and other famous buildings and historical and cultural heritages across the country were destroyed. For example, among the 6,843 cultural relics and historic sites determined to be protected in Beijing in 1958, 4,922 were destroyed. Even many historical sites listed as national key protected cultural relics, such as the 2,000-year-old Confucian Temple and Confucius Forest in Qufu, Shandong, were also damaged by Red Guards. There are only a few exceptions where there are special protections.

It is impossible for these activities of the Red Guards not to arouse social resentment and opposition. In some places, Red Guards clashed with workers, peasants and even PLA fighters. For this reason, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued successive notices strictly prohibiting the dispatch of police and armed forces to suppress the student movement. On September 11, the "People's Daily" published an editorial entitled "Workers, Peasants and Revolutionary Students Unite Under the Banner of Mao Zedong Thought" in accordance with Mao Zedong's instructions, affirming that "the general direction of the student movement has never been wrong. The mainstream of the movement". The editorial said: "We workers and peasants must keep our eyes open and vigilant, and never allow anyone, under any pretext, in any form, to provoke workers, peasants and students to fight against students." The editorial called on workers, peasants and revolutionary students to unite, breathe together, Share fate, fight together. With such advocacy and support, the Red Guard movement became more fanatical, and later developed into a nationwide "cannonade" of local party and government leading organizations at all levels. Political leadership institutions have generally been severely impacted, and it is difficult for them to work

normally. Except for the field troops of the People's Liberation Army, the party's grassroots organizations have stopped their activities, and the majority of party members have been stopped from organizing their lives.

Most of the people involved in the Red Guard movement in the early days of the "Cultural Revolution" did so out of trust in Mao Zedong and the Party, in response to the call to "rebel against revisionism," and with a sincere desire to "defend the red country and never change its color." . However, due to their youth, lack of social experience, and political immaturity, under the instigation of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, they often showed fanaticism and blindness. But with the exception of a very small number of extremists, the Red Guards did not approve of many ultra-left practices in the movement, nor did they approve of brutal struggles against party leaders at all levels. In later practice, they went through different tortuous roads, raised their consciousness, and gradually became suspicious of the "Cultural Revolution". blow. Some opportunists, ambitious elements, and conspirators directly or indirectly accepted orders from Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, etc., and took advantage of the opportunity to stir up trouble and do many evils. The Red Guard Movement was a product of the special social and historical conditions of the "Cultural Revolution", and its rise intensified the destructiveness of the "Cultural Revolution", causing great harm to the party, the country, the people, and the young people themselves.

The various practices that disrupted social order and trampled on democracy and the legal system during the Red Guard Movement aroused dissatisfaction and varying degrees of resistance from the cadres and the masses. Due to differences in understanding and actions, splits and reorganizations continued to occur among the Red Guards. For example, the Red Guards in Beijing split from a unified organization into the Second Command, and later the Third Command emerged. They each won a faction of mass organizations and launched various forms of sometimes very heated debates and struggles. This includes not only some

differences in understanding of the nature and methods of the "Cultural Revolution", but also differences in the evaluation of certain leading cadres, and some are just factionalism. During this period, a famous incident occurred in which some middle school Red Guards questioned and opposed the Central Cultural Revolution. This is the "linkage incident".

The so-called "linkage" is the abbreviation of "Capital Red Guard Joint Action Committee". The organizer of the "linkage" is the person in charge of the Red Guards in more than a dozen middle schools in Haidian District, including the Middle School Attached to Peking University, the Middle School Attached to Tsinghua University, the Middle School Attached to Petroleum Institute, and Bayi School. At the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution", these young people aged 16 or 17 also participated in sports with sincere passion, and even acted fanatically and excessively. However, the actual development of the movement in the past few months has gradually caused them to have many doubts, and their passion has gradually cooled down. They can't understand why everything from the president of the country, the general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and a group of veterans and generals who have made great achievements in military affairs to the leaders of various regions and units, including their own parents, have all become cadres overnight. "Gangsters", "capitalist roaders", "three anti elements"? Is it true that a glorious, great, and correct party that led the Chinese people to overthrow the three mountains, under Chairman Mao, only a few people such as the Central Cultural Revolution are correct? Once upon a time, these Red Guards who were the first to rebel who were affirmed and supported by Mao Zedong themselves became "children of gangsters" and "scumbags". Such a cruel reality prompted them to think and boldly questioned Jiang Qing and others. On November 27, 1966, they gathered at the High School Attached to Peking University to analyze the situation, study countermeasures, and contemplate the establishment of an organization. On December 5, the declaration "The Joint Action Committee of the Capital Red Guards was established today" was officially issued. "Linkage" developed rapidly.

In a short period of time, it united with Red Guards from hundreds of middle schools in Beijing, and also contacted a group of like-minded people in Shanghai, Shenyang, Nanjing, Wuhan, Changsha and other places. They rode bicycles through the capital in groups, chanting slogans and posting slogans. Big slogans such as "Oppose to arresting the seniors of the revolution", "Some people in the Central Cultural Revolution should not be too crazy", "The Central Cultural Revolution pushed us to death, we have to fight back" and other big slogans were posted in very eye-catching places. On December 26, "Linkage" held a meeting with thousands of people in the theater of the Beijing Exhibition Hall. At the meeting, a leaflet was read out that "resolutely criticized the anti-Mao Zedong Thought speeches made by some people in the Central Cultural Revolution in recent days", which caused a lot of controversy. sensation.

A series of actions of "linkage" angered the Central Cultural Revolution, and was brutally attacked and suppressed. On the one hand, Jiang Qing and others ordered Kuai Dafu, Nie Yuanzi and others to lead university red guards to attack the "linkage" rally and criticize the person in charge of the "linkage". A group of young people and high-ranking officials were arrested. As many as 139 people were thrown into prison at that time. This incident was later noticed by Zhou Enlai and reported to Mao Zedong. On April 22, 1967, Mao Zedong personally ordered the release of all imprisoned "linkage elements". "Linkage" as a mass organization in the early stage of the "Cultural Revolution" no longer exists, but it also reflects from one aspect that the "Cultural Revolution" had resisted and opposed forces from the very beginning.

Criticize the so-called "anti-capitalism line"

The dissatisfaction and resistance of the cadres and the masses to the "Cultural Revolution", the split and mutual struggle of the Red Guard movement, the workers and peasants in some places rose up to defend the local committees of the Communist Party of China, and clashed with the Red Guards who attacked the party committees. The feedback of this information did not make the initiators and

leaders of the "Cultural Revolution" reconsider the correctness and rationality of the "Cultural Revolution", but made them more convinced that the enemy situation was serious and that class struggle and the struggle between the two roads must be highlighted . He also attributed the above-mentioned phenomena to the performance of the activities of the capitalist roaders, and insisted that they were "stirring the masses to fight against the masses." For this reason, a new charge was conceived, that is, "bourgeois reactionary line".

On October 1, Lin Biao publicly threw out this new charge at the celebration meeting for the 17th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. He said: "The struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeoisie's opposition to the revolutionary line continues." The 13th editorial of "Red Flag" magazine published on October 2 in 1966 stated more clearly: "Some In localities and in some units, the struggle between the two lines is still very sharp and complicated. A very small number of people have adopted new forms to deceive the masses, resisted the Sixteen Points, stubbornly adhered to the bourgeois reactionary line, and tried their best to use the form of provoking the masses to fight against the masses. to achieve their goals." The editorial emphasized: "Whether to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line is the key to whether we can implement the 16 points of the Cultural Revolution and whether we can correctly carry out extensive struggle, criticism and reform." The reactionary line must be thoroughly criticized." As a result, a storm of criticism of the "bourgeois reactionary line" swept across the country in an instant.

The party's grassroots organizations and party cadres were accused of carrying out the "bourgeois reactionary line" and became the main targets of criticism. On October 5, the Central Military Commission and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army issued an urgent instruction based on Lin Biao's proposal. In this document, which was revised by the Central Cultural Revolution and approved by Mao Zedong, it was announced that the "Cultural Revolution Movement in military academies should

be withdrawn from work." After the organization is established, it will be stipulated that the party committees of colleges and universities will lead it," and said: "All those restrictions on mass movements must be abolished."

On October 6, the "Pledge to Open Fire Violently to the Bourgeois Reactionary Line" was held at the Beijing Workers' Stadium, attended by 100,000 people from Beijing and all over the country. Zhang Chunqiao read out the emergency instructions of the Military Commission and the General Political Department at the meeting. The Party Central Committee forwarded this urgent instruction to the whole party, and added a commentary asking the whole party to "resolutely implement it." This emergency instruction fueled the growing anarchist tendency among the Red Guards and other rebel organizations, and provided a formal basis for the so-called "kicking out the party committees to start a revolution" that excluded the leadership of the party organization from the "cultural revolution." document basis. Under the impact of the emergency directive, a wave of "party branch rebellion" was set off across the country. Leaders of local and grassroots organizations at all levels of the party were generally criticized, and the party's daily work came to a standstill. The "kicking off party committees to start a revolution" legalized by the "Emergency Instructions" is precisely the crux of the "Cultural Revolution" becoming a long-term civil strife.

October Central Working Conference

From October 9th to 28th, 1966, according to Mao Zedong's proposal, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a working conference in Beijing. Persons in charge of the bureaus of the Central Committee and party committees of provinces, cities and autonomous regions attended the meeting.

Why is this Central Working Conference held? Mao Zedong explained at the meeting on the 25th that this meeting "is to sum up experience, do political and ideological work" and solve the problem of "ideological incomprehension". He said: "I started the fire of the Cultural Revolution. The time is very short, only a few months... It is

not so clear and there are conflicts. This is understandable and natural." He comforted everyone: "The line is wrong, Just change it. Who wants to defeat you? I don't want to defeat you, and I don't think the Red Guards necessarily want to defeat you." Maybe from Mao Zedong's subjective point of view, he really only wanted to defeat Liu Shaoqi and a few others, but It is not about knocking down most cadres. However, since the wrong policy, the wrong target, and the wrong method have been determined, it is inevitable that most of the leading cadres will be attacked and overthrown. Therefore, it is natural that Mao Zedong's speech did not produce any practical effect.

Chen Boda made a report on "Two Lines in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". He tried his best to justify the perverse actions of the "Cultural Revolution". He said: "The great Red Guard Movement shocked the whole society, and even the whole world. The Red Guard Movement has achieved brilliant results. It can be said without a doubt that the entire Cultural Revolution Movement is better than the Paris Commune, the October Revolution, and several times the history of China." The mass movements of the Second Great Revolution came deeper and more surging. This is a higher stage of the proletarian revolutionary movement in the world." He described the various methods of confusing the enemy and ourselves and turning right and wrong as "the advanced became the backward, The backward became advanced. This kind of situation was profoundly manifested in our Cultural Revolution." "Historical class struggle is indeed like this: some people who originally stood on the revolutionary side were threatened and lured by the enemy, subtly influenced, and then stood on the side of the revolution." went in opposition to the revolution." He clearly declared: "It is the representatives of the wrong line who put forward the wrong line, that is, Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. They should bear the main responsibility." "The wrong line of Liu and Deng has its social basis, and this social basis is The bourgeoisie. The wrong line has a certain market in the party, because there are a small group of people in power who take the capitalist road in the party, and there are quite a

number of foolish people whose world outlook has not been reformed or has not been reformed well." He sent a working group to lead the movement. He denounced the dissatisfaction and resistance of the majority of cadres to the "Cultural Revolution" as a "reactionary bourgeois line"; he praised the idea of negating the party's leadership and encouraging spontaneous "the masses educate themselves and liberate themselves" as "proletarian Class Revolutionary Line". Chen Boda said that the sign that distinguishes the two lines "is the attitude towards the masses" and "the line of suppressing the masses and attacking revolutionary activists is the bourgeois reactionary line." It is a vain attempt to provide a theoretical basis for the unscientific and illogical charge of "bourgeois reactionary line". He also insidiously preached that "the waves behind the Yangtze River drive the waves ahead, and the new people in the world drive out the old people", in an attempt to incite the masses to drive away the "old people", that is, to overthrow the old cadres.

In his speech at the meeting, Lin Biao tried his best to publicize the necessity and significance of the "Cultural Revolution". What are they saying that "this movement has set an unprecedented example in the world", "if we don't seize the cultural revolution and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to the end, then we will change our colors halfway", so the "cultural revolution" "is Our fortune is also a great task of great honor." He also advocated "revolutionary mass movements, which are naturally reasonable". This is used to justify the various evil acts that have occurred that have violated the rule of law, violated human rights, hindered production, and disrupted order. He also said that this is just "a little chaos" and that "the mainstream is good", so we should dare to put our words first and not be afraid of chaos. He named and attacked Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping for carrying out a line of "suppressing the masses and opposing the revolution", and said: "In a short period of time, Liu and Deng's line has achieved almost a dominant position. implement this line." The aim was to direct the struggle more clearly to Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and party committees at all levels across the country.

The speeches of Lin Biao and Chen Boda at the Central Working Conference were instructed by Mao Zedong: "Print them in small volumes and distribute them in large quantities. Every branch and every Red Guard squad should have at least one copy." This further contributed to the proliferation of anarchist thoughts. , set off a nationwide wave of criticism of the so-called bourgeois reactionary line.

Because "thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line" was proposed by Mao Zedong, there was a public call by the "Deputy Commander" on Tiananmen Square in Beijing, the "Red Flag" magazine published an editorial to demonstrate it, and it was affirmed and emphasized by the work conference held by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The guards frantically "fired" and "shelled" everywhere, and the scope of the critical movement expanded rapidly. The gale of criticizing the "bourgeois reactionary line" not only blew up in large and medium-sized cities, but also swept across the country's industrial and transportation enterprises and vast rural areas.

Pervasive Involvement of Business and Rural Areas

According to the original deployment of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the focus of the "Cultural Revolution" was on the cultural and educational departments and leading organs of the party and government. The "Cultural Revolution" in industrial, transportation, enterprises and rural areas must be combined with the Four Clean-ups Movement, and carried out in a leadership, planned, staged and batch-by-batch manner. To this end, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council issued relevant notices and regulations several times from July to September. For example, the "Notice of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council on How to Carry Out the Cultural Revolution Movement for Industrial Transportation Enterprises and Capital Construction Units" issued on July 2 requires that the "Cultural Revolution" of these units "must be combined with the Four

Cleansing Movement, in accordance with the "Twenty-three Articles", in accordance with the provisions of the "Article", in accordance with the original deployment of each locality, it will be carried out in stages and batches with leaders and in a planned way. On September 14, the "Regulations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning the Great Cultural Revolution in Rural Areas Below the County Level" required that "the Cultural Revolution at all levels below the county level should still be carried out in combination with the original arrangements of the 'Four Cleansing'". "When the autumn harvest is very busy, we should concentrate on doing a good job in autumn harvest, autumn planting and autumn purchase, and the 'Four Cleanups' movement can be temporarily suspended." It also stipulates that "students and Red Guards in Beijing and other places, unless otherwise arranged by the province or the locality, shall not go to the organs at all levels below the county level, and the communes and teams to join forces" and so on. It shows Zhou Enlai and others' concern about the impact of economic work and their subjective willingness to strive for the double victory of "revolution and production". However, under the impact of "criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line", these notices and regulations completely lost their effectiveness, and the entire industrial and agricultural production front began to fall into chaos.

On November 16, according to the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Gu Mu, director of the National Capital Construction Committee, and Yu Qiuli, director of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry, presided over the meeting of 5 ministries and 7 cities (metallurgy, hydropower, railway, chemical industry, machinery, Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Shenyang, Kazakhstan), Han, Guangzhou) and relevant responsible persons from various regions participated in the industrial transportation symposium to discuss how industrial and transportation enterprises can carry out the "cultural revolution". In their speeches, the comrades who participated in the symposium fully affirmed the achievements of the 17-year industrial and communication front, and pointed out that because production cannot be interrupted, the "cultural revolution" practices of industrial and communication

enterprises should be different from those of the cultural and educational departments and party and government leading organs; they advocated "The "Cultural Revolution" should still be carried out in stages and in batches, and it is opposed to a comprehensive spread; it is not in favor of the establishment of joint rebel organizations among workers and the connection between units; it requires measures to correctly handle the relationship between revolution and production. This symposium was held for 20 days. Regarding the draft instructions drafted by the Central Committee for the Cultural Revolution and advocating the full implementation of the "Cultural Revolution" in industrial and transportation enterprises, "the criticism is flawless and useless." It was a struggle to limit the scope of the "Cultural Revolution".

From December 4th to 6th, Lin Biao presided over an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, listened to Gu Mu's report on the symposium on industrial transportation, discussed and passed the "About the "Ten Rules for Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production" (referred to as "Ten Rules for Industry"). The correct propositions of the majority of comrades at the industrial transportation symposium were unreasonably accused by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing.

At the meeting, Jiang Qing accused the leaders of the industrial war front of "having no class feelings, putting stones weighing hundreds of catties on the workers, which is completely counter-revolutionary. I can't see the revisionist stuff in this revolution. , there is no way." Kang Sheng said arbitrarily: "The problems in factories are not necessarily less than those in schools," and "now factories are also bourgeois-style factories without bourgeoisie." Zhang Chunqiao attacked the "Report Outline" which reflected the discussions at the Gongjiao Symposium as "reflecting the sentiments of some people in power taking the capitalist road" and "doesn't see the struggle between the two lines in factories and enterprises." Lin Biao said in his concluding speech: "This industry and transportation conference lasted for more than 20 days. The meeting was not well held, it was wrong, and the thinking was very

wrong." He said: "Liu and Deng are not a matter of 50 days, but It's a matter of ten or twenty years. The industrial war front has been greatly influenced by Liu and Deng." He forced the industrial war front to "make a 180-degree turn now." On the last day of the meeting, Wang Li, a member of the Central Cultural Revolution, launched a surprise attack on Tao Zhu. They accused Tao Zhu of "using production to suppress revolution" for maintaining production order. This was a public outburst of differences between Tao Zhu and Jiang Qing on many issues. The meeting adopted the "Ten Articles of Industry" revised and finalized by the Central Cultural Revolution. This document was issued in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on December 9, officially changing the original plan of the Central Committee, and generally launching the "Cultural Revolution" in industrial and transportation enterprises. Although the document stipulates that "the eight-hour working system" must be "adhered to" and the "cultural revolution" should be carried out in spare time, it also stipulates that workers can carry out "revolutionary associations" and can "send representatives to schools in the city to carry out revolutionary associations", and students can also Go to factories and mines to carry out "revolutionary series". Workers "have the right to form revolutionary organisations". As a result, the "Cultural Revolution" quickly expanded to all sectors of industry, transportation, finance and trade across the country, and connected with students in universities and middle schools. This impacted and disrupted the normal production order, causing industrial production to fall into a state of total chaos.

At the same time, the "Cultural Revolution" spread rapidly to the countryside. On December 15, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued "Instructions on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Rural Areas (Draft)" (referred to as "Ten Articles in Rural Areas"). It stipulates: "Incorporate the Four Cleans Movement into the Cultural Revolution." This changed the original plan to carry out the "Cultural Revolution" in conjunction with the Four Cleans Movement. It also stipulates that the Red Guards should be established and developed in the countryside, the "Four

Great Movements" should be carried out, and the communes and brigades should be linked together. The issuance of this document made the "Cultural Revolution" officially spread to the vast rural areas of the country.

Strong impact on cadres

Under the violent impact of "criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line", the "Cultural Revolution" developed horizontally and rapidly expanded to industrial and transportation enterprises, financial and trade departments, and the vast rural areas. The release of the "Ten Articles for Industry" and "Ten Articles for the Rural Areas" was a serious step that caused chaos throughout the country. In the movement of "criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line", the cadres at the front line of production and work were the first to bear the brunt, and a large number of cadres who had been able to persist in their work since the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution" were overthrown one after another.

Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and his gang are the chief culprits in the brutal struggle and merciless attacks on cadres. Several prominent cases that were famous throughout the country at that time and caused great shock were: (1) under their orders, led by the Third Headquarters of the Red Guards in the capital, from December onwards, parades were organized across the country, in the capital and other cities Put up big slogans and shout slogans to "down with Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping". (2) They used surprise attacks to brand Tao Zhu, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, executive secretary of the Secretariat, vice premier of the State Council, and advisor to the Central Cultural Revolution Group, who had assisted Zhou Enlai in handling the daily work of the party and the country since the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee. China's largest bourgeois royalist", and was listed as "the third largest capitalist roader". Tao Zhu was brutally persecuted and died on November 30, 1969 in Hefei City, Anhui Province. (3) They instructed Qi Benyu to come forward and instigate some Red Guards

to frame Marshal Peng Dehuai, who was appointed as the deputy commander in chief of the Southwest Third Front Construction on the eve of the "Cultural Revolution", as a "counter-revolutionary revisionist" and a "big warlord", and kidnap and escort him from Chengdu, Sichuan Province To Beijing, imprisoned. Peng Dehuai suffered continuous criticism, torture, and beatings, resulting in rib fractures and serious lung injuries, and died on November 29, 1974. (4) They framed Marshal He Long, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and vice chairman of the Central Military Commission, as a "big bandit", a "big careerist", and a "big conspirator" who planned to carry out the so-called "February Mutiny", and He Long was brutally tortured. persecution. Although Zhou Enlai tried his best to protect him, he couldn't get rid of it. He died unjustly on June 9, 1969 during the "isolation inspection". In addition, they slandered Zhu De as a great warlord and demanded that he be overthrown. And incited the Red Guards to attack many famous democrats.

Under extremely difficult circumstances, Zhou Enlai managed to obtain Mao Zedong's consent, and tried his best to protect a group of veteran cadres who had been scolded, as well as famous people from democratic parties, experts and scholars. However, his efforts are unlikely to fundamentally change the destruction of cadres during the "Cultural Revolution". Once the "Cultural Revolution" has been launched, it will inevitably continue to develop viciously with enormous destructive power. The climax of the "Cultural Revolution" characterized by a total seizure of power went through several months of "bombarding the headquarters" and "thoroughly criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line", and experienced the siege, "burning", "bombarding" and smashing The ministries and commissions of the State Council and party and government agencies at the provincial, city, and county levels are generally paralyzed or semi-paralyzed. Most of the responsible persons at all levels have been locked up and detained, unable to manage the board; no one is handling the work of the agency; the normal work and production order are on the verge of collapse. Obviously, this

kind of anarchic chaos is difficult to maintain for a long time, and the "Cultural Revolution" has reached a critical juncture.

This situation, Mao Zedong has been aware of. At Mao Zedong's birthday dinner on December 26, 1966, he estimated that 1967 would be "the year in which class struggle will be carried out in an all-round way across the country." That is to say, Mao Zedong was prepared to use the policy of further strengthening and deepening the class struggle to solve the difficult situation he was facing. He also said: "The situation in Shanghai is very hopeful." He expressed his hope that Shanghai will set an example for the whole country to get out of the predicament.

On January 1, 1967, "People's Daily" and "Red Flag" magazines published an editorial entitled "Carrying Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to the End". According to Mao Zedong's intention, the editorial announced that "1967 will be the year when the class struggle will be launched in an all-round way across the country", and called for "a general attack on the small group of people in power in the party who are taking the capitalist road and the ghosts and monsters in society." . Although the editorial article did not use the word "seize power", judging from the content of the full text, the essence of the so-called "general attack" is exactly "seize power".

As early as in the "May 16 Notice", it was already proposed to purge representatives of the bourgeoisie from all walks of life in the party, government, army, and cultural fields, and "seize the leadership in these cultural fields." The "Sixteen Points" once again clearly stated: "Those in power who are taking the capitalist road must be removed, and the leadership there should be taken back to the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries." Therefore, the comprehensive seizure of power is the inevitable result of the development of the "Cultural Revolution". This New Year's Day editorial calling for "launching a general attack" is tantamount to issuing a mobilization order to seize power in an all-round way. The so-called "January Revolution" in Shanghai, directly commanded by

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, set a model for the rebels across the country to seize power in an all-round way.

[1] In a later speech, Mao Zedong once said: I said that the crux of Wu Han's article was dismissal from office. This was what Kang Sheng told me, and it was Kang Sheng's invention right. In the early days of the "Cultural Revolution", Kang Sheng also admitted this point in many speeches. But no matter who owns the invention right, at that time, Mao Zedong agreed with this assertion and issued it as the "supreme instruction", which had a major impact, there is no doubt about it.

[2] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 2, p. 309.

[3] Volume 3 of "Selected Works of Lenin", People's Publishing House, 1972 edition, p. 835.

[4] "Selected Readings of Mao Zedong's Works", Volume 2, People's Publishing House, 1986 edition, p. 787.

[5] Zhang Chengxian was the secretary of the reorganized Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China. According to the decision of the Municipal Committee and approved by Mao Zedong, he was sent to Peking University as the leader of the working group.

[6] Quoted from "Forty Years of the Communist Party of China", p. 275.

[7] In the big-character poster of the Red Guards at the High School Attached to Tsinghua University, it said: "Revolution is rebellion, and the soul of Mao Zedong Thought is rebellion." "No rebellion is 100% revisionism." Now, if we don't rebel now, when will we wait?" "Since we want to rebel, we can't help you! We just want to make the smell of gunpowder thick. Throw blasting canisters and grenades together, and there will be a big fight and a big fight. What 'favor', what 'face', get away!" "We just want to wield a big stick, show our supernatural powers, cast spells, turn the old world upside down, beat people upside down, beat them to pieces, make them into chaos Chaos, the more chaos the better!"

[8] Quoted from Chen Boda's speech at the Central Work Conference chaired by Mao Zedong in October 1966.

[9] The "February Mutiny" was a rumor fabricated by Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and others in order to overthrow He Long and Peng Zhen. The fact is that in February 1966, according to the instructions of the Central Military Commission, the Beijing Military Region transferred a regiment from other places to strengthen the Beijing Garrison. Due to the lack of barracks for a while, people were sent to Peking University, Renmin University, etc. to borrow houses, but they did not move in. After the "Cultural Revolution", a league cadre at Peking University became suspicious of this, and wrote a big-character poster titled "The Shocking February Mutiny", which was circulated and copied, which aroused strong reactions. This matter was caught by Kang Sheng. He said in a speech at Beijing Normal University on July 27: "Peng Zhen, a big gangster in Beijing, planned a coup d'etat...planning to station a battalion of troops at Peking University and Renmin University. It is absolutely true... this matter contains a great conspiracy." In order to incite the masses. Later, Kang Sheng said: "He Long privately mobilized the army to carry out the February mutiny" and so on. Lin Biao also tried his best to make use of this. When the central government rehabilitated He Long in 1980, it clearly pointed out that the "February Mutiny" was purely a rumor.

[10] The list of cadres who should be protected was drawn up by Zhou Enlai on August 30, 1966 and approved by Mao Zedong, including: Song Qingling, Guo Moruo, Zhang Shizhao, Cheng Qian, He Xiangning, Fu Zuoyi, Zhang Zhizhong, Shao Lizi, Jiang Guangnai, Cai Tingkai, Sha Qianli, Zhang Xiruo, Li Zongren and so on. (1) Vice-Chairman, NPC Standing Committee, Vice-Chairman, (2) Minister, Vice-Minister, (3) Political Deputy, (4) State Deputy, (5) Leaders of the Democratic Parties, (6) Two Seniors. See the second volume of Selected Works of Zhou Enlai, People's Publishing House, 1980 edition, pages 450-451.

Chapter 3 The Climax of the "Cultural Revolution"

Characterized by the Total Seizure of Power



1. The "Shanghai January Storm" seized power quickly across the country

Several serious incidents after the establishment of the General Administration of Industry and Commerce

Due to Shanghai's important political and economic position, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and his gang attached great importance to Shanghai's "Cultural Revolution". Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng once assigned Nie Yuanzi and others to Shanghai to incite young people to "bombard" the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, but they failed to achieve their goal of destroying the Municipal Party Committee. On November 9, 1966, with the support of the rebel factions such as the Liaison Station of the Third Division of the Capital Red Guards in Shanghai, the "Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters" (referred to as "Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters") headed by Wang Hongwen, an officer of the Security Section of the Shanghai State-owned 17th Cotton Mill, etc. General Office of Industry and Commerce") held a general meeting to declare its establishment. "We want to seize power" was stated in the founding declaration. After the meeting, a demonstration was held, and they went to the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee to demand that they be recognized as "revolutionary mass organizations." When they were rejected by the municipal party committee, they used the excuse of going to Beijing to appeal, forcibly boarded the train and headed north, where they were stopped at Anting Railway Station in the suburbs of Shanghai. Wang Hongwen commanded the laying rail to stop the train, blocking the Shanghai-Nanjing railway traffic for more than 30 hours. This is the sensational "Anting Incident".

After the Anting Incident, the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China reported to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in a timely manner. At that time, Chen

Boda, the head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, called to ask the East China Bureau of the CPC and the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee to adhere to the Central Committee's regulations on not allowing the establishment of cross-industry workers' organizations, and not to recognize the General Department of Industry as a legitimate revolutionary mass organization. Zhang Chunqiao also agreed with Chen Boda at that time. Based on this, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, on the one hand, refused to recognize the request of the General Department of Industry, and on the other hand, sent people to Anting to deliver clothes and food, sent people to do ideological work, and mobilized workers to return to the factory to grasp the revolution and promote production. The incident might not have taken much time to resolve properly. However, on November 12, after Zhang Chunqiao flew to Shanghai under the order of the Central Cultural Revolution, the situation changed suddenly. Putting aside the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China, he signed and agreed to the five demands put forward by Wang Hongwen and others, admitting that Wang Hongwen and others created troubles as "revolutionary actions", and asked the mayor of Shanghai to publicly check the mistakes. Zhang Chunqiao's approach can be said to kill three birds with one stone: one is to impose the crime of stubbornly pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line and suppressing the masses on the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China; The main force in Shanghai; the third is to recruit a group of gang forces headed by Wang Hongwen for their own use.

The establishment of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce set a bad precedent. Since then, mass organizations of various names other than the Red Guards have emerged in Shanghai. These organizations engaged in fights, ransacked homes, marches, rallies, tortured confessions, etc. Party and government leaders at all levels were generally attacked and persecuted, further deteriorating the situation in Shanghai. In early December, there was a siege of the Jiefang Daily that lasted 8 days and 8 nights. On December 30, with the support of Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen and others created another bloody incident involving more than 100,000 people (the

"Kangping Road Incident"). This time, on the basis of the fabricated charge of "bombarding the Central Cultural Revolution", the Red Guards, another largest workers' organization, was defeated, and Shanghai became dominated by the General Directorate of Workers; The location of the Municipal Party Committee Secretariat further damaged the prestige of the Municipal Party Committee. Afterwards, Zhang Chunqiao proudly said: "We called the rebels to join the battle as soon as possible. This contest was a turning point. Once this battle was fought, the municipal party committee was paralyzed and collapsed. No one listened to our speeches." The "Kangping Road Incident" was The beginning of a large-scale armed conflict across the country. These successive serious incidents plunged Shanghai's economic life and social order into extreme chaos.

Zhang and Yao return to Shanghai to command and seize power

The paralysis of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China and the extreme chaos of social life made Jiang Qing and his gang believe that the conditions for seizing power were met. In Zhang Chunqiao's words, "the peaches are already ripe." Therefore, on January 4, 1967, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan returned to Shanghai from Beijing in the name of "investigators of the Central Cultural Revolution Group" and urgently planned to seize power. On this day, the rebel faction of Shanghai Wen Wei Po seized the power of the newspaper and issued a declaration of power seizure. The next day, the rebel faction of the "Liberation Daily" also seized power, declaring that it was no longer the official newspaper of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China. On January 5, Zhang Chunqiao told the leaders of the rebel organizations such as the General Department of Industry: "The basic problem at present is to take back the leadership from the capitalist roaders, and hope that the revolutionary rebels can control the key departments." January 6 On the 1st, in the name of 32 "rebels" organizations headed by the Shanghai Municipal General Department of Industry, the "Congress to Down with the Municipal Party Committee" was held. Chen Pixian, Cao Diqu, and Wei Wenbo, the main leaders of the East China

Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China, and the Municipal People's Committee, were dragged to the venue to accept criticism, and hundreds of cadres above the bureau level in the city were dragged to the venue to accompany them. The meeting issued three orders: announcing that Cao Diqu would no longer be recognized as the mayor of Shanghai; ordering Chen Pixian to account for the so-called "counter-revolutionary crimes"; requiring the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to completely reorganize the Shanghai Municipal Committee. The slogans and speeches of this conference were approved by Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan in advance.

After this meeting, all agencies of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Committee were forced to stop working. On January 8, under the command of Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan, the "Shanghai Municipal Headquarters for Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production" was established and became the actual leading organization of production in the city. Zhang Chunqiao called it the "Economic Soviet". Subsequently, the "Proletarian Cultural Revolution Defense Committee" was established to replace the public security and judicial organs. They also attempted to replace the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China with the "liaison station of rebel organizations" in Shanghai. In this way, the leadership of the city actually fell into the hands of Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan, Wang Hongwen and others.

Shanghai's seizure of power has not been smooth sailing. The other rebel organizations were not satisfied with the fact that the General Department of Industry and Commerce was in power alone with the support of Zhang and Yao. Therefore, in the one month after the overthrow of the Municipal Party Committee Conference on January 6, other organizations had launched four city-wide seizures of power, but they were all brought down by Zhang Chunqiao and others. This triggered the Shanghai Red Guards Revolutionary Committee (referred to as the Red Leather Society) to "bomb Zhang

Chunqiao" on January 28, and was brutally suppressed because the Central Cultural Revolution Group sent an "urgent telegram" to publicly support Zhang Chunqiao. After defeating these disobedient organizations, the Shanghai People's Commune was formally established on February 5. Zhang Chunqiao served as director, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen and others served as deputy directors, forming a new power organization that met the needs of the "Cultural Revolution". This is the "January Revolution" in Shanghai that Zhang Chunqiao and others boasted was comparable to the Paris Commune revolution.

Mao Zedong's support for Shanghai's seizure of power

The Shanghai "January Revolution" was affirmed by Mao Zedong. On January 8, he talked about the seizure of power by Shanghai's Wen Wei Po and Jiefang Daily at a meeting: "This is a class overthrowing a class, and this is a great revolution." "The seizure of power by two newspapers is a national problem. We must support their rebellion." "Shanghai's revolutionary strength is strong, and the whole country has hope. It must affect the entire East China, and affect all provinces and cities in the country." On January 10, in another instruction, Mao Zedong asked the Central Cultural Revolution Group to "draft a congratulatory message to the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai on behalf of the Central Committee, the State Council and the Central Military Commission, pointing out that their policies and actions are correct, and calling on the entire Party, The government, the military, and the people should learn from Shanghai's experience and act in unison."

The congratulatory message was sent on January 11 in the joint name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group. This is the first time that the Central Cultural Revolution Group is listed side by side with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, and the Central Military Commission. This greatly enhanced the status of the Central Cultural Revolution Group. The congratulatory message

said: "Your policies and actions are completely correct." "Your series of revolutionary actions have set a shining example for the working class and working people of the country, and for all revolutionary masses." This kind of affirmation and praise officially made by the central government greatly enhanced the status of Shanghai's "January Revolution" and expanded the influence of this storm of power grabs.

On January 16, "People's Daily" published the "Red Flag" magazine commentator's article "Proletarian Revolutionaries Unite", which concentrated on the so-called Shanghai experience and said: "These experiences are concentrated on one point, that is, the proletarian revolutionaries unite, Seize power from a small group of people in power in the party who are taking the capitalist road, and firmly grasp the political, economic, and cultural power of Shanghai in their own hands." And said: This is what Mao Zedong "under the new situation" This is another great strategic measure, which will push the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution across the country to a new leap forward." The article clearly affirms that Shanghai "created the experience of seizing power from a small group of people in power who took the capitalist road in the party under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They provided correct guidelines, policies, organizational forms, and methods of struggle." We call on the party, government, military and civilian sectors across the country to learn from Shanghai's experience. On January 22, "People's Daily" published an editorial titled "Great Alliance of Proletarian Revolutionaries, Seizing Power from Those in Power on the Capitalist Road!". The editorial said: "A great revolutionary storm in which the proletarian revolutionary rebels unite to seize power, under the great call of our great leader Chairman Mao, is sweeping the whole of China and shaking the whole world with overwhelming momentum and thunderous force. The editorial affirmed that "the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a struggle for power from the very beginning". The editorial said: "The revolutionary masses must control their own destiny. There are thousands of rules. In the final analysis, they must control their own seals! With power, you have everything; without power, you have nothing. Thousands of

important, ten thousand important, control Great power is the most important thing." Therefore, "True revolutionary leftists look at seizing power, think about seizing power, and what they do is to seize power!" The editorial called for "seizing power from the bottom up" and "launching a nationwide struggle to seize power."

In order to promote the smooth realization of the comprehensive seizure of power, Mao Zedong approved a series of extraordinary measures. On January 13, 1967, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council promulgated "Several Regulations on Strengthening Public Security Work in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (the "Six Articles for Public Security"). The "Regulations" require the public security organs to "guarantee the normal progress of big speeches, big releases, big-character posters, big debates, and big series"; development needs". It specifically stipulates that anyone who "attacks and slanders the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao is an active counter-revolutionary act and should be punished according to law." During the implementation of this regulation, it was actually extended to those who expressed dissatisfaction with the members of the so-called proletarian headquarters such as Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, and Chen Boda. These high-handed measures have indeed bound the hands and feet of the masses to a certain extent and reduced the resistance to power seizures. At the same time, they have become an important reason for the large number of unjust, false and wrongly decided cases during the "Cultural Revolution".

The People's Liberation Army was ordered to support the Left

On January 23, according to an instruction from Mao Zedong, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group issued the "Decision on the People's Liberation Army Resolutely Supporting the Revolutionary Left Masses." This document changed the regulations that required the People's Liberation Army not to intervene in local movements at the beginning

of the "Cultural Revolution". The "Decision" said: "Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has begun a new stage. The main feature of this new stage is the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, and a small group of people in the party who are taking the capitalist road to power faction and the diehards who adhere to the bourgeois reactionary line." "In this great struggle of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie for power, the People's Liberation Army must firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries, resolutely support and assist the proletarian revolution Leftists." Therefore, the army is required to "actively support the struggle of the masses of the revolutionary leftists to seize power. All genuine proletarian leftists who ask the army to assist them, the army should send troops to actively support them."

The People's Liberation Army was not only the only important force in the country that maintained its organizational system and had strong combat effectiveness at that time, but also because the Chinese revolution was won by armed struggle, the People's Liberation Army has always had a high prestige among the people of all ethnic groups in the country and was respected by the masses . Its intervention had to have a major impact on the development of the "Cultural Revolution". The support of the military is often the decisive factor in the success of a power grab. One thing should be pointed out here: the support of the People's Liberation Army is mainly political, not military.

Since then, as the situation develops, new tasks have been added to the army. On February 19, Mao Zedong made instructions on the implementation of military training in colleges and universities, middle schools, and party, government, military and civilian organs in two reports in the Beijing Garrison District. The task of improving the political quality of college and middle school students and government officials (the "four firsts" proposed by Lin Biao was highlighted at the time) and strengthening organizational discipline was entrusted to the army. In view of the fact that the rebels in many places will not manage the economy after seizing power, there are

many problems in industrial and agricultural production, and this task has been added to the army. On March 3, Mao Zedong issued an instruction in the "Military Commission Received Electricity": "The army should not only cooperate with the local government to manage agriculture, but also manage industry." For some central agencies whose leaders have been paralyzed, but cannot seize power like the local governments And departments such as radio stations, secrets, archives, granaries, treasuries, and prisons that are inconvenient to seize power can only send military cadres to lead and manage. For this reason, on May 28, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a decision to impose military control on certain ministries and commissions of the State Council. The above-mentioned tasks entrusted to the PLA were collectively referred to as the "Three Supports and Two Armies" (i.e. supporting the left, supporting workers, supporting agriculture, military management, and military training).

The People's Liberation Army has successively dispatched more than 2.8 million people to carry out the missions of the three branches and two armies. They did a lot of work under the extremely difficult and complicated circumstances caused by the "Cultural Revolution". Through these works, the tense situation was eased, social order was maintained, a group of cadres were protected, and the loss of industrial and agricultural production and people's lives and property was reduced. However, the general premise and guiding ideology of these tasks assigned to the army is to maintain and develop the "Cultural Revolution."

The core of the Three Branches and Two Armies is Zhizuo. The "true proletarian revolutionary leftists" that the army was ordered to support were the most active and resolute part of the people who carried out the ultra-left line of the "Cultural Revolution". Zhizuo is a branch. Although the slogan of "a bowl of water is level" was put forward at that time, it was actually impossible to achieve. Moreover, the two factions formed during the "Cultural Revolution", no matter one or the other, are generally wrong, both are the product of the special historical conditions of the "Cultural Revolution", and both are

wrong "Cultural Revolution" "Services. Although there are some specific differences, there are no fundamental differences in nature.

Under the conditions at that time, the guiding ideology of military training and military management could not have been ultra-left. In support of labor and agriculture, the PLA commanders and fighters have done a lot of work, but most of them are supporting the local "leftists" to take power, and through them to grasp industrial and agricultural production and maintain the operation of social life.

Therefore, on the whole, the three branches and two armies are guided by the "theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and serve the set of ultra-left principles, lines, policies and methods of the "Cultural Revolution", and have implemented many mistakes. s things. In particular, the meddling, interference, and sabotage of careerists and conspirators such as Lin Biao and Jiang Qing caused many shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the three branches and two armies, and brought about some serious negative consequences. It not only caused some estrangements between the army, localities, and the army, but also affected the thinking, style and organizational construction of the army itself, and damaged the reputation of the people's army among the masses. Through the three branches and two armies, the army fully participated in local work and was directly involved in local factional struggles. For a period of time, it intensified the vicious development of the "Cultural Revolution" and caused damage to both the local area and the army. These evaluations of the "three branches and two armies" of the People's Liberation Army are all later, and are written here for the convenience of narrative. Judging from the situation in January 1967, the leftist support of the People's Liberation Army played an important and even decisive role in pushing the power struggle to the whole country and in several provinces and cities.

The wind of seizing power is blowing across the country

Driven by the "January Revolution" in Shanghai, especially with the active support of Mao Zedong's public statement and a series of

special measures, the rebels all over the country heard the news and moved, causing the wind of seizing power to quickly blow across the country.

The first province to seize power quickly was Shanxi. Liu Geping, a member of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and one of the heads of the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee, rushed back to Taiyuan overnight after receiving instructions from Kang Sheng in Beijing to organize the "Shanxi Provincial Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters." On January 12, 1967, the No. 1 circular was issued, announcing that he would take over all the leadership of the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee over the Cultural Revolution from now on. This seizure of power was supported by the Shanxi Provincial Military Command and the national agricultural model worker, Chen Yonggui, head of the Dazhai Brigade. On January 25, "People's Daily" published an editorial "The Great Victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Shanxi Province", affirming the seizure of power. The editorial said: "The leading cadres of the revolution within the Shanxi Provincial Committee have set a good example for the leading cadres of the national revolution. The People's Liberation Army units of the Shanxi Provincial Military Region have set up a bright red banner for the commanders and fighters of the National People's Liberation Army. The revolutionary rebels in Shanxi Province seized power. The general direction of the struggle is completely correct." Shanxi Province seized power early, but there were many contradictions after the seizure of power, so that the Provincial Revolutionary Committee was formally established on March 18, more than two months later. Liu Geping became the director, and Chen Yonggui and others became the deputy directors.

It was Shandong Province that took action next, and the leader of the rebellion was the former vice mayor of Qingdao, Wang Xiaoyu. This person colluded with Kang Sheng's son Zhang Zishi (who was working in Qingdao at the time), and acted immediately after receiving Kang Sheng's instruction "to seize power immediately" through Zhang Zishi. On January 22, seized the party and

government power in Qingdao. Then he led the crowd to Jinan, got the support of the People's Liberation Army troops stationed in Shandong, seized the power of the Shandong Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Provincial People's Committee, and established the Shandong Provincial Revolutionary Committee on February 3. On March 2, "People's Daily" published an editorial: "The Revolutionary 'Three Combinations' Guarantee the Victory of the Power Seizure Struggle". The editorial said: "Shandong's experience fully demonstrates that only the revolutionary 'three combinations' can promptly see through the various conspiracies and tricks of class enemies, realize the cooperation between the army and the people, and crush their criminal activities of fake and counter-seizures of power." The so-called "revolutionary According to this editorial, "the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary mass organizations are the basis of the struggle to seize power"; The victory played a major role"; "The People's Liberation Army is the most powerful backing of the proletarian revolutionaries". Since then, the "three combinations" has become a basic experience in establishing a revolutionary committee.

The third is Guizhou Province. The person who led the seizure of power was Li Zaihan, the deputy political commissar of the provincial military region. Not long after the "Cultural Revolution" started, he hooked up with Jiang Qing and others. When someone from above supported him, he rebelled and organized the "Guizhou Provincial Proletarian Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters". On January 25, this headquarters issued a circular announcing the takeover of the Guizhou Provincial Committee and the Provincial People's Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Guiyang Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Municipal People's Committee. "All power belongs to the proletarian revolutionary rebels." On February 1, "People's Daily" published an editorial "Spring Thunder in the Southwest", "Hailing the great victory of Mao Zedong Thought in Guizhou Province". And said: "This victory will cause a chain reaction, enabling the

proletarian revolutionaries in the Southwest to ride the wind and waves in the struggle to seize power."

The fourth is Heilongjiang Province. Pan Fusheng, the former first secretary of the CPC Heilongjiang Provincial Committee and an alternate member of the eighth CPC Central Committee, was supported by the Red Rebel Group of Harbin Military Engineering College, a famous rebel faction with Mao Yuanxin, Mao Zedong's nephew, as the backbone, and held an oath meeting on January 31. , seized the power of the Heilongjiang Provincial Committee and the Provincial People's Committee of the Communist Party of China, and announced the birth of the temporary power organization of the province-the Red Rebel Revolutionary Committee, and all powers belonged to the Revolutionary Committee. Although Heilongjiang Province was not the first to seize power, it was the first to be named after the Revolutionary Committee among the institutions established after the provincial, municipal, and autonomous region seized power. Therefore, in the materials about the Revolutionary Committee published at that time, Heilongjiang Province ranked first. On February 2, "People's Daily" published an editorial entitled: "New Dawn in Northeast China". The editorial said: "Under the brilliance of Mao Zedong Thought, Heilongjiang Province has been reborn! . . . The party power, political power, financial power, and cultural power stolen by those in power taking the capitalist road have all been taken back." That is to say, except In addition to military power and diplomatic power, the four powers of the party, government, finance, and literature are all to be seized, and they are the main content of seizing power. The editorial affirmed the words of the Heilongjiang rebels: "Only admitting the existence of class struggle in the socialist period, but not recognizing the sharp and complicated struggle for power in the socialist period, one cannot be a Red Guard of Mao Zedong Thought and a good fighter for Chairman Mao." Elevating the struggle to the theoretical level of Mao Zedong Thought is the top priority that every revolutionary rebel must seriously consider." This provides a theoretical basis for seizing power.

Starting from Shanghai, Shanxi, Shandong, Guizhou, and Heilongjiang seized power in one city and four provinces, forming the first big wave of power seizures across the country in the spring of 1967. As for the seizure of power by prefectures, counties, various departments, and various units, it is like a revolving lantern that spins rapidly. One faction seizes power, and the other faction seizes it. Seizures of power seldom happen every day, or even several times a day. The struggle to seize power greatly intensified the contradictions between the two factions. Factional battles and even armed struggles developed viciously, and even greater turmoil appeared throughout the country.

The nature and consequences of the seizure of power

This nationwide seizure of power, which began in Shanghai, was once proclaimed a new stage of the "Cultural Revolution" and was highly praised by the press at the time. The title of the Shanghai "Wen Wei Po" editorial "Happying the Birth of the Shanghai People's Commune" was "Great Historic Revolutionary Initiative". The editorial boasted: "The birth of the Shanghai People's Commune provided an important experience for the proletariat to regain power." "The Shanghai People's Commune, a brand-new local state institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has emerged, enriching and developing the experience of the Paris Commune, enriching and developing the experience of the Soviets, and enriching and developing Marxism-Leninism." New things, with the power of thunder, will be majestic all over the world, and will always maintain their wonderful youth." However, the ups and downs of history have long since stripped away these coats woven with gorgeous words, ruthlessly exposing this power-grabbing. The erroneous and absurd nature of the CCP proves that it is nothing but a reaction in the process of building a socialist regime in China. It is not the enrichment and development of the experience of the Paris Commune in France and the Soviet Union in Russia, but the distortion, falsification and retrogression of these valuable experiences respected by the proletariat all over the world.

In short, the comprehensive seizure of power is a wrong action guided by a wrong line. The direct consequence of the comprehensive seizure of power was to intensify the serious split between the masses of the people and the ranks of cadres. Out of strong dissatisfaction with the seizure of power, the broad masses of cadres and the masses fought against the seizure of power in various forms. Many leading cadres were criticized and struggled, resisted the pressure, and insisted not to hand over power to the "rebels". At the same time, some extremists, social dregs, and careerists big and small took the opportunity to grab power and take the opportunity to retaliate. This intricate struggle has plunged the entire social life into extreme chaos.

2. The awe-inspiring February protest

Fight for the country and the people

The sweeping sweep of power across the country has caused serious social turmoil, leading to further destruction of industrial and agricultural production and further confusion in social order. Such a serious situation has aroused the worries and worries of the older generation of revolutionaries who have fought for the birth of the new China for many years.

A series of outrageous events took place at that time. Tao Zhu, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, was suddenly overthrown without any decision of the Central Committee; Marshal He Long, who had made great contributions, was framed and had his house ransacked; Zhang Linzhi, Minister of the Ministry of Coal Industry and an alternate member of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, was criticized and whipped by the Red Guards Death; Yan Hongyan, the first secretary of the Yunnan Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China and an alternate member of the Eighth Central Committee, committed suicide in hatred because he could not bear the siege of the rebels and the curses of Chen Boda and Jiang Qing; many provincial and municipal party leaders, such as Chen Pixian from Shanghai and Li Baohua from Anhui , Ye Fei from Fujian, etc. were criticized and taken away by the rebels, questioned by many parties, and their whereabouts are unknown; Liu Zhijian, deputy director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army and head of the Cultural Revolution Team of the Military Commission, was also suddenly accused of being a "traitor" and defeated; Zhu De, the commander-in-chief of the People's Liberation Army, who has made great contributions to the world, was also falsely accused of being a "big warlord" and publicly posted posters saying "Down

with him". The successive bad news made the older generation of revolutionaries feel strongly shocked and angry. This kind of concern for the country and the people and the incomparable anger against Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's perverse actions finally led to their misunderstanding of the "Cultural Revolution" at the high-level meetings of the party and the army in late January and mid-February 1967. The practice and the perverse actions of Jiang Qing and others were strongly criticized, triggering a fierce confrontation. At that time, it was called "two big troubles", that is, the big trouble at Jingxi Hotel and the big trouble at Huairan Hall. Because a struggle in Huairan Hall in February had a greater impact, it was falsely called "February Adverse Current". After rectifying the chaos, it should be renamed the February Zhengliu, which is an upright February struggle.

In fact, the majority of Communist Party members and the masses of the people have developed doubts about the "Cultural Revolution" from ignorance to dissatisfaction, criticism, and resistance. This kind of struggle has existed since the "Cultural Revolution" began, and has never stopped. Deep, intensified. The older generation of revolutionaries is actually their representatives and spokespersons. Prior to the February protests, there had been multiple public revelations. For example, on November 8, 1966, a vicious incident occurred in Beijing in which rebels within the army (mainly military academies) attacked the Ministry of National Defense. Afterwards, on the 13th and 29th, the Central Military Commission held two meetings of tens of thousands of personnel from military academies, cultural and sports units in Beijing at the Beijing Workers' Stadium. At the meeting, several old coaches publicly expressed their criticisms. Chen Yi said: "When you talk about gangsters, all of them are gangsters; when you talk about the people in power taking the capitalist road, all of them are people in power taking the capitalist road; when you talk about the bourgeois reactionary line, all of them are bourgeois. Reactionary line. This attack is too broad and too broad... It denies the great, glorious, and correct party, and denies the glorious tradition of the PLA." He said his speech was "throwing cold water". "It's not good to pour cold

water. Sometimes it's too hot. It's good to wipe it off with cold water." Ye Jianying said: "Truth is truth. If you take a step beyond the truth, it becomes absurd." I am angry with these few people! These people have no proletarian feelings, and they are not proletarian soldiers!" "They attack the Ministry of National Defense as the enemy's fortress, and the soldiers of the People's Liberation Army as The enemy comes to fight, what kind of mistake is more wrong than this!" Xu Xiangqian and He Long also spoke at the meeting. These words of the old men were naturally not in the taste of the rebels. Some people sent notes to question them on the spot, and some people complained afterwards, which caused the old men to be criticized. But this could not suppress the growing anger in their hearts.

The first climax of the struggle

On January 19, 1967, the fight against Xiao Hua, director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army, triggered the first climax of the protests in February. That afternoon, the Central Military Commission convened a meeting (also known as the Military Commission Meeting) at the Jingxi Hotel to study the issue of the "Cultural Revolution" in the military. Chen Boda and Jiang Qing, the leaders of the Central Cultural Revolution Group who were invited to the meeting, suddenly launched an attack, scolding Xiao Hua for "leading the work of the army to the bourgeois track", "looking down on the Central Cultural Revolution, not respecting the Central Cultural Revolution", "invite the four old commanders to come forward The interview...is completely antithetical to the Central Cultural Revolution" and so on, and put Xiao Hua on the big hat of "bourgeois politician" and ordered Xiao Hua to go to the 100,000-person meeting in the Workers' Stadium that they had notified to convene for inspection that night. Not long after Xiao Hua arrived home after the meeting, the rebels who got the news to search the house and arrest people had already knocked on the door. Fortunately, Ye Jianying made a report to Mao Zedong by phone immediately after the meeting, and Xiao Hua was notified in time by the "Mao Ban" not to participate in the criticism meeting, so he was saved from a difficult situation. The home was raided, and the wife

was taken as a hostage. After Jiang Qing and his group learned that Mao Zedong disagreed with criticizing Xiao Hua's opinion, they had to mobilize another faction to attack the venue, disrupting the criticism meeting, and forced Zhou Enlai to "dispel rumors" for them. Zhou Enlai followed Mao Zedong's instructions and tried his best to properly handle this matter, emphasizing that the army must remain stable.

The next day, January 20, the Military Commission meeting continued at the Jingxi Hotel. The marshals and generals, who were already filled with righteous indignation and couldn't bear it, became more courageous knowing that Mao Zedong disapproved of fighting against Xiao Hua. They scrambled to speak out, angrily exposing the Central Cultural Revolution Group and local rebels persecuting veteran cadres, storming the army, and other lawless crimes. Xu Xiangqian, who had just served as the head of the reorganized Cultural Revolution Group of the whole army ten days ago, severely questioned the Central Cultural Revolution Group: "How can Comrade Liu Zhijian be a traitor? How can Comrade Xiao Hua be a bourgeois politician?" We have fought against us, don't we understand? We have built an army all our lives, the people's army, should we just ask you to destroy it?" Speaking of the point of anger, Xu Shuai slapped the coffee table and put The lid of the teacup fell to the ground. Ye Jianying was furious, and beat the table with her fists repeatedly, sternly warning: Anyone who wants to mess up the army will never have a good result! The right metacarpal bone was shattered and fractured due to excessive punching. This is the so-called "making a big fuss at the Jingxi Hotel".

On January 22, Mao Zedong received senior military generals who participated in the meeting of the Military Commission in the Great Hall of the People. During the interview, these veterans reported to their commanders some problems that occurred during the "Cultural Revolution", especially the tragic death of Tao Yong and his wife, the commander of the East China Sea Fleet, and Mao Zedong could not but be touched. Afterwards, he criticized the perverse implementation of the Central Cultural Revolution on some

specific issues. On February 10, at an enlarged meeting of the Politburo Standing Committee, he criticized Chen Boda for "one member of the Standing Committee overthrew a member of the Standing Committee"; he criticized Jiang Qing: "High vision but low ability, great ambition and lack of talent. To defeat Tao Zhu, others are fine, it was the two of you who did it."

Promulgation of the Eight Orders of the Military Commission

Xu Xiangqian, Ye Jianying and other leaders of the Military Commission synthesized the opinions of everyone at the meeting of the Military Commission. After several discussions, Chen Yi, Nie Rongzhen, Liu Bocheng and others also participated. Finally, it was agreed that in order to prevent the Central Cultural Revolution Group from provoking incidents under pretext and to maintain the stability of the People's Liberation Army, we must A document was drafted in the name of the Central Military Commission, submitted to Mao Zedong for approval, and quickly sent to the entire army. On January 24, Xu Xiangqian reported to Lin Biao's home in person, and with Lin Biao's consent, Lin Biao dictated nine opinions. On January 25, after discussing with Xu Xiangqian, Chen Boda, Nie Rongzhen, Ye Jianying, Yang Chengwu, etc., Lin Biao drafted seven articles and submitted them to Mao Zedong on the same day. Mao Zedong invited Ye Jianying, Chen Yi, Xu Xiangqian, and Nie Rongzhen to study the documents one by one, and proposed that the "jet style" (referring to a popular method at the time called "the person being criticized bend over and put his hands behind his back") was not allowed. Torturing poses on the back), prohibition of wearing tall hats, etc. On January 28, Mao Zedong personally wholesaled this document, the "Central Military Commission Order".

There are eight orders in total, also known as the "Eight Orders". Under the premise of affirming the "Cultural Revolution" and "resolutely supporting the true proletarian revolutionaries", it made some restrictive regulations on the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army. For example, "All commanders and fighters...must stick to their posts and must not leave their posts

without authorization"; "Strictly distinguish between two types of conflicts. It is not allowed to use the method of dealing with the enemy to deal with conflicts among the people, it is not allowed to arrest people without orders, and it is not allowed to ransack homes and seal doors arbitrarily. corporal punishment and disguised corporal punishment are not allowed, such as wearing high hats, hanging black cards, parading in the streets, punishing kneeling, etc."; Organs should carry out the Cultural Revolution in stages and in batches according to regulations. The army, division, regiment, battalion, company, and special units designated by the Military Commission should adhere to the policy of positive education," etc. The issuance of this order played a beneficial role in maintaining the stability of the army. But at the time when the "Cultural Revolution" was developing rapidly, and Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and his gang continued to interfere and sabotage, the beneficial effect of this order could only be very limited, and it could not prevent the situation from continuing to deteriorate.

Accumulation of multiple contradictions

The deteriorating situation has caused great trouble to Zhou Enlai, who is in charge of the daily affairs of the party, government, and military. Zhou Enlai's knowledge and understanding of the "Cultural Revolution" could not but be limited by the historical conditions at that time. At the beginning, with sincere and kind wishes, he tried to understand the "Cultural Revolution" from a positive perspective, but the objective and cruel reality quickly destroyed his sincere ideals. He could neither defy the "Cultural Revolution" launched and led by the leader himself, but also basically guarantee the basic necessities of life for hundreds of millions of people and the normal operation of the life of the entire country during the great turmoil. In such a contradiction that is difficult to coordinate, Zhou Enlai used the mood of "I will not enter the tiger's den, who will enter the tiger's den" and "If I do not enter hell, who will go to hell", with all his loyalty to the party and the people, and with his With superhuman wisdom and unique methods, he endured humiliation and endured the crisis.

When the frenzy of power seizures swept across the country at that time, in view of the lessons learned from the tragic deaths of Zhang Linzhi, Yan Hongyan, Tao Yong and others, protecting senior party, government and military cadres became a very urgent matter. In response to this situation, after urgent consultations with Li Fuchun, Chen Yi, Li Xiannian, Tan Zhenlin and other vice premiers who were still able to work, Zhou Enlai drew up a list and obtained Mao Zedong's approval to let Liao Chengzhi, Wang Zhen, Yu Qiuli, Gu Mu, Fang Yi, Yao Yilin and more than 30 heads of various ministries and commissions of the State Council live in Zhongnanhai in turn so that they could get protection and rest. At the same time, Song Renqiong, Li Jingquan, Wang Renzhong, Ye Fei, Jiang Hua, Huang Huoqing, Wang Heshou and other regional and provincial and municipal Party committee secretaries were brought to Beijing. He withstood the attacks of Jiang Qing and others to "protect the capitalist roaders" and "strike the revolutionary sentiment of the masses", avoided the searches and attacks of the rebels instigated by Jiang Qing and others, and painstakingly transferred these responsible persons to reliable places many times. The place is protected. Of course, there are some provincial and municipal leaders, although they are listed on the list and approved by Mao Zedong, but the local rebels, with the support of Jiang Qing and his gang, insist on holding them on. Chen Pixian from Shanghai is one of them. This incident also irritated the old comrades.

At this time, the issue of changing the name of the Shanghai People's Commune arose. The reason why Zhang Chunqiao and others named the organization after Shanghai seized power the People's Commune was to vote for Mao Zedong's favor. Because Mao Zedong not only said in 1958 that "the people's communes are good", but also said a few months ago that the big-character posters of Peking University Nie Yuanzi and others were "the declaration of the Beijing people's communes in the 1960s." They call themselves the Shanghai People's Commune. They can claim to be "carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of the pioneers of the Paris Commune revolution," and they can also say that "Chairman Mao's genius foresight has once again come true in the Shanghai area." However,

Mao Zedong did not expect to have other considerations. The Shanghai People's Commune was established to pay tribute to Mao Zedong and the editorial of Wen Wei Po was not broadcast by the Central People's Broadcasting Station, nor was it published by the People's Daily. On February 12, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan were called to Beijing, and Mao Zedong talked with them. Mao Zedong said, if all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions learned from Shanghai to call it the People's Commune, what would the State Council be called? Should the country name be changed? If the name is changed to the People's Commune of China, then the President of the country will have to be called the Director or President of the Commune. Once the country name is changed, the problem of re-recognition by foreign countries will occur. Therefore, he considered that the new organization after the seizure of power in various places was still called the Revolutionary Committee. As for the name change in Shanghai, tell them to go back and discuss with the masses. On February 19, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China officially issued a notice: "The political organization form of provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and cities should generally not use the name of the People's Commune unless otherwise instructed by the Shanghai Central Committee." A critique by et al. Therefore, on February 17, when Wang Li and others reported to Mao Zedong, Mao Zedong once said that the old comrades "made a big fuss in Huairan Hall" this time, "using me to criticize the Cultural Revolution Group." It can be seen that the outbreak of a big struggle at the Huarentang meeting at this time has something to do with this incident.

The second climax of the struggle

It was under the conditions of such a combination of various factors that a big face-to-face struggle finally broke out at the party's top meeting - the Central Meeting. At that time, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee were unable to hold normal meetings. Therefore, Zhou Enlai presided over the meeting of the Central Committee with the participation of working members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, vice

premiers, and some heads of ministries and commissions of the State Council, as well as members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group. Become a de facto summit meeting. On February 11th and 16th, at the two meetings hosted by Zhou Enlai at Huairan Hall in Zhongnanhai, a tit-for-tat struggle was launched.

At the meeting on February 11, the original topic was to study the issue of "grasping the revolution and promoting production". So Yu Qiuli and Gu Mu, who are in charge of production at the State Council, also participated. But in reality the debate mainly revolved around the military and touched on party leadership and other issues. During the discussion, Ye Jianying accused the Central Committee of the Cultural Revolution: You messed up the party, the government, the factories, and the countryside! You don't think it's enough, you must mess up the army! What do you want to do? Xu Xiangqian patted the table angrily and said: The army is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If the army is in chaos like this, do we still need a pillar? Could it be that people like us are no good! Do we need people like Kuai Dafu (the head of the Jinggangshan Corps of the Tsinghua University rebels at the time) to command the army? He once again questioned Chen Boda about Liu Zhijian, deputy director of the General Political Department, being accused of being a traitor, and made it clear: Liu Zhijian is not a traitor. But Chen Boda said arrogantly: The case of Liu Zhijian's traitor has been settled, and it cannot be changed. The bosses were very angry with Chen Boda's unreasonable attitude. Ye Jianying seized the issue of the Shanghai People's Commune and questioned Chen Boda: Shanghai seized power and changed its name to the Shanghai People's Commune. Such a big issue involves the state system. What is the purpose of changing the name without discussion by the Politburo? He mocked Chen Boda humorously and said: We don't read books, we don't read newspapers, and we don't know what the principles of the Paris Commune are. Please explain, what are the principles of the Paris Commune. Can revolution exist without the leadership of the party? Can we do without the army? Nie Rongzhen also raised questions about the fact that the Central Cultural Revolution designated the Capital Red Guard Joint Action Committee (referred

to as "Linkage"), which is mainly composed of middle school students, as a reactionary organization and detained many young people. He said: You describe the children of cadres and many young people as members of the alliance and reactionary conservatives, and you carry out the persecution, and you connive at other young people who don't know the truth to criticize them, and some of them are still detained. Extremely wrong. You can't grab your children and implicate your family members just to defeat Lao Tzu. Cruelly persecuting veteran cadres and making things worse, this is uneasy and kind. The meeting broke up amidst quarrels without any results.

More heated arguments emerged at the meeting on the 16th, and the struggle began before the meeting officially began. At the entrance of the conference room of Huairan Hall in Zhongnanhai, Tan Zhenlin met Zhang Chunqiao and asked Zhang, "Has Comrade Chen Pixian come back?" Because Tan Zhenlin knew that Chen Pixian was on the list approved by Mao Zedong to enter Beijing, but Chen was detained in Shanghai. Out of concern for old comrades-in-arms, it is natural to ask such questions. However, Zhang Chunqiao said in an official tone: the masses do not agree. Tan said that party organizations can do work. Zhang said: The party is useless. In Shanghai, all cadres above the section chief stand aside. Tan was very angry when he heard this, so after the meeting started, he seriously raised the questions of Chen Pixian and others. Tan Zhenlin said: "Chen Pixian is a little red ghost. What's wrong with him? What's wrong with several regional secretaries and many provincial party committee secretaries? What's wrong with the masses? It's always the masses, and there are party leaders! No party leaders, one day Later, the masses always liberate themselves, educate themselves, and make revolution by themselves. What is this? This is metaphysics." He pointedly accused Zhang Chunqiao and his group: Your purpose is to get rid of old cadres, you put old cadres, a One is lit. Get rid of all the veteran cadres. Veteran cadres were punished one by one. After 40 years of revolution, their families were ruined and their wives were separated.

This time, it was the most brutal struggle in the history of the party. more than any time in history.

The old comrades who participated in the meeting spoke one after another, strongly criticizing some wrong practices of the "Cultural Revolution". Li Xiannian said: Our party has always emphasized that the majority of cadres and the masses are good. Doing it like this now, is it still necessary to unite two 95%? Veteran cadres have been defeated, so what does the revolution rely on? Now it is a nationwide forced confession. He also pointed out that the practice of knocking down all veteran cadres began in 1966 with the thirteenth editorial of "Red Flag". Zhou Enlai immediately asked Kang Sheng, have you read this editorial? Kang Sheng obviously participated in the writing and finalizing of this editorial, but he lied to his face that he hadn't read it. Zhou Enlai said angrily: Why don't you ask us to take a look at such a big event!

Chen Yi said: Although no one chose me as the representative of the veteran cadres, I still want to speak for the veteran cadres. Regarding the activities of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing to attack and slander Marshal Zhu De and He Long, he said, if we say that our People's Liberation Army fought under the leadership of "big warlords" and "big bandits", how can it explain the great victory of the People's Liberation War? He also referred to the history of the rectification movement in Yan'an, emphasizing that who was against Chairman Mao would depend on future observations and historical practice.

Ye Jianying said: Veteran cadres are the precious wealth of the party and the country, how can there be any reason to overthrow them casually? In this way, personal safety cannot be guaranteed, so how to do work!

Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao and others were dumbfounded and speechless by the upright and righteous criticisms of the older generation of revolutionaries. Only Xie Fuzhi interrupted again and again, defending Jiang Qing and his group, saying: Jiang Qing and the Central Cultural Revolution Team protected Tan

Zhenlin many times and did not want to knock him down; It was immediately refuted by Tan Zhenlin, Li Xiannian and others. This is a meeting where righteousness prevails over evil. It was the only time in the 10-year "Cultural Revolution" that so many old comrades reprimanded Chen Boda, Kang Sheng and others face to face at high-level meetings.

In the evening, Chen Yi delivered a long speech to the representatives of the returned overseas students. He said earnestly: We have no objection to you wanting to make a revolution, but I hope you can make this movement more formal and better. Don't make the mistakes we have made in the past. He pointed out: Some people now have an undecent style of work. If you want to go up, go up! Don't use other people's blood to stain your own top. He said: Liu Shaoqi's 100 crimes were posted in Wangfujing, which is a leak. The political report of the Eighth National Congress was approved by the Politburo, so how can he be responsible for it alone? Commander-in-chief Zhu is a warlord, and He Long has become a big bandit. Isn't this discrediting our party? In such a great party, only Chairman Mao, Vice Chairman Lin, Premier Zhou, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda, and Jiang Qing are clean? Thanks to your leniency, plus our five deputy prime ministers, in such a great party, only these eleven people are clean? ! He said angrily: If only these eleven are clean, I don't want to be this clean. In the end, Chen Yi said: We are old and we have to hand over the shift, but we must not hand it over to careerists and double-dealers! We cannot just watch the revolutionary achievements that millions of martyrs exchanged for their precious lives go to waste. I still want to watch, I still want to fight! These words fully express the sincere and anxious feelings of an old revolutionary.

After the Huairan Hall meeting on February 16, Tan Zhenlin was still angry. On the 17th, he wrote another letter to Lin Biao. In the letter, Jiang Qing and others were criticized: "The vicious methods have never been seen in the party." "Veteran cadres, senior cadres at or above the provincial level, except those in the army and those who live in Zhongnanhai, almost all have been fought, put on top

hats, taken a plane, collapsed, and many of them have their wives separated and their families ruined, Tan Qilong This is the case with Jianghua. Our party has been vilified beyond measure." He said Jiang Qing without naming his name: "It's worse than Wu Zetian." He said: "I thought about it for a long time, and finally made up my mind to sacrifice, but I will never commit suicide or betray the country. But I will never allow them to do this again." These words fully demonstrate the lofty quality of an old revolutionary who sacrificed everything for the country and the people. But judging from the fact that he wrote the letter to Lin Biao, it seems that he did not fully understand the nature of Lin Biao at that time. As a result, this letter was forwarded to Mao Zedong by Lin Biao. Lin Biao also wrote in this letter: "It is completely unexpected that Tan Zhenlin's thoughts have become so muddled and degraded recently." Of course, this incident can only add fuel to the fire.

It can be seen from the above-mentioned process that the struggle between the older generation of revolutionaries and Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's gang mainly focused on three issues, namely: (1) whether to insist on the leadership of the party in order to carry out the "cultural revolution"; Should the "Cultural Revolution" knock down all veteran cadres; (3) Whether the "Cultural Revolution" should maintain the stability of the army. These three issues are all major issues related to the fate and future of the party and the country, and are naturally related to the issue of right and wrong and evaluation of the "Cultural Revolution". Therefore, the differences are of a fundamental nature. This is a sharp struggle to correct the ultra-left mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution".

Mao Zedong's Wrong Criticism

Kang Sheng and his like have nothing to say in public meetings, but they are very capable in plotting behind the scenes. After conspiracy and planning, Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Li, and Yao Wen Yuan sorted out the materials for the "Huiren Hall Meeting on February 16th" overnight, and Jiang Qing arranged for them to report

to Mao Zedong on the 17th. Mao Zedong listened to this unilateral report and clearly supported it.

Why did Mao Zedong adopt such an attitude? The fundamental problem is how to understand and deal with the "Cultural Revolution". As we all know, the "Cultural Revolution" was launched and led by Mao Zedong himself. He always believed that it was a major development of Marxism and a major strategic measure to prevent and oppose revisionism. He also always believed that the mainstream of the mass movement was good and the general direction is correct. Therefore, he can allow some excessive actions in the "Cultural Revolution" to be corrected, but he will never allow anyone to negate the "Cultural Revolution" as a whole. Although the speeches of these old comrades did not directly deny the "Cultural Revolution", some formulations have gone far beyond the scope of correcting individual excessive actions. For example, it is said that "this is the most brutal struggle in the history of the party, surpassing any other time in history", "now it is a nationwide forced confession", and other formulations are directly related to the overall evaluation of the "cultural revolution". The problem, obviously, was something Mao Zedong could not tolerate.

Related to this is the attitude towards the Central Cultural Revolution Group. The Central Cultural Revolution Group was an institution that launched and directed the "Cultural Revolution" under the direct leadership of Mao Zedong, and was regarded as an indispensable and important assistant. Therefore, Mao Zedong has always adopted a supportive attitude towards it. Mao Zedong also could not tolerate the severe criticism of the Central Cultural Revolution Group by veteran comrades.

Another point is that when Chen Yi mentioned the Yan'an rectification movement in his speech, Kang Sheng made a distorted and provocative report, which aroused Mao Zedong's disgust. The Yan'an rectification movement was a general liquidation of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunism. It was through this learning campaign to connect right and wrong within the party and carefully read and

comprehend the basic works of Marxism that the whole party achieved unprecedented unity and unity on the basis of Mao Zedong Thought, which ensured the victory of the Chinese democratic revolution. Of course, the Yan'an rectification movement also had deviations and mistakes. Therefore, when Kang Sheng slandered Chen Yi for denying the Yan'an rectification movement, Mao Zedong said angrily, should Wang Ming be invited again? In this way, before Zhou Enlai had time to report, Jiang Qing and other villains first filed a complaint, which made Mao Zedong make a wrong judgment from the one-sided report.

In the early morning of February 19, Mao Zedong called a meeting of some Politburo members. At the meeting, Mao Zedong severely criticized several veterans and vice premiers, accusing them of making troubles at Huairan Hall against himself, Lin Biao, and the Central Cultural Revolution, for the restoration of the "Liu and Deng Hei Headquarters" Sounding the gong to clear the way is to reverse the case for Wang Ming and Zhang Guotao. According to Kang Sheng, this was "the wrath of the proletariat". Mao Zedong also ordered Tan Zhenlin, Chen Yi, and Xu Qianqian, three members of the Politburo, to take leave of absence for review.

According to Mao Zedong's instructions, from February 25 to March 18, seven so-called "political life meetings" were held in Huairan Hall. At the meeting, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda, Xie Fuzhi, etc. made strong arguments and made unlimited statements, and labeled these old comrades a lot, such as "opposing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line", "opposing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", "protecting A small group of capitalist roaders", "negating the Yan'an rectification movement", "wanting to restore capitalism", "February countercurrent", "programmed, organized and planned counter-revolutionary incidents", etc. These old comrades were forced to conduct self-criticism at the meeting, and Zhou Enlai also made self-criticism. Since then, the Central Meeting, which was originally composed of the Vice Premier of the State Council, relevant responsible persons, and some members of the Central Cultural Revolution, and dealt with major party and state affairs,

disappeared and was replaced by the Central Cultural Revolution Meeting, which was still presided over by Zhou Enlai. Therefore, when this kind of unreasonable criticism meeting came to an end on March 18, Chen Yi once said angrily and emotionally: "Forty years ago, I participated in a parade against the Beiyang warlords and was almost beaten to death. Today I was fighting again." 18' is the darkest day."

Set off a wave of counterattack against the so-called "February Countercurrent"

According to Mao Zedong's instructions, the criticism of several vice-premiers and vice-chairmen of the Military Commission was originally limited to a small area within the central government. However, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and his gang did everything possible to bring this struggle to society. Just at this time, they used a piece of material to obtain an instruction from Mao Zedong. On February 25, the "Express" compiled and printed by the Central Cultural Revolution Group published an article written by a reporter sent to Tianjin by the newspaper entitled "Who did the Beijing Political and Legal Commune Support in Tianjin Xiaozhan?" 's material. This small station is the place where Chen Boda once went to stay in the "four clean-ups", and concluded that the local party and government organizations have been corrupted and usurped by class enemies, and the experience of organizing and seizing power is needed. This material states: "On January 26, the Liaoyuan Long March Team of the Beijing Political and Legal Commune supported the 'Liaoyuan Red Combat Team' against the background of the resigned cadres of the Four Cleansing Movement in the Xiaozidi Brigade of Tianjin Xiaozhan Commune, and snatched away the members of the brigade. Since then, ghosts and monsters have come out of the big seal, carrying out counter-offensive and reckless calculations." Chen Boda commented on the material: "This is an example of the restoration of capitalism." He deliberately sent this material to Mao Zedong for reading. Mao Zedong gave instructions: "From top to bottom, there are such counter-revolutionary restoration phenomena, which are worth noting." Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and his gang took over

this instruction, and immediately took the method of exaggerating, distorting, and expanding it. Propaganda of "Supreme Instructions", "Speeches by Chiefs" and "Meeting the Revolutionary Masses" were spread all over the country. This provided the basis for the "supreme directive" for "anti-restoration," and in March, a wave of so-called "counterattack against the top-down countercurrent of restoration across the country" began.

They first concentrated their firepower on Tan Zhenlin. At that time, there happened to be an exhibition of learning from Dazhai in the Beijing Agricultural Exhibition Hall. The Dazhai Brigade in Xiyang County, Shanxi Province is a national agricultural model unit (the evolution of Dazhai's experience and its right and wrong are not discussed here for the time being). "Learn from Dazhai in agriculture" is a call issued by Mao Zedong himself, and this exhibition is to implement Mao Zedong's This is indicated. But because the exhibition was approved by Tan Zhenlin, the vice premier in charge of agriculture at the time, it was targeted.

First, Kang Sheng went to the exhibition hall to conduct a pretentious review, and then said seriously: "There are problems with this exhibition. The biggest problem is that it does not highlight Mao Zedong Thought!" This was a serious crime at the time. At the same time, Qi Benyu followed Jiang Qing's instructions and asked Tan Houlan, the head of the Jinggangshan rebel faction at Beijing Normal University, to make arrangements. So, on March 8, Tan Houlan led more than 1,000 students to storm and occupy the entire exhibition hall, shouting the slogan "Down with Tan Zhenlin".

On March 9, Chen Boda made a report at a meeting of cadres above the military level held by the Military Commission, proposing to fight head-on against the countercurrent of restoring capitalism.

On March 10, Wang Li, Guan Feng, Qi Benyu, and Xie Fuzhi went to the Agricultural Exhibition Hall to express their condolences to Tan Houlan and others, and together they chanted slogans such as "Down with Tan Zhenlin" and "Fight against the countercurrent in February".

On March 14, under the instigation and command of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, a demonstration of 100,000 people was held in the capital. Shouted "Fight against the February countercurrent", "Defend the Central Cultural Revolution with blood and life", and wanted to overthrow the seven vice-premiers and vice-chairmen of the Military Commission, Tan Zhenlin, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian, and Nie Rongzhen.

On March 20, when the Central Cultural Revolution Group was reviewing the film "Chairman Mao is the Red Sun in Our Hearts," it ordered that the scenes of Chen Yi be cut.

On March 27, they planned to hold the "new counterattack of the proletarian revolutionaries in the capital to resolutely crush the 'February Adverse Current' and vow to defend Chairman Mao to the death."

These activities in Beijing quickly affected the whole country, and rebels around the country followed suit, and there was a larger wave of attacking and persecuting leading cadres at all levels of the party and the state, and attacking the leading organs of the party, government and army, making the nationwide struggle to seize power more intense. . This is an example of how the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing clique pushed Mao Zedong's mistakes to the extreme during the "Cultural Revolution". Thereafter, the Politburo ceased its activities, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group effectively replaced the Politburo and the Central Secretariat.

Lin Biao's "March 20" Speech and the Pause of the Tide

When this struggle was fiercely unfolding, on March 20, Lin Biao delivered a lengthy speech at a meeting of cadres above the People's Liberation Army. He talked about three issues: first, class, class struggle, and class views; second, mainstream and tributary issues; and third, military support for local issues. He made use of Mao Zedong's "Left" erroneous theory of "taking class struggle as the key link" to systematically defend the "Cultural Revolution". He said that the "Cultural Revolution" was a very serious and profound

class struggle. He slandered "some old cadres, entered the socialist period, did not keep up, did not become fighters of the socialist revolution, but stayed at the old stage of the democratic revolution. Some degenerated, became capitalists, and became new capitalist elements". He said that the "Cultural Revolution" "the victory or defeat of this struggle determines where China is going, determines the fate of China, and also determines the fate of the entire human race." He did not allow people to criticize the chaos caused by the "Cultural Revolution" Sing the praises of "chaotic". He said: "There are two kinds of chaos this time. One is the main aspect. It is to take the enemy, those in power who are taking the capitalist road, the leaders of the bourgeoisie in the party, and the leaders of the bourgeoisie in society. They were defeated and disrupted. This kind of chaos is the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and it is a very good thing." He exaggerated in disregard of the facts: "It can be said that in this class struggle, we have fought a big Victory is a great victory, a great victory for the Chinese people, a great victory for mankind. We must have such a general view." Based on this, he uttered a "famous saying" that was widely circulated at that time and has become a laughingstock today: "Cultural "The loss is the smallest, the smallest, and the smallest, and the achievement is the largest, the largest, and the largest." This speech actually became the theoretical program of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's "counterattack against the February countercurrent" campaign.

On April 7, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Playing the Recording of Comrade Lin Biao's Speech". The notice stated: "The great leader Chairman Mao instructed that the recording of Vice Chairman Lin Biao's speech on March 20, 1967 should be broadcast to all members of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the Red Guards across the country." He commented that it "is an extremely important report on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. It is of great significance to achieve further victories in the struggle along this line." On April 24, the draft of this speech was officially printed and distributed

nationwide by the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Therefore, Lin Biao's speech, which was supported and approved by Mao Zedong, actually became an official summary of the struggle at that time, setting a criterion that people should not violate in understanding and evaluating this incident. However, Mao Zedong's support for Lin Biao and Jiang Qing was limited, and he did not agree to overthrow all these older revolutionaries. As Deng Xiaoping said: "Anyone who doesn't listen to him wants to rectify it, but he still has considerations to what extent."

Mao Zedong was dissatisfied with the fierce criticism of the "Cultural Revolution" and the Central Cultural Revolution Group by the old commanders and vice premiers, but he did not want to overthrow them. Therefore, on the evening of April 30, Mao Zedong invited Zhou Enlai, Li Fuchun, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Nie Rongzhen, Xu Xiangqian, Tan Zhenlin, Li Xiannian, Yu Qiuli, Gu Mu, etc. to his home, held a "solidarity meeting", and approved the five Go to Tiananmen Square to watch fireworks. At that time, whether a leader could participate in larger rallies and whether his name could be published in newspapers and broadcasts was considered a signal. Therefore, when the Central People's Broadcasting Station broadcast the news, and the "People's Daily" also published the list of people who went to Tiananmen to watch the fireworks, the wave of "fighting against the February countercurrent" set off by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing had to calm down temporarily. However, the struggle did not end there. Mao Zedong's views on this incident gradually changed with the development of the situation.

3. The unjust case of Liu Shaoqi was cast amidst the sound of "catch the traitor"

Criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line and the development of a comprehensive seizure of power have caused the vast majority of leading party and government cadres to be denounced, overthrown, locked up in the "cowshed" or sidelined. The movement to fight back against the so-called "restoration countercurrent" further exacerbated the chaos in the country. However, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and his gang were not satisfied with this. They pushed Mao Zedong's subjective conjecture to achieve "great order" through "great chaos in the world" to the extreme, looking for various reasons, and continued to add chaos to chaos. Starting from March and April of 1967, the "Catching Traitors" and "Revolutionary Great Criticism Movement" went hand in hand, and played an important role in the process of creating "world chaos".

The so-called "catch the traitor" incident

The "Catching Traitors" activity officially started after the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Preliminary Investigation on the Surrender and Rebellion of Bo Yibo, Liu Lantao, An Ziwen, Yang Xianzhen and others" on March 16, 1967. This document added a note in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, accusing a large number of veteran comrades who had passed the tests of the enemy's courts and prisons and made great contributions to the revolution as "traitors". And said: "These traitors have been hidden in the party for a long time, and have stolen important positions in the central and local party and government leadership organs. Exposing this traitor group is a great victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and a great victory for Mao Zedong Thought." And called on the entire party to arouse "great vigilance". In fact, this was a long-planned conspiracy by Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing, Chen Boda and others.

Because they know that the crime of "carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line" is not enough to completely overthrow these old comrades and put them in a situation where they will never stand up for life. Therefore, not long after the "Cultural Revolution" began, they instigated the Red Guards to investigate the historical issues of cadres, collect and fabricate all kinds of false evidence, and frame them.

In August 1966, Kang Sheng ordered a certain Red Guard organization to search old newspapers in Peking, saying that a large number of traitors could be found there. According to Kang Sheng's instructions, the "Traitor Hunting Team" of Nankai University in Tianjin "discovered" a traitor group consisting of 61 people. After Kang Sheng got this material, he couldn't wait to frame Bo Yibo, an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Eighth Central Committee and Vice Premier of the State Council, and others for "rebellious behavior". On September 16, Kang Sheng wrote to Mao Zedong saying: "I have long doubted Comrade Shaoqi's decision to 'surrender himself and be released from prison' by Comrade An Ziwen, Bo Yibo and others", "This decision is completely wrong, it is an anti-communist decision", "is an act of treason that is 'resolutely anti-communist'".

Other members of the "Central Cultural Revolution" also mobilized to create public opinion. In January 1967, Qi Benyu said to some members of the People's Liberation Army General Political Work Troupe: "The young Red Guards found out that An Ziwen (the eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the head of the Organization Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China) rebelled against the party. It is Liu Shaoqi." In February, Guan Feng told the representatives of the People's Liberation Army who participated in the military training: "These people are surrendered and traitors." After the central government's order was issued in March, they made more publicity about it. Jiang Qing said at the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission held in April: "The meritorious service of the young generals is great!" "Without them, how could we have created that

traitor group? There are more than 60 people, and they all occupy important positions." leadership positions." Kang Sheng said, "The sixty-odd people in Beijing are just an example of Liu Shaoqi's organizational line of rebelling against the party and recruiting and accepting rebels." In his words, a bigger murderous intention was planted.

The truth is completely different from their framing. On the eve of Japan's full-scale war of aggression against China in 1936, facing the upsurge of the anti-Japanese national salvation movement, the Northern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China urgently needed to solve the problem of lack of cadres in order to carry out its work. At the same time, after the Ho-May agreement, when the Kuomintang government's gendarmerie withdrew from Peiping, there was also the possibility of rescue. Therefore, under the auspices of Liu Shaoqi, the Northern Bureau made a decision to release a group of party members who were detained in the Beiping Military Introspection Branch to fulfill the procedures stipulated by the enemy, and reported it to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. At that time, Zhang Wentian, the head of the Party Central Committee, obtained the consent of other leading comrades of the Party Central Committee and approved this decision. From August 1936 to March 1937, Bo Yibo and others fulfilled the procedures prescribed by the Peking authorities and were released from prison in nine batches. This is to implement the instructions of the party organization. In this regard, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has conducted many inspections long ago, and is aware of their history. Especially at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1945, after a formal review by the Representative Qualification Review Committee, a clear conclusion was made about this period of history. Kang Sheng was a member of the Representative Qualification Review Committee at the time, and he knew this clearly.

Therefore, when this issue was raised again after the "Cultural Revolution" began, on November 24, 1966, Zhou Enlai received a

report from the Northwest Bureau about the Red Guards' pursuit of Liu Lantao (member of the Eighth Central Committee and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the CPC Central Committee) released from prison. After submitting the request report to the Central Committee, he wrote to Mao Zedong saying: This "case involves many people, and it was indeed decided by Comrade Shaoqi on behalf of the Central Committee at that time, and the Seventh and Eighth National Congresses have reviewed it, so the Central Committee must admit know about it." After reading it, Mao Zedong commented: "Do as it is." Zhou Enlai immediately called back the Northwest Bureau in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, pointing out: "The central government knows about the issue of Comrade Liu Lantao's release from prison they exposed. If they have new materials, they can send representatives to the central government for investigation." Two days later, The Jilin Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China sent an urgent telegram to the Central Committee on the 26th, reporting that the Red Guards had exposed Zhao Lin, the first secretary of the Provincial Party Committee, as a "traitor." The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China responded with a telegram with the same content. On the 30th, Zhou Enlai personally sent a telegram to the Red Guards in Jilin, reiterating: "They exposed the issue of Comrade Zhao Lin's release from prison, and the central government knows about it." , Graffiti slogan".

However, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others still intentionally distorted this incident and continued to incite the masses to wantonly expand the incident. Under the instigation of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and his gang, mass organizations of "catch traitors" and various special task forces all over the country have turned up all the historical issues that have been correctly reviewed and concluded among cadres, and even fabricated them out of nothing to frame them. A large number of unjust, false and wrongly decided cases were created. They falsely claimed that there was a so-called "organizational line of Liu Shaoqi's traitor group", and thus created major injustice cases such as "Xinjiang traitor group", "Northeast traitor group", "Southern traitor group", and thousands of cadres

were tortured. Due to the brutal persecution, many people were separated from their wives and their families were destroyed.

The Origin of the "Wu Hao Announcement" Incident

When the "catch traitor" activities were at their peak, even Zhou Enlai was not spared. On May 17, 1967, Jiang Qing wrote a letter to Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai, and Kang Sheng, claiming that "an anti-communist notice was found, and the leader was Wu Hao (Zhou XX)", and attached a letter published in the Kuomintang newspapers and periodicals in the 1930s. The so-called "Notice of Wu Hao and Others Leaving the Communist Party" was copied in an attempt to frame and attack Zhou Enlai. In fact, this announcement was completely forged by the Kuomintang secret service. Zhou Enlai didn't know about it, and he wasn't even in Shanghai at the time.

What happened was that in April 1931, Gu Shunzhang, an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China who was in charge of intelligence security work, was arrested and rebelled, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was in serious danger. Thanks to my underground workers taking the risk to send out timely news and Zhou Enlai and others to take emergency measures wisely, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was transferred in time to turn the crisis into safety. In June of the same year, Xiang Zhongfa, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, was arrested and rebelled. This time, due to Zhou Enlai's proper handling of the crisis, the conspiracy of the Kuomintang secret service was thwarted. The annoyed KMT secret service agency first "offered a reward" to arrest Zhou Enlai; after the failure, they did not hesitate to use the method of spreading rumors, and the Central Union special agents Zhang Chong and Huang Kai conspired to forge the "Notice of Wu Hao and 243 People Leaving the Communist Party", Published in "Shenbao" and "News" in February 1932. More than two months before this, Zhou Enlai had left Shanghai and was already in Ruijin, the capital of the Jiangxi Soviet Area.

In order to eliminate the influence of this incident, the provisional central government in Shanghai immediately took countermeasures, published witty advertisements through the declaration office, distributed leaflets "Shameless Rumors against the Kuomintang", and the underground party newspaper "Shi Bao" specially published a rumor rebuttal article. The Central Soviet Area also issued a notice in the name of Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Chinese Soviet Central Government, pointing out: "In fact, Comrade Wu Hao is serving in the Military Commission of the Soviet Central Government. Absurd and reactionary remarks, this is obviously a rumor and slander by the Kuomintang members who massacred workers, peasants and soldiers and betrayed China to imperialism."

But more than 30 years later, Jiang Qing picked up this shameless trick of the Kuomintang secret service, which he had already figured out, and used it as a weapon in his attempt to overthrow Zhou Enlai. In order to expose Jiang Qing's conspiracy, Zhou Enlai wrote to Mao Zedong on May 19, and attached relevant historical materials. The letter said: "The so-called 'Wu Hao et al. notice' is the forged notice dated February 18, 1932." However, by the end of 1967, someone wrote to Mao Zedong to reflect this matter. Mao Zedong issued an instruction on January 16, 1968: "This matter has long been clarified, and it was the Kuomintang who spread rumors and slandered it." As a result, the conspiracy of Jiang Qing and others failed.

Under the banner of "catching traitors", many Communist Party members who fought bravely under the enemy's rule and made outstanding achievements; Secret agents" and other crimes were persecuted, and some were brutally tortured to death. The instigation of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing to "catch traitors" was a major step they made to overthrow the party's leading cadres at all levels and clear the way for usurping the party and power.

Criticism and framing of Liu Shaoqi

The biggest goal of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's persecution of cadres is to completely defeat Liu Shaoqi, and they do everything

possible to put Liu Shaoqi to death. Mainly, two methods were adopted. One was to secretly set up a special case to fabricate perjury evidence, trying to label Liu Shaoqi as a spy and a traitor; the other was to openly launch a so-called "revolutionary criticism movement" against Liu Shaoqi. The two are coordinated with each other and carried out simultaneously.

In March 1967, Kang Sheng wrote a report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China using materials collected by six organizations including the Red Flag Fighting Team of Beijing Aviation Academy to frame Liu Shaoqi. Claiming that he has conclusive materials proving that Liu Shaoqi has problems in history and has been arrested and rebelled, it is suggested that Liu Shaoqi be subject to a special review. This report was approved by the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on March 21, and it was decided to refer the issue of Liu Shaoqi's arrest to the "Wang Guangmei Task Force" for investigation. Under the control of Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi and others, this task force actually became the "Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei task force".

The review of the project began, and the criticism of the newspapers and periodicals escalated at the same time. On April 1, 1967, "People's Daily" published Qi Benyu's "Patriotism or Traitorism?" "One article. This article, which was reviewed and revised by Mao Zedong, replaced Liu Shaoqi's name with "the largest person in power in the party taking the capitalist road" and added "a spokesperson for imperialism, feudalism, and the reactionary bourgeoisie" to Liu Shaoqi. Comprador", "An echo of the counter-revolutionary propaganda of imperialism and feudalism", and other crimes, saying that Liu Shaoqi is a "fake revolution, counter-revolution" and "Khrushchev sleeping beside us". Then, various central newspapers and periodicals published editorials, calling for a "Great Revolutionary Criticism" and a thorough criticism of "China's Khrushchev." According to Liu Pingping's recollection article, when Liu Shaoqi saw Qi Benyu's article, he was "extremely angry, threw the newspaper hard, and said to us: This article

contains many lies, when did I say that movie (referring to "Secret History of the Qing Palace") is patriotic? When did you say you were a 'red comprador'? It doesn't conform to the facts, it's framing! Party struggles have never been so serious." "If these people are fearless and aboveboard, they can debate Well! Debate in the Central Committee, debate among the masses!" Such a reasonable request was impossible to realize at that time. Although Liu Shaoqi is nominally the President of the country and a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, he no longer has the right to speak for himself. Even the big-character poster for his defense on April 7 was torn to pieces in Zhongnanhai within a few hours of posting it. This is the so-called "great democracy".

On May 8, "Red Flag" and "People's Daily" published the article "The key to "self-cultivation" is to betray the dictatorship of the proletariat." This editorial article, which was discussed and approved by the enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, adopted the method of taking meaning out of context and infinitely above the outline. When Liu Shaoqi quoted a sentence from Lenin in the book, he omitted the "proletarian Class dictatorship" and other insignificant examples, such as a short passage, have been labeled as scary. The article said: "The book "Self-cultivation" is the representative work of the party's largest party in power taking the capitalist road. This book is a big poisonous weed against Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. It has poisoned the whole country and the whole world. To it It must be thoroughly criticized." "The crux of it is the betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat." And betraying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat "is a complete and thorough betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, it is a complete, A complete betrayal of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat". In this way, "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members", a well-known Marxist work that made an outstanding contribution to the party's construction theory, became the worst counter-revolutionary "big poisonous weed" overnight.

Subsequently, newspapers and periodicals across the country published a large number of critical articles, criticizing Liu Shaoqi and others. According to rough statistics, from May to September, there were more than 150 major articles criticizing "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members" in various newspapers. The critical articles of various tabloids and big-character posters are even more innumerable. These critical articles confuse right and wrong, confuse black and white, and criticize many basic principles of Marxism, the principles of party organization and life, and the usual standards for judging right and wrong as revisionism, which further confuses people's thinking and encourages all kinds of false Marxism. The proliferation of ism and anarchism.

Here is a question that has puzzled people for a long time: The book "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members" was published in Yan'an in 1939. During the rectification movement in 1942, it was listed as one of the 22 documents that all party members must read. Could it be that Mao Zedong Didn't you see it then? Kang Sheng said in 1967 that Mao Zedong had not read it, but this was not convincing. In a conversation with American journalist Snow in 1970, Mao Zedong also admitted that he had read the old version, but he said: "The black "cultivation" does not touch imperialism, feudalism, or the Kuomintang." ?! So he is a reactionary who sneaked into the Communist Party." Kang Sheng also conveyed Mao Zedong's words at the time: "This book by Liu Shaoqi is a lie. The fundamental problem of revolution is the problem of political power. In this pamphlet It only talks about personal cultivation and personal morality, and does not talk about the issue of seizing political power at all. If you leave politics and class struggle, you will naturally fall into the quagmire of idealism." The two passages are consistent in content. Therefore, the reasonable explanation can only be that Mao Zedong's own views changed later, and he misunderstood the original meaning of the book "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members". From an extreme left perspective, Marxism will become revisionism, and materialism will be regarded as idealism. It's also a lesson worth learning.

While Lin Biao and Jiang Qing launched the "Great Revolutionary Criticism," they intensified their activities of persecution against Liu Shaoqi and other party and state leaders. As early as December 1966, under the direct control and command of Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing, Xie Fuzhi and others, the "Wang Guangmei Task Force" was established in the name of examining Mrs. Liu Shaoqi. Various means were used in an attempt to label Wang Guangmei as a US spy first, and then frame Liu Shaoqi as a US strategic spy. After March 1967, a "Liu Shaoqi Task Force" was set up to carry out larger-scale persecution and framing activities. They arrested people at will, tortured them to extract confessions, and fabricated false testimony that Liu Shaoqi was a "traitor, traitor, and scab." In July, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, and Chen Boda decided to criticize Liu Shaoqi without authorization, and Qi Benyu organized a "criticize and combat Liu Shaoqi" meeting on July 18, and ransacked his home, depriving Liu Shaoqi of his freedom of action. On August 5, in the name of celebrating the first anniversary of the big-character poster written by Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and Tao Zhu were criticized in Zhongnanhai. In July and August, Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi, Qi Benyu and others incited tens of thousands of people to organize the so-called "grab the front line of Liu Liu", besiege Zhongnanhai, the seat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and attack the State Council.

The wave of serious incidents such as the siege in Beijing, the attack on the highest leadership organs of the party and the state, and the fight against the party and state leaders spread rapidly across the country. Criticism hits more and more widely, and the methods used to harass cadres become more and more ruthless. Factional struggles have developed from "big-character poster battles" and "slogan slogan battles" to real gun battles. The weapons used range from primitive sticks, knives and spears to modern machine guns and cannons. The physical persecution of cadres and the masses has developed from the form of "wearing a top hat" and "jet spraying" to the use of various tortures, which destroy the body and humiliate the personality. The majority of cadres and the masses

are worried about the fate of the party and the country, and resist and struggle against the "left" errors in various forms.

Wuhan "July 20" Incident

On July 20, 1967, the mass military and civilian opposition to the so-called central representatives Xie Fuzhi and Wang Li occurred in Wuhan (the "July 20 Incident"), which was an outbreak of long-simmering contradictions. As early as the spring of 1967, during the so-called "counterattack against the top-down countercurrent of national restoration", Lin Biao and Jiang Qing took the Wuhan Military Region as one of the key points of attack. Lin Biao said in a speech that he was worried about the Wuhan Military Region and that "there is nothing to do with them." Jiang Qing also said, "We must rush to the Wuhan Military Region." The Central Cultural Revolution determined that the leaders of the Wuhan Military Region had made a "mistake in line" in "supporting the left", and incited the masses to fight against the leaders of the Wuhan Military Region. Under the instigation of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, the mass organizations in the Wuhan area were divided into two factions headed by the "Million Heroes" and the "Confederation of Workers". The city's party and government organs were paralyzed, most factories were shut down, traffic was blocked, and social life was very difficult and disordered.

In order to solve the Wuhan problem, it was originally planned that the two major mass organizations would send representatives to Beijing to report. Later, because Mao Zedong wanted to inspect the north and south of the river and cross the Yangtze River in Wuhan, the representatives of the two factions were changed to not go to Beijing, and the problem was resolved on the spot. On July 14, Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong arrived in Wuhan successively. On the same day, Xie Fuzhi, Wang Li and others traveled from Chongqing to Wuhan to assist in resolving the Wuhan issue in the name of representatives of the Central Committee. When Mao Zedong talked with the leaders of the Wuhan Military Region, he said: "Think about it, one faction of a factory is revolutionary, and the other faction is not

revolutionary. Do you believe it?" "There is no fundamental conflict of interest within the working class." According to Mao Zedong's instructions, Zhou Enlai summoned the leaders of the Wuhan Military Region and the heads of the garrison divisions and above to hold a meeting for four consecutive days to listen to reports and study solutions to the problem. Xie Fuzhi and Wang Li have been attending the meeting. When Zhou Enlai made a summary on the afternoon of the 18th, according to Mao Zedong's opinion, he believed that the left branch of the military region had made a wrong direction and route, and asked the commander of the military region Chen Zaidao and political commissar Zhong Hanhua to take the initiative to conduct inspections, rehabilitate the workers' headquarters, and release Zhu Hongxia, the head of the workers' headquarters as soon as possible. The military region must support both factions, do a good job in the ideological work of the comrades in the army, and also do a good job in the work of the other group of people organizing the "Million Heroes". Then negotiate to solve the problem step by step. These words express the central government's policy of requesting the Wuhan Military Region to support both mass organizations and to urge them to unite.

However, Xie Fuzhi, Wang Li and others went out behind the scenes and continued to support and suppress one faction, making one faction elated and the other strongly indignant. On the evening of the 18th, Zhou Enlai returned to Beijing. After seeing off Zhou Enlai, Xie Fuzhi and Wang Li immediately drove to the stronghold of the "Confederation of Workers" to accept and wear the armbands of the faction openly. Declared: "The Central Cultural Revolution will unswervingly support you. The phenomenon that you are suppressed and attacked is not allowed to exist, and this phenomenon must be reversed." The Proletarian Revolutionary Faction of Steel" and "Army of a Million" are conservative organizations. On the 19th, the "Federation of Industry" sent mass organizations to broadcast Wang Li's speech recordings everywhere with loudspeakers and radio trucks, which aroused great anger from mass organizations such as the "Million Heroes", and finally triggered the "July 20 Incident".

On the morning of July 20, some soldiers and civilians rushed into the Donghu guest house where Wang Li and others lived (they didn't know that Mao Zedong also lived there), and took Wang Li to the compound of the Wuhan Military Region for questioning and criticism. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers and civilians took to the streets to demonstrate. After Zhou Enlai learned of the news, he immediately flew back to Wuhan and took measures to free Wang Li. Mao Zedong also transferred to Shanghai in the early morning of the 21st. On the 22nd, Xie Fuzhi and Wang Lifei returned to Beijing.

Lin Biao and Jiang Qing immediately seized on this incident and made a big fuss, slandering it as "an outright counter-revolutionary incident". On the evening of the 22nd, Lin Biao personally presided over the meeting and decided: ① transfer Chen Zaidao, Zhong Hanhua, etc. to Beijing in the name of the central government; All three were swiftly implemented. On the 23rd, an "urgent notice" was issued in the name of the Central Cultural Revolution, calling for joint actions by the three armed forces in various places, armed demonstrations, and denouncing the "July 20" incident. On the 24th, Chen Zaidao and others were ordered to fly to Beijing to accept criticism. On the 25th, a meeting of one million people was held in Tiananmen Square. Wang Li and Xie Fuzhi became heroes, and the million soldiers and civilians in Wuhan became "counter-revolutionaries." Lin Biao said to Jiang Qing and others: "Now they have given us a problem, and we must seize it and make a big fuss."

According to the instructions of the Central Cultural Revolution, the conference in Beijing was made into a documentary "Beijing Supports You" as quickly as possible and screened nationwide. "People's Daily" and "Liberation Army Daily" condemned the "July 20" incident with numerous articles, editorials, and comments, forming a large-scale public opinion siege. The military and civilians in Wuhan suffered unprecedented persecution. The Wuhan Independent Division was branded as a "rebel army" and its designation was revoked. Many people were sent to work on farms by armed force. According to the report of the Hubei Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Central

Committee on this incident 10 years later, as many as 184,000 cadres, soldiers, and people were injured, maimed, and killed in this incident. Among them, more than 66,000 people were injured and disabled in Wuhan alone, and more than 600 people were killed. Xu Xiangqian, Xu Haidong, etc. were also falsely accused of being "black backgrounds" and their homes were ransacked. The consequences were extremely serious.

The "July 20" incident was the struggle of the army and civilians to resist the mistakes of the extreme left, and it was also a manifestation of the intensification of factional struggles between the two groups of people in Wuhan. This struggle was intensified by the intervention of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and his gang. Factional organizations and factional struggles across the country are deformed products of the "Cultural Revolution". Summarizing historical experience objectively today, it should be admitted that the two so-called rebel factions and conservative factions in the "Cultural Revolution", in terms of guiding ideology, both pursued the "theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and served as "one Class to overthrow a class" wrong policy. In the so-called "power-seizure stage" of the "Cultural Revolution", both factions actively participated in the power-seizure and tried to bring their own faction to power. Those in power within the party who are taking the capitalist road", and all of them have adopted various crude methods. Therefore, on the whole, both factions of mass organizations are wrong, no matter which faction they support, it is also wrong. Even if there is something right about one side or another on certain issues at certain times, it is secondary. However, after the "July 20" incident in Wuhan, Lin Biao and Jiang Qing used their power to do whatever they wanted, labeling a group of mass organizations with millions of people as "counter-revolutionary organizations" and labeling the independent divisions under the jurisdiction of the Wuhan Military Region as "rebels". Army" and brutally suppressed the struggle of the vast army and civilians in Wuhan to resist the "Left" errors. This is a complete crime and atrocity.

Total Civil War and Chaos

After the "July 20th" incident, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and his gang even more brazenly instigated an all-out civil war. On July 22, when Jiang Qing addressed representatives of a group of mass organizations in Henan, he blatantly put forward the slogan of "Cultural Attack, Military Defense". She asked the rebels, "Don't put down your self-defense weapons" to incite violence. The next day, Shanghai's "Wen Wei Po" published the slogan "Cultural Attack, Military Defense", which was widely publicized. On July 25, Lin Biao proposed to "thoroughly smash the Palace of the King of the Underworld". At the same time, the slogan of "resolutely defeating a small group of people in power who take the capitalist road in the army" formulated by Jiang Qing and others as early as January 1967 and "fully agreed" with Lin Biao's instructions also used the "July 20th". The timing of the incident was widely publicized in the newspapers, causing waves of attacks on military institutions across the country. In early August, large-scale fighting occurred one after another in Nanjing, Changzhou, Changchun, Shenyang, Chongqing, Changsha and other places. On August 4th, Wang Hongwen organized and commanded more than 30,000 people to besiege the Shanghai Diesel Engine Factory. He detained, wounded and maimed 650 people. This kind of bloody incidents of armed conflict emerge in endlessly, and the disaster affects the whole country.

Under the circumstances that people's lives and properties were not guaranteed, on August 7, Xie Fuzhi, who was in charge of political and legal work, delivered a speech. Instead of asking the public security, judicial, and procuratorial organs to perform their duties and protect the people's democratic rights, he issued a call to "smash the public security law" with ulterior motives. He said: "Most of the public security, procuratorate, and judicial organs are to protect the local authorities who take the capitalist road to suppress the revolutionary masses." "It is difficult to change the old machine without completely smashing it." In this way, the public security, procuratorate, and law are in a position that cannot be guaranteed by themselves, and they have lost their function of stopping chaos.

On August 9, Lin Biao delivered a speech, which had a great influence at the time. He first affirmed the handling of the "July 20" incident in Wuhan, saying that "the Wuhan incident was a very bad thing, but now it has become a very good thing. It has greatly promoted the Cultural Revolution in various regions of the country and has great educational significance." . He said: "We rely on two conditions to launch the Cultural Revolution: one is the lofty prestige of Mao Zedong Thought and Chairman Mao; the other is the strength of the People's Liberation Army." Regardless of the fact that the world is already in chaos, he continued to advocate chaos. He believes: "It looks very chaotic on the surface. The chaos is the confusion of the reactionary line and the reactionary class... This chaos is necessary and normal." He publicly expressed his support for his cronies Qiu Huizuo and Li Zuopeng , Wu Faxian, etc. said: "The bad guys fight the good guys, and the good guys get punished. Comrade Qiu Huizuo was raped by a small group of bad guys in the power of the General Logistics Department for more than a month, and he was almost beaten to death. Li Zuopeng, Wang Hongkun, and Zhang Xiuchuan of the navy also Comrade Wu Faxian is also like this. In the past, you have suffered, but now you have tasted the sweetness." Lin Biao put forward an absurd slogan that pointed at the old revolutionaries with a bit of a bite but a clear meaning: "The revolution now is to revolutionize us. It turned out that the life of the revolution was the life of the life." He advocated "the establishment of a new state apparatus". Such a speech, which contained many major mistakes, was sent to the whole country in the authoritative form of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The note of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China stated: "This speech, using the great weapon of Mao Zedong Thought, made a very incisive analysis of the current movement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and gave important instructions on the leadership of the Cultural Revolution in the future." "Seriously study and earnestly implement". This added fuel to the chaotic situation at the time. In the context of rampant fighting and extreme social disorder, vicious cases such as bank robbery, warehouse robbery, carjacking and boat robbery, and prison rush occurred continuously in many areas. In the general civil war,

people's lives and property and national property suffered incalculable losses.

The influence of the ultra-left ideological trend of the "Cultural Revolution" is far from limited to the country. It has also had a major impact on our embassies and consulates abroad and among overseas students, so that foreign-related incidents continue to occur. For example, the rebel faction in our embassy in a certain country distributed flyers on the street saying "rebellion is justified", and the host country protested. The rebels among the engineering and technical personnel who went to a certain country to aid in the construction wanted to erect a huge slogan on the construction site, "Socialism must replace capitalism", and clashed with the police, causing bloodshed. My students studying in Europe chanted slogans such as "down with revisionism" in Moscow's Red Square, and had serious conflicts with the Soviet military and police. Relations between my country and Indonesia, Mongolia, Myanmar and other countries have also deteriorated rapidly.

At a time when it was urgent to strengthen the leadership of diplomatic work, Foreign Minister Chen Yi was attacked by the rebels, and Zhou Enlai repeatedly intervened to no avail. On August 7, Wang Li, a self-proclaimed hero, returned from Wuhan. When he received the rebels from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he made a reckless and arrogant speech, openly inciting and supporting the seizure of diplomatic power, which led to the closure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' party committee and the smashing of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' political affairs. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the indiscriminate issuance of instructions in the name of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other incidents. On August 22, there was another serious incident of burning the British agency in China. Seriously damaged my country's diplomatic reputation, and plunged my country's diplomatic work into unprecedented chaos since the founding of the People's Republic of China. Mao Zedong also admitted when he talked with Snow later: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in a mess. It was out of control for a month and a half."

"In July and August 1967, two months failed, and the world was in chaos."

Mao Zedong inspected the three regions

From July to September 1967, Mao Zedong inspected North China, Central South China and East China, investigated the situation of the "Cultural Revolution" along the way, and cooperated in many talks on different occasions. Starting from his "Left" viewpoint and consistent thesis, Mao Zedong continued to affirm: "The situation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the whole country is very good, not a little good. The overall situation is better than ever before." , In fact, it confused the enemy and tempered the masses." During the most chaotic period in the development of the "Cultural Revolution", making such an estimate of the situation was obviously far from reality. This not only reflected that it was difficult for Mao Zedong to understand the objective real situation at that time, but also reflected his unique view on chaos and his so-called subjective desire to "reach great order from chaos in the world". However, the situation that was too chaotic to "lose control" also made Mao Zedong feel that it was not conducive to achieving the goals he expected from the "Cultural Revolution". Therefore, in his speech, he called for "revolutionary organizations from all over the world to realize the great unity of revolution." He said: "Within the working class, there is no fundamental conflict of interest. Within the working class under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no reason why it must be split into two opposing factions." "As long as the two factions are revolutionary mass organizations , it is necessary to realize the great revolutionary unity under the principle of revolution." When talking about the issue of cadres, he said: "The vast majority of cadres are good, and the bad ones are only a very small number." "We must punish those in power within the party who are taking the capitalist road, but they are a small group." "We must expand the scope of education and narrow the scope of attack", "We must allow cadres to make mistakes and allow them to correct mistakes." He also emphasized: "To treat cadres correctly is to implement the revolutionary three-in-one

combination, consolidate the revolutionary alliance, and do a good job in the struggle, criticism, and reform of the unit. The key issues must be resolved." He proposed that "the Red Guards must be educated." , warned the leaders of the rebels and the Red Guards that "now is the time when they may make mistakes." The summary of Mao Zedong's speech was forwarded nationwide by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on October 7. This played a positive role in liberating a group of cadres, promoting the unity of various factions, and restraining the chaos from worsening.

In order to reverse the severe turmoil, Mao Zedong also approved a series of specific measures. At the end of August, Zhou Enlai handed over the record of Wang Li's "87 speech" to Yang Chengwu and brought it to Mao Zedong in Shanghai, and reflected the serious situation of the foreign ministry's seizure of power. According to Mao Zedong's instruction, Wang Li and Guan Feng, members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, were quarantined for inspection. In January of the following year, Qi Benyu was quarantined for inspection. Wang, Guan, and Qi were well-known "Left" factions in the early days of the "Cultural Revolution" and were the "front-line commanders" who created turmoil. The isolation and censorship of them has suppressed some of the most aggressive rebels to a certain extent, which is conducive to the reduction of chaos. On September 5, Mao Zedong approved the issuance of the "Order Concerning Prohibition of Seizing Weapons, Equipment and Various Military Materials of the People's Liberation Army". On September 13, the "Notice Regarding the Strict Prohibition of Looting National Materials and Commodities, Storming Warehouses, and Ensuring the Safety of National Property" was issued. During this period, Mao Zedong also made a decision to impose military control on some of the most chaotic provinces, cities and departments. He also approved the issuance of multiple announcements and circulars to maintain social order, protect transportation, and stop the spread of violence. These measures have achieved some effect for a certain period of time, but it is impossible to fundamentally change the turbulent situation that was inevitably accompanied by the "Cultural Revolution".

School resumption and worker propaganda team stationed

At that time, an emergency measure taken to stabilize the situation was to declare "the resumption of classes in universities, middle schools, and elementary schools to cause a revolution." After the "Cultural Revolution" began, schools across the country "suspended classes to start a revolution." Under the influence of ultra-left thoughts, a large number of young students actively participated in power-seizure activities and factional struggles in all aspects of society, and played a vanguard and backbone role. Some mass organizations in some well-known schools have become the command and contact centers of local factional struggles. Therefore, to stabilize the situation, students must be stabilized first. On September 23, 1967, Mao Zedong approved the "Urgent Notice Concerning Immediately Returning to Their Original Units" issued jointly by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group. The "Notice" stipulates that the institutions established in Beijing and other places to entertain foreign students and other personnel "will be completely abolished before September 28, and the relevant units will no longer be responsible for entertaining." Students and other personnel who went out "return to their original places immediately and unconditionally." On October 14, 1967, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution issued the "Notice on the Resumption of Classes in Universities, Middle Schools, and Primary Schools to Create a Revolution", requiring that "universities, middle schools, and elementary schools all over the country should start school immediately" and "while teaching , while carrying out reforms." Because the turmoil was developing at that time, a considerable number of students were still scattered in the society and did not return to school, and school cadres and teachers were generally criticized and censored and could not resume normal work. Therefore, this notice was actually difficult to implement universally. Many universities and middle schools have been unable to resume

classes for a long time. The school is in chaos, and fighting is still spreading.

On July 27, 1968, according to Mao Zedong's instructions, more than 60 factories in Beijing formed a "Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team of Capital Workers" with more than 30,000 people and marched into Tsinghua University, where factional struggles were fierce at that time, to rectify order and stop violence. After a brief confrontation, workers took control of the situation at the school. This was considered a successful experience.

On August 25, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution issued the "Notice on Sending Worker Propaganda Teams into Schools." The notice required that "all localities should follow Beijing's approach and gradually manage large, medium, and primary schools in large and medium-sized cities", "with outstanding industrial workers as the main body, and cooperate with People's Liberation Army soldiers to form Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Teams. Schools", "to help and promote the revolutionary mass organizations of the two factions that have not yet achieved the great revolutionary coalition, to implement the great revolutionary coalition on the basis of Mao Zedong Thought, and to resolutely stop the violent struggle where there is violence." On August 26, "People's Daily" published Yao Wenyan's article "The Working Class Must Lead Everything" revised and approved by Mao Zedong. The article conveyed Mao Zedong's opinion: "Where there are many intellectuals, whether it is a school or other units, there should be workers and the People's Liberation Army marching in to break the monopoly of intellectuals and occupy those independent kingdoms, large and small. "The workers' propaganda team should stay in the school for a long time, participate in all the tasks of struggle, criticism, and reform in the school, and lead the school forever. In the countryside, the most reliable ally of the working class-the poor and lower-middle peasants should manage the school As a result, various places dispatched "worker propaganda teams" and "military propaganda teams" to

enter large, medium and small schools. Soon, this method was extended to all levels of party and government agencies, enterprises and institutions other than military control.

Workers and military propaganda teams are actually another form of work teams. The presence of the industrial and military propaganda teams played a positive role in stopping the fighting and stabilizing the situation, which should not be denied. However, this method itself is difficult to be sure. In terms of guiding ideology, it is based on excluding intellectuals from the working class and treating them as objects of transformation. Therefore, the "piles of intellectuals" is not regarded as an advantage of a high cultural structure, but as a force for bourgeois restoration, which must be mixed with workers and the People's Liberation Army. Judging from the assessment of the situation, it is misunderstood that the schools of New China are "the monopoly of the intellectuals", so they decided to send workers and the People's Liberation Army to "break". In particular, since the industrial and military propaganda teams worked under the erroneous guidelines of the "Cultural Revolution", they also had weaknesses such as unclear information about the units stationed in and uneven quality of members, so it was impossible not to make various mistakes in their work. As for the perpetuation of schools led by workers' propaganda teams (managed by poor and lower-middle peasants in rural areas), it is completely contrary to common sense.

Young educated people go to the countryside

One of the problems that needs to be solved in the "resumption of classes and revolution" is that since the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution", because universities did not enroll students, factories did not recruit workers, commerce and other service industries were also at a standstill, and the whole society lacked jobs, resulting in more than 1,000 workers at that time. It is not possible to arrange for junior high school and high school graduates. If these graduates do not leave the school, it will inevitably affect the work of recruiting new students. Faced with this urgent task, and out of a "left" assessment

of the situation of intellectuals, in December 1968, Mao Zedong issued a call: "It is necessary for intellectual youth to go to the countryside and receive re-education from poor and lower-middle peasants." We must persuade urban cadres and others to send their children who have graduated from junior high school, high school, and university to the countryside." After this call was issued, there was an upsurge of educated youth going to the mountains and countryside in various places. During the "Cultural Revolution", the number of educated youths who went to the mountains and the countryside reached more than 16 million.

The work of educated youth going to the countryside has been organized since the 1950s. It is the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, based on the national conditions of our country's large population, weak foundation, underdeveloped economy, employment difficulties, and vast rural areas and lack of cultural knowledge. Employment issues and an experimental measure to improve rural culture. However, the large-scale mobilization of urban educated youths to go to the mountains and countryside started at the end of 1968, not only to solve the employment problem, but mainly to make a wrong estimate of the education situation since the founding of the People's Republic of China. "Accepting re-education of the poor and lower-middle peasants" was emphasized to an absolute degree, which turned the "going to the mountains and the countryside", which was originally mainly to solve the employment problem, into a political movement of "anti-revision and prevention of revision". "Roll in mud, make a red heart" became a popular slogan at that time.

The vast number of educated youths have undergone training in the countryside and frontiers, and have contributed to the development and revitalization of the motherland's inland and underdeveloped areas. These should be given affirmation. However, these are not the achievements of the "Cultural Revolution", but the achievements of the vast number of educated youths struggling in adversity. It should also be pointed out that there were serious mistakes in the policies, measures, and methods of mobilizing

educated youth to go to the countryside during the "Cultural Revolution". The policy of going to the countryside is "one size fits all", regardless of the specific conditions of each region and each target. All middle school graduates must go to the countryside, even Tibet, which has a small urban population. Some places even resort to coercion and coercion; when it comes to the selection of places to go to the countryside, one-sided emphasis is placed on going to the more difficult places, which has caused serious difficulties in production and life for educated youth in some areas. In the use and management of educated youth sent to the countryside, too much emphasis is placed on accepting "re-education", which makes the young people oppressed politically, and it is difficult for them to learn scientific knowledge, and it is difficult to develop their intelligence and wisdom. Expertise, impact development. These wrong practices have had many unfortunate consequences.

During the "Cultural Revolution", the state, enterprises, and institutions spent more than 10 billion yuan on resettling educated youths to go to the countryside. Practice has proved that this kind of going to the countryside to jump in the queue as the main form, and the educated youth going to the mountains and the countryside in the form of political campaigns are not good for the country, for the farmers, and for the educated youth.

With the arrival and leadership of workers and PLA propaganda teams in schools, followed by a large-scale movement of educated youths going to the mountains and countryside, various Red Guard organizations, which were once noisy and arrogant, were no longer able to carry out their activities. The Red Guards also died in name only because they fulfilled their value in initiating and promoting the "Cultural Revolution".

The series of measures taken by Mao Zedong played a certain role in stopping and controlling some excessive and wrong actions in correcting specific work. After the autumn and winter of 1968, the situation of chaos and all-out civil war gradually eased. However, under the condition that the erroneous movement of the "Cultural

Revolution" continued to persist, contradictions continued to develop, and new struggles and incidents continued to occur.

Lin Biao and Jiang Qing created the "Yang, Yu, Fu" incident

In March 1968, Lin Biao and Jiang Qing personally created the "Yang, Yu, Fu Incident". They framed Yang Chengwu, Yu Lijin, and Fu Chongbi, who held important positions in the People's Liberation Army, for "conspiring to seize the power of the Air Force" and "armedly attacking the Central Cultural Revolution." The "new counterattack" of "February Countercurrent". Based on these trumped-up charges, defrauding Mao Zedong's consent, Ye Jianying, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen and other vice-chairmen of the Military Commission had no prior knowledge, on March 22, 1968, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Issued an order: Yang Chengwu was revoked from his positions as Acting Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army, member of the Standing Committee of the Central Military Commission, Deputy Secretary-General of the Central Military Commission, and First Secretary of the Party Committee of the General Staff; "Charges, arrest and bring to justice; Fu Chongbi's post as commander of the Beijing Garrison was revoked. On the same day, an order was issued: Huang Yongsheng, the former commander of the Guangzhou Military Region, was appointed as the chief of the general staff of the People's Liberation Army, Wen Yucheng, the deputy chief of the general staff of the People's Liberation Army, and the commander of the Beijing Garrison.

On March 24, a meeting of more than 10,000 cadres above the regiment level was held in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. Mao Zedong personally attended the meeting, and Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing and others attended the meeting. Lin Biao gave the so-called "extremely important instructions" at the meeting. Lin Biao announced the decision of the Central Committee on the 22nd, and gave an explanation that distorted the facts and made strong statements. He said: "Recently, it happened in the air

force that Yang Chengwu colluded with Yu Lijin to usurp the leadership of the air force and to overthrow Wu Faxian. Yang Chengwu and Fu Chongbi colluded to overthrow Xie Fuzhi. Yang Chengwu's personal ambition also wanted to exclude Xu Shiyu, Han Xianchu, Huang Yongsheng and others. A man of equal stature to him". "First, he is wrong; second, he is a minority. The others are the majority, and the others are right. Therefore, weighing the two aspects, we can only take the approach of either defeating others or defeating him." It is unprecedented for such a public proclamation in the inner-party struggle and at the Ten Thousand People's Congress. However, because this strange theory came from the mouth of the deputy commander-in-chief, although it did not conform to Mao Zedong's counter-trend spirit, it was still regarded as the golden rule, and no one dared to raise any different opinions.

In his speech, Lin Biao publicly praised Jiang Qing on the pretext of criticizing Yang, Yu, and Fu's so-called "disloyalty to the Central Cultural Revolution." Said that she is "a very outstanding comrade among female comrades in our party, and also an outstanding cadre among our party cadres... many great achievements have been made during the cultural revolution" and so on. Lin Biao's wife, Ye Qun, took the opportunity to raise her arms and shouted: "Comrade Jiang Qing is an outstanding proletarian revolutionary!" And Jiang Qing also replied: "Whoever opposes Chairman Mao, Vice Chairman Lin will be defeated!" Jiang Qing's "golden stick" Yao Wenyuan also shouted in time: "Anyone who opposes Chairman Mao will be defeated! Whoever opposes Vice Chairman Lin Let the chairman be defeated!" The chants came and went, and a farce was staged in which Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques praised each other.

On March 25, the working group of the Central Military Commission announced its reorganization. The Military Commission Office is an organization responsible for the daily work of the Military Commission established under the special conditions of the "Cultural Revolution". It was established in August 1967. The original members were Wu Faxian, Ye Qun, Qiu Huizuo and Zhang

Xiuchuan. In September of the same year, according to Zhou Enlai's proposal, the central government decided that Yang Chengwu would be the head of the Military Commission's work team, Wu Faxian would be the deputy head, and Li Zuopeng was added to the team. The working group is responsible to the Standing Committee of the Military Commission. After this reorganization, Huang Yongsheng was the team leader, Wu Faxian was still the deputy team leader, and the members were Ye Qun, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo, etc., so that the Lin Biao Group completely controlled the Military Commission's working team. Soon, according to Mao Zedong's opinion, it was decided that the Standing Committee of the Central Military Commission would no longer hold meetings, and the Military Commission's working group actually replaced the Standing Committee of the Military Commission.

On March 27, the Central Cultural Revolution held a meeting to "completely smash the new counterattack of the 'February Countercurrent' and win the overall victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" at the Workers' Stadium. Jiang Qing announced at the meeting: Yang Chengwu set up Xiaoshantou, and behind the scenes, he conspired to recruit and surrender. Kang Sheng said: Yang Chengwu is a bourgeois careerist and conspirator. Chen Boda put on a face of a theorist and regarded this incident as the fifth round of class struggle since the "Cultural Revolution", which seemed to reflect the objective law of the development of class struggle. The so-called "five rounds" are: the first round defeated Peng, Luo, Lu, and Yang; the second round defeated Liu, Deng, and Tao; the third round defeated last year's "February Countercurrent"; The round is to repel the so-called "little minions of Liu, Deng, and Tao" Wang Li, Guan Feng, and Qi Benyu; the fifth round is to expose the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of Yang, Yu, and Fu and knock them down. The nature and circumstances of these five so-called struggles are completely different, but it is a nondescript generalization to say that Chengdu is a round of class struggle, but at that time it deceived many people who did not know the truth.

It is now very clear that the so-called "Yang, Yu, and Fu Incident" was a major step in the further usurpation of military power by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's collusion and careful planning, and it was a major unjust case during the "Cultural Revolution". Mao Zedong later commented in a letter: "The handling of this case may have been wrong. At that time, I heard Lin Biao's one-sided words."

After the "Yang, Yu, and Fu Incident", Lin Biao and Jiang Qing took the opportunity to instigate the digging of "black backgrounds" and further attacked Ye Jianying, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen and other leaders of the Military Commission, thus controlling a large part of the power of the Military Commission. At the same time, newspapers and periodicals continuously published editorials, repeatedly calling on the whole country to "resolutely oppose right opportunism, right separatism, right capitulationism, and crush the right overturning style"; It is necessary to carry out class analysis" and advocate "maintaining and strengthening the factionalism of the proletarian revolutionaries".

The "Yang, Yu, and Fu incident" created by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing actually formed a powerful "anti-rightist" movement, which further contributed to the proliferation of ultra-left thoughts. And in the process of gradually easing the chaos in the world and restoring the social order, another huge reverse wave was rolled up, adding another major repetition.

During the most chaotic phase of the "Cultural Revolution", the party's local and grassroots organizations were disrupted, production order was severely disrupted, and social life fell into chaos. The total seizure of power has cost the Chinese people a heavy price. Just looking at the index of total industrial and agricultural output value, in 1967 it dropped by 9.6% compared with the previous year, and in 1968 it dropped by another 4.2% compared to the previous year. The damage suffered politically and ideologically, and the loss of people's lives and property are even more immeasurable.

At the same time, it should also be seen that in those chaotic years, the majority of party members did not give up their

responsibilities as a Communist Party member. Many party cadres have been paraded, criticized, and censored. As long as they are not "dismissed from office", they will lead the people around them regardless of difficulties, persist in work and production, and try their best to maintain the operation of social life. Under the long-term education of the Party, the vast number of engineering technicians and workers put the interests of the country and the people first, and resisted the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" through active work and practical actions. Therefore, in the two years of 1967 and 1968, although production declined, some important construction and scientific research projects did not stop. For example, on June 17, 1967, my country's first hydrogen bomb exploded successfully. On October 30, 1968, the Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge designed and constructed by my country was completed and opened to traffic. The achievements of such major engineering and technological projects have shown the fighting spirit of the cadres and the masses in the face of hardships and hardships. The majority of farmers are still working hard under extremely difficult conditions to provide food and other agricultural and sideline products to the people of the whole country.

4. "The whole country is red" and the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China with a lot of vacancies

On September 5, 1968, the revolutionary committees of the two autonomous regions of Tibet and Xinjiang were established at the same time. From the seizure of power in Shanghai in January 1967 to this time, after 20 months of intricate struggles, 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions across the country (except Taiwan) have successively established revolutionary committees. This marks that the task of seizing power of the "Cultural Revolution" has basically been completed, and the so-called "all mountains and rivers in the country are a piece of red" has been realized.

A Brief Introduction to the Establishment of Provincial Revolutionary Committees

Brief introductions to the revolutionary committees of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. There was a brief list in a book titled "Good Revolutionary Committee" published at that time, which is reproduced below with some modifications:

Brief Introduction to the Establishment of Revolutionary Committees in Provinces, Municipalities and Autonomous Regions of the Country

次序	地 区	成立时间	革委会主要负责人
1	黑龙江省	1967. 1. 31	潘复生、汪家道
2	山东省	1967. 2. 3	王效禹、杨得志、韩金海

Continuation

次序	地 区	成立时间	革委会主要负责人
3	上海市	1967. 2. 5	张春桥、姚文元、王洪文
4	贵州省	1967. 2. 14	李再含、张 明、李 立
5	山西省	1967. 3. 8	刘格平、张日清、陈永贵
6	北京市	1967. 4. 20	谢富治、吴 德、聂元梓

Continuation

次序	地 区	成立时间	革委会主要负责人
7	青海省	1967. 8. 12	刘贤权、张江霖、达 洛
8	内蒙古 自治区	1967. 11. 1	滕海清、吴 涛、高锦明
9	天津市	1967. 12. 6	解学恭、萧思明、郑三生
10	江西省	1968. 1. 5	程世清、杨栋梁、万里浪
11	甘肃省	1968. 1. 24	冼恒汉、张 忠、胡继宗
12	河南省	1968. 1. 27	刘建勋、王 新、纪登奎、耿起昌
13	河北省	1968. 2. 3	李雪峰、刘子厚、马 辉、耿长锁
14	湖北省	1968. 2. 5	曾思玉、刘 丰、张体学
15	广东省	1968. 2. 21	黄永胜、孔石泉、陈 郁
16	吉林省	1968. 3. 6	王淮湘、阮泊生、郑季翘
17	江苏省	1968. 3. 23	许世友、吴大胜、杨广立、彭 冲
18	浙江省	1968. 3. 24	南 萍、陈励耘、熊应堂、赖可可
19	湖南省	1968. 4. 8	黎 原、龙书金、华国锋、章伯森
20	宁夏回族 自治区	1968. 4. 10	康健民、张怀礼、徐洪学
21	安徽省	1968. 4. 18	李德生、廖成美、宋佩璋
22	陕西省	1968. 5. 1	李瑞山、黄经耀、胡 炜
23	辽宁省	1968. 5. 10	陈锡联、李伯秋、王 良、毛远新
24	四川省	1968. 5. 31	张国华、梁兴初、刘结挺、张西挺
25	云南省	1968. 8. 13	谭甫仁、周 兴、陈 康、段思英
26	福建省	1968. 8. 14	韩先楚、皮定钧、蓝荣玉

Continuation

次序	地 区	成立时间	革委会主要负责人
27	广西壮族 自治区	1968. 8. 26	韦国清、欧致富、安平生
28	西 藏 自治区	1968. 9. 5	曾雍雅、任 荣、巴 桑
29	新疆维吾尔 自治区	1968. 9. 5	龙书金、赛福鼎

Reasons for the time-consuming establishment of the Revolutionary Committee

Why did it take 20 months to establish revolutionary committees at the provincial, municipal, and autonomous region levels? This is determined by the special conditions of the "Cultural Revolution" and the special nature of the seizure of power.

First of all, it is difficult to determine the target of the seizure of power. The object of the declaration at that time was the so-called party establishment who took the capitalist road. As mentioned earlier, this object has no definite connotation, and it has a lot of subjective randomness. Therefore, this faction can say that a certain leader is a capitalist roader and wants to be defeated; while the other faction can claim that the same leader is a revolutionary cadre and wants to unite. There are endless debates, it is difficult to unify, and it even leads to faction and violence.

The second is that the "three combinations" are difficult to achieve. Mao Zedong once said: "There are three basic experiences of the revolutionary committee: one is that there are representatives of revolutionary cadres, the other is that there are representatives of the army, and the third is that there are representatives of the revolutionary masses, and the revolutionary triple combination has been realized." It is not easy to determine who is the "representative of the revolutionary masses". At that time, there were a large number of mass organizations with different names, and they all called themselves proletarian revolutionary rebels. committee. There are often endless debates over how many revolutionary committee members an organization has,

whether to join the Standing Committee, or whether to be the deputy director. No agreement can be reached, resulting in armed struggle and repeated seizures of power. It is easier to determine the representatives of the army, but there are also field armies and local military districts, and there are contradictions between this army and that army.

In addition, there are special regional contradictions, problems and grievances left over from history, and ethnic and religious contradictions in some areas. And whether to participate in the Revolutionary Committee, what position in it, is a matter of great interest, and so on. All these contradictions made it difficult for some provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions to establish revolutionary committees even though they claimed to have seized power. Although revolutionary committees have been established in some places, internal struggles continue. These show that the basic experience of the "three combinations" is not successful.

How to evaluate the Revolutionary Committee

In order to celebrate the so-called "the whole country is red", on September 7, "People's Daily" and "Liberation Army Daily" jointly published an editorial: "Long live the overall victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!", the editorial said: "The whole country is red, this The extremely magnificent scene is a major event in the process of winning the overall victory of the Cultural Revolution, and it marks that the entire movement has entered the stage of struggle, criticism, and reform on a national scale." "The part of the party and government usurped by them This is a serious struggle between the bourgeoisie's attempt to restore and the proletariat against restoration. It is a continuation of the proletarian revolution and a political revolution in which the proletariat opposes the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. "The establishment of all revolutionary committees in all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions of the country shows that the invincible Mao Zedong Thought has mastered the incomparable power of hundreds of millions of revolutionary masses, greatly strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, and greatly enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism." Such evaluations are obviously a kind of flattery that does not conform to reality, and cannot stand the test of historical practice. The nature and role of revolutionary committees needs to be re-evaluated today.

The Revolutionary Committee, a new political institution established after the seizure of power, is not a "new thing with incomparable vitality", but an abnormal, temporary and deformed institution that lacks vitality and is produced under special historical conditions. It has at least the following three fundamental flaws:

One is that the name is not correct. Revolutionary Committee is a commonly used name in the world. It usually refers to a temporary political institution established after an advanced class or progressive group overthrows the rule of a reactionary class or backward group. It marks the progress of society, or at least the change of dynasties. But China's "Cultural Revolution" was not. Socialist China has basically eliminated classes, there is no dominant exploiting class that needs to be overthrown, and there is no such thing as "one class overthrowing another class"; Hede's style of fighting against windmills, because the "capitalist-roaders" who are the targets of attack do not exist at all. The "Cultural Revolution" has been going on for more than 10 years, and no "capitalist roader" has been identified. Therefore, this seizure of power is nothing more than some Communist Party members leading some masses to seize power from other Communist Party members. After the seizure of power, it is still the local government of the People's Republic of China, and there will be no problem of regime change. After seizing power, the leading force is still the Communist Party of China, and there is no question of changing leadership. After the seizure of power, the nature of the regime has not changed, it is still a people's democratic dictatorship. Therefore, whose life to revolutionize has become a question that is difficult to say clearly, and the name of the revolutionary committee is naturally not correct. As for an organization of schools, factories, and shops, it is also called a revolutionary committee, which confuses political institutions with organizations of different natures such as commerce, education, and economics. The absurdity of its name is needless to say.

The second is that the task is wrong. The people's democratic dictatorship has both political and economic functions. With the completion of my country's socialist transformation and the basic elimination of the exploiting classes, the political function of suppressing the resistance of the exploiting classes in the regime has gradually weakened. Of course, there are still functions of defending against attacks from domestic and foreign enemies and defending the people's

political power, while the economic function of organizing socialist construction gradually strengthened. Developing productive forces has become the central task of the Communist Party of China and the people of the whole country, as well as the central task of the regime. This point was originally clarified in the resolution of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1956, but it was a pity that it took a tortuous path later. The Revolutionary Committee, on the other hand, did the opposite. Its main task is to engage in class struggle and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is Mao Zedong's request at the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China: "Unite for one goal, which is to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and implement it in every factory, village, office, and school." "Consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat" In its full sense, it originally included the development of productive forces to consolidate the economic foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to the teachings of the revolutionary teachers, this should also be the first task after the proletariat seizes power. It is a pity that the main task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat emphasized by Mao Zedong at that time was to "carry out the revolution in the superstructure including education, literature and art, news, health and other cultural fields to the end"; it was to "further criticize Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary revisionism, Eliminate the remaining poison"; it is "to complete the tasks of all stages of struggle, criticism, and reform nationwide." But practice has proved that the result of doing so runs counter to the goal of "consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat". In this sense, it can be said that the Revolutionary Committee is a tool for carrying out the "Left" erroneous line with class struggle as the key link. Obviously, such a task does not meet the wishes and needs of the broad masses of the people, and also violates the objective law of socialist social development.

The third is that the system is not good. The organizational principle of the Revolutionary Committee is "unified leadership", the unity of the party and the government, two brands, and one institution. It can be said to be an extreme development of the unified leadership system formed during the war years. If under the historical conditions at that time, the unified leadership system was conducive to unifying command, concentrating all forces, and ensuring the victory of the revolutionary war, it played a beneficial role. Aspect transfer, no longer meet the needs. According to the trend of historical development, it should have

developed in the direction of separating the party and the government, but the revolutionary committee did the opposite and integrated the party and government institutions into one. Historical practice has proved that such things that move against the trend of history cannot have vitality. The abolition of the Revolutionary Committee was just a historical necessity.

Although the establishment of a deformed regime with many internal contradictions and low efficiency, having a unified authority is always a step forward than anarchy and chaos. The establishment of provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional revolutionary committees is conducive to stabilizing the established situation created by the "Cultural Revolution", and also creates an indispensable condition for the long-awaited convening of the Party Central Committee Plenary Session and the Ninth National Congress.

Restoration and Reconstruction Party Preparation

The Communist Party of China is the core force leading the revolutionary cause. Without the leadership of the Party, there would be no great unity of the people of all nationalities in the country. This is not only a summary of revolutionary historical experience, but also an objective reflection of the development of modern Chinese history. Although Mao Zedong believed that the Chinese Communist Party was not so good after entering the city, he mobilized hundreds of millions of people to "kick away the party committee", disrupted the party's organizations at all levels, and stopped the organization and life of the majority of party members, resulting in a situation of "chaos under heaven". However, in order to achieve the "great rule of the world" he subjectively imagined, he still had to rely on the strength of the party organization. Therefore, the party organization must be rebuilt, but the issue of not restoring the state of the party organization before the "Cultural Revolution" became one of the major issues Mao Zedong explored and thought about. In order to restore and rebuild the party organization, it is necessary to convene the party's central plenary session and national congress.

As early as the closing ceremony of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee not long after the "Cultural Revolution" began, Mao Zedong raised the issue of preparing for and holding the

Ninth National Congress of the Party. At the beginning of his speech, he said: "About the issue of the Ninth Congress, I am afraid that we need to prepare. The question of when the Ninth Congress will be held, we need to prepare." In the autumn of 1967, he entrusted Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan to hold the Ninth Congress. The question was investigated in Shanghai. Yao Wenyuan held some symposiums in Shanghai, collected some opinions, and wrote an investigation report. On the pretext of mass opinion, the report proposes to revise the party history before the Ninth National Congress, so as to produce "materials on the history of the struggle between the two lines within the party" that suit the needs. He also said that the "Resolution on Certain Historical Issues" passed by the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1945 is no longer valid, because Liu Shaoqi was affirmed in that resolution. On October 21, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Soliciting Opinions on the Ninth National Congress" to the whole country, and Yao Wenyuan's report was attached. Since then, consultations on the Nine Congresses have been carried out in various forms across the country.

The Central Cultural Revolution Group actually became the leading body for the preparations for the Ninth National Congress. On November 5, 1967, in a conversation with members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, Mao Zedong proposed to "comprehensively summarize and inform all regions" of the reflection materials on the convening of the Nine National Congresses in various regions, so as to continue to solicit opinions. On November 27, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution issued the "Notice on Consulting Opinions on Convening the Ninth National Congress". This circular actually notified the opinions of the Central Cultural Revolution Group to the whole country in the form of mass opinions. The report said: "The most fundamental task of the Ninth National Congress is to use Mao Zedong Thought as a guideline to summarize the experience of our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction since the 'Eighth National Congress', and to summarize the experience of this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." Rectify and purify the party organization, elect a Central Committee that is infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao, loyal to Mao Zedong Thought, and loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line." "It is necessary to

vigorously publicize that Vice Chairman Lin is Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms and his successor, and write it into the report and resolution of the Ninth National Congress." It is necessary to "eliminate all traitors, spies, surrendered elements, and counter-revolutionary revisionists hidden in the party to eradicate hidden dangers." The method of representative generation is "from top to bottom, combined with top and bottom, combined with internal and external, and negotiated by all parties" and so on. It revealed the ambition of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing to take advantage of the convening of the Ninth National Congress to crowd out the older generation of revolutionaries and seize greater power. On December 16, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution Group issued the "Notice on Revision of the Party Program and Constitution", which notified Shanghai's experience in launching a "mass campaign to revise the Party Constitution and Constitution" and required all localities to "refer to Shanghai's experience and organize Party Program and Constitution Amendment Group and Mass Discussions". Since then, although the revision of the Party Constitution has been carried out in various places, revision groups have been organized at various levels, and on the surface it seems that a large number of people have participated in the discussion. In fact, the "Notice" issued by the Central Cultural Revolution has long since become an insurmountable criterion. The so-called discussions and revisions by the masses are nothing more than a little embellishment of words within the established frame.

Absurd accusations against Liu Shaoqi

One of the main preparations for the convening of the Ninth National Congress is to "solve Liu Shaoqi's problem." As early as December 18, 1966, a task force was established to conduct a secret review of Liu Shaoqi under the direct control and command of Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi and others. On the one hand, they resorted to deceitful methods such as falsification, taking words out of context, and forcing confessions, to piece together fictitious and far-fetched materials, forge evidence, and report them to the central government; Material corrected several times by the person who gave the perjury. After many plans and painstaking efforts, finally in September 1968, a so-called "Review Report on the Crimes of Traitor, Internal Traitor, and Scab Liu Shaoqi" was proposed, which was scheduled to be discussed and approved at the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee. This review

report accused Liu Shaoqi of being "arrested for rebellion, surrendering to the enemy, and acting as a traitor and scab" three times in 1925, 1927, and 1929. This is a completely distorted and false accusation.

In the winter of 1925, it was a fact that Liu Shaoqi was arrested in Changsha, but there was no such thing as absconding from Shanghai privately or defecting to the enemy. Liu Shaoqi returned to Changsha to recuperate due to illness, which was completely disclosed at the time. After being arrested by the warlord Zhao Hengti in Changsha, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, local student federations and other mass organizations, as well as the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang, sent calls to condemn Zhao Hengti and demanded his release. In addition, relatives, friends and fellow villagers also came to the rescue. Under the pressure from all walks of life outside, and the upper-level coordinators and joint guarantees inside, Zhao Hengti had no choice but to release Liu Shaoqi. After Liu Shaoqi arrived in Guangzhou from Changsha, he was grandly welcomed by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. Deng Zhongxia, head of the ACFTU, praised Liu Shaoqi as "the bravest fighter of the working class" at the welcome meeting. However, Jiang Qing and others disregarded these conclusive facts, and only relied on a statement from a detainee in 1952 saying that Liu Shaoqi had accepted the "Four Books and Five Classics" sent by Zhao Hengti. join the party". Such an inference is really absurd.

The so-called rape in 1927, the evidence is only Ding Juequn's confession. In 1927, Ding served as the executive member of the Kuomintang Party Headquarters in Hankou Special City and Minister of Workers. After being arrested in 1928, he left the Communist Party. In the summer of 1967, he was imprisoned, and the task force forced him to write false testimony against Liu Shaoqi. He began to say: Liu "works in the provincial trade union, and I work in the city party department. Apart from working contact, I have no special relationship." But then wrote perjury under pressure. The next day I wrote negative materials again, stating that "these are all false" and "in order to criticize Liu Shaoqi, I wrote this document to break the framework of the facts." However, this kind of falsification that "breaks the frame of facts" was included in the "Review Report", which turned out to be the most important evidence.

In 1929, Liu Shaoqi was indeed arrested when he was the Secretary of the Manchuria Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China.

However, due to the resolute struggle and the fact that his identity was not revealed, the court had to release him on bail because of insufficient evidence. The Provincial Party Committee had reported this matter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China at that time, and Liu Shaoqi never concealed it. However, Jiang Qing and his gang forced Meng Yongqian, who was the head of the organization of the Manchuria Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China at the time and was arrested at the same time as Liu Shaoqi, to write a false testimony. Although Meng Yongqian wrote more than 20 appeal materials during his detention, requesting to overturn the perjury evidence, none of them were allowed to report, and only perjury evidence was selected in the "Review Report". The intention of framing and killing people is obvious. Moreover, during the entire review process, Liu Shaoqi was completely deprived of the right to defend himself. Lin Biao and Jiang Qing deliberately framed and persecuted Liu Shaoqi politically and personally, and framed a large number of party, government, and military leaders as "Liu Shaoqi's agents" and defeated them all. One of the purposes is obviously to create excuses for them to "absorb a group and purge a group" in the election of the Central Committee at the upcoming Ninth National Congress.

Central Plenum with a lot of vacancies

Liu Shaoqi is one of the main leaders of the Communist Party of China. Although the position of Vice Chairman of the Central Committee was unexplainably canceled after the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, and he was illegally detained and deprived of all rights, he is still nominally the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. In order to completely overthrow the Standing Committee, it is necessary to go through an appropriate organizational form and complete the necessary procedures, and it must be completed before the Ninth National Congress of the Party. For this reason, from October 13 to 31, 1968, Mao Zedong hosted the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in Beijing. This meeting was at a time when many members of the Central Committee were deprived of their right to attend the meeting. Some members of the Central Committee had just been released from the place where they were illegally detained—the so-called "cowshed" at the time. Some members of the Central Committee continued to be framed

at the meeting Under extremely abnormal circumstances of sexual criticism.

Before the meeting was held on July 21, Kang Sheng wrote a top-secret letter to Jiang Qing himself. The letter said: "Send the list you want." In the list made by Kang Sheng, there are 193 members and alternate members of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (28 of whom have passed away), and 88 of them have been framed as "secret agents", "traitors", "connected with foreign elements", "Anti-Party elements" and therefore could not attend the meeting. Some other members of the Central Committee were suppressed and denounced by the rebels and were unable to attend. Under such circumstances, among the 97 members of the Eighth Central Committee, except for 10 who died since the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee, only 40 were able to attend this meeting. During the meeting, because there was not enough quorum, it was announced at the opening meeting that "through the agreement of the Proletarian Headquarters", 10 candidates would be selected as members of the Central Committee from among the alternate members of the Central Committee, which had just passed half. Among the 98 alternate members of the Eighth Central Committee, only 9 were able to attend the meeting except for the 10 who were replaced as members of the Central Committee. Members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, members of the Military Commission's working group, major leaders of the revolutionary committees of provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, major military regions, and personnel directly under the central government were expanded to participate in this meeting. 74 people accounted for 57% of the total number of 133 members of the meeting more. These people not only have the same voting rights as members of the Central Committee, but some are also designated as team leaders and deputy team leaders to lead the Central Committee. For example, Wang Hongwen was designated as the deputy team leader. It was later discovered that among the members sent from the province to participate in the Central Plenary Session, one of them was not a member of the Communist Party at that time. More non-Central members attended the meeting than Central members, and non-Central members acted as team leaders to lead the Central Committee. This is unique in the history of the party, and it is also a strange phenomenon

that the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee seriously deviated from organizational principles.

It was announced at the opening meeting on August 13 that this meeting was held to prepare for the holding of the Ninth National Congress. There are four items on the agenda: discuss the principles and methods for the selection of representatives to the Ninth National Congress; discuss the revision of the draft party constitution; talk about the domestic and international situation; discuss and approve the special review report on Liu Shaoqi.

In his speech, Mao Zedong asked everyone to discuss: Should the "Cultural Revolution" be carried out? In the middle of doing it, is the grade the main thing, or is there too little grade and too many mistakes? Mao Zedong made it clear that he believed that "the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing the restoration of capitalism, and building socialism."

Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and his group took advantage of discussing the evaluation of the "Cultural Revolution" proposed by Mao Zedong. At the beginning of the group discussion, they organized to besiege Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, etc. who participated in the so-called "February Countercurrent" (Tan Zhenlin was deprived of the right to participate in the meeting) and the so-called "consistently rightist" Zhu De, Chen Yun, Deng Zihui. Lin Biao declared at the meeting: "February Adverse Current" was "the most serious anti-Party incident since the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" and "a preview of the restoration of capitalism". Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, etc. imposed the crimes of "anti-Chairman Mao", "denying the Yan'an rectification movement", "reversing the verdict on Wang Ming's line", "disrupting the army", and "engaging in revisionism" on the old comrades who were criticized, forcing them to commit crimes once and for all. Explain and review again. This kind of false criticism, which is infinitely high-level and oppressive, created an extremely tense atmosphere in the meeting.

At the time, the leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China had clearly agreed with the review opinions of the task force and the party life was in an extremely abnormal situation, so they

wrongly approved the "Review Report on the Crimes of Traitor, Internal Traitor, and Scab Liu Shaoqi", and passed The resolution announced that "Liu Shaoqi will be permanently expelled from the party, removed from all his positions inside and outside the party, and continue to liquidate Liu Shaoqi and his accomplices for their crimes of treason against the party and the country." Although some old comrades expressed doubts during the discussion, they failed to persist under pressure. Only Central Committee member Chen Shaomin did not raise his hand during the vote. The above-mentioned investigation report and attachments were distributed to the entire party as a document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in late November and communicated orally to the masses. This eventually became the largest unjust case in the country. According to the statistics of the Supreme People's Court before September 1980, there were more than 26,000 cases in which Liu Shaoqi was implicated and sentenced as a counter-revolutionary, affecting more than 28,000 people. As a result, people who have been criticized and struggled at various levels are hard to count. Liu Shaoqi was taken to Kaifeng on October 17, 1969, and died of illness on November 12 at the age of 71.

The plenary session passed the "Decision on the Selection of Delegates to the Ninth National Congress", which stipulates that the principle for the selection of representatives is "full democratic consultation and a high degree of centralization". This provides the basis for setting aside the traditional principles of democratic elections and widely adopting the method of appointing representatives. The plenary session also passed the "Decision on the Constitution of the Communist Party of China (Draft)". The communique passed by the plenary session stated: "After the storm of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, sufficient conditions have been prepared for the holding of the Ninth National Congress of the Party from the ideological, political, and organizational aspects. The plenary session decided to hold the Chinese Communist Party at an appropriate time. The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party."

Criticism of the so-called "Black Six Theory"

The Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee resolved "Liu Shaoqi's problem" organizationally, and made it known to the world through the communiqué of the Plenary Session. Therefore,

the riddle-style "Chinese Khrushchev" was no longer used in newspapers and periodicals. And call him by his first name. After the meeting, the "Great Revolutionary Criticism" of "eliminating the counter-revolutionary revisionist ideology of Liu Shaoqi and the largest group of capitalist-roaders in the party" was launched extensively. The purpose is obviously to further stigmatize "Liu Shaoqi and his agents" through large-scale, public, and named criticism of Liu Shaoqi, and to spread a whole set of "Left" erroneous ideas of the "Cultural Revolution" more widely.

During the meeting, "People's Daily" reprinted the editorial of "Red Flag" magazine "Absorbing Fresh Blood from the Proletariat" on October 16, 1968, calling for criticism of the so-called "six theories" promoted by Liu Shaoqi (the so-called "theory of the extinction of class struggle", "the theory of taming tools", "the theory of the backwardness of the masses", "the theory of joining the party as an official", "the theory of peace within the party", and "the theory of the dissolution of public and private"). Many articles in this "Great Revolutionary Criticism" were organized and written by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others. It is characterized by taking meaning out of context, arbitrarily extending it, fabricating facts, distorting history, and criticizing correct thinking with "left" thinking.

The "theory of the extinguishment of class struggle" they criticize is actually based on the erroneous view of the expansion and absolutization of class struggle. It is no longer the correct judgment of the main content of social and political life. And these conclusions were affirmed by the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China. They were also made by many central leaders, including Mao Zedong himself, during a period of time, and they were not created by Liu Shaoqi alone.

The so-called "Taming the Tool Theory" was a speech directed at Liu Shaoqi. Although it is possible to study whether the statement that Communist Party members should be the party's taming tools is scientific and accurate, the criticism at that time was actually based on the anarchist viewpoint of denying the party's leadership and the one-sided slogan of "rebellion is justified" to criticize the party's obedience to the party. The party principle of leading, implementing the party's policies, observing the party's discipline, obeying the party's deployment, and working diligently for the party. It also criticized the correct policy of strengthening the organization and discipline of party members.

The so-called "mass backwardness theory" is not Liu Shaoqi's original words, but a distorted summary of some of Liu Shaoqi's words taken out of context. The criticism at that time was actually based on spontaneous theories such as "mass movement is natural and reasonable", "the masses themselves liberate themselves, and educate themselves", criticizing that in mass work, we should strengthen the party's leadership, pay close attention to ideological education, and raise the awareness of the masses. Principles and success stories.

They criticize the so-called "theory of joining the party and becoming an official". Liu Shaoqi himself has never said this, and it is completely distorted and fabricated. In fact, it is used to vilify the majority of party members, attack party activists, and distort the nature of the party.

The "Inner-Party Peace Theory" they criticize is a wrong criticism from the "Left" side of Liu Shaoqi's summary of the correct treatment of the experience of inner-Party struggles. In fact, it is based on the philosophy of struggle that brutally strikes mercilessly, and criticizes the correct attitude of Marxism that not only advocates active ideological struggle within the party, but also recognizes the necessary peace and compromise on the basis of adhering to principles to maintain the unity of the party, and does not. It is the correct viewpoint to attribute all differences and struggles within the party to the struggle between two classes and two lines.

The "dissolution of public and private" they criticize is actually based on empty slogans such as the so-called "struggle against "private" and "revolution in the depths of the soul" and the ultra-left viewpoint that denies personal material interests, and criticizes what Liu Shaoqi correctly explained. The Marxist principle of the unity of individual and collective interests.

This kind of "revolutionary criticism" that confuses right and wrong distorts the basic principles of Marxism and socialism, negates a series of correct principles and policies of the party, and obliterates the achievements made by the party leading the people of the whole country since the founding of the People's Republic of China. It destroyed the Party's fine traditions and style of work, and caused great confusion in all aspects of politics, theory, and ideology. Efforts to Stabilize the "Cultural Revolution" and the Lin Biao Incident In Mao Zedong's speech at the

opening meeting of the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party on October 13, 1968, he raised a question: Now we are all talking about carrying the "Cultural Revolution" to the end. What exactly is it? His answer is: It is estimated that it will take about three years, and it will be almost the next summer. That is to say, Mao Zedong was already considering how to end the "Cultural Revolution" on the premise that the rebels had achieved a decisive victory in their overall seizure of power. And convening the Ninth National Congress of the Party, exerting the authority of the highest organizational form of the Party, rebuilding the Party organizations at all levels, using the power of the majority of Party members and Party organizations at all levels, to stabilize the established pattern created by the "Cultural Revolution" Above all, to win new and greater victories is undoubtedly considered by Mao Zedong to be the most appropriate measure. The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held under the guidance of this thought. However, "the tree wants to be quiet but the wind does not stop", and since the fire of mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" has been burning ragingly, it is not so easy to stop it. In particular, Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, two anti-Party conspiracies who took advantage of the "Cultural Revolution" and stole huge power, are even more unwilling to end the "Cultural Revolution". Therefore, under the new situation, a new round of struggle has emerged.

[1] Zhang Chunqiao signed and agreed to the five articles of the Shanghai General Department of Industry: (1) Recognize that the General Department of Industry is a revolutionary and legal mass organization; The East China Bureau and the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee are fully responsible for the consequences of the Tingting incident; (4) Cao Diqu must make a public review to the masses; (5) provide various conveniences for the future activities of the General Administration of Industry and Commerce.

[2] The Jiefang Daily incident originated from the criticism of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee's official newspaper, Jiefang Daily, by the Shanghai Red Guards Revolutionary Committee (referred to as the Red Leather Society). The Red Leather Society published an article in the "Red Guards Battle Report" entitled "'Liberation Daily' is a faithful tool of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee to promote the bourgeois reactionary line", and unreasonably demanded that this tabloid be published at the same time as the "Liberation Daily". in order to "disinfect". After being rejected, on December 1, 1966, thousands of Red Guards stationed in the Jiefang Daily, making it impossible for the newspaper to be published. This action was opposed by the Shanghai workers' organization "Red Guards", but supported by the General Department of Industry. This struggle lasted 8 days and 8 nights, and ended when the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China accepted the conditions of the Red Leather Society.

[3] On December 23, 1966, the Red Guards held a critical meeting, forcing Cao Diqu, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China, to admit their demands. On the 25th, the General Department of Industry held another meeting to criticize the leaders of the Municipal Party Committee, forcing Cao Diqu to abolish the recognition of the conditions of the Red Guards, and declared that the Red Guards were a "royalist organization", which intensified the conflict. On the evening of the 28th, the Red Guard mobilized more than 10,000 people and surrounded the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Secretariat on Kangping Road, seeking to settle accounts with Cao Diqu. After Zhang Chunqiao learned of this situation in Beijing, he immediately called his wife and asked her to send a message to the General Secretary of Industry: "The red guards are going to rebel against Cao Diqu. Why don't the rebels in Shanghai stay still? I hope the rebels in Shanghai Think about the consequences of this incident. If Cao Diqu surrenders...the peaches will be picked by the Red Guards. Find a way to tell the workers and rebels, and quickly mobilize people to Kangping Road to launch a political offensive against the Red Guards." Wang Hongwen and others followed Zhang Chunqiao's instructions. Instructions, immediately set up a front-line headquarters and quickly transferred a large number of people. By the evening of the 29th, 100,000 workers had been mobilized to Kangping Road, and less than 30,000 Red Guards were surrounded. At this

time, under the instruction of Zhang Chunqiao, his wife came forward to accuse the Red Guards of raiding his home and "opposing the Central Cultural Revolution". At 2 o'clock in the morning on the 30th, the General Department of Industry and Commerce launched an attack on the Red Guards, wounding 91 people. At 7 o'clock in the morning, all the Red Guards surrendered. The General Department of Industry took advantage of the victory to destroy the organization of the Red Guards in the city, completely crushing the opposition, and set a precedent for large-scale armed struggle throughout the country.

[4] It was named Shanghai People's Commune because Zhang Chunqiao wanted to vote for Mao Zedong. But Mao Zedong had other considerations. On February 12, he summoned Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wen Yuan to Beijing for a talk, suggesting that Shanghai be renamed the Revolutionary Committee. On February 24, the Shanghai People's Commune passed a meeting and changed its name to the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. The commune name exists for 20 days.

[5] The so-called "four firsts", that is, first, correctly handle the relationship between weapons and people, people are the main; second, correctly handle the relationship between various tasks and political work, the leading one should be political work; Third, to correctly handle the relationship between transactional work and ideological work in political work, the focus should be on ideological work; fourth, to correctly handle the relationship between book thinking and living thinking in ideological work, it is important to master living thinking. "That is to say, human factors come first, political work comes first, ideological work comes first, and living ideas come first. This is the direction of our military's political and ideological work, and it is also the direction of the entire army's construction" (Enlarged Meeting of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China "Resolution on Strengthening Political and Ideological Work in the Army", October 20, 1960).

[6] "Wen Wei Po" editorial "Great Historic Revolutionary Initiative - Hailing the Birth of the Shanghai People's Commune", February 6, 1967.

[7] Quoted from Tie Zhuwei: "The Heavy Frost Makes the Color Stronger", see the first episode of "Meditating on History Here", Huaxia Publishing House, 1986 edition, p. 261. "March 18" refers to March 18, 1926. In order to protest against the Japanese warships helping the Feng Yuxiang National Army to attack Dagukou, the Northern District Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Beijing Municipal Party Committee of the Kuomintang organized more than 2,000 people to the Beiyang Government State Department demonstrations. Duan Qirui, in power, ordered the shooting to suppress. 47 demonstrators were killed, 155 were seriously injured, and there were countless minor injuries. Known as the "March 18 Massacre" in history. Chen Yi said here that "March 18 is the darkest day", referring to both history and reality, which is a pun.

[8] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 2, p. 301.

[9] At the beginning of June 1935, the agreement between He Yingqin, the military chief of the Kuomintang in Beijing, and Yoshijiro Umezumi, the commander of the Japanese army in North China, stipulated that the Kuomintang central army would withdraw from Ping, Tianjin and Hebei provinces.

[10] "History is Here to Meditate", Episode 1, Pages 16 and 17.

[11] Lenin's original words are: "The resistance of the bourgeoisie is ten times more ferocious because it is overthrown (even in one country). Its strength lies not only in the power of international capital, not only in its various international connections It is solid and strong, and it also lies in the power of habit, the power of small production. Because, unfortunately, there are still many, many small productions in the world, and small productions are constantly, every day, every hour, spontaneously and in large numbers. and the bourgeoisie. For all these reasons, (the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, and) without a protracted, tenacious, desperate struggle, that is, without a struggle of perseverance, discipline, perseverance and unity of will, cannot defeat the bourgeoisie." Liu Shaoqi did not quote the words in brackets.

Chapter Four Efforts to Stabilize the Pattern of the "Cultural Revolution" and the Lin Biao Incident



1. The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China where the "rebels" won

Domestic and foreign environment before the Ninth National Congress

The establishment of revolutionary committees in various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions eased the chaos in the world and created a relatively stable environment; the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China made further organizational preparations; Delegate to the National Congress of the Communist Party of China. In this way, the conditions for holding the Ninth National Congress are basically met.

The international environment before the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is still quite severe. Beginning in 1965, as the U.S. military increased its troops in southern Vietnam and continuously bombed northern Vietnam, the fierce war at the South Gate of China was fiercely ignited. The influence of the Paris peace talks between the four parties (the United States, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and the Republic of Vietnam (Saigon)) tends to weaken. However, the war had not subsided at that time, and there were still as many as 540,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Vietnam, as well as more than 60,000 accomplice troops and nearly one million South Vietnamese puppet troops. China's southern gate is not peaceful.

In the north, Sino-Soviet relations were tense. The armed confrontation between the border guards of the two countries has led to frequent border conflicts and bloodshed. According to the

statistics of the Chinese government, in the 53 months from October 15, 1964 to March 15, 1969, as many as 4,189 incidents occurred on the border between China and the Soviet Union. In particular, on the eve of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, in March 1969, on Zhenbao Island in Heilongjiang Province in the eastern part of the Sino-Soviet border, armed conflicts occurred one after another between the regular armies of the two countries, and serious bloody incidents involving artillery and tanks were used. This was a major event that had never happened since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the Soviet Union. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of my country lodged strong protests to the Soviet government three times in succession. The Zhenbao Island incident not only aroused the high attention and vigilance of senior leaders of our party and government, but also had a serious psychological impact on the majority of party members and the masses.

The above-mentioned incidents aggravated the "left" assessment of the international situation existing in the party that the world war was inevitable and increasingly urgent. On March 15, Mao Zedong focused on the issue of preparing for war at the Central Cultural Revolution Meeting. Preparing for war has not only become one of the important contents of the Ninth National Congress, but has also been stipulated as a guideline, which has a major impact on various tasks across the country. For example, the nationwide deep digging (that is, digging of air-raid shelters and air-raid shelters), the construction of civil air defense projects, the evacuation of many large and medium-sized cities, and the excessive investment in third-line construction, etc., have caused huge human and material resources. Waste, this all happened under the estimation of the imminent war.

Abnormal composition of nine representatives

From April 1 to 24, 1969, the Communist Party of China held its Ninth National Congress in Beijing. A total of 1,512 delegates attended the meeting, representing 22 million party members.

At that time, the party committees of all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions had not yet been established, and most party members had not resumed their organizational life. The representatives attending the meeting were "elected" after listening to the "opinions of the masses" in accordance with the so-called principle of "full democratic consultation and high concentration". of. The so-called centralization at that time meant that the central government concentrated on the Central Cultural Revolution, and the local governments concentrated on the revolutionary committees at all levels. And the so-called public opinion. The main reason is to listen to the opinions of the mass organizations of the rebel factions. In addition, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others deliberately designated some of their cronies and backbones to be nominated by relevant localities and departments. The person in charge, the leader of the "rebel faction" and the People's Liberation Army who supported the left. This made the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China a congress in which the "rebels" dominated in terms of organizational composition. What if some "rebels" are not members of the CCP? Join the party by surprise. Some of these representatives went through the formalities for joining the party after they were confirmed as representatives of the Ninth National Congress, some joined the party by surprise on the train to Beijing, and some even became representatives without going through the formalities for joining the party at all. This reflects that the organization of the Ninth Congress itself is seriously impure.

The agenda of the meeting consisted of three items, namely: Lin Biao made a political report on behalf of the Party Central Committee; revised the Constitution of the Communist Party of China; and elected the Party Central Committee.

The way this Congress is held is different from that of the Eighth National Congress. The meeting time was not announced in advance, foreign guests were not invited, and journalists were not allowed to freely interview. After the representatives arrived in Beijing, they were not allowed to go out or make phone calls.

Secretly enter the venue during a meeting. It was not until the communiqué issued by the congress secretariat on April 1 that members of the Communist Party of China and people of all ethnic groups across the country knew that the Ninth National Congress had been held. This approach is unique in the history of the ruling Communist Party of each country.

At 5 pm on April 1st, the first plenary meeting of the Ninth National Congress began. Mao Zedong presided over the opening ceremony of the meeting and gave a speech. He briefly reviewed the situation of the previous congresses since the establishment of the party, and said: "I hope that our congress can be held well, and it can be held as a united congress and a victorious congress."

The conference first approves the list of the presidium and elects the chairman of the conference. At this time, an interesting episode happened: Mao Zedong suddenly said: "I recommend Comrade Lin Biao as the chairman." Lin Biao immediately stood up in panic and said loudly: "The great leader Chairman Mao is the chairman." Mao Zedong said again: "Comrade Lin Biao is the chairman." Chairman, I will be the vice-chairman, okay?" Lin Biao waved his hands again and again and said, "No, no, Chairman Mao is the chairman, everyone agrees, please raise your hands." Then, the audience immediately raised their hands. When Mao Zedong saw everyone raising their hands, he agreed to be the chairman, and proposed that Lin Biao be the vice-chairman and Zhou Enlai the secretary-general, which was unanimously approved at the meeting. Then, Lin Biao made a political report on behalf of the Party Central Committee.

Nine Political Reports Fully Affirming the "Cultural Revolution"

This report centered on "the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and discussed "the preparations for the Cultural Revolution" and "the process of the Cultural Revolution." The task of "'seriously fighting, criticizing, and reforming' and carrying out the socialist revolution in the field of superstructure to the end" and other tasks.

When analyzing the "preparation for the Cultural Revolution," the Political Report quoted several of Lenin's expositions on class struggle in the transitional period out of context to prove that throughout the entire historical period of socialism, classes, class contradictions and class struggles have always existed, and capitalism has always existed. The danger of the restoration of doctrine. This confuses the principled boundaries between the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, the society that has established the basic socialist system after the completion of socialist transformation, and the historical stage of the entire socialist society. It should be as Lenin said: "We know clearly from all the works of Marx and Engels that they made a very strict distinction between the period when there were classes and the period when there were no classes." The thesis reflecting class contradictions and class struggle in the transitional period was transferred to socialist society intact as a theoretical basis for launching more and more intense political movements, proving that the "Cultural Revolution" was absolutely necessary and very timely, so that The assertion of the theory is wrong from practice to theory.

The political report used a lot of space to distort the history of the CCP and create a historical basis for launching the "Cultural Revolution". The content of the party's history is very rich, including the party's leadership of the Chinese people in revolution and construction, as well as the party's own construction. However, the political report boils down the entire history of the party to "the history of the struggle between Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line and the right and 'left' opportunist lines in the party." The political report slanders Liu Shaoqi as "the general representative of those in power taking the capitalist road. He has a political line that vainly attempts to restore capitalism in China and turn China into an imperialist and revisionist colony, and another political line that serves his counter-revolutionary political line." organizational line". He also said that it was "Chairman Mao who first noticed the danger of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of Liu Shaoqi and his gang." This proves that the occurrence of the "Cultural Revolution" was "the inevitable result of the long-term and sharp struggle between the two

classes, the two roads, and the two lines that existed in socialist society." Such absurd distortion and falsification of party history cannot stand the test of practice. Later, the Fifth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in March 1980 solemnly passed a resolution to completely rehabilitate Liu Shaoqi nationwide. The reason why the "Cultural Revolution" occurred and lasted for ten years has been scientifically concluded in the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Certain Issues Concerning the Party's History Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The political report of the Ninth National Congress ignored the objective law that the most fundamental task of the socialist stage was to develop productive forces, ignored the poverty of the people's economic life and the turbulent political life at that time, and defined "seriously fighting, criticizing, and reforming" as It is the central task of the whole party, and it is required to "put the active study and application of Mao Zedong Thought at the top of all tasks." Only a small section of the report talks about the issue of "grasping the revolution and promoting production", and the center of this paragraph is to emphasize the prominence of politics. The report said: "Politics is the concentrated expression of the economy, do not carry out revolutions in the superstructure, do not mobilize the broad masses of workers and peasants, do not criticize the revisionist line, do not expose a handful of traitors, spies, capitalist roaders, and counter-revolutionaries, do not consolidate How can it be possible for the leadership of the proletariat to further consolidate the economic foundation of socialism and further develop the productive forces of socialism?" Apart from such ultra-left erroneous and empty theories, there is no mention in the report of how to develop productive forces or how to formulate economic policies. Development strategies, plans and guidelines, etc. There is also no mention of how the party should lead and organize socialist economic and cultural construction. It seems that as long as the so-called revolution is well grasped, production will naturally increase,

and the economic plan will naturally be overfulfilled. Practice has long proved that this is simply impossible. The more such a revolution is "grasped", the greater will be the damage to production.

For the first time in the political report, the wrong guiding ideology that class struggle should be the center at any time and under any circumstances during the socialist stage was formally defined as "our party's basic line in the entire historical stage of socialism." The tasks determined under this "Left" erroneous guideline are completely divorced from China's objective reality and contrary to the requirements and wishes of the entire Party and the people of the country.

Mistakes in the Nine Party Constitution

The General Assembly adopted the "Constitution of the Communist Party of China." This new party constitution was also formed under the guidance of the "theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and contained many "left" erroneous views. For example, it affirmed the "Left" thesis that "classes, class contradictions and class struggle always exist" in the historical stage of socialism; it affirmed that the "Cultural Revolution" was "under the conditions of socialism, the political struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes." Great Revolution". In addition, "Down with imperialism headed by the United States, down with modern revisionism centered on the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, and down with the reactionaries of all countries" was written into the general outline of the party constitution. This is also unprecedented in any party constitution in the history of the party.

In the general outline of the party constitution, an incorrect statement was made about Mao Zedong Thought as the party's guide to action. Mao Zedong Thought is the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China. It is a correct summary of theoretical principles and experience about the Chinese revolution and construction that has been proven by practice. It is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Communist Party of

China. The party constitution adopted at this congress reads: "Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism in an era when imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is heading for worldwide victory." This obliterates the essential characteristics of Mao Zedong Thought, and subjectively exaggerates the historical status of Mao Zedong Thought. The Ninth Party Constitution also attributes the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought to Mao Zedong alone, the collective leadership of the Party Central Committee, and the important role of other outstanding leaders of the Party are all negated.

The party constitution of the Ninth National Congress clearly states that the leader of the party is Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong's successor is Lin Biao, which deviates from the basic principles of historical materialism and violates the party's principle of democratic centralism. Lenin made it very clear that the leader of a proletarian party is not a single person, but a group of people. They are the most prestigious, influential and experienced people who have been tested by practice. They are trusted by the majority of party members, elected to hold the most important positions, and exercise collective leadership over the work of the entire party. Party leaders can neither guarantee life tenure, nor can a single person designate their own successors. "A leader who chooses his own successor is following a feudal practice." However, the Nine Party Constitution stipulates in the general outline that the Communist Party of China "is led by Comrade Mao Zedong" and stipulates that "Comrade Lin Biao is Comrade Mao Zedong's close comrade-in-arms and successor." Praise him for "consistently holding high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought, most faithfully and firmly implementing and defending Comrade Mao Zedong's proletarian revolutionary line". Such an approach is fundamentally incompatible with the nature of the proletarian vanguard. Lin Biao's defection two years later was just a merciless mockery of history for this wrong approach.

The Ninth Party Constitution also abolished the provisions on the rights of party members, so that the majority of ordinary party

members have only obligations but no rights. Marxism holds that there should be no rights without obligations, and similarly, there should be no obligations without rights. The provisions of the Ninth Party Constitution prevent party members from exercising their legal rights, and at the same time allow a very small number of people to become special party members who enjoy various rights without fulfilling any obligations. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others are such special party members. Canceling the rights enjoyed by the majority of party members in the party will inevitably cast a strong color of authoritarianism on the party and cause serious damage to the party's construction.

Nine features of elections and meetings

The Congress elected the Ninth Central Committee. On April 15, the Secretariat of the Presidium of the General Assembly issued the election method for members and alternate members of the Ninth Central Committee. It stipulates that Mao Zedong and Lin Biao are "natural candidates"; members who participated in the Central Cultural Revolution Meeting and members of the Military Commission's working group are "unanimously approved candidates." It also stipulates that the number of candidates nominated by the original eighth Central Committee members and alternate Central Committee members as candidates for the ninth term is limited to 53 people. The special composition of the representatives to the Ninth National Congress and the erroneous provisions in the election method of the Central Committee members that violated the principle of democracy were all aimed at ensuring the stability of the established political structure of the "Cultural Revolution" from an organizational perspective. The seat arrangement of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is very characteristic. Mao Zedong is in the middle, on the left are members of the so-called "New Cultural Revolution" headed by Lin Biao, Kang Sheng, and Jiang Qing, and on the right are members of the so-called "old government" headed by Zhou Enlai. The contrast is sharp , is meaningful.

The General Assembly election was held on April 24. Of the 170 elected members of the Central Committee and 109 alternate members of the Central Committee, only 19% were members of the original Eighth Central Committee and alternate members of the Central Committee. Many meritorious and proven revolutionaries were excluded. On the contrary, quite a number of backbones and cronies in the gang system of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, as well as leaders of rebel factions in various places, such as Wang Hongwen, Wang Xiuzhen, Liu Jieting, Wang Xiaoyu, Nie Yuanzi and other so-called "rocket" cadres were stuffed into the party in large numbers. of the Central Committee.

From beginning to end, the Ninth National Congress was held in an atmosphere of intense personality worship and "Left" fanaticism. The keynote of the meeting was "Praise and Praise the Masses". The object of praise is first of all Mao Zedong. Many representatives said: "It is Chairman Mao's greatest trust in us and our greatest happiness to be able to sit together with the great leader Chairman Mao to discuss national affairs." The biggest requests of the delegates are two: one is to see the great leader Chairman Mao more and listen to his "great voice" more; The second is to praise Lin Biao and his report. What are "brilliant documents of Marxism-Leninism", "great epoch-making report", "great program for advancing towards communism", etc. Again, it is to praise Jiang Qing and the "model opera". A large number of targets, Liu Shaoqi and the so-called "Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line" are the first to bear the brunt. Secondly, a group of old comrades who participated in the so-called "February countercurrent" and "consistently rightist" were again wrongly criticized at the conference and group meetings. In the course of more than 20 days of meetings, there has never been a phenomenon of seriously studying and discussing issues, let alone hearing any different opinions.

The political report and party constitution adopted by the Ninth National Congress legitimized the erroneous theories and erroneous practices of the "Cultural Revolution" and strengthened the position of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing clique in the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of China. The ideological, political and organizational guidelines of the Ninth Congress are all wrong.

Central leadership elected by the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee

On April 28, the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee was held in Beijing. Mao Zedong presided over the meeting and made a speech. Regarding the tasks facing the party, he said: "The socialist revolution will continue. There are still some things that have not been completed in this revolution, and we must continue to do it now, such as preaching, criticizing, and reforming. In a few years, there may be another revolution. In connection with the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Mao Zedong once said: Isn't everyone talking about carrying the Cultural Revolution to the end? What exactly is it? We estimate that it will take about three years, and it will be almost the same by next summer. It seems that after the Ninth National Congress, the "Cultural Revolution" will gradually shrink and end, but it is very vague, and it is not completely coordinated with his arrangement to continue fighting, criticizing, and reforming. He asked everyone to study the problems in the factory. He said arbitrarily: "It seems that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is impossible without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Our foundation is not solid. According to my observation, we don't talk about the whole, nor the vast majority. I'm afraid it is quite a large majority in factories. , the leadership is not in the hands of true Marxists, nor in the hands of the working masses." He called on everyone to "unite for one goal, which is to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and implement it in every factory, village, office, and school." These remarks were later developed by Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, etc. into one of the basis for the "comprehensive dictatorship theory".

The plenary elected the central body. The results of the election were: Chairman Mao Zedong of the Central Committee, Vice Chairman Lin Biao; members of the Standing Committee of the

Political Bureau of the Central Committee Mao Zedong, Lin Biao, (the following are in alphabetical order of surnames) Chen Boda, Zhou Enlai, and Kang Sheng. Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee Mao Zedong, Lin Biao, (in alphabetical order of surnames below) Ye Qun, Ye Jianying, Liu Bocheng, Jiang Qing, Zhu De, Xu Shiyou, Chen Boda, Chen Xilian, Li Xiannian, Li Zuopeng, Wu Faxian, Zhang Chunqiao, Qiu Huizuo, Zhou Enlai, Yao Wenyuan, Kang Sheng, Huang Yongsheng, Dong Biwu, Xie Fuzhi; alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee Ji Dengkui, Li Xuefeng, Li Desheng, Wang Dongxing. Among the newly elected members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the main backbones and cronies of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's clique accounted for more than half, giving them more power in the central leadership.

Through the Ninth National Congress and the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, although the two cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing partially realized their ambition to usurp the party and seize power, their ambition has no limit. The "Cultural Revolution" did not come to an end as Mao Zedong subjectively predicted, and a situation of "great order under heaven" emerged. On the contrary, due to the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques gaining more control power at the central and local levels, as well as their increasingly intensified competition with each other, the "Cultural Revolution" continued to slide along the wrong track. The social order and production order not only failed to normalize, but continued to be in disorder, causing more disasters to the party and the people.

2. "Fighting, Criticizing, and Reforming" Causes New Chaos

"Fighting, criticizing, and reforming" has become the central task

After the Ninth National Congress, in accordance with the tasks proposed by Mao Zedong, the "struggle, criticize, and reform" movement was fully launched across the country.

"Struggle, criticism, and reform" was originally proposed as the purpose of the "Cultural Revolution". Article 1 of the "Sixteen Articles" adopted by the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee stipulates: "At present, our purpose is to defeat those in power who are taking the capitalist road, criticize the reactionary academic 'authority' of the bourgeoisie, and criticize the bourgeoisie. Classes and the ideology of all exploiting classes, reform education, reform literature and art, and reform all superstructures that do not adapt to the socialist economic foundation, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system." This passage will be shortened to "struggle, criticize, change". The extensive use of simplified language, such as "three loyalty", "four infinity", "four greatness", "three two struggles", etc., is a feature of the rigid thinking and stereotyped language during the "Cultural Revolution" period.

When the "Cultural Revolution" was pushed to a climax by a large number of "capitalist anti-line" and comprehensive seizure of power, due to the numerous factions and frequent armed struggles, it was impossible to talk about "fighting, criticizing, and reforming" under the circumstances of "the world is in chaos." On September 5, 1968, the revolutionary committees of the two autonomous regions of Tibet and Xinjiang were established, and after revolutionary committees had been established in all provinces, cities, and autonomous regions across the country, People's Daily and

Liberation Army Daily published "Proletarian Revolution" on September 7. Long Live the Comprehensive Victory of the Cultural Revolution!" The editorial emphasized that the movement has entered the stage of "struggle, criticism, and reform". The editorial said: "The mountains and rivers across the country are red. This extremely magnificent scene is a major event in the process of winning the overall victory of the Cultural Revolution. It marks that the entire movement has entered the stage of struggle, criticism, and reform nationwide." The "struggle, criticism, and reform" that was the purpose of the "Cultural Revolution" in the "Sixteen Points" became an important task of the stage at this time, and it was given new content. This editorial conveyed Mao Zedong's opinion: "Establishing a revolutionary committee with three combinations, mass criticism, cleaning up the ranks of the class, consolidating the party, streamlining the organization, reforming unreasonable rules and regulations, decentralizing department staff, fighting, criticizing, and reforming in factories, Roughly, it has gone through these several stages." This concretized "struggle, criticism, and reform." Although the opinion itself was aimed at the factories, the editorial clearly pointed out: "Chairman Mao's latest instructions reflect the objective law of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution's development to the stages of struggle, criticism, and reform, and they focus on the development of the working class and the broad revolution. The urgent demands of the masses have clearly pointed out the central task of the revolutionary committees at all levels."

Since it is the "central task" that is "clearly pointed out", of course all levels of party, government, military, civilian, and academic must implement it. It can be seen that the specificization of "struggle, criticism, and reform" reflects Mao Zedong's attempt to achieve his vision of "great governance" through "struggle, criticism, and reform," and also includes the intention to end the "Cultural Revolution."

However, "struggle, criticism, and reform" itself is a product of the "Left" policy, and it is also a means to implement the "Left" policy. The aim is to "put the leadership of each unit in the hands of true Marxists" through "struggle, criticism, and reform." This is obviously

impossible to achieve. Therefore, with the development of the "Struggle, Criticism, and Reform" movement, the turmoil of the "Cultural Revolution" was not eliminated or alleviated. On the contrary, contradictions increased, and the factors that caused and fueled the turmoil became more profound.

Criticism of wrong content and crude method

In carrying out various tasks of "fighting, criticizing, and reforming", it has been repeatedly emphasized that "major criticism opens the way." The characteristics of this kind of great criticism are that it ignores the facts, is unreasonable, cannot be differentiated, catches the wind and shadows, takes the meaning out of context, and infinitely outlines the outline.

In terms of content, it not only arbitrarily denies the major achievements made in the first 17 years of the "Cultural Revolution" and a series of policies and laws, work regulations, rules and regulations, etc., insisting that those are "revisionist and capitalist stuff", but also puts The Marxist point of view that production activities are the most basic practical activities, the Marxist thesis that the main task of the proletariat should be the development of productive forces after seizing power, and the correct proposition against only focusing on political movements and ignoring production are called "the theory of only productive forces", to criticize.

In terms of economic work, various measures to strengthen economic accounting and increase corporate profits are all described as "profits in command"; taking into account the interests of the state, the collective, and individuals and caring for the material life of the masses are regarded as "material incentives" Put on the hat of revisionism; regard learning foreign advanced technology and management experience as "foreign slave philosophy" and "worshiping foreign countries and fawning on foreigners".

In terms of educational science work, teachers' efforts to improve teaching quality, students' efforts to learn scientific and cultural knowledge, and scientific and technical personnel's study of

business are regarded as "intellectual education first" and "white professional road".

In terms of culture and art, almost all the revolutionary literature and art in the 1930s before liberation and the literary and artistic work and literary works since the founding of the People's Republic of China are described as "feudal, capitalist, and repairing poisonous weeds" and so on.

The direct consequence of the Great Criticism is that it shakes people's belief in the Communist Party and communism, encourages anarchist trends of thought, and brings huge damage to production, scientific research, education, and cultural fields. confinement situation.

Revolutionary committee with many contradictions and lack of vitality

"Establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee" means that after the establishment of revolutionary committees in all provinces, cities, and autonomous regions, revolutionary committees should also be established in prefectures, counties, townships, and grassroots units such as factories, schools, communes, and shops.

The "Revolutionary Committee" was established as an organizational form of the regime under special conditions. It has its own great limitations and inevitable flaws. Factories, shops, etc. are economic organizations, and schools are educational institutions. It is obviously inappropriate to establish revolutionary committees without distinguishing the nature of the institutions. It encourages the abuse of coercive power and greatly expands unjust, false and wrongly decided cases.

Mao Zedong said: "There are three basic experiences of the revolutionary committee: one is to have representatives of revolutionary cadres, one is to have representatives of the army, and the other is to have representatives of the revolutionary masses. Subjectively, the Revolutionary Committee aims to consolidate and develop the so-called "all over the country" situation, to change the

chaotic state of fragmentation, to realize "revolutionary unity" and to stabilize the established pattern of the "Cultural Revolution". However, at that time, there were many factions and organizations everywhere, and each faction claimed to be "true proletarian revolutionaries", "old rebels" and "great contributors", and they should have more and more important seats in the revolutionary committee. For this reason, they try their best to belittle and attack each other, and the factional struggle for power and profit is very fierce; people generally have huge and profound differences in their views on the revolutionary cadres and members of the revolutionary committee in their own region and unit. cadres", while in the eyes of the other faction they are "out-and-out capitalist-roaders"; one faction said that the Revolutionary Committee was "very good", while the other said "good fart"! So they were called "good faction" and "good faction" fart pie". There are many similar phenomena. Coupled with the domination and manipulation of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their followers, the reluctantly established revolutionary committees at all levels probably only have a formal unity. In fact, either one faction is in power, suppressing the majority, and the contradictions and struggles are more serious; or two factions or several factions divide power, hinder each other, and the disputes over power and profit become more complicated. In some areas, there is even a situation of "playing well, supporting correctly, and having two revolutionary committees a year".

The above situation shows that the revolutionary committee, which is called a new thing in the "Cultural Revolution", neither meets the objective needs nor has vitality.

Clean-up class team with sharp increase in unjust, false and wrongly decided cases

"Cleaning up the class ranks" is to clear out the so-called traitors, spies, capitalist roaders, landlords, rich peasants, capitalists, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, etc. who have mixed into the revolutionary ranks, so that "the class front is clearly defined." In principle, it is not bad to demand a clear class front.

However, under the circumstances that the exploiting classes have been basically eliminated, political movements have continued one after another, and the class struggle has gone too far, it is hard to say that it is necessary to carry out another nationwide clean-up of the class ranks.

Mao Zedong said: "To clean up the ranks of the class, first, we must pay close attention to policies." He also reiterated the policy of "not killing one, not arresting the majority", and required "to do the work meticulously." However, due to the error in the overall policy of the "Cultural Revolution", there is no clear definition of what constitutes a "class enemy", which is very subjective and arbitrary. Coupled with the influence of the ultra-left trend of thought spread and encouraged by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and the interference of factionalism, the enemy's situation was exaggerated and the enemy and ourselves were confused. Furthermore, due to the destruction of the most basic democracy and the legal system, human rights are not guaranteed, and the judiciary and supervisory institutions have been smashed. Organizations of various names can fight, detain, and interrogate people they consider "class enemies" arbitrarily. The barbaric method of extorting confessions by torture is prevalent, which has resulted in the serious consequences of cracking down on a large area and spreading unjust, false and wrongly decided cases all over the region.

During the "Cultural Revolution", only senior cadres above the vice-minister level of the central and state organs and local vice-governor level were put on file for investigation, accounting for about 75% of the total number. A large number of comrades who actively implemented the party's line, principles and policies after the liberation of the whole country and made achievements in their work were falsely accused of being "people in power taking the capitalist road" and "counter-revolutionary revisionists"; During the process, comrades who betrayed the reactionary class and the counter-revolutionary camp and made contributions to the cause of the people in the revolutionary practice were mistakenly identified as "historical counter-revolutionaries" and "secret agents"; Comrades

who have been reviewed many times and have already made correct conclusions have been re-examined and wrongly identified as "surrendered traitors" and "traitors"; The underground party organizations in the area were branded as "traitor group", "fake Communist Party" and "traitor nest"; many comrades who were dissatisfied with the "Cultural Revolution" resisted and raised opinions on the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong , considered as a "vicious attack" and designated as an "active counter-revolutionary", they were criticized, beaten, tortured and even sentenced. A large number of cadres were persecuted innocently, and some were imprisoned or even persecuted to death, and their family members, relatives and friends were implicated. There were even serious wrongful cases in individual areas, such as the "insider party" unjust case, in which 346,000 cadres and people in Inner Mongolia were persecuted and framed, and more than 16,000 of them were persecuted to death.

During the censorship, dictatorship methods were abused to force confessions, creating millions of unjust, false and wrongly decided cases. Including their relatives and people with various social ties, the number of implicated people across the country is as many as 100 million, which is indeed unprecedented. This "cleaning up the class ranks" without any objective needs caused serious physical and mental harm to a large number of cadres and the masses. damage and confusion.

Party Consolidation and Party Building with Wrong Policy and Many Sufferings

"Party rectification and party building" refers to the rectification and reconstruction of party members and party organizations that have stopped organizing life for three years due to the impact of the "cultural revolution".

The guiding ideology of party rectification and party building is an instruction given by Mao Zedong in the report of the core group of the Qinghai Provincial Party Committee in October 1967. That is the so-called "Fifty-Cross Party Building Program": "The party

organization should be composed of advanced elements of the proletariat, and should be able to lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses to fight against class enemies." These 50 characters are called "Determined the political direction of the party building". And Mao Zedong's other instruction of "letting out the old and absorbing the new", that is: "A proletarian party must also let out the old and absorb the new in order to be vigorous. If the waste is not cleaned up and the new blood is not absorbed, the party will not have vitality." It is called "telling the party Dialectics of Internal Contradiction". At that time, the entire party was required to take these two instructions as the "most fundamental principle" and "use Mao Zedong Thought to rectify, restore, and rebuild the party organization." Such a guiding ideology is also "Left" and does not conform to reality.

Under the conditions of a socialist society in which exploiting classes basically do not exist and class struggle has become a residual form, "fighting against class enemies" is regarded as the sole purpose and requirement of party building, while the construction of production and the correct handling of contradictions among the people, etc. No mention of important tasks is obviously not in line with the national conditions. It is also inappropriate to use this as the standard for "advanced proletarian elements", and it actually lowers the standard for party members.

In "rectifying the party and building the party", it is also required to "listen to the opinions of the proletarian revolutionary rebels with an open mind", all party members must "struggle against private interests and criticize revision", and party organizations must "let out the old and absorb the new". According to the documents and editorials, the so-called "voting out the past" means "resolutely purging out of the Party all traitors, spies, all counter-revolutionaries, unrepentant capitalist-roaders, class dissidents, and degenerate elements with proven evidence." Of the various "elements" mentioned above, except for the "recalcitrant capitalist-roaders" who are purely fictitious, if the others are really "conclusive evidence", of course they cannot remain in the party. Unfortunately, in the "Cultural

Revolution", "conclusive evidence" can often be interpreted and fabricated arbitrarily. Therefore, it opened the door for Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and some "rebels" to attack and frame cadres and party members. They took advantage of this rule to prevent some party members from resuming organizational life and expelled some party members from the party. The so-called "acceptance of new people" is clearly stated in the document, which means to absorb into the party "those proletarian revolutionary rebels who were rushed out during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and loyal to Chairman Mao". According to a report at the time, from the Ninth National Congress of the Party to June 1973, the Shanghai Workers' Front Party Organization absorbed a total of more than 33,600 new members. molecular". Party organizations on all fronts in Beijing have developed more than 60,000 new party members since the "Cultural Revolution", and "all are advanced elements emerging from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Criticism and Rectification Movement." In accordance with these requirements, many powerful, ambitious, conspiratorial elements, vandals, looters, and looters poured into the party, causing serious impurity in the party organization.

The "rectification and building of the Party" carried out in accordance with the requirements of the "Cultural Revolution" resulted in major damage to the Party politically, ideologically, and organizationally. However, it should also be noted that, through "party consolidation and party building," the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions successively convened party congresses, established party committees, and then gradually established party organizations at all levels in various localities and units. This will also have some positive effects on resisting and opposing various sabotage activities and stabilizing the situation in the future.

Indiscriminate Reform Regulations

"Reform unreasonable rules and regulations" is to follow the spirit of "breaking the word, and establishing it in it", to implement

"big breaking and big establishing" for the various rules and regulations formulated by constantly summarizing both positive and negative experiences since the founding of the People's Republic of China. .

Jiang Qing and his gang even put forward the absurd slogan of "going against the previous seventeen years" to instigate the denial of everything. Especially for a series of work regulations formulated in the early 1960s, such as "Seventy Articles of Industry", "Forty Articles of Commerce", "Thirty Articles of Handicraft Industry", "Sixty Articles of Higher Education", "Fourteen Articles of Science and Technology", "The Eight Articles of Literature and Art and many other regulations have been proved to be correct in practice, and the regulations that have played a positive role are all regarded as "black regulations" for "revisionism" and "restoration of capitalism" and are criticized and negated.

The many rules and regulations established by various enterprises and institutions over the years to ensure orderly and efficient work and production are all regarded as rules and regulations that restrict the hands and feet of the masses. Was "thoroughly smashed".

This kind of "big break" that completely negates the experience since the founding of the People's Republic of China is of course impossible to bring about "great establishment", so that there is no way to follow in work and production, causing great confusion, loss and destruction.

Simplification and decentralization with many disadvantages

There is nothing wrong with the requirement of "simplifying the organization and decentralizing department staff". But the premise should be to transform functions and decentralize power.

During the "Cultural Revolution", when power was highly concentrated and the functions of the regime did not change in any way, the implementation of this requirement was actually just a

simple, formalistic reduction of personnel. For example, the original organization of the State Council consisted of 90 ministries and commissions, but in June 1970 it was decided to streamline it to 27 ministries and commissions; the original staff was 53,748, and only 9,710 were required, accounting for only 18% of the original staff. All personnel are streamlined and decentralized. This method of slashing and slashing has caused the State Council, which is already struggling to work, to be further weakened. However, the original tasks were not streamlined and still needed to be completed, so we had to set up various temporary agencies and transfer personnel under various names. As a result, the agencies and personnel were not really streamlined. The same is true for grassroots units. This "revolutionary measure" was widely publicized, causing pressure and encouraging many grassroots units to engage in unabated, falsified and formalistic practices.

In the name of "simplification and decentralization", a large number of cadres, teachers, scientists, writers and artists, press and publishing workers, engineering and technical personnel, etc. were sent to the "May 7th Cadre School" to work and accept the so-called "poor and lower-middle peasants" re-education". Wasting useful talent, energy and time that many countries desperately need. Due to the influence of ultra-left ideological trends and the domination of factionalism, this method of delegating cadres often becomes a measure to exclude dissidents, punish cadres, and destroy intellectuals.

As a result, this streamlining and decentralization not only cost the country a lot of financial and material resources, but also caused millions of cadres to suffer. Not only did not really streamline the organization and improve efficiency, but it caused losses in all aspects of work and many adverse consequences.

unsuccessful educational revolution

In this "stage of struggle, criticism, and reform," the so-called "educational revolution" was also carried out.

Since the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution", colleges and universities have stopped enrolling students and "suspended classes to cause revolution" for four years. According to Mao Zedong's comment on an investigation report on July 21, 1968: "Universities still need to be established. What I am mainly talking about here is that universities of science and engineering must be established, but the academic system must be shortened, education must be revolutionary, and proletarian politics must be established. Take command and take the road of Shanghai Machine Tool Factory to train technicians from workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and after studying in school for a few years, they will return to production practice." Peking University and Tsinghua University proposed "Report on Requesting Instructions on Enrollment (Pilot Program)", approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 27, 1970 for trial implementation.

The document stigmatized the unified examination and merit-based admissions method that colleges and universities have always implemented as a "revisionist admissions examination system" and explicitly abolished it. Workers, Peasants and Soldiers". The schooling period is shortened to 2 to 3 years. The curriculum is: "Politics courses with Chairman Mao's works as the basic textbooks; business courses that combine teaching, scientific research, and production; military physical education courses that focus on preparing for war. All subjects in literature, science, and engineering must participate in productive labor." . In the teaching work, the tasks of the workers, peasants and soldiers during their studies were also determined, which was the so-called "going to university, managing the university, and reforming the university with Mao Zedong Thought."

Reasonable reform of higher education is of course necessary, but this kind of "teaching reform" under the guidance of "left" ideology has proved that not only can it not achieve the original expectation of "anti-revision and prevention of revision", but also cultivate red and professional students. The purpose of the

successor of the revolution has brought huge damage to the cause of university education. The main consequences are: the various rules and regulations formed by summarizing years of experience have been destroyed, resulting in a state of chaos for a long time in colleges and universities; The teacher-student relationship has been destroyed; the cultural background of the students is uneven when they enter school, the cultural courses have been greatly reduced, and the quality of teaching has seriously declined; since the examination was canceled and changed to "recommended by the masses and approved by the leaders", this has created a gap for the use of various improper means to cross the border. It is easy to open the door to enter higher education institutions, which has made it a common practice to "go through the back door" to go to college, which has seriously damaged the social atmosphere.

In order to adapt to the situation of the resumption of enrollment in colleges and universities and the need to implement the "Left" guidelines, the National Education Work Conference was held in Beijing from April 15 to July 31, 1971. More than 630 comrades in charge of education work from various central departments and representatives of colleges and universities participated in the meeting. After more than 100 days of reports, studies and discussions, the meeting passed the "Minutes of the National Education Work Conference", which was revised and finalized by Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, and approved by Mao Zedong.

In this "Summary", charges were imposed on the national education work before the "Cultural Revolution" and completely denied. Claimed that in the 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, "Chairman Mao's proletarian education line has basically not been implemented, and the education system, teaching policies and methods are almost all the old ones", "the bourgeoisie has monopolized the politics of the proletariat"; most teachers His "world view is basically bourgeois". This kind of "two estimates" that completely deviates from the actual situation has become the spiritual shackles of the majority of intellectuals for a long time. The "Summary" fully affirmed and praised the erroneous

practice of "worker, peasant, and soldier students going to college, managing the university, and reforming the university with Mao Zedong Thought", declared that "worker, peasant, and soldier students are the new force of the educational revolution," and made a number of "left" regulations. The "Summary" became the guiding document for running universities during the "Cultural Revolution", which had a serious and bad influence.

After the above-mentioned "educational revolution", not only seriously dampened the enthusiasm of the vast number of educators and teachers, but also affected the society, primary and secondary schools, and widely produced "reading is useless" and "reading suffers" and so on. misconception. Primary and middle school students generally do not study hard, and the school order continues to be chaotic, which has greatly damaged my country's educational undertakings. The most serious consequences of the "suspension of classes to cause revolution" and "educational revolution" under the wrong guidelines of the "Cultural Revolution" are to delay the education and growth of a generation of young people; People, widening the gap with the world's advanced level.

Inventory of "May 16" out of nothing

While carrying out "struggle, criticism, and reform", a large-scale campaign of "clearing up the 'May 16th' counter-revolutionary cabal" was also carried out.

The so-called "May 16" counter-revolutionary group originally referred to a small ultra-left organization called the "Capital May 16 Red Guards Group" that once existed in Beijing. They took advantage of the opportunity of the "May 16 Notice" to be published in newspapers and periodicals in May 1967. Under the banner of implementing this notice, they established a secret organization and carried out secret activities. ——Zhou Enlai", "The key point of Zhou Enlai and his like is to betray the May 16 Notice", "Zhou Enlai is a shameful traitor to Maoism" and other reactionary leaflets and slogans, and posted such leaflets and slogans in some prosperous urban areas of Beijing.

The general public in Beijing expressed great indignation at the ugly behavior of these people attacking Zhou Enlai, and spontaneously fought back, demanding that these "gangsters" be severely punished. Mao Zedong added a paragraph to Yao Wen Yuan's "Comment on Tao Zhu's Two Books" published in the "People's Daily" on September 8, 1967, pointing out that the organizer and manipulator of the "May 16th" was a person who "used to appear extremely The slogans of the left and the substantive extreme right are blowing up the evil wind of 'doubt everything'", and the "conspiratorial counter-revolutionary group" that "bombards the proletarian headquarters" should be thoroughly exposed. It didn't take much time for this reactionary organization to be traced out, and the leading elements were arrested by the public security organs, and the problem was basically solved.

However, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and his gang took up the slogan of investigating "May 16", exaggerated the strength and activities of this small reactionary organization, expanded the scope arbitrarily, and tried every means to confuse and divert the targets of the investigation in order to achieve their ulterior motives.

In 1968, when the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China established a leading group to investigate the "May 16" project, Chen Boda recommended himself as the group leader, and Xie Fuzhi and Wu Faxian were members of the leading group. On the one hand, they wantonly advocate the investigation of organizations, chasing forms, and forcing "confessions" in order to create magnification; May 16" elements. Because the so-called "May 16th elements" are the two standards proposed by Mao Zedong: "One is to destroy and split the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao; the other is to destroy and split the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat— — the great People's Liberation Army". These two items are not bad in principle, because "destroying and splitting" the Party Central Committee and the People's Liberation Army, isn't it reactionary and not overthrown? However, first, there is no precise definition of what "sabotage and splitting" is; second, who is included in the Party

Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and does opposing certain marshals and generals count as "splitting" the PLA? There are no clear rules either. Therefore, these two clauses are highly arbitrary and can be given completely different interpretations. Therefore, the two factions and organizations in some places or units took the opportunity to attack each other, referring to each other as "May 16th elements"; there were also leading cadres who resumed work or leftist members of the army, who regarded them as attacking Zhou Enlai, opposing the Party Central Committee, and opposing the People's Liberation Army. The ultra-left fanatical rebels were attacked as "May 16th elements". The situation is quite complicated. Under the so-called "red terror", more than one-third of the people in some units were labeled as "May 16" elements, and even the special case personnel responsible for the investigation work were also labeled as "May 16 elements." A large number of cadres and the masses were severely tortured physically and mentally.

On March 27, 1970, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Cracking Down on the "May 16th" Counter-Revolutionary Conspiracy Group." This notice calls for correcting the trend of expansion, stopping coercion, confession, trust and the use of corporal punishment or disguised corporal punishment, and proposes "to expand the scope of education and reduce the scope of attack." However, the notice also stated: "The struggle between class enemies at home and abroad is very complicated, and there is by no means only one 'May 16th' counter-revolutionary secret organization." In fact, it urged people to arrest more "counter-revolutionary secret organizations." . The notice also mistakenly identified the senior PLA generals Xiao Hua, Yang Chengwu, Yu Lijin, Fu Chongbi, etc., who were framed and attacked, as former members of the Central Cultural Revolution, who helped Lin Biao and Jiang Qing to do many bad things. , Guan Feng, Qi Benyu, etc. are all said to be the manipulators of the "May 16" conspiracy group.

Later developments were even more ironic. After the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, Chen Boda, who

was the leader of the task force, was listed as the manipulator of the "May 16" counter-revolutionary group. After the "September 13th" incident, Lin Biao was also ranked first among the manipulators. The director of the Central May 16 Task Force Office also committed suicide. Such a chaotic "investigation" is naturally difficult to carry on, so we have to let it go. This kind of "class struggle" created at will caused millions of cadres and the masses to suffer an inexplicable pain and disaster.

gains and losses in economic work

For a period of time after the Ninth National Congress, the national political situation was relatively stable, and some progress was made in economic work, but some major mistakes also occurred.

In 1969, the decline in production in the previous two years was basically stopped, and the economy began to pick up. This year, the total value of industrial and agricultural production increased by 23.8% compared with 1968. Such a high growth rate is obviously of a recovery nature.

The economy developed rapidly in 1970, not only had a relatively large increase compared with the previous year, but also reached and exceeded the level of 1966. This year, the total industrial and agricultural output value increased by 25.7% over the previous year. Among them, industry increased by 30.6%, and agriculture increased by 11.5%. Some major engineering projects and scientific and technological projects have made achievements. On April 24, 1970, my country successfully launched the first artificial earth satellite, marking a historic breakthrough in my country's aerospace technology research. On July 1, 1970, the Chengdu-Kunming Railway with a total length of 1,083 kilometers was completed and opened to traffic. The railway winds through the mountains with complex and changeable geological structures, bridges and tunnels account for 40% of the total length of the line, and the project is very arduous. In the same month, the 816-kilometer Jiaozhi Railway was completed in just 9 months after more

than 860,000 migrant workers and more than 30,000 professional railway teams worked day and night in Henan and Hubei provinces. In the first half of 1970, more than 10 million people across the country invested in the basic construction front, and the completed investment increased by 76% over the previous year. The achievements in economic construction show that the broad masses of cadres and the masses put the interests of the country and the people first, and tried their best to resist and overcome the serious interference of the "Cultural Revolution" and contribute to the cause of socialist construction. It also shows that economic construction is the trend of the times and the aspiration of the people.

During this period, due to the influence of the "Left" policy, another major mistake occurred in economic work.

From February 15th to 21st, 1970, the State Council held a national planning work conference to draw up the 1970 National Economic Plan and the Outline of the Fourth Five-Year Plan (draft). The central government officially convened a planning meeting to formulate a five-year plan, indicating that economic work has begun to receive attention again. It is better to be caught by someone than to be supervised by no one. It is undoubtedly an improvement to have a production plan than to stop production. However, due to improper guiding ideology, new problems have arisen.

The meeting followed the general principles of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on the inevitability of imperialist wars and the general principles of the international situation that "wars cause revolutions" and "revolutions stop wars"; as for preparing for wars, "prepare them to fight big, prepare them to fight early. Prepare them to fight conventionally war, but also prepare them to fight a nuclear war", put forward the slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link, paying close attention to war preparations, and promoting a new leap in the national economy", and "concentrating on building the strategic rear of the third front" as the "fourth and five "The focus of the plan. It is obviously

inappropriate to determine the key points of such a construction strategy.

In accordance with Lin Biao's request to "observe everything, examine everything, and implement everything from the perspective of war", the meeting stipulated that the total industrial output value in 1970 would increase by 17% compared with 1969; capital construction investment would increase by 46%, and these investments would be mainly used in the military industry. And supporting items for the military industry.

In the outline (draft) of the Fourth Five-Year Plan drawn up at the meeting, in order to show the positive effect of the "Cultural Revolution" on promoting production, many high targets that were unrealistic were put forward. For example, according to Mao Zedong's vision of "35 million to 40 million tons of steel" after four five-year plans, the plan proposes an annual steel production of 35 million to 40 million tons in 1975 (an increase of 106 million tons compared to 1970). % to 135%), with a production capacity of more than 40 million tons; it is required that by 1975, the average agricultural population should reach one mu of high-yield and stable-yield fields, and the degree of farming mechanization should reach 40% to 50%, and so on.

Although the Outline (Draft) of the Fourth Five-Year Plan was not officially issued later, it had a great impact on economic work. In order to achieve those high targets, what people are used to is not the method of raising the level of science and technology and labor productivity, but the old method of increasing capital and increasing personnel. As a result, after 1970, the scale of capital construction was greatly expanded and the number of workers increased, leading to "three breakthroughs" at the end of 1971, namely, the number of workers exceeded 50 million, total wages exceeded 30 billion yuan, and grain sales exceeded 80 billion catties. The excessive increase in capital investment and material consumption has resulted in tight market supply, a marked decline in product quality, and an increase in various accidents. The various disadvantages and evil

consequences caused by the hasty pursuit of success in history have begun to appear again. Faced with this situation, it had to be adjusted again. A large reduction in the number of workers and urban population who eat commodity grains has caused difficulties and dissatisfaction among the masses. Due to the large scale of capital construction, the proportion of accumulation in national income rose sharply from 23.2% in 1969 to 32.9% in 1970, crowding out the normal consumption of the people. This new aggressive advance has aggravated the disproportionate relationship between the various sectors of the national economy and the disproportionate relationship between accumulation and consumption.

To sum up, it can be seen that the "struggle, criticism, and reform" carried out nationwide after the Ninth National Congress not only failed to achieve the goal of "fighting for greater victories" due to errors in the guidelines, but instead triggered a series of new contradictions, causing all aspects of work to confusion and loss. The "Fight, Criticize, and Reform" movement was interrupted by the Lin Biao incident, and it actually did not continue in the future.

3. Sudden changes in the situation on Lushan Mountain

After the Ninth National Congress, Mao Zedong believed that the problem of party reconstruction had been resolved, and instead focused on the reconstruction of the government. Because at that time, the constitution and the legal system were destroyed, the president elected according to the law was persecuted to death, the government agencies were incomplete and ineffective, and the social order was very chaotic. This situation is difficult for any modern country to tolerate and maintain for a long time. In order to rebuild the government according to the pattern formed by the "Cultural Revolution", amending the Constitution and convening the Fourth National People's Congress have become urgent tasks.

On March 8, 1970, Mao Zedong proposed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to convene the Fourth National People's Congress and amend the Constitution. At the same time, he proposed to change the state system and not have a president. From March 17th to 20th, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a working meeting in Beijing to discuss the issue of convening the Fourth National People's Congress and amending the Constitution. Most people at the meeting agreed with Mao Zedong's proposal to change the state system and not have a chairman of the country, and some people still hoped that Mao Zedong would be the chairman of the country again. After the meeting, the central government began preparations for amending the constitution and convening the fourth National People's Congress. The Politburo of the Central Committee established a constitutional working group with members: Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, and Ji Dengkui.

Overt and covert struggle in amending the constitution

The Lin Biao Group regards the convening of the Fourth National People's Congress as an important "redistribution of power" and believes that it is a good opportunity to seize more power.

This group was originally based on personal ambition and sectarianism, and gradually formed after the "Cultural Revolution" began. Because Lin Biao was in the position of "deputy commander-in-chief" in the early stage of the "Cultural Revolution", he got the voluntary support of some senior generals in the army, and took advantage of the opportunity of "supporting the left" to intervene in the local "Cultural Revolution", so that the power of this group developed. Soon, it reached its peak after the Ninth National Congress and the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee. At this time, Lin Biao's "successor" status had been officially written into the party constitution; the main members of Lin Biao's group, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Ye Qun, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo, etc., all entered the Political Bureau of the Central Committee; Central Committee. Huang Yongsheng served as the head of the Military Commission's working group and the chief of the general staff. Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, and Qiu Huizuo all served as the deputy chiefs of general staff and members of the Military Commission's working group. Ye Qun was also a member of the Military Commission's working group and actually controlled the Military Commission's working group. Through the special organization of the Military Commission's working group, they actually control a large part of the military power. As the power of the Lin Biao Group expanded, their ambitions also expanded viciously.

Developing in parallel with the Lin Biao Group, Jiang Qing Group also gained greater power through the Ninth Congress. Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan, who used to have little status in the party, all became members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Kang Sheng became a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Wang Hongwen and others also joined the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Originally, in the early days of the

"Cultural Revolution", they still asked Lin Biao, the "god", to protect them, but now they seem to have become evenly matched opponents.

Moreover, Lin Biao and others also realized that the development of the power of Jiang Qing Group may surpass their own, and Lin Biao's "successor" status will change. The above circumstances, coupled with the consideration of Lin Biao's health, prompted the Lin Biao Group to try to "take over" ahead of schedule, and for this reason they carried out many conspiracy activities.

After the Ninth National Congress and the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, the Lin Biao clique's "succession" conspiracy was mainly carried out by means of "peaceful transition". They conspired to take advantage of their organizational advantages and take advantage of the opportunity of convening the Fourth National People's Congress and amending the Constitution to realize their ambition of making Lin Biao the chairman of the country as the first step of "succession." The strategy they adopted was to support Mao Zedong as the chairman of the country on the surface and praise Mao Zedong's personal genius in order to deceive Mao Zedong's trust and expand their own influence. In fact, Mao Zedong was emptied, and they held the real power.

On April 11, regardless of the opinions of the majority at the Central Working Conference and Mao Zedong himself, Lin Biao once again proposed the establishment of a chairman of the country, and suggested that Mao Zedong be the chairman of the country. He said that "this is suitable for the psychological state of the people inside and outside the party, and the people at home and abroad." The next day, Mao Zedong instructed: "I can't do this again, this discussion is not appropriate." In the six months before and after this, Mao Zedong said six times that there would be no chairman of the country and that he would not serve as the chairman of the country. The last time was at the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in mid-June. He said angrily: "Whoever wants to be the chairman of the country can be added." He also

quoted the story of the Three Kingdoms: Sun Quan persuaded Cao Cao to be emperor. Cao Cao said: Sun Quan wants to put him on the stove to roast. I advise you not to think of me as Cao Cao, and you don't want to be Sun Quan. The historical analogy may not be quite appropriate, but it clearly expresses Mao Zedong's resolute attitude of not being the chairman of the country and his aversion to persuasion.

However, Lin Biao violated his own "famous saying" of Chairman Mao's words "implement what you understand, and implement what you don't understand", and continued to insist on having a chairman of the country driven by the desire for power. In mid-May, when he talked with Wu Faxian, he still emphasized that without a president, the country would have no head. Lin Biao asked Wu Faxian and Li Zuopeng to propose writing a chapter of "President of the State" in the constitution at the constitutional working group meeting. Whether or not to have a president of the state is a question that can be studied and discussed. It cannot be said that because Mao Zedong said that there should be no establishment, others should not have different opinions. But Lin Biao and others had other plans when considering this issue. In July, Ye Qun privately said to Wu Faxian: "If there is no president of the state, what should Lin Biao do? people". Obviously, Lin Biao wanted to be the president of the country himself.

This blatant activity of the Lin Biao clique to seize the highest power has gradually intensified the conflict between them and the Jiang Qing clique, which was originally in collusion with each other. At the work meeting for reviewing the draft constitutional revision, the contradictions between them began to surface. At the Constitution Working Group meeting on August 13, 1970 and the Politburo meeting on August 14, Wu Faxian had a heated argument with Kang Sheng and Zhang Chunqiao. Wu Faxian advocated that "Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding principle for all work in the country" should be written in the constitution; three adverbs "geniusly, comprehensively, and creatively" should be added before expressing Mao Zedong's development of Marxism and Leninism, while Kang

Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao objected. As a result, Wu Faxian shouted at the meeting, "It is necessary to prevent people from taking advantage of Chairman Mao's great humility and belittling Mao Zedong Thought."

On the surface, this appears to be a battle of formulations, and a purely theoretical one at that. It seems inconceivable that Wu Faxian, who does not understand theory, dares to challenge Kang Sheng and Zhang Chunqiao, who are known as Marxist theorists, on such an issue. But in fact, this is nothing more than an open and covert struggle between the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques. Because Wu Faxian knew clearly that Lin Biao had always insisted on the three adverbs. He also knew that it was Mao Zedong himself who deleted the three adverbs, not Kang Sheng and Zhang Chunqiao. The essence of this kind of debate is to compete for the supreme leadership of the party and government, but the form of expression is the formulation of Mao Zedong Thought. This tortuous and inconsequential struggle is a special and interesting phenomenon of political struggle during the "Cultural Revolution" period.

At the moment when the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques were openly fighting, Chen Boda, who liked to speculate but held grudges because of Jiang Qing's suppression, miscalculated the situation and openly sided with the Lin Biao clique. He agreed with Wu Faxian's speech, and praised Wu Faxian for "being able to stick to principles and have a very high style." These circumstances show that, on the eve of the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, the competition between the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing groups rapidly intensified, and a big contest was brewing.

Confrontation at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee

On August 23, 1970, the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Lushan. There were 253 members and alternate members of the Central Committee present at the meeting, and Mao Zedong

presided over the meeting. Zhou Enlai announced that the agenda of the meeting agreed upon by the Standing Committee was: discussing the issue of constitutional revision; the issue of national economic planning; and the issue of war readiness.

At the beginning of the meeting, Lin Biao was the first to speak at the plenary meeting. He emphasized that the characteristics of the draft constitution are that it "affirms the status of Chairman Mao's great leader, the head of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the supreme commander." ". Lin Biao's use of the term "head of the dictatorship of the proletariat" here is obviously changing another term to express his insistence on having a chairman of the country. In his speech, Lin Biao repeatedly praised Mao Zedong's achievements, refuted the view that Mao Zedong had not developed Marxism-Leninism, which was actually not publicly advocated by anyone, and emphasized: "Mao Zedong is a genius, and I still insist on this view." These words of Lin Biao Clearly expressed their basic propositions: in politics, they insisted on having a chairman of the country, and in theory, they insisted on the theory of genius. For members of the Lin Biao clique, this speech was no different than a signal to attack the Jiang Qing clique.

At this meeting, Kang Sheng, on behalf of the Constitutional Working Group, introduced Mao Zedong's previous instructions on constitutional revision and the process of constitutional revision, and explained the adoption of constitutional revision opinions put forward by various places. At the Politburo meeting held that night, Wu Faxian proposed to listen to the recording of Lin Biao's speech the next day at the plenary session, study and discuss Lin Biao's speech, which was agreed by the meeting.

On the afternoon of August 24, at the group meeting discussing Lin Biao's speech, Chen Boda, Ye Qun, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo, etc. spoke in the North China Group, Central South Group, Southwest Group, and Northwest Group in accordance with the prior secret connection and agreement. , and preached a material selected and edited by Chen Boda entitled "Several Quotations from

Engels, Lenin, and Chairman Mao on Calling Geniuses". In their speeches, according to the main purpose of Lin Biao's speech, they focused on the two issues of setting up the president of the country and calling them geniuses. They did not name them, but used language that everyone understood to attack Zhang Chunqiao, that is, to attack Jiang Qing clique.

Chen Boda spoke at the meeting of the North China Group, quoting three passages from Lin Biao to prove the correctness of what they said, "Vice Chairman Lin often said that Chairman Mao is the greatest genius of the contemporary era, the greatest genius of the contemporary proletariat" . He said sarcastically: "Some people say that there is no genius in the world, but he thinks he is a genius." He said: "I think this kind of person who denies genius is nothing more than a fool of history." He said arbitrarily: "According to Lenin, to deny genius is to deny the leader and to deny the dictatorship of the proletariat." Chen Boda's words were very provocative, and some people booed immediately, and the atmosphere in the venue was very tense.

The North China Group was the first to issue the "No. 2 Briefing Note" that night, which was compiled into the "No. 6 Briefing Note" of the plenary session. The briefing reads: "Everyone warmly supports Vice Chairman Lin's very important, very good, and thoughtful speech delivered yesterday. He believes that Vice Chairman Lin's speech has great guiding significance for the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee." After listening to the speeches of Chen Boda and Wang Dongxing, "Knowing that some people in our party tried to deny that our great leader Chairman Mao is the greatest genius of our time, they expressed the greatest and strongest indignation." For such people, "should be brought out as a public display, should be expelled from the party, should be fought against and condemned, should be hacked into pieces, the whole party should punish them, and the whole country should punish them." Regarding the suggestion that the chapter of the President of the State should be restored in the constitution, "everyone applauds enthusiastically and wholeheartedly agrees with this suggestion".

This provocative briefing aroused strong repercussions in various groups.

Under the conditions of rampant ultra-left thoughts and strong personality cults at that time, people lacked the ability to discern, and some senior cadres were no exception. In addition, it was a few members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee who took the lead, and some members of the Central Committee were secretly connected in advance to respond and support, creating momentum, which temporarily deceived most of the members attending the meeting. There were those who expressed great indignation in violent and violent language, and demanded that such a person should be brought out, and a confusion was caused.

On the morning of August 25, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan went to Mao Zedong to file a complaint. In the afternoon of the same day, Mao Zedong presided over an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, and decided to immediately stop discussing Lin Biao's speech at the group meeting of the plenary session, withdraw the "No. 2 Briefing Paper" of the North China group, and order Chen Boda to review. The meeting was therefore interrupted.

On the 31st, Mao Zedong wrote "Some Opinions of Me", criticizing Chen Boda by name. He said: "This material (referring to: "A few quotations from Engels, Lenin, and Mao Zedong about calling geniuses") was produced by Comrade Chen Boda, and it deceived many comrades." Theoreticians have worked together for more than 30 years, and they have never cooperated on some major issues, let alone cooperated very well." These words carry a lot of weight. He accused Chen Boda of "taking a sudden attack and fanning the flames, lest the world will not be chaotic, and there is a tendency to blow up Mount Lu and stop the rotation of the earth." Mao Zedong emphasized: "Whether heroes make history or slaves make history, whether human knowledge (talent also belongs to the category of knowledge) is innate or acquired, is it the transcendentalism of

idealism, or the reflection theory of materialism? You can only stand on the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, and you must not mix with Chen Boda's rumors and sophistry...don't be fooled by people who claim to understand Marx, but actually don't understand Marx at all." The plenary meeting agreed with Mao Zedong's opinion and transferred Participate in exposing and criticizing Chen Boda. Wu Faxian, who cooperated with Chen Boda and fanned the flames at the group meeting on the 24th, was also criticized. Those who expressed their agreement with Chen Boda at the group meeting began to criticize themselves one after another. At that time, Mao Zedong adopted a protective attitude towards Lin Biao himself, and did not criticize Lin Biao by name.

The plenary session resumed the original agenda on September 6 and basically passed the "Draft Amendment to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China"; it decided to recommend to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to carry out necessary preparatory work and convene the Fourth National People's Congress at an appropriate time; approved The State Council's report on the National Planning Conference and the 1970 National Economic Plan; approved the Central Military Commission's report on strengthening combat readiness. At the meeting, in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, it was announced that Chen Boda would be censored. The plenary session will close that day.

On the eve of the closing of the plenary session, on the evening of September 5, Lin Biao and Ye Qun personally visited Jiang Qing at her residence to express apology and reconciliation. On the evening of the 6th, Ye Qun led Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, and Qiu Huizuo to Jiang Qing's residence to apologize. A farce of spectacle and hate was performed.

The Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee was a turning point for the Lin Biao Group from its development to its downfall. One is that Lin Biao's conspiracy to usurp power by means of "peaceful transition" in his delusion to become the president of the

country was thwarted. Second, in the contest with the Jiang Qing clique, because Mao Zedong clearly supported Jiang Qing and others, criticized Chen Boda by name, and disagreed with Lin Biao's theory of genius, the Lin Biao clique suffered a heavy blow. Since then, the Lin Biao Group, not reconciled to failure, turned to an armed coup in an attempt to use violence to seize the supreme leadership, thus embarking on the road of accelerated destruction.

Mao Zedong's various measures after the meeting

The Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee was closed, but Mao Zedong did not think that the struggle at the meeting was over, nor did he want to limit himself to exposing and criticizing Chen Boda, but took various measures to limit and weaken the power of the Lin Biao clique. These methods were later summarized by Mao Zedong himself: "throwing stones" (that is, writing and distributing instructions), "mixing sand" (sending people to the institutions controlled by Lin Biao), and "digging corners" (disintegrating the military forces controlled by Lin Biao).

According to Mao Zedong's opinions at the closing meeting of the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on the Study of Senior Cadres" on November 6, 1970, requiring "senior party cadres, no matter how busy they are at work, If you have time, read some Marxist-Leninist books to distinguish between true and false Marxism-Leninism." At that time, it was required to study six works by Marx, Engels, and Lenin and five works by Mao Zedong. Namely: "The Communist Manifesto", "Critique of the Gotha Program", "The Civil War in France" (selected readings), "Anti-Dühring" (selected readings), "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" (selected readings), "The State and Revolution" (selected readings) optional reading). Mao Zedong's works are: "On Practice", "On Contradiction", "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People", "Speech at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Communist Party of China", "Where Do People's Correct Thoughts Come From?" ". Judging from

the leadership intentions at the time, the purpose of studying the six books of Marxism-Leninism was mainly to cooperate with the "criticism and rectification movement". However, in the situation where we have not learned Marxism-Leninism for a long time and only read "Quotations from Chairman Mao", it is always a beneficial thing to encourage senior party cadres to learn from Marxism-Leninism, and it will have a relatively long-term impact.

On the same day, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China made the "Decision on the Establishment of the Propaganda Group of the Central Organization". Under the leadership of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, a Central Organization Propaganda Group was established. Kang Sheng served as the team leader, and Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Ji Dengkui, and Li Desheng were the team members. The Organization and Propaganda Group has jurisdiction over the work of the Central Organization Department, the Central Party School, People's Daily, Red Flag Magazine, Xinhua Headquarters, the Central Broadcasting Bureau, Guangming Daily, and the Central Compilation Bureau. Their May Seventh Cadre School. Both the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and the Political Research Office of the CPC Central Committee were abolished, and the remaining affairs were also managed by this group. Since Kang Sheng declared that he was not sick after the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, Li Desheng was later transferred to Shenyang, and the power of central organization and propaganda gradually fell into the hands of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan.

On November 16, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Instructions Concerning Conveying Chen Boda's Anti-Party Issues", pointing out that "Chen Boda resorted to sudden attacks, fanning the flames, creating rumors, deceiving comrades, and carrying out activities to split the party." Chen Boda was a "fake Marxist" activists, conspirators, careerists"; called on "comrades who understand his situation and problems to report and expose". The central government made deployments, first launching

the "criticism and rectification" movement in the leading organs of the party, and then spreading to the whole party step by step, and taking some organizational measures according to the requirements of the movement.

On December 16, Mao Zedong issued an order in the "Report on the Exposure of Chen Boda's Anti-Party Crimes" by a certain field army in North China, calling for a meeting of the Party Committee of the Beijing Military Region to "discuss why Chen Boda was allowed to run around and talk. He was not appointed to solve the military and political issues of the Beijing Military Region, why Chen Boda became the Supreme Emperor of the Beijing Military Region and North China?" Chen Boda had little influence in the army, and his inspections in the army were just following orders. Mao Zedong estimated the seriousness of his activities so high, and made such severe criticisms, which obviously contained distrust and criticism of the military, especially the leading cadres of the Beijing Military Region.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee held a meeting on the evening of December 18, conveyed and discussed Mao Zedong's instructions, decided to preside over Zhou Enlai, and held the North China Conference on December 22. More than 340 people attended the meeting, including the organs and troops of the Beijing Military Region, and the heads of the military regions of Hebei, Shanxi, and Inner Mongolia. After January 9, the 143 people who participated in the Central Military Commission symposium who were criticized by Mao Zedong as "don't learn from the Military Commission symposium, held for a month, and didn't criticize Chen at all", were also incorporated into the North China Conference to further expose and criticize Chen Boda's crimes. At the same time, it also exposed and criticized the so-called "serious mistakes" made by Zheng Weishan, the commander of the Beijing Military Region, and Li Xuefeng, the political commissar. On January 24, 1971, according to Mao Zedong's opinion, Zhou Enlai spoke at the North China Conference on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, systematically exposing Chen Boda's

crimes and announcing the Central Committee's decision to reorganize the Beijing Military Region. Zheng Weishan and Li Xuefeng were removed from their positions, Li Desheng was appointed as the commander of the Beijing Military Region, Xie Fuzhi was the first political commissar, and Ji Dengkui was the second political commissar. Li Xuefeng was not only dismissed from his positions as director of the Hebei Provincial Revolutionary Committee and secretary of the Hebei Provincial Party Committee of the Communist Party of China, but was later mistakenly identified as a major member of the Lin Biao anti-party clique and expelled from the party (he was rehabilitated and restored in 1982). This was called "poaching corners" at the time. After the end of the North China Conference in late January, leading organizations at all levels of the CCP gradually carried out the campaign of "Criticism and Rectification".

In the "criticism of Chen and rectification", Mao Zedong made many instructions, naming and criticizing the main members of Lin Biao's clique, and indirectly criticizing Lin Biao.

On October 15, 1970, Mao Zedong commented on Ye Qun's review letter: "One tendency conceals another tendency. The victory of the Nine National Congress, when he became a member of the Central Committee, it is terrible, he is about to go to the sky, and the line of the Nine National Congress is thrown out of the sky. , the Chen Boda line against the Ninth National Congress has gained the upper hand among some comrades." Here, Mao Zedong implicitly referred to a copy of the Ninth National Congress that was drafted by Lin Biao and Chen Boda and rejected by Mao Zedong under the loud opposition of Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, and Zhang Chunqiao. Draft political report called "Chen Boda's line against the Ninth National Congress". The original story here is: Mao Zedong appointed Lin Biao and Chen Boda to preside over the drafting of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China. When the first draft was brought to the central government for discussion during the Cultural Revolution, Jiang Qing and his group raised negative opinions. Zhang Chunqiao also ridiculed it as "a report on the theory

of productivity". In fact, the draft report also talked about "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" throughout the article, and only talked about economic work a few paragraphs more. After the draft was rejected, Mao Zedong assigned Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan to preside over the drafting of the Nine Political Reports. This draft report was ridiculed by Chen Boda as "movement is everything, purpose is nothing". At this point, Mao Zedong dug up old accounts and accused the "Chen Boda line of opposing the Ninth National Congress", which obviously included criticism of Lin Biao.

On December 18, Mao Zedong met with American friend Edgar Snow. When talking about the cult of personality, on the one hand, he believed that "a little cult of personality was needed" when the "Cultural Revolution" was launched in the past, but at the same time he said: "It's different now, the worship is too much, and there are many formalisms. Such as what 'Four greats' (great mentor, great leader, great commander, great helmsman), hate!" "Four greats" is an inscription by Lin Biao, who has been widely publicized and known to everyone. To say it is "disgusting" is obviously aimed at Lin Biao.

On April 7, 1971, according to Mao Zedong's opinion, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent Ji Dengkui, an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the second political commissar of the Beijing Military Region, and Zhang Caiqian, the deputy chief of the general staff, to join the working group of the Military Commission. sand". These measures are all aimed at weakening the power of Lin Biao Group, which shows that Mao Zedong's trust in Lin Biao has fundamentally changed.

Beginning on April 15, 1971, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a "Criticism and Rectification" report meeting. A total of 99 people in charge of the central government, local governments and troops participated. Due to the situation, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Ye Qun, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and

others made self-criticism at the meeting and expressed that they would correct their mistakes. On April 29, Zhou Enlai pointed out in his concluding speech on behalf of the Party Central Committee that Huang, Wu, Ye, Li, Qiu and others had made mistakes in political direction and line, and made mistakes in sectarianism in organization. I hope they will seriously correct their mistakes, Implement your own declaration. On the same day, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Promoting the In-depth Development of the Criticism and Rectification Movement", conveying Chen Boda's problems to all party members and expanding the movement to grassroots units across the country.

4. The demise of the Lin Biao Group

The above-mentioned series of measures by Mao Zedong and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China further disrupted the Lin Biao clique's position and made them fall into a more passive situation. Seeing that his successor status was in jeopardy and the anti-party group was on the verge of disintegration, Lin Biao decided to take the risk and launch an armed coup.

The Lin Biao Group planned an armed coup

As early as October 1969, Lin Biao instructed then Air Force Commander Wu Faxian to appoint his son Lin Ligu, who had served in the army for just over two years, as the Deputy Director of the Air Force Command Office and Deputy Chief of Operations. Wu Faxian also privately granted Lin Ligu the authority to command and mobilize the air force, so that Lin Biao could use Lin Ligu to personally control this "strongly maneuverable" military branch. Lin Ligu's unconventional promotion was ridiculed by the masses as "a soldier for one year, a party member for two years, and a deputy minister for three years". After being defeated at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, Lin Biao said to Wu Faxian: "We people can't do literature, but we can do martial arts." In October 1970, Lin Ligu secretly organized some personnel of the Air Force as an armed coup The backbone force, code-named "United Fleet". They established secret strongholds in Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou to communicate and hide guns, ammunition, radio stations, bugs, and confidential documents of the party and the state. They also organized "combat squads" and "teaching teams" in Guangzhou and Shanghai to conduct special training for carefully selected members.

In February 1971, after Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Ligu conspired in Suzhou, Lin Ligu convened a meeting with the main

members of the "United Fleet" in Shanghai in March, and formulated an armed coup plan, code-named "'571 Project" Minutes" . This minutes is divided into 9 parts including "possibility", "necessity", "basic conditions", "timing", and "strength". From the standpoint of the counter-revolutionary group, he analyzed the situation, stipulated the main points of implementation, slogans and strategies, and proposed "military pre-emptive strikes", conspiring to use "superior gatherings to wipe out all" or "using special means such as bombing, 543 (a kind of Missile code name), car accidents, assassinations, kidnappings, urban guerrilla squads", launching armed coups, "seizing national power", or creating a "separatist situation".

Then, Lin Liguo held a four-person secret meeting in Shanghai, which was attended by Wang Weiguo, political commissar of the Air Force stationed in Shanghai, Chen Liyun, political commissar of the Air Force stationed in Hangzhou, Zhou Jianping, deputy commander of the Air Force of the Nanjing Military Region, and Jiang Tengjiao, the former political commissar of the Air Force of the Nanjing Military Region. Under the reactionary slogan "Defend Vice Chairman Lin with the barrel of a gun", the command team for the counter-revolutionary coup was determined. The Lin Biao clique's plan for a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat was carried out in full swing and secretly.

Mao Zedong's precautions

Just as Lin Biao and his gang were actively preparing for a sharp struggle, the Party Central Committee and Mao Zedong also vigilantly took some preventive measures. In mid-August 1971, according to Mao Zedong's instructions, Zhou Enlai, Zhang Chunqiao, Huang Yongsheng, and Ji Dengkui went to Beidaihe, where Lin Biao lived, to report to him on the national situation, and informed him that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China had decided to hold the Third Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee before the National Day, and then held the first The Fourth National People's Congress. Lin Biao said to his face that he "resolutely supports the chairman's instructions", but in fact

he was very disturbed. Because the Third Plenary Session may have to resolve the issue of successors, and by the Fourth National People's Congress, Lin Biao may not even be able to become Vice Premier or Minister of Defense. Therefore, on the one hand, he secretly sent people around to inquire about the news, and on the other hand, he stepped up preparations for an armed coup.

From mid-August to September 12, 1971, Mao Zedong went on an inspection tour to the south. In Wuhan, Changsha, and Nanchang, party and government officials from Hubei, Henan, Hunan, Guangdong, Guangxi, Jiangxi, Jiangsu, and Fujian were convened and had many conversations. Mao Zedong focused on the struggle at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and clearly pointed out that this struggle is not over. He named and criticized Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Ye Qun, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and others. He said: "They concealed it first, and then launched a surprise attack. The five Standing Committee members concealed three of them." "I think their surprise attacks and underground activities are planned, organized, and programmatic." He pointed out: "Some people are eager to become the president of the country, want to split the party, and are eager to seize power." "This Lushan meeting is another struggle between the two headquarters." He also pointed out: "The matter of Lushan Mountain is not over yet, and it has not been resolved." Lin Biao "of course has to bear some responsibility" for this matter. Mao Zedong raised Lin Biao's question so sharply, which showed that he not only no longer regarded Lin Biao as a "successor", but also believed that Lin Biao had acted as the head of another command opposing him. The leaders of the party, government, and military that were interviewed were all members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, so the conversation was actually an ideological brewing and preparation for the upcoming Third Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee.

Lin Biao was determined to stage a coup

Lin Biao and his group anxiously inquired about the content of Mao Zedong's speech. On September 6, Li Zuopeng took advantage of the opportunity to accompany foreign military delegations to Wuhan and learned from Liu Feng, political commissar of the Wuhan Military Region, what Mao Zedong had said in Wuhan. As soon as he returned to Beijing, he urgently sent a secret report to Huang Yongsheng and Ye Qun. At the same time, Lin Liguo also obtained roughly the same content of Mao Zedong's conversation in Changsha through Gu Tongzhou, chief of staff of the Air Force of the Guangzhou Military Region. Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Liguo, who lived in Beidaihe at that time, studied the content of Mao Zedong's conversation and believed that "it is better to burn the boat than wait for death", and decided to murder Mao Zedong while traveling, and then launched an armed coup. On the 7th, Lin Liguo issued an order to the "United Fleet" to enter "Level 1 Combat Readiness". On the 8th, Lin Biao issued a warrant to "do according to the orders conveyed by comrades Liguo and Yuchi (that is, Zhou Yuchi, then the director of the Air Force Command Office and the chief of staff of the "United Fleet")." Lin Liguo rushed to Beijing with this warrant and made specific arrangements. They conspired to destroy Mao Zedong's special car by blasting railway bridges, ground attacks, and aircraft bombing near a small railway station called Shuofang between Shanghai and Suzhou, and put Mao Zedong to death. At the same time, Lin Biao and others also made preparations to lead the backbone of cronies to flee south to Guangzhou and establish a new central government.

On September 3, Mao Zedong arrived in Hangzhou from Nanchang and planned to live in Hangzhou until late September. When he learned of some suspicious situations, he immediately raised his vigilance. On the evening of September 8, Mao Zedong ordered the special train he was on to be transferred out of Hangzhou at night, making it difficult for people to figure out his whereabouts. On the afternoon of September 10, Mao Zedong suddenly decided to transfer back to the special train and leave Hangzhou; he arrived in Shanghai that night and stayed on the special train. On the morning of the 11th, Mao Zedong worked on the

special train and met with some leaders of Shanghai and Nanjing Military Region on the train. In the afternoon of the same day, Mao Zedong suddenly ordered the train to leave immediately, asking for the green light on the entire railway line, and to go straight to Beijing along the way day and night. At noon on the 12th, the train arrived in Fengtai, Beijing. Mao Zedong ordered to stop, and called the heads of the Beijing Military Region and the Beijing Municipal Party Committee to talk on the train to understand the situation in the Beijing area and make appropriate arrangements. He again talked about the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee and the issue of line struggle. At around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Mao Zedong changed cars and returned to Zhongnanhai. Mao Zedong's high political vigilance and clever measures made the Lin Biao Group's murder plan impossible to realize and went bankrupt.

Lin Biao fled in a hurry and died in a foreign country

On the evening of September 11, Lin Liguo received a secret report that Mao Zedong had left Shanghai. On the 12th, according to the decision of Lin Biao and others, Lin Liguo commanded the backbone of the "United Fleet", prepared planes hastily, drew up a list, and tried in vain to flee south to Guangzhou with the core members of Lin Biao's counter-revolutionary clique on the morning of the 13th, establish a separate central government, and implement a separatist regime. Lin Liguo arrived at Shanhaiguan Airport on a privately transferred special plane (Trident, No. 256) at 8:00 p.m. on the 12th, and immediately drove to Beidaihe to meet Lin Biao and Ye Qun.

On the evening of September 12, Zhou Enlai presided over a discussion in the Great Hall of the People on the draft of the "Government Work Report" to be made at the Fourth National People's Congress. At 10:30, Zhou Enlai received a call from the Central Security Bureau saying: "Lin Biao's daughter, Lin Liheng, reported that Lin Liguo arrived at Shanhaiguan by a Trident plane in the evening. Ye Qun and Lin Liguo wanted to kidnap Lin Biao and escape by plane for treason." Zhou Enlai Immediately ordered Air

Force Commander Wu Faxian to investigate the unauthorized transfer of the plane to Shanhaiguan Airport, and ordered the plane to fly back immediately. Wu Faxian reported that he had inquired and found that a plane had indeed arrived at Shanhaiguan. It was refitted for a test flight, but something went wrong and it couldn't fly back. Zhou Enlai told Wu Faxian that the plane would fly back as soon as it was repaired, but he was not allowed to bring anyone back to Beijing. At the same time, Wu Faxian was instructed to immediately investigate the situation at Beijing Xijiao Airport, and to send the person in charge of the Central Security Bureau to assist Wu at every step. Uneasy about this matter, Zhou Enlai called Li Zuopeng, the political commissar of the Navy, and asked him to issue an order to the Navy Airport in Shanhaiguan: Zhou Enlai, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, and Li Zuopeng must give the order to the Trident special plane to take off. Immediately, Li Zuopeng sensitively thought that something might have happened to Lin Biao, so he intentionally tampered with Zhou Enlai's order and changed it to: one of the four people instructed to let him fly. At 11:30 in the evening, Zhou Enlai received a strange phone call from Ye Qun, saying: "Comrade Lin Biao wants to move." Zhou asked: "Is it moving in the air or on the ground?" Ye replied: "Moving in the air." Zhou asked deliberately "Have you adjusted the plane?" Ye replied: "No." Lin Biao and others intended to create a false situation and confuse the Party Central Committee, but instead it was self-defeating and aroused greater vigilance.

Lin Biao, Ye Qun, and Lin Liguang felt that the conspiracy to flee south had been revealed, so they rushed to the Shanhaiguan Naval Airport in a car in spite of the obstruction of the security forces in Beidaihe, boarded the special plane 256, and departed in the early morning of September 13 in spite of the ground obstruction and lack of crew members. Forced to take off and flee.

After receiving the report that the plane took off forcibly, Zhou Enlai immediately went to Zhongnanhai to report to Mao Zedong. And issued a no-fly order of "no aircraft allowed to take off" to the whole country. When it was obvious that Lin Biao's plane was going

abroad, Mao Zedong decided not to intercept it. At 1:55, the special plane flew across the border and entered the Mongolian People's Republic. It was later learned that when passing near Undur Khan in Mongolia, the plane had to burn down on the ground when it ran out of fuel and had to make an emergency landing. Lin Biao, Ye Qun, Lin Liguang and others all died. Some other key members of the "United Fleet" committed suicide in fear of crime, and some were arrested. A counter-revolutionary armed coup plot was completely crushed.

Lessons from the Lin Biao Incident

It is extremely serious that a person like Lin Biao, who holds a high position in the Chinese Communist Party, organizes a group, conspires to seize the highest power, instigates a counter-revolutionary armed coup, and murders the party leader. It was smashed quickly and smoothly, which shows that the hearts of the party, the people and the army are all disapproving and not allowing this kind of thing to happen. Even if someone as powerful as Lin Biao, who has been in business for many years and recruited a group of party members, once the ugly face is fully exposed, the people who have great power in the army will immediately betray their relatives and disintegrate in an instant. The smashing of the Lin Biao clique was a victory for the party and the people.

However, the reason why this kind of thing happened is the result of the "Cultural Revolution" overthrowing a series of basic principles. In the "Cultural Revolution" that has been going on for five years, the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership have been completely destroyed. The government and the legal system were trampled on, cliques were formed, and the struggle for power and profit was made public and legalized, and the whole country fell into serious chaos. These have created the conditions for the Lin Biao Group to emerge and develop, to be able to run amok and dare to take risks. From this thrilling incident, people clearly saw that Lin Biao, who advocated the cult of personality the most, conspired to kill the chairman of the party, and that the successor confirmed by the party constitution treasoned and

fled. Five newly promoted members of the Politburo participated in the conspiracy to seize power activities, etc. These shocking facts prompted people to think seriously: Is the "Cultural Revolution" necessary? "The theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat", right? Can the "Cultural Revolution" "anti-revision and prevent revision" and "guarantee that the red country does not change color"? What effect did it bring to the party and the country? etc. The occurrence of the September 13th incident prompted more cadres and the masses to awaken from the fanaticism of personality worship, deepened their doubts and dissatisfaction with the "Cultural Revolution", and objectively declared the failure of the theory and practice of the "Cultural Revolution", becoming a turning point in the historical development of the 10-year "Cultural Revolution". The collapse of the Lin Biao Group of "criticizing Lin and rectifying style" and "criticizing Lin and Confucius" "objectively declared the failure of the theory and practice of the 'Cultural Revolution'". At the same time, it also objectively provided a historical turning point, making it possible to correct the ultra-left mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution", thus leading the whole of China to a normal development track. Under the special and complex historical conditions at that time, the healthy forces within the Chinese Communist Party represented by Zhou Enlai did their best to seize this historical turning point and make it develop in a direction that is beneficial to China's socialist cause. It is a pity that this historical turning point was lost because Mao Zedong failed to fully understand the lessons of the Lin Biao incident and continued to misunderstand and insist on the "Left" line. In addition, the Jiangqing Group has seized more power due to the demise of its competitors, and its ambitions have expanded. They continue to create turmoil, stir up incidents, and attack the highest power of the party and the government again and again. In this way, the people of all nationalities in the country, under the cover of the overall "Cultural Revolution" and "Left" errors, are still walking on a tortuous and rugged road, and continue to suffer from pain and disaster.

[1] Volume 32 of "The Complete Works of Lenin", People's Publishing House, 1965 edition, p. 237.

[2] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 2, p. 347.

[3] Those included in this list are: Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan, Xie Fuzhi, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Ye Qun, Wang Dongxing, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo, Wen Yucheng.

[4] The "Three Loyalties" are: "loyalty to Chairman Mao, loyalty to Mao Zedong Thought, loyalty to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line". The "four infinities" mean: "Infinite love, infinite faith, infinite worship, and infinite loyalty" to Chairman Mao. The "four greats" are: "great mentor, great leader, great commander, and great helmsman". It is an inscription of Lin Biao advocating the personality cult of Mao Zedong. The "three-two struggle" refers to the struggle between the two classes of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the two roads of socialism and capitalism, and the struggle between the two roads of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolution and counter-revolutionary revisionism.

[5] "People's Daily", July 1, 1973.

[6] Wang Dongxing said in the article "Recalling the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of Lushan": "Chen Boda's provocative speech in the North China group excited people who did not know the truth. After Chen Boda finished speaking, some other comrades suggested that in the new constitution, the chapter on the chairman of the country was restored, and I agreed with Chairman Mao as the chairman of the country. I also made a speech at the meeting. I did not see through Chen Boda's plot at the time. When discussing the revision of the constitution with the 8341 troops, they warmly hoped that Chairman Mao would become the country's president and vice-chairman Lin would become the country's vice president. The wish of the first army is also my personal wish. At that time, I was quite emotional, and I completely forgot Chairman Mao's proposal to the Central Committee that there should be no chairman of the country in the constitution." ("Contemporary Chinese History Research" Issue 3, 1994)

[7] Regarding the death of Lin Biao and others in Undur Khan of Mongolia, not only the staff of our embassy in Mongolia went to the scene, inspected it carefully, and took a lot of photos; Bone, with dental identification. The deceased was undoubtedly Lin Biao. It is completely unbelievable that some people in the West spread rumors that Lin Biao and others were not on the plane.

[8] "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Several Historical Issues of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China".

Chapter 5 "Criticizing Lin and Rectifying the Movement" and "Criticizing Lin and Confucianism"



1. "Criticism of Lin and rectification" and Zhou Enlai's efforts to rectify the "Left"

Launch of "Criticism and Rectification"

The Lin Biao incident was a very serious and major political incident with wide-ranging influence. However, with the assistance of Zhou Enlai, Mao Zedong adopted correct policies and appropriate measures to eliminate and reduce the shock caused by this serious incident to the greatest extent. Not only was the domestic situation stable and the National Day activities were carried out smoothly, but it also did not affect the process of easing Sino-US relations after the secret visit of US President Kissinger's special envoy to China.

On September 18, 1971, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Lin Biao's Treason and Fleeing", which conveyed the Lin Biao incident to senior cadres at or above the provincial and ministerial levels throughout the country. On September 24, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China made a decision to order the main members of the Lin Biao Group, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, and Qiu Hui, who held important positions in the army, to resign and reflect on their posts and give a thorough account. On October 3, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice: the military commission working group was abolished, and the military commission office meeting was established. The CMC office meeting was presided over by Ye Jianying, vice chairman of the CMC. The members were Ye Jianying, Xie Fuzhi, Zhang Chunqiao, Li Xiannian, Li Desheng, Ji Dengkui, Wang Dongxing, Chen Shiju, Zhang Caiqian, and Liu Xianquan, a total of 10 members. They were responsible for the daily work of the CMC under the leadership of the CMC. Thus, the part of the military power usurped by the Lin Biao Group was successfully resolved.

On the same day, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice announcing the establishment of a central task force responsible for thoroughly examining the Lin Biao Group issue. The task force consists of 10 people including Zhou Enlai, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Ji Dengkui, Li Desheng, Wang Dongxing, Wu De, and Wu Zhong. It has a working organization under it, and Ji Dengkui and Wang Dongxing are responsible for daily work.

An event as big as the defection of the deputy commander-in-chief cannot be kept secret for a long time. Therefore, on the basis of the above-mentioned work, after the National Day, on October 24, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice to spread the incident of Lin Biao's betrayal of the party and the country to the whole country. The whole party, the whole army and the people of all ethnic groups in the country were greatly shocked by the occurrence of the Lin Biao incident, expressed great indignation at their counter-revolutionary crimes, and expressed firm support for the various measures taken by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Since December 1971, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has successively distributed three batches of materials "on the struggle against the Lin Biao clique's counter-revolutionary coup d'état" and launched a nationwide campaign of "criticizing Lin Biao and rectifying the wind" to mobilize the masses to expose and criticize the Lin Biao clique's crimes. The people and events involved in the conspiracy. Many old comrades wrote materials exposing Lin Biao.

According to the regulations at the time, the main content of the "criticism of Lin Biao and rectification" was to expose and criticize the crimes of Lin Biao and his gang's conspiracy to seize power, formulate the "571" Project Minutes, plan to murder Mao Zedong, launch a counter-revolutionary armed coup, and treason and flee abroad; at the same time, Expose and criticize their counter-revolutionary double-faced behavior and the "genius theory" they preach, idealistic historical views and metaphysics. Combined with criticizing Lin, in addition to studying the six books of Marxism-

Leninism, Mao Zedong also issued "My Opinion" written by Mao Zedong in Lushan Mountain and a letter written by Mao Zedong to Jiang Qing on July 8, 1966, asking everyone to study carefully. Improve the ability to identify true and false Marxism.

The launch of the "Criticism of Lin Biao and Rectification Movement" will help mobilize the masses to expose and criticize the crimes of Lin Biao and his gang, raise awareness of the harmfulness of "Left" errors, cool down the "Left" fanaticism, promote calm thinking, and allow more attention. Economic work has played a certain positive role in improving the domestic political and economic situation to a certain extent. However, since this movement was carried out on the premise of affirming the "Cultural Revolution", the guiding ideology was still "Left", and there was interference and sabotage by Jiang Qing and others, the effect was limited and there were many problems.

Although Mao Zedong learned some lessons from the Lin Biao incident and adjusted certain policies to a certain extent, he did not fundamentally sum up the experience and lessons, did not realize the overall mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution", and failed to grasp this. At the turning point, he resolutely announced the end of this "great revolution". On the contrary, Mao Zedong still analyzed and judged the Lin Biao incident from the "Left" viewpoint of class and class struggle. He believed that Lin Biao represented the landlords and capitalists who wanted to restore capitalism. The Lin Biao incident was a manifestation of fierce class struggle and the "tenth line struggle" in the history of the Chinese Communist Party. There is no sufficient basis for thinking that the Lin Biao clique represents a certain class. They are actually a group of careerists and conspirators whose goal is to seize supreme power. They themselves have never publicly put forward any independent political proposition, so it is difficult to say what kind of line struggle it is. The reason why they were able to be arrogant for a while was precisely because they took advantage of the overall serious "Left" errors of the "Cultural Revolution" initiated and led by Mao Zedong himself. Mao Zedong did not recognize this objective fact, and still insisted on

the erroneous "Left" policy in the overall situation, and still let Jiang Qing and his gang play a very important role in the political life of the party and the country. This cannot but prolong and deepen the disaster caused by the "Cultural Revolution" to the country and the people.

After smashing the armed coup plot of the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique, Zhou Enlai presided over the daily work of the central party and government with the support of Mao Zedong. He made great efforts to correct the "Left" errors and made a turn for the better in all aspects of work.

"Liberation" and Appointment of a Group of Veteran Cadres

During the "Cultural Revolution", the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques crazily attacked and persecuted veteran cadres, and unjust, false and wrongly decided cases spread all over the country. From the very beginning of the "Cultural Revolution", Zhou Enlai tried his best to protect a large number of cadres inside and outside the party in various ways. The occurrence of the Lin Biao incident also prompted Mao Zedong to reconsider certain things and changed his attitude towards some old comrades. On November 14, 1971, when he received the participants of the symposium in Chengdu, he said to everyone in front of Ye Jianying: "Don't talk about him as 'February Adverse Current' any more. What is the nature of 'February Adverse Current'? It was they who dealt with Lin Biao, Chen Boda, and Wang Guanqi." This laid the foundation for the rehabilitation of the so-called "February Adverse Current" (the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China officially made the decision to rehabilitate "February Adverse Current" after crushing the "Gang of Four"). Tan Zhenlin, who was persecuted and not allowed to attend the Ninth National Congress, also returned to Beijing under Zhou Enlai's care and resumed his work.

On January 10, 1972, Mao Zedong attended Chen Yi's memorial service. It is relatively rare for Mao Zedong to personally attend someone's memorial service after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Especially during the "Cultural

Revolution", it is even more unusual to attend the memorial service of an old comrade like Chen Yi who has been criticized repeatedly. This incident was reported to the whole country through the official channels of Xinhua News Agency and People's Daily, which had a huge impact.

At the memorial service, Mao Zedong said in a conversation with Chen Yi's wife, Zhang Qian, that Chen Yi was a good man and a good comrade, and that if Lin Biao's plot came to fruition, we old people would be killed. In this talk, Mao Zedong also said that there was a difference between Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi. After these words spread, it had a positive impact. Zhou Enlai delivered a eulogy, affirming Chen Yi's great contribution to the revolutionary cause throughout his life and restoring Chen Yi's reputation.

Zhou Enlai seized the opportunity to promote the work of liberating cadres from an overall perspective. In April 1972, he instructed the People's Daily to draft an editorial explaining the party's policy on cadres, and personally reviewed it. The editorial, entitled "Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, cure diseases and save lives," was published in People's Daily on April 24. The editorial pointed out, "For all comrades who have made mistakes, whether old or new, comrades within the Party or outside the Party, we must follow the formula of 'unity-criticism-unity' and adopt the policy of giving priority to education." Correct. To implement the party's cadre policy, interference from the "left" and the right must be eliminated. On the issue of cadres, we must not engage in hilltopism or sectarianism. The editorial specifically pointed out that veteran cadres who have been tempered by long-term revolutionary struggles are the precious wealth of the party. This is an objective fact, but it has not been mentioned for a long time after the "Cultural Revolution". This editorial had a great influence at the time, and it gave a strong impetus to the work of "liberating" cadres, freeing a large number of veteran cadres, experts, and professors from the state of detention, censorship, and criticism, and returning to work. Served as leaders at all levels.

In December, based on the situation reported by a family member of a leading cadre, Mao Zedong criticized the "fascist-style censorship method" in the prison and demanded that it be "abolished" and "ask the prime minister to do it." Zhou Enlai immediately instructed the Ministry of Public Security and the Beijing Garrison to thoroughly investigate the treatment of Beijing prisons, and asked them to publicly announce the abolition of fascist-style censorship methods and the prohibition of ill-treatment and beating of "prisoners" in front of the "prisoners" in custody. They should be punished in accordance with the law, and criminals should be allowed to file complaints." Although this is not a fundamental solution to the problem of cadres, it does limit and alleviate the persecution of cadres by Jiang Qing and his gang to a certain extent.

Due to the above-mentioned series of tasks, during this period, the reputations of some responsible cadres were restored, and a large number of devolved to work and "stand aside" The former heads of various departments of the party, government and military) were relocated to leadership positions. The most prominent and influential one was on March 10, 1973, when the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China made a decision based on an instruction from Mao Zedong to resume Deng Xiaoping's organizational life and the position of Vice Premier of the State Council. On August 14, 1972, Mao Zedong made important instructions in Deng Xiaoping's letter on August 3. Although he still believes that Deng Xiaoping's "mistakes are serious. But they should be distinguished from Liu Shaoqi." Mao Zedong affirmed that Deng Xiaoping "was punished in the Central Soviet Area... the leader of the so-called Mao faction". "He has no history problem". "His assistance to Comrade Liu Bochong in the war is effective and has meritorious service." "He did not succumb to Soviet revisionism" and so on. According to this instruction, Zhou Enlai presided over the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. After active efforts, the decision to resume Deng Xiaoping's organizational life and the position of vice premier of the State Council was made, so that Deng Xiaoping reappeared on the Chinese political stage.

Efforts to reverse the decline of the national economy

During the period when Zhou Enlai presided over the daily work of the central government, he made great efforts to reverse the severe damage to the national economy. He pointed out: "Science must not be violated... Some people want to smash all systems. This is an ultra-left trend of thought." No respect for science."

On October 5, 1971, when Zhou Enlai listened to the report of the National Planning Conference by the State Planning Commission, he pointed out that our enterprise management is now very chaotic and needs to be rectified. Subsequently, the State Council presided over the drafting of the "1972 National Planning Conference Minutes", put forward measures to rectify the enterprise, and clearly stipulated that the enterprise should restore and improve the post responsibility system, attendance system, technical operation procedures, quality inspection system, equipment management and maintenance system, There are 7 systems such as the safety production system and the economic accounting system; it is emphasized that enterprises should pay attention to 7 indicators such as output, variety, quality, raw material fuel power consumption, labor productivity, cost, and profit. These are effective enterprise management measures accumulated over many years of experience after the founding of the People's Republic of China, and are also indispensable and necessary systems for any economic sector. However, during the "Cultural Revolution" of several years, almost all of them were destroyed, causing serious confusion in enterprise management. , The situation of continuous decline in production. Therefore, in order to reverse the situation of economic work, we must start with the establishment and restoration of these basic rules and regulations.

At the beginning of 1972, Zhou Enlai discovered the problem of "three breakthroughs" caused by the "great expansion of 1970". He pointed out at the National Planning Conference in 1972 that the number of employees exceeded 50 million, the total wages exceeded 30 billion yuan, and the grain sales exceeded 80 billion

catties. These three breakthroughs brought a series of problems to all aspects of the national economy. , If you don't pay attention to solving it, you will make mistakes. He also said: "We should compile a material about the sabotage of economic plans by Lin Biao and his gang since the Ninth National Congress for everyone to criticize. It must be thoroughly approved to eliminate the destructive consequences." According to Zhou Enlai's opinion, the State Planning Commission drafted the "" The Provisions on Adhering to Unified Planning and Strengthening Economic Management was submitted to the National Planning Conference held in early 1973 for discussion.

Starting from correcting the ultra-left ideological trend and anarchism existing in production and construction, this draft document stipulates 10 disciplines that must not be violated. These regulations are aimed at correcting the phenomenon of randomly launching capital construction projects and increasing employees at will, and eliminating the impact on economic work caused by Lin Biao and his gang's sabotage of national plans and clamoring that "what I'm talking about is the plan" and "wars are ratios". When the document was submitted to the National Planning Conference in 1973 for discussion, 28 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions were in favor, and only Shanghai opposed it. Zhang Chunqiao said that this is "taking the majority to suppress us, I firmly oppose it, we are gloriously isolated". He ordered the documents to be withdrawn.

The two draft documents of the two national planning conferences in 1972 and 1973 were not issued as official documents due to Zhang Chunqiao's obstruction. However, it still had a positive effect on the actual work through discussions and delegates going back to convey it. The main reason is to adjust some excessively high indicators in the Fourth Five-Year Plan Outline (Draft Amendment), especially to reduce the steel output indicator in 1975 from 35-40 million tons to 30 million tons; Management, controlling arbitrary projects and expanding scale; strengthening labor wage management, reaffirming that the power of labor wages rests with

the central government, preventing arbitrary recruitment and arbitrary wage adjustments in violation of policies. In this way, the "three breakthroughs" have been effectively controlled, and various unbalanced proportional relationships have been adjusted to a certain extent, ensuring the recovery and growth of the entire national economy. In 1972, industry increased by 6.6% over the previous year, and in 1973 by 9.5% over the previous year.

It is worth mentioning that in 1972, my country resumed the introduction of complete sets of equipment and new technologies that had been interrupted for many years. Approved by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai in 1973, my country imported a total of 4.3 billion US dollars of complete sets of equipment and stand-alone machines (plus later additional projects, a total of 5.14 billion US dollars). These include 13 sets of large chemical fertilizers, 4 sets of large chemical fibers, 3 sets of petrochemicals, 43 sets of comprehensive coal mining units, 3 large power stations, 1.7-meter rolling mills and turbine engines, Spey generators, etc. These imported projects were completed and put into operation by the end of 1979. It not only expands the industrial production capacity of our country, but also helps to improve the modern production technology level of our industry.

Adjusting the Distribution of Rural Income

In terms of rural work, we also started to correct some "Left" malpractices. On December 26, 1971, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued instructions on the distribution of rural people's communes. Aiming at the influence of ultra-left ideological trends in rural areas at that time, there was widespread egalitarianism in labor compensation, and more work did not pay more; the single operation was backward, and there was little cash income; the distribution could not be fulfilled, farmers' income decreased, and their living standards fell, which hindered farmers' production. Positivity status and proposed solutions. The document reiterated: "It is necessary to give consideration to national interests, collective interests, and individual interests, earnestly implement the

relevant policies of the party, and do a good job in the distribution of rural people's communes." It requires all localities to proceed from reality, summarize good local experiences, and persist in We welcome the simple and easy method; emphasize that agriculture should develop in an all-round way, and we should not criticize the diversification allowed by the party's policy as capitalism; stipulate some measures that are conducive to increasing collective production, increasing individual income, reducing the burden on farmers, and making distribution fulfilled. Specific policies. This instruction was welcomed by the rural cadres and the masses, and to a certain extent mobilized the enthusiasm of farmers for production. In 1972, more than 610 million mu of crops suffered severe natural disasters, and the total agricultural output did not increase in that year. By 1973, the total agricultural output had increased by 8.4% compared with the previous year.

major developments in diplomacy

In terms of external work, breakthroughs and major progress have been made during this period. After the "Cultural Revolution" began, Lin Biao and Jiang Qing instigated ultra-left ideological trends and created a series of major foreign-related incidents, which seriously damaged my country's reputation and foreign relations. In the first five years of the "Cultural Revolution", the entire foreign relations were in a state of stagnation and regression. After the Ninth National Congress, according to the decisions of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, the Chinese government took a series of measures to improve and develop foreign relations, especially relations with the United States, Japan and Western European countries.

On October 25, 1971, the 26th session of the United Nations General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to restore the lawful seat of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. On February 21, 1972, at the invitation of the Chinese government, US President Nixon visited China and arrived in Beijing. On February 27, China and the United States issued the Shanghai Joint Communiqué, announcing that after more than 20 years of confrontation, the two

countries have begun to move towards reconciliation and normalization of relations. The restoration of China's legal status in the United Nations and the relaxation of Sino-US relations have created favorable conditions for the great development of China's foreign relations. On September 25, 1972, Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka visited China at the invitation of Zhou Enlai. On September 29, China and Japan announced the end of the state of war and officially resumed diplomatic relations.

During the 27 months from Kissinger's secret visit to China to the end of 1972, a total of 41 countries, including Canada, Italy, Austria, Turkey, Iran, Mexico, the Federal Republic of Germany, Australia, and New Zealand, established or resumed diplomatic relations with China. relation. It is almost equivalent to the sum of the countries that established diplomatic relations with my country in the 20 years from 1949 to 1969 (47 countries established diplomatic relations in 20 years). Britain and the Netherlands have also upgraded their representative offices from the level of *chargé d'affaires* to the level of ambassadors due to the severance of diplomatic relations with Taiwan. These facts show that our country has achieved great success in diplomacy.

The improvement of international relations has created favorable conditions for my country to carry out foreign economic and technological exchanges and develop foreign trade. The major decisions made by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai in foreign relations began to break the abnormal state of the long-standing Western blockade and our own seclusion, and laid the foundation for opening up a new diplomatic pattern.

Taking advantage of the March 8th Women's Day in 1973, Zhou Enlai held a grand reception in the Great Hall of the People, and invited foreign experts and family members in China to attend. At the meeting, Zhou Enlai severely criticized Lin Biao, Chen Boda, Wang Li and others for sabotaging and interfering with foreign affairs work, expressed sincere apologies to foreign experts who were wrongly criticized or forced to leave China, and welcomed them to return to

work in China. A British female expert once recalled this meeting with emotion. "In front of hundreds of guests, the Prime Minister, on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese government, publicly apologized to all foreign experts for the delay in implementing Chairman Mao Zedong's instructions on the treatment of foreign experts," she said. "A humble British potter and cook girl's daughter accepted the apology from the powerful Chinese Premier. Please imagine how I felt at that time." This has a positive effect on restoring the bad influence on foreign relations and correcting the mistakes of the extreme left. role.

During this period, Zhou Enlai also attached great importance to the work of culture, education, science and technology, etc., strengthened his leadership, and put forward the request to criticize the ultra-left ideological trend, and promoted the work of these departments to make remarkable progress.

Criticize the twists and turns of the extreme left

During the period when Zhou Enlai presided over the daily work of the central government, in view of the harm caused by the ultra-left ideological trend and anarchism in the "Cultural Revolution", in the process of exposing and criticizing the crimes of Lin Biao's counter-revolutionary clique, he held meetings with the On other occasions, the question of the need to criticize extreme leftist trends and anarchism has been raised many times. He pointed out: "The ultra-left ideological trend in all units was indulged by Lin Biao." If the ultra-left ideological trend is not approved, people will not have the courage to implement the correct line of the party. In view of the fact that due to the influence of "prominent politics" at that time, there was a general situation of not daring to grasp production and business, he pointed out at a meeting: the ultra-left trend of thought is to engage in "empty, abstract, metaphysical things, rhetoric, and go to extremes." ". He emphasized that "sports and business cannot be opposed", and that politics "is to hang on business". He encouraged cadres at all levels to focus on production and business with confidence. The ultra-left trend of thought is the ideological

basis of the great turmoil of the "Cultural Revolution". At that time, when the general policy of reversing the "Left" error of the "Cultural Revolution" was not yet available, proposing and organizing criticism of the ultra-left trend of thought was the most effective method that could be adopted. It was Zhou Enlai's grasp of the fundamental problems in this area that made a turning point in all aspects of work at that time.

Zhou Enlai's efforts to eliminate the evil influence of ultra-left thoughts in various fields were opposed by Jiang Qing and his group. On October 6, 1972, "Guangming Daily" published an article entitled "Some Views on the Revolution of Science Education in Comprehensive Universities". This article was written by Zhou Peiyuan, the head of Peking University at the time and a famous physicist. According to the author, I wrote this article because Yang Zhenning, a Chinese-American physicist, visited Peking University and the Institute of Physics of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in the spring of 1972 and asked us to promote the study and research of basic physics. Yang Zhenning's opinion was praised by Mao Zedong. In July, when meeting with Chinese-American scholars, Zhou Enlai told Zhou Peiyuan who accompanied the meeting in person: "When you go back, you must run the science of Peking University well and improve the level of basic theory. This is the task I entrusted to you. If there are any obstacles to remove, Is there any nail to pull out." After returning to school, he wrote a letter to Zhou Enlai, putting forward three opinions on strengthening basic theoretical education. Peking University and Tsinghua University drafted a preliminary opinion on strengthening basic theory in teaching and scientific research. Zhou En came to see it and gave instructions. It was against this background that he wrote the article.

The article was originally written at the request of the "People's Daily", but because of Yao Wenyan's objection, it was republished in the "Guangming Daily". Aiming at the problems existing in the education work at that time, according to Zhou Enlai's opinion, the article emphasized the need to attach importance to and strengthen the study and research of the basic theories of natural science.

Zhang Chunqiao instigated Shanghai's "Wen Wei Po" to attack this article, and sent people to Peking University to secretly investigate the "background" of this article. He said: "Zhou Peiyuan has a backer, no matter how big or strong his backer is, he must be criticized!" The target of their criticism is obviously aimed at Zhou Enlai.

On October 14, "People's Daily" published three articles criticizing extreme leftist trends and anarchism. These articles were based on the spirit of Zhou Enlai's speeches criticizing the ultra-left ideological trend twice in August and September, and when the leaders of the State Council Hua Guofeng, Li Xiannian, and Yu Qiuli listened to comrades from Heilongjiang Province report on the problems of several factories in Harbin in March 1972. Written by a spiritual organization proposing to oppose anarchism. After the article was published, it immediately attracted widespread attention. The Shanghai side called the People's Daily to ask who the author of the article was, who organized the article, who reviewed it, and who sent it to read. Subsequently, the internal publication of Wen Wei Po, in the name of the Shanghai Workers' Forum, accused the article of "denying the Cultural Revolution", "criticizing the masses", and "a poisonous weed". Yao Wenyan ordered to carry out a "Criticism Movement" within the People's Daily to criticize the "resurgence of the Right deviation". Taking this as an opportunity, Zhou Enlai could no longer intervene in the affairs of the People's Daily. The People's Daily was completely controlled by Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing, and Yao Wenyan.

On November 28, the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs proposed in the "Report on Convening a Foreign Affairs Conference" that the conference should "thoroughly criticize the ultra-leftist trend of thought and anarchism instigated by Lin Biao's anti-Party clique" as a important content. Zhou Enlai gave the approval. Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao opposed Zhou Enlai's instructions. They respectively wrote in their reports, "Should criticize Lin Biao as a traitor to the extreme right", "Is criticizing Lin Biao the

same as criticizing the extreme 'Left' and anarchism?" "Criticizing Lin should be more comprehensive" and so on. Obviously, criticizing the ultra-left trend of thought has touched the key point of Jiang Qing's group's deliberate advocacy of the ultra-left trend of thought, which is used to disrupt the party and the country.

When Zhou Enlai had a sharp confrontation with the Jiang Qing group, Mao Zedong mistakenly supported Jiang Qing's and Zhang Chunqiao's propositions, and also believed that the task at that time was still to oppose the "extreme right", thus negating Zhou Enlai's correct opinions. On December 5, 1972, someone from the People's Daily wrote a letter to Mao Zedong expressing agreement with Zhou Enlai's opinion on criticizing the ultra-left trend of thought, which reflected that Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan disagreed with criticizing the ultra-left trend of thought. On December 17, Mao Zedong said in a conversation with Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan: "Let's criticize the ultra-left trend of thought less." Party treason". In the "New Year's Message" jointly published by "People's Daily", "Liberation Army Daily", and "Red Flag" magazine in 1973, in accordance with the spirit of Mao Zedong's speech, it was emphasized that in the "criticism and rectification style" we should focus on criticizing "liars like Liu Shaoqi" (The "essence of the revisionist line" has always been synonymous with Lin Biao before the top ten officially adopted the name of Lin Biao. It is believed that the counter-revolutionary purpose of Lin Biao and his group is to "subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism internally. They are trying in vain to prop up the landlord bourgeoisie that our party, our army, and our people have personally defeated under the leadership of Chairman Mao." "At home, they want to unite the landlords, rich, anti-, bad, and rightists to implement the fascist dictatorship of the landlord-comprador bourgeoisie. Internationally, they want to surrender to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and oppose China, the Communist Party, and the revolution." No more "right"! From then on, only Lin Biao's "extreme right" was allowed to be approved, and the extreme left was not allowed. Anyone who dares to criticize "Left" again will lack understanding of the essence of Lin Biao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and will be

mistaken for the "general direction of the struggle." Criticism of "Left" became a restricted area for a while.

Zhou Enlai correctly raised the issue of criticizing the ultra-left trend of thought. This is a continuation of the correct proposition that many central leading comrades demanded to correct the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" around February 1967. If we can persevere, the overall mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" can be gradually reduced or even corrected. However, since the "Cultural Revolution" was a product of "Left" errors, and Mao Zedong had always insisted on the "Cultural Revolution" in the overall situation, he sensitively linked criticism of the extreme left with the denial of the "Cultural Revolution", and thus made an impermissible criticism. Wrong decision of the extreme left.

During the two years after the smashing of the Lin Biao clique, although the Jiang Qing clique carried out various disturbances and sabotages, Zhou Enlai, with the support of Mao Zedong, adopted some correct policies and measures; Since the majority of cadres and the masses had learned some lessons from the "Cultural Revolution" and their minds were governed, social order and production conditions gradually improved between 1972 and 1973, and all aspects of work took a turn for the better. However, the criticism of the extreme left presided over by Zhou Enlai and the improvement it brought about were quickly obstructed and sabotaged and interrupted. Amid the so-called criticism of the "ultra-right", the party's "left" errors were not only unable to be effectively On the contrary, it continued to develop, and the disaster of the "Cultural Revolution" continued to develop.

2. The CCP's Ten Great Mistakes Continuing the Nine Great Mistakes

After the Lin Biao incident, some major political issues that urgently needed to be resolved arose. For example, in the general outline of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, it stated that "Comrade Lin Biao has always held high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought, and most faithfully and firmly implemented and defended Comrade Mao Zedong's proletarian revolutionary line." The formulation that "Comrade Lin Biao is Comrade Mao Zedong's close comrade-in-arms and successor" has become a huge historical irony; among the 21 Politburo members elected at the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, 7 belonged to Lin Biao's counter-revolutionary clique. The leaders and backbones have been scrutinized, and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, which has a one-third shortage, is difficult to work normally; this has caused widespread doubts: Is the line of the Ninth Congress still correct? Obviously, if these problems are not answered and resolved, it will be impossible to explain to the whole party and the people of the whole country, and it will also be detrimental to the party's leadership and social stability. And to solve these major problems, it can only be completed by the party's highest authority, the National Congress. The Ninth Party Constitution stipulates: "The National Congress of the Party shall be held every five years." Therefore, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China decided to hold the Tenth National Congress of the Party ahead of schedule.

Party Big Ten Preparations

To prepare for the convening of the Tenth Congress, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a working conference in Beijing from May 20 to 31, 1973. The meeting discussed and passed the "Decision of the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of China on the Selection of Deputies to the Tenth National Congress of the Party". Regarding the conditions for deputies, the main requirements of the decision are: "Resolutely implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, especially in the Tenth Line Struggle, perform well after testing and tempering, connect with the masses, Those who are trusted by the masses should also include those who have made serious mistakes, conducted self-criticism, are willing to correct them, and have obtained the understanding of the masses." That is to say, members of the Lin Biao clique and those who followed Lin Biao and made serious mistakes should be excluded from the representatives. However, the main constituents of the representatives should still be the rebels who "performed well" during the "Cultural Revolution"; Political responsible cadres. Of course, there is one condition, which is to conduct a "review". In a certain sense, this can also be said to have made a certain degree of policy adjustment on the issue of cadres.

In the proportion of the distribution of representatives stipulated in the decision, "revolutionary intellectuals" are listed in addition to workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, and other working people, and the number of representatives only accounts for about 5% of the total. It reflects the discrimination and exclusion of intellectuals during the "Cultural Revolution", and it is no exception among members of the Chinese Communist Party.

The meeting discussed and agreed to the "Central Political Bureau's Request for Instructions on Revising the Party Constitution" approved by Mao Zedong, and decided that Wang Hongwen would be in charge of the Central Party Constitution Revision Group, work under the leadership of the Political Bureau, and put forward the "Chinese Communist Party Constitution Draft".

Regarding the 1973 national economic plan, according to Zhou Enlai's opinion, the meeting focused on shortening the capital construction front and bringing local enthusiasm into play.

According to Mao Zedong's opinion, the meeting announced the "liberation" of 13 veteran cadres including Tan Zhenlin, Li Jingquan, and Ulanhu; Wang Hongwen, Hua Guofeng, and Wu De attended the Politburo meeting and participated in the work of the Politburo. Before this central working conference, in the summer of 1972, Hua Guofeng and Wang Hongwen, members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the first secretary of the Hunan Provincial Party Committee, were successively transferred to work in the central government. Wu De was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the first secretary of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China at that time. Wang Hongwen was the leader of the "rebel faction" in Shanghai, a member of the Ninth CPC Central Committee, Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and Deputy Director of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee at that time. Giving Wang Hongwen the important task of leading the revision of the party constitution shows that Wang Hongwen was already another successor selected by Mao Zedong to be trained by the central government at this time.

From the decision to convene the Ten Ten Congresses ahead of schedule to the formal holding of the conference, there was only 3 months in the middle, and the preparations were relatively hasty. The representatives of the top ten are not fully deliberated, and the congresses are held step by step and elected. Instead, through the so-called "democratic consultation", the provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and relevant electoral units hold enlarged meetings of party committees to be elected. Before the congress, there was no plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan became the main drafters of the top ten documents. The Big Ten also did not set up a representative qualification review committee. All these show that the preparations for the top ten teams are insufficient and sloppy.

On August 20, before the opening of the Ten Ten Congresses, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved

the "Review Report on Lin Biao's Anti-Party Group and Anti-Revolutionary Crimes", and decided to permanently expel Lin Biao and his group's main members Chen Boda, Ye Qun, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and others Party membership, and all their positions inside and outside the Party will be revoked. Li Xuefeng was also mistakenly listed as a key member of the group, and was expelled from the party at the same time. On the same day, the Party Central Committee held a plenary meeting of the election preparation committee. According to Mao Zedong's opinion, Wang Hongwen served as the director of the election preparation committee, Zhou Enlai, Kang Sheng, Ye Jianying, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and Li Desheng were the deputy directors, with a total of 104 members. Zhou Enlai turned out to be Wang Hongwen's deputy, which clearly showed Mao Zedong's inclination towards the party's top ten personnel arrangements.

Ten Political Reports Continuing to Adhere to the Mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution"

From August 24 to 28, 1973, the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing. Mao Zedong presided over the meeting. A total of 1,249 delegates attended the conference, representing 28 million party members across the country. There were three items on the agenda of the congress: (1) Zhou Enlai made a political report on behalf of the Central Committee; (2) Wang Hongwen made a report on the revision of the party constitution on behalf of the Central Committee, and proposed the "Draft Constitution of the Communist Party of China" to the congress; (3) Election of the tenth member of the Communist Party of China Central Committee.

The political report passed by this meeting further exposed and criticized the crimes committed by Lin Biao's counter-revolutionary clique, pointing out that "Lin Biao and his small group of cronies are a counter-revolutionary conspiracy that's not leaving their quotations, never leaving their mouths, saying good things to their faces, but poisoning their hands behind their backs." group". The exposure and

criticism of the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique was, after all, a very beneficial and profound education for the whole party. However, the report did not analyze the historical conditions of the Lin Biao incident in depth and concretely, nor did it link the Lin Biao incident with the "Cultural Revolution" and summarize the necessary experience and lessons. He believed that "Lin Biao's anti-party clique jumped out and continued to compete with the proletariat, which is a sharp manifestation of the fierce class struggle at home and abroad", which proves that there are always classes, class contradictions and class struggles in the historical stage of socialism. The correctness of the basic line, etc., and once again emphasized that "the struggle between the two lines within the party will exist for a long time, and there will be ten, twenty, and thirty times." Wrong main argument.

Regarding future tasks, the report pointed out: "Our country is still a poor country economically, and it is still a developing country." , to promote production... to effectively complete and overfulfill the state plan for the development of the national economy, so that the socialist economy of our country will have a greater development". This shows that the degree of emphasis on economic construction issues has increased compared with the Ninth National Congress. However, the main task emphasized in the report is still to do a good job in class struggle and "consolidate and develop the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." The report said: "The tasks of struggle, criticism, and reform of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution need to be deepened on all fronts." At the same time, he emphasized: "We must continue to carry out the literary and artistic revolution, the education and health revolution, do a good job in the work of educated youth who go to the mountains and the countryside, run the May Seventh Cadre School well, and support the new things of socialism." "Educate the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country in class struggle and line struggle" etc.

Ten party constitutions and a new central committee

In the "Report on the Amendment of the Party Constitution", it is emphasized that "the revised draft submitted to the Congress for discussion and approval, compared with the Nine National Congress Party Constitution, mainly enriches the content of the struggle experience between the two lines." The report identified "the world is in great chaos, and the world is in great order. It will come again in seven or eight years" as an "objective law". Once again declared: "It is necessary to carry out many political revolutions like the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in order to continuously consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and win new victories in the cause of socialism." The report once again called on the entire party to "persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The new party constitution adopted by the congress basically followed the "Left" erroneous content of the nine party constitutions except for deleting the words in the nine party constitutions that praised Lin Biao and affirmed Lin Biao as "Comrade Mao Zedong's close comrade-in-arms and successor". As Wang Hongwen admitted in his report: "The party constitution adopted by the Ninth National Congress adheres to the consistent fundamental principles of our party, reflects the new experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and plays a positive role in the political life of the entire party, the entire army, and the people of the whole country. The general outline of the revision draft retains the provisions of the Nine Party Constitution on the nature, guiding ideology, basic program, and basic line of our party, and some adjustments have been made to the structure and content. There are not many changes to the provisions." New content It was the addition of the new requirement that "all comrades in the party must have a revolutionary spirit that dares to go against the trend" in the general outline. Among the five conditions that party members must fulfill, "criticize revisionism" was included, so that the "left" tendency continued. Keep.

It does not make much sense to affirm or deny "anti-trend" as an abstract principle. The key is what kind of trend you are against. Of

course, revolutionaries should have the courage to oppose reactionary countercurrents, but not only cannot oppose the correct trend that represents objective historical laws, but should be the leader and promoter of this trend. At that time, when the whole party and most people in the country had gradually realized the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" from practice and demanded to criticize and correct the ultra-left trend of thought, Mao Zedong emphatically proposed "anti-trend" and regarded it as "a part of Marxism-Leninism". "Principles" can only mean that Mao Zedong will continue to adhere to the "Left" set and "resist" the correct historical trend represented by the majority.

The Congress elected the Tenth Central Committee. 195 people were elected as members of the Central Committee, and 124 were elected as alternate members of the Central Committee, more than the Ninth Central Committee. Some veteran cadres who have been tried and persecuted during the "Cultural Revolution" and are not members of the Ninth Central Committee, such as Deng Xiaoping, Wang Jiaxiang, Wulanfu, Li Jingquan, Tan Zhenlin, Liao Chengzhi, Zhao Ziyang, Li Baohua, Qin Jiwei, etc., were elected as the Central Committee committee member. However, this did not fundamentally change the mistakes of the Ninth Congress in terms of organization. The core members of Jiang Qing's counter-revolutionary clique were more often elected to the Party's Central Committee.

The First Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee Sows New Roots of Disaster

On August 30, 1973, the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its first plenary meeting. The meeting elected the central body of the party. Mao Zedong was elected chairman of the Central Committee, and Zhou Enlai, Wang Hongwen, Kang Sheng, Ye Jianying, and Li Desheng were elected vice-chairmen of the Central Committee. Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee are (in alphabetical order of surnames): Mao Zedong, Wang Hongwen, Wei Guoqing, Ye Jianying, Liu Bocheng, Jiang Qing, Zhu De, Xu Shiyu, Hua

Guofeng, Ji Dengkui, Wu De, Wang Dongxing, Chen Yonggui, Chen Xilian, Li Xiannian, Li Desheng, Zhang Chunqiao, Zhou Enlai, Yao Wenyan, Kang Sheng, and Dong Biwu, a total of 21 people.

Alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee are: Wu Guixian, Su Zhenhua, Ni Zhifu, Sai Fuding. The leader of the rebel faction, Wang Hongwen, went straight up and became the vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The conspirator Kang Sheng also became the vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Zhang Chunqiao became a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Although the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China solved some problems that were urgently needed to be solved at that time, on the whole, it still continued the "Left" errors of the Ninth National Congress. The Tenth Congress still called on the entire party to "persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," uphold the "basic line and policies of the party throughout the historical period of socialism," and uphold the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." The Top Ten identified Mao Zedong's "chaos in the world leading to great order", "it will come again in seven or eight years", and "monsters and snakes jumping out on their own" as "objective laws", and predicted that "the struggle between the two lines within the party will last for a long time. Existence, there will be ten, twenty, thirty times." Under the guidance of such a "Left" erroneous policy, the "Cultural Revolution" can only be protracted and the destructive consequences will become more and more serious. Although Mao Zedong once again asked at a meeting of the Politburo before the convening of the Tenth Congress: "I hope that this time the Tenth Congress can really be held as a united and victorious congress", "I hope that in this congress, we will unite and not engage in conspiracy ". But insisting on the "Cultural Revolution" is incompatible with unity and victory.

After the First Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan, and Wang Hongwen

formed the "Gang of Four" in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and the power of Jiang Qing's counter-revolutionary group was further strengthened. This provided favorable conditions for this group of careerists and conspirators to fully usurp the supreme leadership of the party and the country, and laid the seeds of disaster for the continued turmoil in the country after the Tenth Congress.

3. "Criticism of Lin Biao and Confucianism"

After the 10th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen, Yao Wen Yuan, etc. relied on their inflated power to step up their conspiracy to seize the leadership of the party, government and army. Although Wang Hongwen has been designated to preside over the daily work of the Party Central Committee, his low expectations and weak ability make him an embarrassment. In fact, Zhou Enlai still handles the daily work of the central government. Therefore, Zhou Enlai was regarded by Jiang Qing and his gang as the main obstacle on the road to power, and became the main target they deliberately defeated.

Mao Zedong linked criticizing Lin with criticizing Confucius

Although the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China fully affirmed the "Cultural Revolution" once again, the general cadres and the masses are still growing tired and suspicious of the "Cultural Revolution". Although Zhou Enlai's efforts to correct "Left" errors were interrupted, it has already shown the broad support of the people for correcting "Left" errors. All these aroused Mao Zedong's illusion and worry about the occurrence of "restoration and retrogression" and the emergence of "revisionism".

On July 4, 1973, in a talk with Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao, Mao Zedong criticized the views on the world situation in the 135th issue of "New Situation" compiled and published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Mao Zedong said: I often brag about great turmoil, great division, and great reorganization, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs suddenly came with a big deception and a big master. He also said: "The conclusion is four sentences: Don't discuss big things, and send small things every day. If this tune is not changed, it will inevitably be revised." In fact, all major diplomatic

matters are decided by Mao Zedong. "Diplomacy is no small matter", and it is the advantage of the diplomatic department to seriously ask for instructions and report when something happens. However, it is really incomprehensible to be accused of not discussing "big things" and being accused of "certainly making revisions". This kind of random accusation, to a certain extent, reflected Mao Zedong's inexplicable dissatisfaction with the diplomatic department with great achievements, and also reflected his dissatisfaction with Zhou Enlai, who led the work of the foreign affairs department. During the conversation, Mao Zedong talked about a point of view, that is, he believed that Lin Biao's ideological roots came from Confucianism, and that Lin Biao, like the Kuomintang, "respected Confucianism and opposed the law." This shows that Mao Zedong's subjective identification has begun to link criticism of Lin and criticism of Confucius.

According to Jiang Qing in a later speech, Mao Zedong went to her and showed her two poems he wrote criticizing Confucius. One is "five character quatrains":

Guo Lao retreated from Liu, not
as good as Liu Zongyuan.

It is called the Communist Party
and worships Kong Erxian.

One is "Seven Laws" "Reading "Feudalism" Cheng Guo Lao":

Advise the king to scold Qin
Shihuang less, and discuss the
cause of burning the pit.

The soul of the ancestor dragon
died and Qin still lives, and the
scientific name of Confucius is Gao
Shichaan.

A hundred generations have
followed the Qin political law, and
ten batches are not good articles.

Familiar with the feudal theory
of the Tang Dynasty, Mo Congzihou
returned to King Wen.

The "Guo Lao" here refers to Guo Moruo, a famous Chinese historian and president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. "Ten batches" refers to Guo Moruo's main work on ancient history research, "Ten Criticisms". On the surface, it seems that Mao Zedong disagreed with historians' academic works, but at the time it was out of some political struggle.

According to Mao Zedong's instructions, the "People's Daily" published the article "Confucius - A Thinker Who Stubbornly Maintained Feudal Slavery" by Yang Rongguo, a professor at Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou. Yang Rongguo represented a long-standing opposing school of view in the study of the history of Chinese philosophy, and was supported by Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong also said in a conversation with a foreign guest: "Qin Shihuang is the first famous emperor in China's feudal society. I am also Qin Shihuang. Lin Biao called me Qin Shihuang. China has always been divided into two factions, one faction says Qin Shihuang is good, and the other says Qin Shihuang is bad. I agree with Qin Shihuang, but I don't agree with Confucius." These clearly express Mao Zedong's attitude towards Confucius.

The usual trick used by Jiang Qing and his gang during the "Cultural Revolution" was to use the banner of Mao Zedong to push Mao Zedong's mistakes to extremes in order to achieve their criminal goals. These conversations of Mao Zedong found a basis for Jiang Qing and his gang to stir up trouble again and attack Zhou Enlai.

In October, Jiang Qing and others launched the so-called "Counter-Rightist Resurgence Movement" at Tsinghua University and Peking University under their direct control, claiming to "counter-attack the Rightist Restoration Forces" and "Counter-Counter-Revisionist Resurgence", and to arrest "representative figures" and sweep down "Social basis". They also ordered Tsinghua University and Peking University to set up a "Great Criticism Group" to edit materials on Lin Biao and Confucius and Mencius, and to write articles criticizing Confucius. They took advantage of the investigation of Lin Biao's residence after the September 13th

incident, found some quotations of Confucian figures that Lin Biao asked to extract from Lin's house, edited them into a material according to political needs, and named it "Lin Biao and the Way of Confucius and Mencius" (one of the materials). On January 12, 1974, Jiang Qing and Wang Hongwen wrote to Mao Zedong, suggesting that this material be forwarded to the whole country. They falsely claimed: "This material will be of great help to the current in-depth criticism of forestry and Confucius. Various places are also in urgent need of such concise materials." In fact, at that time, the majority of cadres and the masses did not know that the "criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius" was going to be carried out, and it was not at all an "urgent need" for such materials. Mao Zedong approved the proposals of Jiang Qing and Wang Hongwen. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China forwarded this material as an attachment to the document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on January 18, and the campaign of "criticizing Lin Biao and Confucianism" was launched across the country. From then on, the "criticizing Lin and rectifying wind" movement, which put the top ten requirements of the CCP at the top, suddenly turned into a "criticizing forest and criticizing Confucianism" movement.

To criticize Confucius is to criticize Confucius, the most famous scholar and educator in Chinese history, who is revered as "the most holy teacher". This is not the first time in the history of Chinese revolution. During the famous May 4th Movement in 1919, the slogan "Down with Confucius's shop" was put forward. Mao Zedong's criticism of Confucius has also been consistent for many years. However, in previous criticisms, he still affirmed the positive aspects of Confucius. For example, in the report of the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party, Mao Zedong said: "From Confucius to Sun Yat-sen, we should give a summary and inherit this precious legacy." Of course it is possible to criticize Confucius' theories, and So far, there are still different opinions in discussion and discussion. The question is whether it is appropriate to link criticism of Confucius with criticism of Lin Biao. Moreover, the goal of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius at that time was actually

neither Lin Biao nor Confucius, but had other plans. There are already signs of this from the documents, editorials and critical articles at that time.

The purpose of carrying out the campaign of "criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius" was, according to the saying at the time, because "the struggle between our party and Lin Biao over whether to oppose or respect Confucianism is essentially a two-pronged struggle between progress and retrogression, revolution and counter-revolution in the socialist period. The struggle of one class, two roads". Only by in-depth criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, "can we further understand the necessity of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, so as to consolidate and develop the great achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." That is to say, Mao Zedong's subjective intention of launching the campaign of "criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius" at that time was to further affirm the theory and practice of the "Cultural Revolution" and curb the masses' doubts, resistance and opposition to the "Cultural Revolution" in order to maintain peace and harmony. Continue to implement the "Left" erroneous policy. But the "Gang of Four" tried their best to carry out the "criticize Lin Biao Confucius" movement, and they had other plans.

On November 17, 1973, based on a one-sided report, Mao Zedong summoned Zhou Enlai, the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other relevant personnel, talked about his views on the recent Sino-US talks, and proposed that the Political Bureau of the Central Committee hold a meeting to discuss it. At the meeting held that night, Jiang Qing accused Zhou Enlai of being "rightist capitulationism." According to Mao Zedong's opinion, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held consecutive meetings from November 21 to early December to criticize the "mistakes" of Zhou Enlai and Ye Jianying. At the meeting, Jiang Qing and others attacked Zhou Enlai and Ye Jianying for "losing power and humiliating the country" and "capitulationism", claiming that this was the "eleventh line struggle" and slandering Zhou Enlai as "the leader of the wrong line".

The Two Mobilization Conferences in Beijing and Jiang Qing's Activities

On January 24 and 25, 1974, during the Spring Festival holiday, Jiang Qing, without the consent of the CPC Central Committee, suddenly ordered two mass gatherings held by the Central Military Commission, Beijing-based troops, agencies directly under the CPC Central Committee, and state agencies in the Capital Gymnasium. Criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius" mobilization meeting.

Jiang Qing ordered two of her assistants, Chi Qun and Xie Jingyi, who were in charge of the military propaganda teams of Peking University and Tsinghua University at the time, to deliver provocative speeches in the name of introducing the editing process of "Lin Biao and the Way of Confucius and Mencius" and Mao Zedong's instructions at the meeting. They flattered Jiang Qing, attacked and slandered the leaders of the State Council and the Central Military Commission. Jiang Qing, Yao Wenyan, etc. also interrupted from time to time, sang together, and made surprise attacks on Zhou Enlai, Ye Jianying, etc. who were attending the meeting.

Before and after these two conferences, Jiang Qing also wrote letters and sent materials to leading organizations such as the Navy, Air Force, Nanjing Army, and Guangzhou Army in his own name. She also sent cronies to send materials to a chemical defense company in the Nanjing Military Region, instigated the campaign of "criticizing Lin Biao and Confucianism", instigated "igniting fire and firing cannons" and "seizing power" in an attempt to disrupt the army. Jiang Qing also wrote letters and sent materials to the Culture Group of the State Council, the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and educated youth sent to the countryside, etc., requesting that the "criticize forest and criticize Confucius" movement be "deeply deepened and blossom and bear fruit." The purpose of these activities is obviously to create a new chaos in the world so that they can take advantage of the chaos and usurp power.

The main content of the "Criticizing Lin Biao and Confucianism" campaign manipulated by Jiang Qing and others was neither seriously criticizing Lin Biao's various crimes, nor scientifically criticizing Confucianism, which had dominated China's long-term feudal society. They are just using the phrases that Confucius said more than 2,000 years ago, such as "restraining the self and restoring the rites", "prospering and destroying the country, inheriting the unparalleled world, and elevating the people", in order to insinuate and criticize the so-called "revisionist countercurrent" and "restoration of capitalism".

It has been more than three years since Lin Biao's counter-revolutionary conspiracy was smashed, and Lin Biao's party members have basically been exposed and eliminated. Jiang Qing and his gang tried their best to clamor for "anti-restoration". And a group of veteran cadres who were liberated and resumed work after implementing the policy slandered them as "yimin" in order to remove obstacles for them to seize power. Therefore, a large number of articles by Liang Xiao, Luo Siding, Tang Xiaowen, etc., the royal writing team of the "Gang of Four" were published in newspapers and periodicals during this period. These articles did not criticize Lin, but pretended to criticize Confucius, and alluded to attacking Zhou Enlai by criticizing "Duke Zhou", criticizing "Prime Minister", and "criticizing the law and criticizing Confucianism".

In February 1974, Jiang Qing personally published the title of "The Man of Confucius", and asked Liang Xiao, the "Great Criticism Group" of Peking University and Tsinghua University, to write the manuscript. This article uses portrait techniques to blatantly insinuate and attack Zhou Enlai, from his background, style, behavioral characteristics, and even "serious illness". On June 14, Jiang Qing convened a meeting of the royal writing team in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. She openly claimed that "there is still a lot of Confucianism" in the party, and she wants to focus on criticizing "the current Confucianism." Later, in a conversation in Tianjin, Jiang Qing said more bluntly, "The focus of this movement is

to criticize the great Confucianists in the party," and unscrupulously implied that the "great Confucianism" was Zhou Enlai.

The army has always been the target of the "Gang of Four". They do not have any positions in the army, but they know very well that it is difficult to realize their ambition to usurp supreme power if they do not have military power, so they deliberately disrupt the army and usurp military power by "criticizing Lin and Confucius". On February 8, Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao said at a meeting: The leadership of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army "leaves to the right and is soft, and can no longer go to the right"; the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army "can seize power"; The more thoroughly it collapses, the better." On March 5, Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao convened a meeting with some people from the army and localities. Jiang Qing said bluntly, "the whole army needs to be reorganized." She personally sent people to the army to "set fire to the wilderness", and sent people to seize the leadership of the military's cultural work.

Jiang Qing Created a Series of Weird Events

During this period, Jiang Qing and others also created various strange incidents. Such as the "Mazhenfu Commune Middle School Incident" in Henan Province. In a commune middle school in the mountainous area of western Henan, a female student could not answer the English test, so she wrote a doggerel on the test paper, claiming, "I am Chinese, why should I learn foreign languages?" Being criticized for this, the little girl committed suicide, which is of course an unfortunate thing. Local leaders have dealt with this matter. However, after Jiang Qing found out about this, she seized upon it to make a big fuss. She was crying and "accusing" again, saying that the incident was the result of the teacher's implementation of the "revisionist education line" and "intellectual education first". Taking this incident as a typical example of the so-called "restoration and resurgence of the revisionist education line" in the "criticizing Lin Piao Confucius" movement, calling for the destruction of "teacher's dignity", opposing "intellectual education

first", and inciting young students to criticize teachers and education Workers criticize. She sent people to Henan to investigate, put pressure on them, and arrested and sentenced the principal of the middle school and the teachers involved.

"The Incident of the Heroic Scroll". Handing in blank papers in the college entrance examination has always been regarded as a shameful thing, but one person was named a "hero" by the "Gang of Four" because he handed in blank papers. His name was Zhang Tiesheng, and the incident happened in Liaoning. This person took the college entrance examination in 1973, got 6 points in chemistry, and a blank paper in physics. Knowing that there was no hope of admission, he wrote a letter on the back of the physics exam paper to vent his dissatisfaction. This matter was learned by Mao Yuanxin, then Secretary of the Liaoning Provincial Party Committee of the Communist Party of China. He thought it could be used as a "stone" to hit people, and instructed the "Liaoning Daily" to edit and edit the letter before publishing it. "People's Daily" reprinted it under the title "A Thought-Provoking Answer". In this way, Zhang Tiesheng became an "anti-trend hero". Not only was he admitted to an agricultural college as a college student, but he also joined the party as an official and became a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. This person did many bad things, and he was not punished as he should until after the "Gang of Four" collapsed.

The "Primary School Student Diary Incident" took place in the capital Beijing. A primary school girl wrote some opinions and opinions on her teacher in her diary, and was discovered by Jiang Qing's confidant Xie Jingyi, who said: "It's not about the relationship between you and your teacher, it's about two classes and two lines. event". Immediately ordered the "Beijing Daily" to make an excerpt from the diary, and added an editor's note to publish it publicly. Dozens of articles and reports followed, touting the elementary school student as a "anti-trend" hero. Jiang Qing and his gang took advantage of this incident to incite confrontation between teachers and students, criticize teachers, and destroy the school's education

system and teaching order, which had a very bad impact on the education circles in Beijing and even the whole country. At that time, three young people from the Inner Mongolia Production and Construction Corps disapproved of the publicity of diaries of elementary school students. Under the signature of Wang Yazhuo, the three co-wrote a letter to the author of the primary school student's diary, pointing out that her "target was wrong". As a result, under the auspices of the working group sent by the "Gang of Four", these three people were criticized by more than 20 large and small meetings, saying that they were "vanguards of bourgeois restoration forces" and sent to the most difficult places for labor reform.

"Snail Incident". In order to develop my country's electronics industry, the Fourth Machinery Industry Ministry of the State Council reported to the central government in 1973 that it was preparing to introduce complete sets of color TV picture tube equipment, which was approved by Zhou Enlai and other central leaders. At that time, Jiang Qing and others also agreed. To this end, the relevant units organized a technical inspection team to go abroad. When returning to China, an American company that produces glass bulbs gave each member of the delegation a handicraft produced by the company itself - a glass snail. This is a very common thing, but in the "criticism of Lin and Confucianism", a good person wrote a small report to Jiang Qing, in order to have something to do. Jiang Qing was worried about the lack of materials to attack the State Council led by Zhou Enlai, so he immediately seized this matter as a cannonball. He insisted that sending snails was an insult to us, saying that we were crawling, and we carried a shell on our backs. They cursed the relevant departments as "traitors" and "foreign slaves", ordered the gifts to be returned, and protested. The atmosphere was tense for a while. After Zhou Enlai learned of this, he suggested that the Chinese Liaison Office in the United States should first find out the truth and the customs of the United States. After investigation, according to local customs, snails are festival gifts, which symbolize happiness and auspiciousness, and are not malicious. This calms the matter down. But after Jiang Qing made such a fuss, the import of complete sets of color TV picture tube

equipment from the United States was cancelled. The introduction of color picture tube production lines was forced to be postponed for several years, and other introductions were also greatly impacted.

"The "Three Peaks on Peach Peak" Incident". "Three on the Peach Peak" is a newly edited Jin opera, which was sent by Shanxi Province to Beijing to participate in the North China cultural performance. However, Jiang Qing and his gang pretentiously described "Taofeng" as the Taoyuan Brigade in Tangshan, Hebei Province, where Liu Shaoqi's wife Wang Guangmei stayed during the "Four Cleansing" movement, and imposed the charge of "calling on Liu Shaoqi's soul". In addition, there are incidents of criticizing the Hunan Opera "Song of the Gardener". This arbitrary political criticism of literary and artistic works made the situation of "a hundred flowers wither" since the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution" even more serious.

The evil consequences of "criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius" and some corrections at that time

The movement of "criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius" seriously damaged the political situation that had just stabilized after hard work after Lin Biao's defection on September 13th. Under the instigation and command of the "Gang of Four", their gang members fought against veteran cadres everywhere, mobilized the hills, and fought. Organizations such as liaison stations, petition groups, and reporting groups appeared in the society. Some people spread slogans such as "do not produce for the wrong route" and incited to stop production and work. Some leading cadres were overthrown again, or voluntarily left their leadership positions, or were involved in factional struggles where one faction suppressed another, paralyzing the leading groups of many units again. Some railway transportation departments have also caused traffic congestion due to factional struggles. The confusion caused by "criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius" caused industrial production to decline again. According to the statistics from January to May 1974, the output of coal decreased by 6.2% compared with the same period of the previous

year, the volume of railway freight decreased by 2.5% compared with the same period of the previous year, the output of steel decreased by 9.4% compared with the same period of the previous year, and the output of chemical fertilizer decreased by 3.7% compared with the same period of the previous year . Due to the decline in production, it affects the imbalance of fiscal revenue and expenditure. From January to May, compared with the same period of the previous year, revenue decreased by 500 million yuan and expenditure increased by 2.5 billion yuan.

Although Mao Zedong insisted on carrying the "Cultural Revolution" through to the end, at this time he was also extremely concerned about factors that might cause new major turmoil, and tried to avoid them as much as possible. Therefore, he did not fully agree with these practices of Jiang Qing and others, and some even proposed criticized. On February 15, he made a comment on Ye Jianying's letter to him, pointing out: "Now, metaphysics is rampant and one-sided. Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, and going through the back door, may dilute the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucianism. Xiao Xie, Chi Group speeches have shortcomings and should not be distributed." Mao Zedong later criticized them, saying: "If you have opinions, you should discuss them in the Politburo, print them out and distribute them in the name of the central government, not in the name of individuals. In the name of the Communist Party, I have never sent any materials." Mao Zedong also withheld the tapes of the January 25 conference that Jiang Qing and others were planning to broadcast throughout the country.

In order to prevent the development of the chaotic situation and reverse the decline in production, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice on April 10, stipulating that "the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius should be carried out under the unified leadership of the party committee, and mass organizations such as fighting teams should not be established, and cross-cultural organizations should not be established." Industry, cross-regional and other series". On July 1, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the

"Notice on Grasping the Revolution and Promoting Production", criticizing erroneous remarks such as "rebellious against the leadership is against the trend" and "not producing for the wrong line", and pointed out that it is necessary to expose the behind-the-scenes criticism of the suspension of work and production manipulator. In July, according to Mao Zedong's opinion, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China rehabilitated Yang Chengwu, Yu Lijin, and Fu Chongbi, restored their reputations, and rearranged their work. On September 29, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice to rehabilitate He Long and restore his reputation. The notice pointed out that the review of He Long was "necessary", but "has been controlled by Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Ye Qun, Li Zuopeng and others. They fabricated the facts and concealed the truth in order to deceive and block the central government, and framed Comrade He Long as 'collaborating with the enemy' in history. ' and 'usurpation of military power' ". After being checked and screened by the central government, it is completely reversed history and deliberately framed. The central government decided to rehabilitate Comrade He Long and restore his reputation. All the above-mentioned measures had a positive impact on overcoming the destruction and confusion caused by the "Gang of Four" through "criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius".

On July 17, 1974, Mao Zedong criticized Jiang Qing face-to-face at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee: "Don't set up two factories, one called a steel factory and the other called a hat factory, and put a big hat on others at every turn." "You are also hard to change. What!" Mao Zedong announced in public: "She does not represent me, she represents herself." Mao Zedong criticized Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen for engaging in gang activities, and warned them: "You should be careful not to become a gang of four What about sects." From these criticisms of Mao Zedong, it can be seen that: first, he affirmed the movement of "criticizing Lin Biao and Confucianism", but worried that Jiang Qing and others' new activities such as "anti-back door" might make the "criticism of Lin Biao and Confucianism"

Movement is disturbed, "diluted". The second is the attitude towards Jiang Qing, which is based on the premise of basic affirmation, and criticizes some shortcomings in style and method. Advise her to pay attention to the method when criticizing others, and not to "put a big hat on people". The term "Gang of Four" was proposed by Mao Zedong at this time, but it meant a "small sect", which was fundamentally different from the "Gang of Four" later used as a counter-revolutionary group. Even so, under the conditions at the time, if Mao Zedong was able to criticize Jiang Qing and others, it would always have a beneficial impact.

The Struggle at the Politburo Meeting of the CPC Central Committee

On October 11, 1974, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice deciding to "convene the Fourth National People's Congress in the near future". The notice conveyed Mao Zedong's opinion: "It has been eight years since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Now, stability is better. The whole party and the whole army must be united." It seems that Mao Zedong subjectively regarded the convening of the Fourth National People's Congress as a way to achieve stability and unity. important condition. Four years ago, Mao Zedong also regarded the convening of the Fourth National People's Congress as an important condition for "unity to strive for greater victories", but it failed to be realized due to the Lin Biao Group's conspiracy to seize power. After 4 years of delay, the problem was not resolved.

The convening of the National People's Congress will inevitably discuss and decide on the arrangements and adjustments of the state leaders. Realizing that this was their opportunity to usurp more power, the "Gang of Four" intensified their conspiracy in defiance of Mao Zedong's criticism. On October 4, Mao Zedong proposed that Deng Xiaoping be the first vice premier of the State Council. Jiang Qing and others were extremely dissatisfied. At the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held on the evening of October 17, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan, and Wang

Hongwen premeditated and used the so-called "Feng Qinglun incident" to launch a sudden attack.

Fengqing is a domestic 10,000-ton ocean-going cargo ship. In 1974, he was ordered to set sail, transporting more than 10,000 tons of rice to Romania, and returned to Shanghai Port before the National Day. This was originally a good thing, but Jiang Qing and his gang used it as a negative article. They said that the domestically produced 10,000-ton ship should have sailed a long time ago, but it did not sail early because of various resistances caused by the revisionist line. They accused the State Department of "worshipping foreign countries" in agreeing to import ships. Wang Hongwen also ordered to detain a cadre from the Ministry of Communications who was stationed on the Fengqing ship as a leader in Shanghai for criticism, and ordered the Ministry of Communications to deal with it seriously. The main excuse is that the cadre refused to criticize the imported ships as "worshiping foreign countries" and "traitorism", and expressed dissatisfaction with Jiang Qing, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen and their cronies in Shanghai.

The "Gang of Four" insisted on dealing with the "Fengqinglun Incident", and it was obvious that the spearhead was directed at Zhou Enlai and the State Council. Because Zhou Enlai was sick and hospitalized and could not attend, they launched a surprise attack on Deng Xiaoping at this meeting, demanding that Deng Xiaoping immediately express his position on the handling of the "Fengqinglun Incident". Jiang Qing asked Deng Xiaoping aggressively: "Are you supporting it? Or are you against it? Or are you standing in the middle?" Deng Xiaoping replied solemnly: "This is imposed on others." "I want to investigate! I want to investigate!" Zhang Chunqiao stood up and said, "I knew you were going to jump out, and you did!" Under the siege of the "Gang of Four", Deng Xiaoping angrily left the venue in protest. The meeting of the Politburo cannot continue, and it ends without any result.

Wang Hongwen's complaint against Changsha was frustrated

That night, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen secretly planned and decided to send Wang Hongwen to Changsha to report to Mao Zedong on framing Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. On October 18, Wang Hongwen flew to Changsha with most members of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee on his back. When reporting to Mao Zedong, he said sensationally: "Beijing now has the flavor of the Lushan Conference" and "I came here at a risk." And said: "Although Premier Zhou is seriously ill, he is busy day and night looking for people to talk to. Deng Xiaoping, Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian, etc. often go to the Premier's place." He also said: "The frequent visits of these people at this time are related to the personnel arrangements of the Fourth National People's Congress." The Lushan Conference that Wang Hongwen mentioned here refers to the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee where Lin Biao conspired to seize power. He viciously compared the normal work of Zhou Enlai and others to Lin Biao's conspiracy to usurp power in an attempt to deceive Mao Zedong. He also praised Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan in his report. Its purpose was to prevent Deng Xiaoping from becoming the vice premier, put Zhou Enlai aside, and let the "Gang of Four" come forward to form a cabinet. Mao Zedong immediately warned Wang Hongwen: "If you have any opinions, talk to them face-to-face, so it can't be done well", "After you go back, you should talk to the Prime Minister and Comrade Jianying more, and don't get involved with Jiang Qing. You should pay attention to her." On the 20th, Mao Zedong sent someone to tell Zhou Enlai and Wang Hongwen: the prime minister is still the prime minister, and the preparations and personnel arrangements for the Fourth National People's Congress will be presided over by the prime minister and Wang Hongwen, who will discuss with all parties.

Wang Hongwen's trip to Changsha failed to achieve the purpose of the "Gang of Four" and was criticized by Mao Zedong. However, Jiang Qing and others still refused to give up. In November, Jiang Qing wrote to Mao Zedong many times, trying to use his special status and influence to arrange as many accomplices as possible into important leadership positions. She proposed that Wang

Hongwen and Xie Jingyi be the vice-chairmen of the National People's Congress, Chi Qun be the Minister of Education, and Mao Yuanxin, Chi Qun, Xie Jingyi, and Jin Zumin attend the Politburo as "successors" to be trained. Mao Zedong reached out for officials. Mao Zedong clearly rejected Jiang Qing's request, and in Jiang Qing's letter on November 12, he instructed: "Don't show up too much; don't approve documents; don't let you form a cabinet (as the backstage boss). You have a lot of grievances, and you must unite the majority. " "People are valuable to have self-knowledge. It's time." Mao Zedong saw Jiang Qing's intentions. He said to the person who conveyed Jiang Qing's opinions on personnel arrangements: "Jiang Qing has ambitions. She wants to make Wang Hongwen the chairman of the committee, and she herself will be the chairman of the party." He also said: "In the future, she will fall out with everyone. Now people It's also perfunctory for her. After I die, she will make trouble." These words show that Mao Zedong knew Jiang Qing well, knew that she was unbearable, and asked her to "be aware of herself."

On June 1, 1974, Zhou Enlai's condition worsened and he was admitted to the hospital, but he still worked tirelessly. After receiving Mao Zedong's instruction that he still want him to preside over the Fourth National People's Congress, on December 23, Zhou Enlai went to Changsha with Wang Hongwen to report to Mao Zedong while sick. Mao Zedong had four conversations with them from the 23rd to the 27th. Mao Zedong once again warned Wang Hongwen "don't engage in the Gang of Four" and "don't engage in sects, you will wrestle with sects". He said: "Jiang Qing has ambitions. Do you think he has it? I think he has it." Mao Zedong said that he proposed to Jiang Qing "three don'ts: first, don't criticize things randomly, second, don't show off the limelight, and third, don't participate in organizing a government (cabinet)". Mao Zedong said that Deng Xiaoping "has a strong political ideology and a rare talent", and "Xiaoping will serve as the first vice premier, vice chairman of the Military Commission and chief of the general staff".

Since the beginning of 1974, Mao Zedong has criticized Jiang Qing and his group many times, reaffirming that the prime minister is still the prime minister, and re-entrusting Deng Xiaoping with important tasks. These show that although Mao Zedong was old and seriously ill at that time, he was still clear-headed and was still considering how to properly handle major affairs of the party and the state, and family relations did not play an important role in his decision-making. Some of his above-mentioned actions played an extremely important role in defeating the conspiracy of the "Gang of Four" to form a cabinet and seize power, and ensuring the smooth convening of the Fourth National People's Congress. The contest between rectification and anti-rectification "Cultural Revolution" ended from January 1975 to October 1976. In the past two years, the land of China was full of ups and downs. Not only did dramatic changes occur in the political arena, but also the people fought a great struggle, showing that After 10 years of turmoil, the Chinese people's will. Deng Xiaoping's return to power, struggling to rectify, and being suddenly overthrown was not only another big ups and downs in his personal political career, but also another wave of ultra-left ideological trends and healthy forces within the party during the "Cultural Revolution", and it was also the biggest in 10 years. a global contest. Although the healthy forces within the party appear to have temporarily failed, the broad masses of people of all ethnic groups have further improved their ability to recognize and awaken from the stark contrast between the rectification and the "criticism of Deng", and finally issued a huge protest on Tiananmen Square. Roar of justice. The aspiration of the people has laid a great mass foundation for smashing the "Gang of Four". After Mao Zedong's death, the October Victory led by Hua Guofeng and Ye Jianying ended the final journey of the "Cultural Revolution" and created a good premise for China to return to the correct development path.

[1] In October 1970, US President Nixon asked Pakistani President Yahya Khan to convey during his visit to China that the US was ready to improve relations between the two countries. In April 1971, China sent a note to the United States through the channel of Pakistan, expressing its welcome to the visit of the US President or special envoy to China. In July, after careful arrangements, Kissinger, the special envoy of the US President, paid a secret visit to China. Zhou Enlai held secret talks with Kissinger from July 9th to 11th and reached an agreement. On the 16th, both sides simultaneously issued a communiqué announcing that President Nixon would visit China before May 1972. Thus opening the door to Sino-US relations and having a huge impact on world politics.

[2] "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai", Volume 2, p. 457.

[3] "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai", Volume 2, p. 462.

[4] "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai", Volume 2, p. 464.

[5] Ross Smith: "In Memory of Premier Zhou", see "Remembrance of Wuzhou", pp. 230-231.

[6] The titles of these three articles are: "Anarchism is a Counter-revolutionary Tool of Fake Marxist Liars", "Insisting on the Iron Discipline of the Proletariat" and "The Ugly History of a Conspirator" (Comment on Baku, the founder of anarchism Ning's). Three articles constitute a full page, which is more eye-catching.

[7] See Yu Huanchun: "Great Power Falls to Others: Documentary of the People's Daily Seizing Power During the Cultural Revolution", contained in "Century Tide" No. 12, 2004.

[8] On April 1, 1982, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China made the "Decision on Restoring Comrade Li Xuefeng's Party Membership".

[9] "Selected Works of Mao Zedong", Volume 2, p. 534.

[10] "Extensively and Deeply Carrying Out the Struggle to Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius", see "Red Flag" No. 2, 1974.

[11] Refers to the drafts of speeches delivered by Chi Qun and Xie Jingyi at the conference on January 24 and 25, 1974.

Chapter 6 The Contest between Rectification and Anti-rectification The End of the "Cultural Revolution"



1. Deng Xiaoping presided over the work and comprehensive rectification

Deng Xiaoping was entrusted with the important task of

At the beginning of 1975, in less than half a month, Deng Xiaoping was successively appointed to key and important leadership positions in the party, government, and army. This kind of situation not only did not exist after the founding of the People's Republic of China, but is also rare in the history of revolution led by the Communist Party of China.

First, on January 5, according to Mao Zedong's proposal, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a document appointing Deng Xiaoping as vice chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China and chief of the general staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. At the same time, he appointed Zhang Chunqiao as the director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, replacing Li Desheng. .

Then, at the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held from January 8 to 10, Deng Xiaoping was elected Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

Later, at the Fourth National People's Congress held from January 13 to 17, Deng Xiaoping was appointed as the number one Vice Premier of the State Council (we will discuss these two meetings later). The announcement and dissemination of these news formed a huge torrent that caused shocks, which inspired the masses, party members, and cadres, and placed hope in the stability

of social life. They saw a glimmer of light in the long night of the "Cultural Revolution."

Why was Deng Xiaoping able to return to assume the important task of leading the party and the country at that time? Of course, it is inseparable from his own outstanding talent, but the main one should be determined by the specific historical conditions at that time. First of all, the objective situation at that time urgently required the selection of someone to replace Zhou Enlai who was sick and hospitalized. Zhou Enlai is a rare and outstanding statesman who is both farsighted and savvy, but also down-to-earth and meticulous. He is almost an irreplaceable figure in the modern Chinese political history. But the ruthless laws of nature and incurable diseases forced him to stay in bed for a long time. When he gave a report at the Fourth National People's Congress, he went directly from the hospital to the meeting place and insisted on being ill. This situation cannot continue for long and someone must be found to replace him. Secondly, Mao Zedong selected several successors, but none of them worked. Lin Biao was written into the party constitution of the Ninth National Congress, but he was crushed and buried in a foreign country. After the September 13th incident, Wang Hongwen was chosen, saying that he had served as a soldier, planted land, worked as a worker, was a worker, peasant and soldier, and was the leader of the workers' rebel faction in Shanghai, China's largest industrial center. He seemed to be an ideal figure. But practice has proved that he is lacking in talent and morality, and will only follow Jiang Qing and engage in small plots, which is beyond his burden. Mao Zedong also considered asking Zhang Chunqiao to succeed him, but Zhang was not popular. Third, Mao Zedong had a relatively comprehensive understanding of Deng Xiaoping. Although there were some dissatisfaction, his overall evaluation was good. They believed that he was punished for sticking to the correct line during Wang Ming's line, had no historical problems, had military exploits, and was resolute in his struggle against the so-called Soviet "revisionism". high prestige. Based on the above three points, it can be said that the reappointment of Deng Xiaoping was the best choice Mao Zedong could have made at that time, and of course it was the most

beneficial choice for the cause of socialism, so it was also the only correct choice. This shows that although Mao Zedong was seriously ill at the time, he was clear-headed and always put the overall situation of the revolutionary cause first.

Zhou Enlai presided over the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee

From January 8th to 10th, the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing, and Zhou Enlai was entrusted to preside over the meeting.

The meeting discussed preparations for the Fourth National People's Congress. Decided to submit the Draft Amendment to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, the Report on Amending the Constitution, the Report on the Work of the Government, and the list of candidates for the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council to the National People's Congress for discussion.

The meeting elected Deng Xiaoping as vice chairman of the CPC Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. Because Jiang Qing and his gang slandered him for "adopting Lin Biao's line" and "boarding Lin Biao's bandit ship", Li Desheng offered to remove his position as vice chairman of the CPC Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and the plenary meeting approved his request. (In August 1980, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Military Commission approved the report of the General Political Department, rehabilitating Li Desheng.)

Fourth National People's Congress revives blueprint for economic development

From January 13 to 17, 1975, the first session of the Fourth National People's Congress was held in Beijing. A total of 2,864 delegates attended the conference. The agenda of the General

Assembly is: Amending the Constitution; adopting the government work report; electing and appointing national leaders.

Zhou Enlai made the "Government Work Report" on behalf of the State Council. In his "Report", he re-displayed the blueprint for the development of my country's national economy in two steps proposed by the Third National People's Congress in December 1964: "The first step takes fifteen years, that is, before 1980, Build an independent and relatively complete industrial system and national economic system; the second step is to fully realize the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology within this century, so that our national economy will be at the forefront of the world." This grand goal The re-promotion of the proposal not only reflects the fundamental aspirations of the people of all ethnic groups in the country, but also rekindles the fire of hope in the hearts of the masses.

Zhang Chunqiao made the "Report on Amending the Constitution" on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. In accordance with Mao Zedong's opinion, this constitution cancels the requirement of having a chairman of the country, but stipulates that "the chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the national armed forces."

The Congress passed the revised "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and the "Report on Amending the Constitution", and approved the "Government Work Report". The meeting elected Zhu De to continue as the chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Dong Biwu, Song Qingling and other 22 people were the vice-chairmen. The meeting decided that Zhou Enlai would continue to serve as Premier of the State Council, and Deng Xiaoping, Zhang Chunqiao, Li Xiannian, Chen Xilian, Ji Dengkui, Hua Guofeng, Chen Yonggui, Wu Guixian, Wang Zhen, Yu Qiuli, Gu Mu, and Sun Jian would serve as vice premiers.

Among the ministers of the various ministries of the State Council approved by the Fourth National People's Congress, there

are many old comrades who have undergone long-term tests and have rich work experience. Gu Mu, Zhou Rongxin, Minister of Education, Wan Li, Minister of Railways, Zhang Jinfu, Minister of Finance, Kang Shien, Minister of Petrochemical Industry, etc. Only a few ministries are controlled by members of the "Gang of Four", such as Yu Huiyong, Minister of Culture, and Liu Xiangping (female), Minister of Health. In this way, a more effective leadership team was provided for carrying out comprehensive rectification.

The Fourth National People's Congress re-proposed the grand goal of building my country into a modern socialist country, and determined the candidates for the State Council with Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping as the core leadership, which greatly inspired the people of the whole country. However, this conference was held under the condition that the "Cultural Revolution" called for "continuing to popularize, intensify, and sustainably carry out the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius". Heavily affected by "Left" errors.

The constitution adopted by the General Assembly contained serious errors. For example, the "theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" is fully affirmed in the Constitution; the thesis of expanding and absolutizing the class struggle existing within a certain range in socialist society is regarded as "the basic line of the entire historical stage of socialism." "Writing it into the Constitution; taking the abused "big talk, big airing, big-character posters, and big debates" during the "Cultural Revolution" as "a new form of socialist revolution created by the masses of the people", and stipulated in the Constitution that "the state Ensure that the masses use this form." These erroneous provisions and regulations have brought serious damage to socialist democracy and the legal system.

Although the Fourth National People's Congress had shortcomings and mistakes, the ability to convene a people's congress and discuss and pass the constitution is always an improvement compared to the "lawless" chaos, and it is a step

forward to restore the normal democratic order of socialism. In particular, the congress confirmed the leadership of the State Council with Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping at its core, reaffirmed a series of correct economic construction policies of the party, and clarified the grand goal of realizing the four modernizations, all of which encouraged the people. At the same time, it was also a heavy blow to the Jiang Qing Group, defeating their plot to form a cabinet and seize power.

Fully rectify the crisis

After the closing of the first meeting of the Fourth National People's Congress, Zhou Enlai's condition became more serious. He tried his best to convene an executive meeting of the State Council on February 1 to approve the division of labor among the vice premiers, and on February 2 he submitted a request for instructions to the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Mao Zedong on the issue of the division of labor among the vice premiers. In this report, Deng Xiaoping was determined to be in charge of foreign affairs, and during Zhou Enlai's treatment and recuperation, he acted as the premier to preside over the State Council meetings and submit major documents. This report was approved by Mao Zedong. In this way, with the support of Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping actually presided over the daily work of the central government.

At that time, due to the influence of the "Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius" movement, the "Gang of Four" and their henchmen interfered and sabotaged everywhere, and the country's industry, agriculture, transportation, science and technology and other aspects of work fell into a state of serious chaos. Regardless of Deng Xiaoping's difficult situation when he just came out to work and Jiang Qing's group made troubles, he followed the goal of building my country into a socialist modern power set by the Fourth National People's Congress, and followed Mao Zedong's instructions on learning theory, stability and unity, and boosting the national economy. , trying to eliminate all kinds of interference, starting from

rectifying the leadership team, criticizing and eliminating factionalism, and drastically rectifying all aspects of work.

Starting from the rectification of railways, opening up the lifeline of transportation

On February 10, 1975, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on the Approval of the 1975 National Economic Plan", requiring the entire party to "unite all those who can be united, mobilize all positive factors, and persist in grasping the revolution, promoting production, and promoting work. The policy of promoting war readiness and boosting the national economy, especially transportation, coal, and steel production at the moment."

Due to the destruction of the "Gang of Four" and its gang forces, the transportation of Xuzhou, Nanjing, Nanchang and other railway hubs has been blocked for a long time, hindering the smooth flow of the four major railway lines of Jinpu, Jingguang, Longhai, and Zhejiang-Jiangxi, and affecting the transportation of other railway trunk lines, seriously endangering industrial production and people's lives in some cities. In order to change this serious situation, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China convened a meeting of secretaries in charge of industry of the party committees of all provinces, cities, and autonomous regions from February 25 to March 8, focusing on solving the problem of railway transportation. In his speech at the meeting, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the current overall situation is a two-step assumption for the development of my country's national economy. It is a big mistake to only dare to grasp the revolution and not dare to grasp the production. The current weak link is the railways. If the problem of railway transportation is not resolved, the production deployment will be completely disrupted, and the entire plan will come to nothing. The solution to the railway problem is to strengthen centralization, establish necessary rules and regulations, and strengthen organizational discipline. Deng Xiaoping emphasized: "Now factionalism has seriously hindered our overall situation. We must

put this issue in front of all employees and clarify these major issues of right and wrong." The support is also a spur to their work.

On March 5, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Decision on Strengthening Railway Work". The "Decision" pointed out that: railway transportation is still a prominent weak link in the national economy, and cannot meet the needs of production development and the need to strengthen combat readiness. Therefore, it was decided to implement a management system dominated by the leadership of the Ministry of Railways for the railway, and strengthen the centralization and unification. At the same time, we must establish and improve necessary rules and regulations, strengthen organizational discipline, rectify railway order, and fight against various destructive behaviors. A small number of leading cadres with serious bourgeois factionalism who have not been corrected after criticism and education must be dealt with in a timely manner.

The national rail system advertised the decision with great fanfare. The working group led by Minister of Railways Wan Li, together with the party committees of relevant provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, carried out a key rectification of some railway bureaus with serious problems, so that the railway transportation situation improved rapidly. By April, several railway bureaus with serious congestion had been unblocked; 20 railway bureaus across the country, except Nanchang Bureau, had exceeded their plans; the average daily loading of national railways reached more than 53,700 vehicles, more than 10,000 more than in February vehicles; the daily loading of coal reached more than 7,800 vehicles, which was the first time in five years that the planned transportation target was fulfilled.

Reorganization of steel and other industries

The rectification of the railway has brought about the rectification of the entire industry, first of all the iron and steel industry. In the first four months of 1975, 1.95 million tons of iron and steel were under-produced across the country, and large steel mills

such as Baotou, Wuhan, Anshan, and Taiyuan were seriously under-produced. Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his speech at the Iron and Steel Industry Symposium on May 29 that the iron and steel industry should focus on solving four problems: First, a strong leadership team must be established. The key to the failure of steel production is the problem of the leadership team, which is weak, lazy, and scattered. Second, we must resolutely fight against factionalism. Some people make the party's cause dark and dark. If you wait for him to wake up, can you wait for it? Be bold. For those who persist in factionalism, those who should be transferred should be transferred, those who should be approved should be criticized, and those who should be fought should be fought. They should not be slow, but always wait. Third, policies must be conscientiously implemented. Special attention should be paid to mobilizing the enthusiasm of veteran workers, technical backbones, and old model workers who have been injured by sports. Fourth, the necessary rules and regulations must be established. The implementation of rules and regulations would rather be stricter. If they are not strict, they will not be established. In the past, some rules and regulations were cumbersome and should be reformed.

On June 4, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Instructions on Efforts to Complete This Year's Steel Production Plan". The "Instructions" pointed out that after the central government's decision on strengthening railway work, that is, the No. 9 document was issued, the situation on the entire industrial front has undergone significant changes. The petroleum industry has been developing at a high speed. In the past two months, coal production has also increased, and railway transportation has also increased, all of which have reached or exceeded the national plan indicators. Although the iron and steel industry has also made progress, the rise is slow, and the situation of monthly production shortages has not been changed so far. Therefore, the party committees of all provinces, cities, and autonomous regions must strengthen their leadership over the iron and steel industry. As soon as the leadership situation is changed, the effect will be seen immediately. In June, the average daily output of steel reached

72,400 tons, exceeding the annual planned average daily output level, and began to make up for the underproduction.

After several months of rectification, the economic situation began to improve significantly. On July 17, the State Council's "Report on Industrial Production in the First Half of This Year" forwarded by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China pointed out: "Since March, industrial production and transportation have improved month by month. Crude oil, raw coal, power generation, fertilizer, cement, Internal combustion engines, paper and cardboard, railway freight volume, etc., created the highest monthly output in history in May and June. Military production is also relatively good." In 1975, the total industrial and agricultural output value of the country increased by 11.9% over the previous year. Among them, industry increased by 15.1%, and agriculture increased by 4.6%. The rapid improvement in production reflects the effectiveness of the rectification work. Of course, there are still many problems, and the results are only preliminary.

The focus of the army's rectification is "swelling, looseness, arrogance, extravagance, and laziness"

The rectification of the army is an important aspect of overall rectification. Deng Xiaoping was the first to raise the issue of army consolidation. On January 25, in his speech at the first meeting of cadres above the regiment of the General Staff after he took office as chief of the General Staff, he clearly pointed out: "Our army has a good tradition...but since Lin Biao took charge of the work of the army in 1959, , especially in the later period of his administration, the army was quite messed up". "That's why Comrade Mao Zedong proposed that the army should be rectified." "The General Staff Department, the General Political Department, and the General Logistics Department have greater responsibilities. The three headquarters themselves must first be rectified." On February 5, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice canceling the office meeting of the Military Commission and establishing the Standing Committee of the Central Military

Commission of the Communist Party of China as a solution. The office of the Military Commission for its daily work. The Standing Committee of the Military Commission is presided over by Ye Jianying, with 11 members including Wang Hongwen, Deng Xiaoping, Zhang Chunqiao, Liu Bocheng, Chen Xilian, Wang Dongxing, Su Zhenhua, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, and Su Yu. Handle the daily work of the Military Commission under the leadership of Mao Zedong and the Party Central Committee.

From June 24 to July 15, the Central Military Commission held an enlarged meeting. The meeting focused on Mao Zedong's "unification of the army" and "reorganization of the army" as the theme, and discussed the solution to the problem of reorganization of the army, that is, correcting unhealthy tendencies, reducing military quotas, adjusting the establishment system, and arranging supernumerary cadres.

Deng Xiaoping made an important speech at the meeting on July 14. He analyzed the situation of the army and pointed out that the army should solve the problems of "swelling, looseness, arrogance, extravagance, and laziness". It is necessary to grasp the establishment, grasp the equipment, and also grasp the strategy. He said: "The issues to be studied in strategy are not only operational issues, but also training. Training should be placed in an important position in strategic issues." He pointed out: "In terms of steps, I suggest first adjusting the situation from top to bottom Leading groups at all levels." "You must choose the right people and understand them well." He said: "When we solve local problems, including those of enterprises and units, we must first solve the leading groups." Of course, rectification is by no means just a solution to this one problem. Deng Xiaoping said: "In the process of reorganizing the army, it is necessary to strengthen the study of cadres, strengthen the party spirit, the opposition spirit, strengthen the discipline, and carry forward the traditional style of hard work."

Ye Jianying pointed out in his concluding speech: "The key to streamlining and reorganizing and building the army is to adjust and

equip the leading groups at all levels." Unite and disperse the team. Those who engage in bourgeois factionalism must be corrected within a time limit. If they do not correct, they must be resolutely transferred." Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen also spoke at the meeting, expressing their support for Deng and Ye's opinions.

The implementation of this meeting and its spirit in the army played a very important role in solving various problems brought about by the "Cultural Revolution" in army building, eliminating Lin Biao's bad influence, and resisting the "Gang of Four" meddling in the army.

The movie "Entrepreneurship" triggers cultural adjustments

The literature and art circles do not call rectification but adjustment. This adjustment was triggered by the movie "Entrepreneurship". "Entrepreneurship" takes the development of Daqing Oilfield as the background, and praises the spirit and brilliant achievements of the oil workers who "have the sky above their heads and step on the wilderness" to contribute oil to the motherland. In the spring of 1975, the film was ready to be released, but Jiang Qing and his gang strongly opposed it. Jiang Qing said that "there are serious problems with this film" and that it was "painting Liu Shaoqi, Bo Yibo and others". She accused the creative staff: "Who do you set up a monument for?" She ordered "stop printing the film, stop promoting it, stop distributing it to foreign countries", and arrest the "black background" of the film. She also instructed her cronies to fabricate the so-called "ten crimes" to "Entrepreneurship".

The creator of the movie script refused to accept it and wrote to Mao Zedong. On July 25, Mao Zedong made a comment: "This film has no major mistakes, and it is recommended to approve the release. It does not require full blame, and there are as many as ten charges, which is too much and is not conducive to adjusting the party's literature and art policy." Later Mao Zedong criticized the "lack of poetry, lack of novels, lack of prose, lack of literary criticism". Indeed, even Mao Zedong found the situation of "eight model operas for 800 million people" intolerable. According to Mao Zedong's

instructions, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved the resumption of publication of magazines such as "People's Literature" and "Poetry", and approved the holding of commemorative performances by the people's musicians Nie Er and Xian Xinghai. The ban on film screenings was lifted, and Lu Xun's works and a few other literary and artistic works were also published. These measures made the situation in the literary and art circles begin to improve. But not long after, the literary and art circles fell into a worse situation due to the relaunch of "counterattacking the rightist trend of overturning verdicts".

Drafting of the Twenty Articles of Industry

In order to systematically solve the problem of industrial consolidation, the State Council instructed the State Planning Commission to draft a document. On August 18, the State Department discussed the document. During the discussion, Deng Xiaoping put forward a series of important opinions on issues related to industrial development. He pointed out: "Establish the idea of using agriculture as the foundation and serving agriculture. It is a major task for industry to support agriculture and promote agricultural modernization." He clearly put forward the task of "introducing new technologies and equipment, and expanding imports and exports" in order to "return some high-tech, sophisticated, and cutting-edge technologies and equipment, speed up industrial technological transformation, and increase labor productivity." He attached great importance to "strengthening the scientific research work of enterprises. This is an important way to develop industry more quickly, better and more economically." He also emphasized on rectifying the order of enterprise management, improving product quality, restoring and improving rules and regulations, and adhering to the principle of distribution according to work, etc. On the other hand, we talked about guiding views. On September 2, the draft of "Several Issues Concerning Accelerating Industrial Development" (referred to as "Industrial Twenty") was formed.

The "Twenty Articles of Industry" stipulates that the leadership of enterprises must be resolutely rectified, "adjust the leadership of those small intellectuals and 'braves' who have not been reformed" because "these people know nothing about politics and have no experience in production. But pointing fingers, blindly punishing people, only singing high-profile things, not doing practical things, and labeling people as "retrogression", "retrogression", "conservative forces", and "only pulling carts, not looking at the road" at every turn, suppressing the majority of cadres and the enthusiasm of the masses". It is necessary to "take back the power usurped by the bad guys." In some enterprises, "bad guys are in power." ", "We must be particularly vigilant against a small number of bad guys who use the name of 'rebellion' and 'anti-trend' to engage in sabotage activities." The "Twenty Points of Industry" emphasizes: "Without the strong development of social productive forces, the socialist system cannot be fully consolidated, and the production under the leadership of the revolution must not be criticized as a 'productivity-only theory' and 'business in command'." "And pointed out: "Production management and rules and regulations are needed at any time, and they will be needed for 10,000 years." The "Twenty Points of Industry" also pointed out: "We must insist on independence and self-reliance, and oppose foreign slave philosophy and reptilianism, but we must not be arrogant, close ourselves, and refuse to learn foreign good things." In response to some misunderstandings in studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat at that time, he also pointed out: "Restricting bourgeois legal rights must not be divorced from the material and spiritual conditions at the current stage, negate distribution according to work, do not recognize necessary differences, and engage in egalitarianism. Not only does doctrine not work now, it will not work in the future." "It is absolutely unacceptable to adopt an attitude of indifference to the difficulties of the masses."

The "Twenty Articles of Industry" is an important document for trying to correct the "Left" errors in industrial production and to systematically reorganize industrial enterprises under the conditions of the "Cultural Revolution". It has a clear-cut banner and hits the mark. Although it was not issued as an official document due to the

obstruction of the "Gang of Four", it still had a wide-ranging impact through various discussions and played a good role in promoting industrial recovery and development. At the same time, relevant departments of the State Council have successively drafted regulations on enterprise management, capital construction management, material management, financial management, price management, and labor management. These regulations were not issued as central official documents for the same reason.

Overhaul of the tech sector

The rectification of the industrial front has put forward new requirements for scientific and technological work. It is difficult for the science and technology department to adapt to the needs without rectification. Since the "Cultural Revolution", most of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and its various research institutions have been paralyzed for a long time. In July 1975, the Central Committee sent Hu Yaobang to work in the Academy of Sciences and asked them to report to the Central Committee as soon as possible on the rectification of the Academy of Sciences. According to Deng Xiaoping's opinions, Hu Yaobang and others drafted "Several Issues Concerning Scientific and Technological Work" (referred to as "Report Outline") on the basis of investigation and research. On September 26, Hu Yaobang and others reported to the State Council. Aiming at the abnormal situation that existed under the influence of ultra-left thoughts at that time, intellectuals were regarded as targets of dictatorship, most scientific and technological personnel did not dare to delve into science and technology, and denied the role of professional scientific and technological teams. The "Report Outline" clarified the party's science and technology policy Put forward opinions on strengthening natural science research, rectifying the research office and the leadership team.

The "Report Outline" (the first draft of the discussion) pointed out: "Science and technology are also productive forces. Scientific research must be at the forefront to promote the development of production." To this end, it is necessary to "enrich and strengthen the

professional team. It is also necessary to gradually build a group of new Professional scientific research institutions." The "Report Outline" also correctly explained and dealt with some important relationship issues, such as: "Talking about self-reliance should not become closed and exclusive." "We must pay attention to and strengthen theoretical research. Research is equated with the 'three separations'." "Encourage contention and discussion of different academic opinions, and change the situation where the academic atmosphere is not strong and academic issues are simply handled by administrative methods."

Deng Xiaoping appreciated this document, and pointed out that it is necessary to select people with good party spirit and strong organizational ability to handle logistics, solve the difficulties in the life of scientific and technological personnel, and create conditions for them to do scientific research work well. People who are ignorant, unenthusiastic, and factional can no longer be in the leadership team of the Academy of Sciences. Deng Xiaoping also emphasized that in order to ensure successors to the cause of science and technology, the center is to run education well. He pointedly pointed out: "We have a crisis, which may occur in the education sector, which has dragged down the entire modernization level." After the spread of these channels, the vast number of intellectuals who were deeply depressed were encouraged, had confidence, and saw hope.

Drafting of "On the General Outline"

In order to ideologically and theoretically get rid of some "left" erroneous views that hinder the rectification, the Political Research Office of the State Council, proposed by Deng Xiaoping in June 1975, drafted "On the Work of the Whole Party and the Nation" based on the spirit of Deng Xiaoping's many speeches. The article "The General Outline" (referred to as "On the General Outline") was written in the first draft in mid-October.

"On the General Outline" pointed out: "Pseudo-Marxist political swindlers like Lin Biao" "carried out restoration under the banner of anti-restoration, ousted good party cadres and advanced model

figures, and usurped the leadership of some places and units. , implement a fascist dictatorship in these places and units” and want to “take back the leadership they usurped”. "On the General Outline" focuses on the relationship between politics and economy, pointing out: "Revolution is to liberate productive forces, and revolution is to promote the development of productive forces. We Chinese Communists must be responsible for the revolution as well as for production." They talk about revolution, not production, and when they hear that they must do a good job in production and economic construction, they will put the hat of "productivity theory" on others." "The production of a place and a unit is very bad, but insist The revolution is going well, that's a lie." "On the General Outline" also emphasizes that "we must not only care about the political life of the masses, but also care about the material life of the masses, and gradually improve the lives of the masses on the basis of developing production."

This article broke through the "Left" confinement at that time to a certain extent, expressed correct views, and had sharp words. Due to the sudden "counterattack against the rightist trend of overturning verdicts", it was forced to stop writing, and it was neither finalized nor published. It was only when it was criticized as a "big poisonous weed" later that people saw it and felt that some of the article's expositions hit the point and were heartwarming.

National Dazhai Conference on Agriculture

In the autumn of 1975, a conference with great influence in the country was also held, which was the National Conference on Learning from Dazhai in Agriculture held by the State Council. A total of 1 month and 5 days have been opened. A total of more than 3,700 people participated in the meeting. The meeting started on September 15 in Xiyang County, Shanxi Province, where the Dazhai Brigade is located, and then ended in Beijing on October 19. The central topic of the meeting was to learn from Dazhai nationwide, popularize Dazhai County, agricultural mechanization and rectify communes and brigades.

Deng Xiaoping made a speech at the opening ceremony, emphasizing the importance of doing a good job in agriculture. Pointing out that if agriculture is not done well, it will hinder the country's construction, and put forward correct ideas such as implementing the rural cadre policy. He also raised the issue of reorganization of various aspects of work. He said: "Chairman Mao has said that the army must be reorganized, the localities must be reorganized, industry must be reorganized, agriculture must be reorganized, commerce must be reorganized, our culture and education must be reorganized, and our scientific and technological teams must also be reorganized. Literature and art, Chairman Mao called Adjustment, in fact, adjustment means rectification."

Chen Yonggui, Vice Premier of the State Council and former Secretary of the Party Branch of the Dazhai Brigade, delivered an opening speech. He said: The fundamental experience of Dazhai is to "adhere to the basic line of the party, mass revisionism, capitalism, and socialism." In this way, the original advanced model of the agricultural front became a model of implementing the "Left" line. He also described the "road of Dazhai" as the direction of farmers across the country. Jiang Qing also attended the meeting, and delivered a baseless and "wrong" speech to attack Deng Xiaoping in the name of criticizing "Water Margin" and cursing the person in charge of the Central Committee for "making Chairman Mao empty". She also interjected several times during Deng Xiaoping's speech to express her disagreement. Different tunes were sung at the meeting, clearly showing political differences.

Hua Guofeng presided over the meeting as the vice-premier in charge of agriculture, and made a summary report titled "Mobilize the whole party, fight hard for five years, and strive to popularize Dazhai County". He said: "Agriculture learns from Dazhai and popularizes Dazhai County. It is a great revolutionary mass movement that continues the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and builds socialist agriculture more quickly, better and more economically. This is the same as land reform, agricultural cooperation, and people's communes. It is another great

revolutionary movement in the countryside." The report called for one-third of the counties in the country to be built as Dazhai County by 1980, and agricultural mechanization was basically realized throughout the country; After the team has been rectified, the provinces, prefectures and counties should send a large number of cadres to do a good job in rectifying the communes and teams. The report also stipulates 6 standards and other specific requirements for the establishment of "Dazhai County".

On October 19, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved Hua Guofeng's summary report. On October 21, "People's Daily" published an editorial: "Popularizing Dazhai County". The editorial said: "Whether to take the socialist road or to take the capitalist road has always been the main contradiction in the countryside in the historical stage of socialism... We must understand Dazhai's experience from the height of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Since then, millions of cadres have been dispatched from various regions to help the communes and brigades carry out rectification and carry out basic construction of farmland. Since the fundamental experience of the so-called Dazhai is "Left" and wrong, the method adopted is inappropriate to carry out a mass movement, make a big noise, and make a big fuss, one size fits all. There is no distinction between demanding that Dazhai County be built as soon as possible, and follow Dazhai's set. As a result, in many areas, production is divorced from local reality, one-sided pursuit of grain production, crowding out sideline businesses and other production undertakings; distribution according to work is abandoned in terms of distribution, and the "political work points" of large leveling are adopted; the so-called "capital The "tail of doctrine", forcibly closing off the trade in rural fairs; the eager transition of production relations and other issues further damaged the agricultural economy.

The meeting put forward the requirement of basically realizing agricultural mechanization in five years, which was mainly based on a vision made by Mao Zedong many years ago, without considering

the actual situation in the countryside at that time and the level and output of the agricultural machinery industry, so it was unrealistic and impossible. Achieved.

Shortly after this meeting, the domestic political situation suddenly changed. Therefore, the resolutions of this meeting did not have much impact on the actual work in the whole country. However, the vigorous implementation of the Agricultural Learning from Dazhai Movement in the rural areas of the country has had a wide range of political, economic and ideological influences (including some positive ones). results and extensive negative impacts), but remained in the vast rural areas of China for a long time.

The initial results of the rectification

In the less than a year since Deng Xiaoping presided over the daily work of the Central Committee, he insisted on carrying out fruitful rectification. Due to the efforts and struggles of many comrades in the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee represented by Deng Xiaoping and the State Council, Mao Zedong's support for Deng Xiaoping's work and criticism of the "Gang of Four" to a certain extent, and because of the rule of man and mind, the cadres and the masses actively worked, Efforts were made to produce, and the situation in 1975 improved significantly. Fighting in some areas has been suppressed, social order in most areas has stabilized, and the national economy has quickly turned from stagnation and decline to recovery. The total output value of industry and agriculture (calculated at constant prices in 1970) reached 450.4 billion yuan in 1975, an increase of 48 billion yuan or 11.9% over 1974. Among them, the total industrial output value increased by 15.1%, and the total agricultural output value increased by 4.6%. In terms of the output of major industrial and agricultural products, grain was 569 billion catties, an increase of 3.3% over the previous year; steel was 23.9 million tons, an increase of 13.1% over the previous year; raw coal was 482 million tons, an increase of 16.7% over the previous year; crude oil was 77.06 million tons, An increase of 18.8% over the previous year; the railway freight volume was 890 million

tons, an increase of 12.9% over the previous year. The completion of capital construction investment was relatively good. There were 1,539 large and medium-sized projects under construction, 167 of which were fully completed and put into operation, and 310 of which were partially put into operation, with an increase of 25 billion yuan in fixed assets. The retail sales of social commodities were 127.1 billion yuan, an increase of 9.2% over the previous year. The import and export trade volume reached 14.75 billion US dollars, exceeding any previous year. The fiscal revenue is 81.56 billion yuan, the fiscal expenditure is 82.09 billion yuan, and the fiscal deficit is only 530 million yuan. In this year, although there were still problems such as the overlong front line of capital construction, the high accumulation rate (33.9%), the fiscal deficit, and the rapid increase in the number of workers and staff, overall, the national economy gradually got rid of the situation of stagnation and retrogression, and started to recover again. New recovery and development, it should be said that this is a year of better economic development in the ten years of the "Cultural Revolution". The masses of the people look at practice, and the power of practical results is more than a hundred times more powerful than beautiful empty words.

2. Contests and twists and turns in rectification

The comprehensive rectification in 1975 was carried out under the special historical conditions that the "Cultural Revolution" had been going on for eight years and was still going on, so it contained insurmountable internal contradictions. This contradiction is prominently reflected in the guiding ideology of the entire work put forward by Deng Xiaoping, "taking three directives as the key link". The "three instructions" are Mao Zedong's instruction on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, his instruction on "stability and unity" and his instruction on "developing the national economy." These three instructions are indeed Mao Zedong's. But as far as his original intention is concerned, there can only be one program, that is, the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because he believes that "class struggle is the program, and the rest are objectives." Under the historical conditions at that time, it was impossible for Deng Xiaoping to publicly put forward the negation of the "Left" guiding ideology of "taking class struggle as the key link". Not only is it impossible to oppose it openly, but it is also necessary to carry out a comprehensive rectification work on the premise of affirming this "left" erroneous guiding ideology and affirming the "Cultural Revolution", and gradually shift the focus of work to economic construction. Then the only possible way is not to deny "taking class struggle as the key link", but at the same time, to maximize the status of economic construction work. The brilliance of taking the "three directives" as the keynote is also here. It not only affirms that studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the key link, but also ranks first in the key link. attention. However, the tendency to contradict or oppose each other is also deeply latent in it from the beginning. Taking class struggle as the key link and economic construction as the key link cannot run side by side for a long time. In this way, various forms of contests and tortuous struggles will inevitably occur throughout the entire rectification

process. The main contests in the first ten months of 1975 were as follows:

Mao Zedong's Instructions on Theoretical Issues

Mao Zedong proposed that Deng Xiaoping preside over the daily work of the central government and expressed support for the rectification work being carried out. However, he did not intend to fundamentally correct the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" from this, which greatly restricted the rectification work and encountered various special difficulties.

Mao Zedong not only insisted on the "Cultural Revolution" in general and did not allow anyone to be skeptical or opposed, but also kept thinking, deepening it theoretically, and "continuous revolution" along his own "left" thinking. On October 20, 1974, before Deng Xiaoping presided over the daily work of the Central Committee, when Mao Zedong met with Danish Prime Minister Paul Hartling, he made a new judgment on China's current situation. He said: "In short, China is a socialist country. Before liberation, it was similar to capitalism. Now there is still an eight-level wage system, distribution according to work, and currency exchange. These are not much different from the old society. The difference is that the ownership system has changed." On December 26, when he talked with Zhou Enlai and others in Changsha about the issue of the Fourth National People's Congress, he also talked about the theoretical issue of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said: "Why does Lenin talk about the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie? You need to write an article. You have to tell Chunqiao and Wen Yuan to find out several places in Lenin's works that mention this issue, and send them to me in large print. Everyone read first, and then write articles." Ask Chunqiao to write this kind of article. If this issue is not clarified, it will become revisionist. Let the whole country know." "Our country is now implementing a commodity system, and the wage system is not equal. There is an eight-level wage system, etc. This can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, it is very easy for Lin Biao and others to come to power,

and it is very easy to establish the capitalist system." He also said: "Lenin said, 'Small production is regular, every day, every hour, spontaneously. Capitalism and the bourgeoisie are being produced on a large scale.' This is also the case for some of the working class and some of the party members. Among the proletariat and among the staff of government agencies, there is a bourgeois style of life."

Mao Zedong's talks on theoretical issues reflected his inability to correctly understand certain objective things in the real socialist society, which conflicted with certain "left" socialist models with utopian elements in his mind. Therefore, some essential and beneficial things in the primary stage of socialist society are mistaken for capitalist things, and they are deeply worried about the danger of "restoration of capitalism".

In his talk, Mao Zedong apparently misunderstood the "bourgeois rights" embodied in the principle of distribution according to work and the principle of exchange of equal amounts of labor, as if distribution according to work itself was a bourgeois right; The "bourgeois rights" used in the abstract sense that do not reflect capitalist production relations are confused with the bourgeois rights in the original sense that reflect capitalist production relations. Thus, the socialist distribution according to work and the eight-level wage system are confused with the distribution system of the old society. This is a misunderstanding of what Marx said about the rights of the bourgeoisie.

Mao Zedong also magnified and absolutized Lenin's thesis of some small Russian producers who engaged in speculative activities before the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production in Lenin's book "The Infantile Disease of the 'Left' in the Communist Movement, and used it to derive from Generally speaking, in the 1970s, under the condition of public ownership, our country engaged in labor equally, and in principle, it was a socialist peasant who received remuneration according to the quantity and quality of his labor. To equate peasants who have been collectivized for 20 years with small individual producers under capitalist

conditions is obviously a misunderstanding and dogmatization of Lenin's discussion on small production.

In the conversation, workers and cadres with "bourgeois life style" were also regarded as the influence of the bourgeoisie, which obviously confused the nature of different problems. This also shows that Mao Zedong has been quite far away from reality, from the masses, and deviated from the principle of combining theory and practice that he has always advocated. This is an important reason for the initiation and continuation of the "Cultural Revolution".

On February 9, 1975, the "People's Daily" published an editorial entitled "Learn the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Well", conveying the content of Mao Zedong's talk on theoretical issues. The editorial demanded that "Party committees at all levels must follow Chairman Mao's instructions and earnestly study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat", "continue to criticize the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, and study the struggle between Confucianism and Legalism and the entire history of class struggle."

On the 18th, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice distributing "Chairman Mao's Important Instructions on Theoretical Issues" to the whole country, setting off a campaign to study "The Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" throughout the country. On the 22nd, "People's Daily" published "Marx, Engels, and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (referred to as "Thirty-Three Articles") edited by Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan. They extracted these quotations out of context in order to make Mao Zedong's "Left" arguments appear more theoretically based, and theoretically defend the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution". This kind of learning is actually tantamount to drawing a big frame that cannot be overstepped for all kinds of work that Deng Xiaoping has engaged in since he came to power, and he is not allowed to go beyond the threshold. At the same time, the majority of cadres and the masses who participated in the study were trapped in more serious misunderstandings in their thinking and it was difficult to extricate themselves.

The fantasy of restricting "bourgeois legal rights" in the countryside

Due to the hype and organization of the study of the so-called dictatorship theory of the proletariat, it also aroused some people's whimsy. On May 22, 1975, an officer of the Political Department of a certain army of the People's Liberation Army wrote a letter to Mao Zedong. He believes that the state purchases grain at the same price, and the income of rural communes depends entirely on the amount of grain produced. Therefore, communes and brigades with good natural conditions and high labor productivity can produce more grain and have higher income. The communes and brigades with poor natural conditions and low labor productivity have little food production and low income. He said that this "belongs to formal equality, but in fact unequal bourgeois legal rights, and it is an important reason for the unbalanced agricultural development in our country." He suggested: "According to the degree of natural conditions and the level of labor productivity, adopt different types of procurement prices. The conditions are better and the conditions are appropriately lower, and the conditions are poorer and higher."

This kind of understanding and suggestion that obviously violates the law of value and is divorced from reality should be said to be of little value. However, because the issue of "equalizing the rich and the poor" was raised, it aroused Mao Zedong's interest and regarded it as a feasible idea of "limiting the legal rights of the bourgeoisie" in the countryside. He commented in this letter on May 23: "This document is published and distributed to the comrades of the Central Committee for research. This matter is very complicated to do. It should be piloted in several communes. The rich team may not be happy. There are also poor households in the rich team. There are also wealthy households in the team. Let's see the results." The State Council immediately convened the heads of relevant departments for discussion, and decided to transfer 26 cadres from the central government to form 3 investigation teams, and to select 3 communes in Shanxi and Hebei for investigation and research .

After more than two months of work, the investigation team successively wrote investigation reports in August, and gave a negative answer to the question of whether different grain purchase prices could be adopted according to the quality of natural conditions and the level of labor productivity. The main reasons put forward by the survey report are as follows: First, poor teams and rich teams intersect each other. In some production teams, there are poor teams and rich teams. In good years and poor years, the rich and the poor have changes. If the rich and the poor set prices separately, there will inevitably be several prices for the same team in the same region, and even price adjustments every year, which will easily cause confusion. Second, the reason why the rich team is rich is not only natural conditions, but also their own labor. The rich team may not be happy if the purchase price is low for the rich team, but high for the poor team. When the production of the poor team develops and the poor team becomes rich, they will cancel the high price purchase, and they will also be unhappy. Third, most of the poor teams have very little surplus food, and even have to eat returned food. Raising the price of grain for the poor teams does not help them much. The analysis of the survey report shows that it is totally unworkable to try to achieve the goal of "limiting the legal rights of the bourgeoisie" by means of egalitarianism that violates objective economic laws. Fortunately, Mao Zedong did not stick to his point of view, so this proposal can be shelved. This method actually rewards laziness and punishes hard work. If it is implemented, it will inevitably cause serious damage to productivity.

Want to engage in "poor transition" again

Chen Yonggui saw what Mao Zedong was interested in, and wrote a "Some Suggestions for Rural Work" to Mao Zedong on August 14, 1975. He strongly advocated the rapid transition from the basic accounting unit of the people's commune to the brigade accounting to solve the problem of poverty in the countryside. uneven problem. He said: "In the third year after the start of the Cultural Revolution in Xiyang County, all 410 brigades in the county implemented brigade accounting." , it is imperative to implement

brigade accounting." On September 3, Mao Zedong forwarded the "Proposal" to Deng Xiaoping, who was in charge of the daily work of the Central Committee at that time, and added a comment: "Please read this document. Please consider whether this document can be printed and distributed to comrades in the Politburo and discussed once in the Politburo ." The comment is very tactful, and the forwarding of this document itself actually expresses appreciation for the "Proposal".

According to the spirit of Mao Zedong's instructions, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a symposium on rural work in Beijing from September 23 to October 21, 1975. In general, it was held in parallel with the first National Conference on Learning from Dazhai in Agriculture. The meeting was presided over by Ji Dengkui and Wu De. A total of 17 people attended the meeting, including the person in charge of the central government in charge of agriculture and the first secretaries of some provincial, municipal and autonomous region party committees. The meeting focused on Chen Yonggui's short-term transition of the people's commune accounting unit from the production team to the brigade.

There were differences of opinion at the beginning of the symposium. Some participants agreed with Chen Yonggui's opinion, advocating that "from now on, the transition should be done in stages." Zhao Ziyang, head of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee, and others have expressed their opposition to this "leftist" idea of eager transition. Zhao Ziyang said: "I think it is best not to change the accounting units in a big way at once, which will easily cause fluctuations and will not be consolidated." He pointed out: "From now on, it is worth considering the idea of transitioning in stages. ""It is said that the transition will be carried out in stages and batches. One, the two-thirds will wait, wait and see, and be in turmoil. Some people will not engage in basic construction of farmland, will not buy tractors, will not accumulate, and will eat up all they have." He said: "I advocate It is better to prolong the preparation time for the pilot project." Tan Qilong, the head of the Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee, said: "Three-level ownership,

team-based, the chairman said that it will remain unchanged for at least 30 years, and it has been deeply rooted in the hearts of the people. If it is not good, it will affect the masses."

In the case of obvious differences of opinion at the symposium, on October 8, 1975, the meeting wrote "Discussion Opinions on Several Issues in Current Rural Work" (draft for review) and submitted it to Mao Zedong. Regarding the issue of ownership, the "Discussion Opinions" still pointed out: "From now on, it can be considered that in the next five years or a little longer, we will basically transition to brigade accounting, so as to basically realize the national agricultural mechanization by 1980. requirements." As for the implementation plan for completing the transition, the "Discussion Opinions" had to list all the different opinions: one is to complete it in stages from now on; the other is to "take three years or a little longer In a little time, concentrate on making preparations to make the conditions more mature, and carefully summarize the experience of the existing brigade accounting units, and then complete it in stages within one or two years." The latter opinion is obviously a delaying method that can be adopted to resist the "Left" errors under the conditions of the "Cultural Revolution". Mao Zedong considered different opinions and did not wholesale this document. Later, in the movement of learning from Dazhai in agriculture, some places still carried out the transition to brigade accounting, but there was no nationwide wave, which prevented another possible disaster in rural areas of our country.

During the "Cultural Revolution", many coercive measures were adopted to pursue the same status as workers, peasants, soldiers, and students, to equate intellectuals with workers and peasants, to narrow the difference in distribution, to "transition from poverty", etc., All of them bear traces of the traditional ideal of Chinese farmers' long-term pursuit of "equal high and low, equal wealth and poor". Mistaking the egalitarian "ideal" born on the basis of handicraft industry and small-scale peasant economy for the principles and goals of socialism has proved to be extremely harmful.

The "Gang of Four" advocated anti-empiricism

The "Gang of Four" used Mao Zedong's theory of studying the dictatorship of the proletariat as a banner to seize various topics and sell their private goods. On March 1, 1975, Zhang Chunqiao gave a speech at a symposium for the directors of the political departments of major units in the army. He used the importance of learning theory to grasp a passage of Mao Zedong's 1959 instruction, advocating empiricism as the main danger at present. Zhang Chunqiao read a passage from Mao Zedong's commentary on "Empiricism or Marxism": "Theoretically we criticized dogmatism in the past, but we did not criticize empiricism. Now, the main danger is empiricism." Zhang Chunqiao said: "According to In my opinion, the Chairman's words are still valid." He said: "Lin Biao practiced empiricism." "I am afraid that we should be vigilant against the danger of empiricism." On the same day, Yao Wenyan published "On the Social Foundation of Lin Biao's Anti-Party Clique" in the third issue of "Red Flag" magazine. and distorted depictions of relationships. He described the "bourgeois legal right" used by Marx to express the principle of distribution according to work and the exchange of equal amounts of labor as "an important economic basis for the generation of new bourgeois elements." In fact, under the conditions of socialist distribution according to work, laborers have an equal relationship with the means of production, and the means of obtaining the means of subsistence are the same. And the difference in how much income is caused. But this difference is only a difference in the level of affluence of living standards, not the difference between exploited and exploited, or the formation of a new class. Describing distribution according to work as "an important economic basis for the generation of new bourgeois elements" is a wanton distortion of the theory and practice of scientific socialism. Its purpose is to use rank and wages as the economic criteria for classifying the so-called "inner-party bourgeoisie" and create a theoretical basis for them to encourage "grab the capitalists" and overthrow veteran cadres. Yao Wenyan's article also declared: "Now, the main danger is empiricism."

On April 1, Zhang Chunqiao published "On the Comprehensive Dictatorship over the Bourgeoisie". He obliterated the rich content of the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat that the revolutionary teachers had repeatedly stated, and distorted it as a single, indiscriminate situation-specific "in all fields and at all stages of the development of the revolution, we must always insist on the comprehensive dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." "Such a task. In total disregard of the objective reality that my country has established a socialist system for nearly 20 years, he insisted: "Our economic foundation is not yet solid, bourgeois legal rights have not been completely abolished in terms of ownership, and there are still serious problems in the relationship between people. In terms of distribution, it still dominates". He did not recognize the proletarian nature of our country's superstructure at all, saying that "in various fields of the superstructure, some aspects are actually still dominated by the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie still holds the upper hand." They also said that "now, the bourgeoisie still has a lot of soil", "the iron broom of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not reach it, and it will not run away by itself". He also slandered some "Communist Party members, especially leading cadres" at the time who were blowing the wind of "bourgeoisie" and clamored to "completely destroy all the siege of the bourgeoisie." At the same time, Jiang Qing has repeatedly shouted on different occasions that "our main danger now is not dogmatism, but empiricism" and "empiricism is the accomplice of revisionism and the current enemy." Under the command of the "Gang of Four", many newspapers and periodicals across the country published a large number of articles opposing "empiricism", calling for "abolishing bourgeois legal rights" and agitating for "struggling with the soil".

In fact, the most corrupt and extravagant people in life at that time were the "Gang of Four". Jiang Qing alone occupies more than 40 houses, and everything must be specially selected. The Wuchang fish to be eaten must be fresh without losing a single scale, the eggs must be fresh from the day, and the rice must be picked one by one. Yao Wenyan's family lives in a compound with 125 rooms, with barbed wire on the high fence, which is an authentic "earth fence".

Wang Hongwen has multiple houses in Shanghai and Beijing, 8 cars, eats and drinks everywhere, and squanders tens of thousands of yuan at every turn. Once I went to Chongming Island and wanted to eat pig tongues, so I killed 10 pigs at once. Zhang Chunqiao must live in the house where the head of state lives when he comes to Nanjing. For the import of video equipment, it costs US\$50,000 at a time. Therefore, it is they themselves who really blow the "asset wind". Writing articles to put on the face of a gentleman and a Marxist-Leninist theorist is just to make it easier to trap people in crimes and achieve their criminal political goals.

The "Gang of Four" proposed anti-"empiricism" in order to slander the maintenance of the party's basic principles and revolutionary historical traditions as "empiricism" in order to attack Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and other experienced party and state leaders. The "Gang of Four" put forward the "Comprehensive Dictatorship Theory." The masses are regarded as the objects of dictatorship, and dictatorship is implemented over them in an all-round way.

Mao Zedong's criticism of the "Gang of Four"

On April 14, after accompanying Mao Zedong to meet with Kim Il Sung, Deng Xiaoping expressed to Mao Zedong that he disagreed with the formulation that "empiricism is the main danger at present", which Mao Zedong agreed with. On April 23, Mao Zedong commented in a report: "The formulation seems to be against revisionism, including empiricism and dogmatism." "Empirical" error. On May 3, Mao Zedong convened a talk with the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in Beijing. When talking about the issue of anti-"empiricism", he said: "I also made mistakes. Chunqiao's article (Note: The issue of anti-"empiricism" was publicly raised in newspapers and periodicals was derived from Yao Wen Yuan's "On Lin Biao's anti-empiricism." I didn't see it, I only listened to it once, I didn't read it, and I can't read the book, and I let it go when I talked about empiricism." He apologized to Zhang Chunqiao. He criticized Jiang Qing and others for emphasizing that

anti-empiricism is the main danger: "You only hate empiricism, not dogmatism." "I think those who criticize empiricism are empiricists themselves, and there are not many Marxism-Leninism." Mao Zedong He warned them again: "Don't start the Gang of Four, you don't want to do it anymore, why do you still do it? Why don't you engage in unity with more than 200 members of the Central Committee?" Ask Jiang Qing and others to criticize themselves. However, Mao Zedong's basic point of view was that Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and others "had merit" in opposing Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao, and that they defended the "Cultural Revolution." So he said again: "I don't think the problem is big, so don't make a fuss about it, but if there is a problem, you must explain it clearly. If you can't solve it in the first half, you can solve it in the second half; if you can't solve it this year, you can solve it next year; if you can't solve it next year, you can solve it the year after." According to Mao Zedong's opinion, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held two meetings on May 27 and June 3, chaired by Deng Xiaoping, to criticize the "Gang of Four".

Due to the special conditions at the time, and under the premise of affirming that Jiang Qing and others had "contrived" in the "Cultural Revolution", this kind of criticism can only be superficial and very limited. But criticism and non-criticism are always different, especially Mao Zedong's personal criticism is more effective.

Criticism from Mao Zedong and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee made the "Gang of Four" rein in their activities of usurping power. This is beneficial to the implementation of the rectification work for a period of time.

Political Issues Arose from Comments on "Water Margin"

However, the ambition of the "Gang of Four" is hard to curb, and they are always looking for opportunities to succeed. On August 14, 1975, in a conversation with a female teacher of the Chinese Department of Peking University, Mao Zedong talked about his views on the Chinese classical novel "Water Margin". He said: "The book "Water Margin" is good because of the surrender. It is a negative

teaching material so that the people will know the surrender faction. "Water Margin" only opposes corrupt officials, not the emperor. Ping Chaogai is out of 108 people Song Jiang surrendered, engaged in revisionism, and changed Chao Gai's Juyi Hall into Zhongyi Hall, which was recruited." This kind of evaluation of "Water Margin" is basically affirmative to "Water Margin", which is considered to praise the peasant uprising. Evaluations vary. Sharply pointing out another aspect of accepting recruitment and maintaining the feudal emperor advocated in the book, it should be said to be instructive. However, it is obviously not objective and unscientific to describe the whole book as a "negative teaching material" and to say that Song Jiang "engaged in revisionism".

After hearing the news that day, Yao Wenyuan immediately wrote to Mao Zedong, saying: "The issue of Water Margin" is "very important" and "for the Chinese Communists, the Chinese proletariat, the poor and lower-middle peasants, and all revolutionary masses in the present and in the future, in this country. It is of great and profound significance to uphold Marxism, oppose revisionism, and uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the next century and the next century. We should give full play to the role of this 'negative teaching material'." He suggested that Mao Zedong's this time Talks and his letters, "published and distributed the comrades of the Politburo in Beijing, and additionally issued the Publishing Bureau, People's Daily, Hongqi, and Guangming Daily", as well as the "Great Criticism" writing groups in Beijing and Shanghai, and "organized or reprinted commentary articles". After Mao Zedong read Yao Wenyuan's letter, he approved: "I agree." The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a document forwarding Mao Zedong's talk on "Water Margin" and Yao Wenyuan's letter.

On August 28, "Red Flag" magazine published a short commentary: "Pay attention to the comments on "Water Margin". The short commentary said: "Song Jiang's counter-revolutionary road proves that if you practice revisionism, you must be a capitulator, betray the revolution, and act as a lackey of the

reactionaries. This is the characteristic of all revisionism." Capitulationism, foreign national capitulationism. From the ancient capitulationist Song Jiang, we can see the ugly face of the modern capitulationist." Therefore, the comment on "Water Margin" "has great significance." On September 4, "People's Daily" published an editorial titled "Comments on "Water Margin"". Said that this review of "Water Margin" "is another major struggle on the political and ideological front in our country, and is an integral part of implementing Chairman Mao's important instructions on studying theory, opposing revisionism and preventing revisionism." Persisting in the revolutionary line is of great and profound significance." Then newspapers and magazines all over the country published articles one after another, and a so-called "comment on "Water Margin"" movement was launched. Turning the evaluation of a classic novel into "a major struggle on the political and ideological front" is also a very tortuous and strange thing that only happened during the "Cultural Revolution".

Jiang Qing and others came up with another topic by commenting on "Water Margin". In late August, Jiang Qing convened a meeting with Yu Huiyong, the Minister of Culture of his own party members, and said: "The chairman's comments on "Water Margin" are of practical significance. The key point of commenting on "Water Margin" is to evade Chao Gai. Now some people in the party evade Chairman Mao. " On September 12, Jiang Qing took the opportunity of participating in the National Conference on Learning from Dazhai in Agriculture, and gave a big talk on the issue of "Water Margin" at the mass meeting of the Dazhai Brigade in Shanxi Province. She said: "Don't think that the review of "Water Margin" is just a literary criticism, comrades, you can't talk like that. No, it is not purely literary criticism, nor purely for history, but also has practical significance for the present. Because there are ten times in our party. There will still be line struggles in the future. The enemy will change their disguise and hide in our party." She emphasized that Song Jiang "after going up the mountain, he immediately emptied Chao Gai" and "usurped the leadership." She spread a rumor and said: "Some people dare to delete the chairman's contribution to Marxism-Leninism. You can

recognize it! Look at how Song Jiang deliberately rejected Chao Gai and emptied Chao Gai." On the 17th, Jiang Qing was When Dazhai convened a conversation with more than 100 people from the literary and art circles and the press, he said: "The key point of "Water Margin" is to reject Chao Gai, to empty Chao Gai, and to surrender. post, empty Chao Gai." Jiang Qing repeatedly said "Empty Chao Gai", obviously framing Deng Xiaoping to "empty Chairman Mao". After the Fourth National People's Congress, she arranged some veteran cadres to work in leading positions of the party and the country, and slandered them as "collecting local tyrants and evil gentry to occupy important positions." Jiang Qing also asked to play a recording of her speech at the National Conference on Agricultural Learning from Dazhai, and to print and distribute her speech. Mao Zedong was very angry when he learned about it, and reprimanded Jiang Qing's speech as "fart, the text is not on the topic", and clearly instructed: "Don't publish the manuscript, don't play the recording, and don't print the speech." However, the "Gang of Four" was not reconciled. Due to their deliberate planning and multi-faceted advice to Mao Zedong, they finally got another chance to overthrow Deng Xiaoping not long after.

3. The sudden "criticizing Deng and countering the rightist style of overturning verdicts"

To rectify work in various fields, we cannot but touch upon many erroneous policies implemented during the "Cultural Revolution", and have to gradually develop into a relatively systematic correction of these erroneous policies. In this regard, the broad masses of cadres and the masses are satisfied and have great hopes. However, the relatively systematic correction of the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" met with wild opposition from the "Gang of Four", and Mao Zedong could not tolerate it. This profound contradiction finally broke out in November 1975, which was to "criticize Deng and fight back against the right-leaning style of overturning verdicts."

However, at the beginning of this movement, there was neither a formal meeting to discuss it, nor an official document from the central government. Instead, it started with the Secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee conveying an order from Mao Zedong to Tsinghua University, and then expanded to the whole country. To launch a nationwide critical movement in this way cannot fail to surprise the broad masses.

How did things evolve?

Mao Zedong listened to provocative reports

Since Mao Zedong experienced the heavy blow of the September 13th Incident and became seriously ill, his health has been poor, and his illness has been mild and severe. However, no matter during his illness or during his recuperation, he still bears the heavy responsibility of deciding the affairs of the party and the country. After the second half of 1975, his condition gradually worsened, and it was very difficult for him to move and speak.

According to his opinion, his nephew Mao Yuanxin served as the liaison between him and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. Mao Yuanxin is the son of Mao Zemin, Mao Zedong's eldest brother. He was a student at the Harbin Military Engineering Institute. He became a well-known rebel leader during the "Cultural Revolution". Later, he became the head of the Liaoning Provincial Revolutionary Committee and the secretary of the Liaoning Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China. He had a very close relationship with Jiang Qing and others. The establishment of this liaison officer made it more difficult for the leaders responsible for the daily work of the central government to meet Mao Zedong directly. Being in such a situation that was not only completely divorced from reality and the masses, but also seriously divorced from the vast majority of the leaders of the central government, Mao Zedong relied more on reports from Mao Yuanxin and others, making it difficult to accurately understand the overall situation. Taking advantage of this weakness in Mao Zedong's situation, the "Gang of Four" and Mao Yuanxin made distorted and provocative reports on many occasions, which gradually affected Mao Zedong's judgment on things, thus causing extremely bad consequences for Mao Zedong's wrong decisions. effect. All kinds of complicated affairs in the huge China will finally be decided by an old man who is seriously ill and almost isolated from the world. The disadvantages of life tenure for cadres and leaders are most directly and sharply manifested at this time.

On September 28, 1975, when Mao Yuanxin reported to Mao Zedong, he said: "There is a tendency towards the Cultural Revolution, which seems to be more vicious than the criticism of the extreme left in 1972. How do you look at the Cultural Revolution? Seven achievements or seven mistakes. , there are disagreements. Whether Liu Shaoqi should approve it or not"; Got it up." He said: "Worried about the central government, afraid of repetition." On November 2, when Mao Yuanxin reported to Mao Zedong, he said: "Some comrades always talk about the dark side of the Cultural Revolution and complain when they get together, and some regard the Cultural Revolution as a disaster"; I have a problem with his

speech. He seldom talked about the achievements of the Cultural Revolution, and he seldom mentioned Liu Shaoqi's revisionist line"; doctrine". When Mao Zedong showed Mao Yuanxin the letter from Tsinghua University Liu Bing and others exposing Chi Qun, he immediately defended Chi Qun, saying that Chi Qun "was relatively resolute in implementing the Chairman's educational revolution line, with ten fingers and seven Still good."

Mao Yuanxin's provocative reports attracted Mao Zedong's attention. Mao Zedong said: "There are two attitudes: one is dissatisfied with the Cultural Revolution. The other is to settle accounts, to settle the accounts of the Cultural Revolution." Measure the rectification work presided over by Deng Xiaoping. He could not tolerate others denying the "Cultural Revolution." On October 19, Mao Zedong said in a conversation with Li Xiannian and Wang Dongxing after meeting with foreign guests: "Liu Bing from Tsinghua University and others sent a letter to inform Chi Qun and Xiao Xie. I see that the motive of the letter is not pure, and I want to overthrow Chi Qun and Xiao Xie." The target of their letter was aimed at me." He said: "I am in Beijing, why don't you write the letter directly to me, and have to go through Xiaoping?" "Xiaoping is partial to Liu Bing." According to Mao Zedong's opinion, some members of the Politburo met several times to "discuss the issue of the Cultural Revolution" with Deng Xiaoping, made wrong criticisms of Deng Xiaoping, and stopped most of his work and let him "specialize in foreign affairs."

Mao Zedong did not intend to defeat Deng Xiaoping at first, and he also said several times to protect Deng Xiaoping on different occasions. Judging from various indications, he just wanted to make Deng Xiaoping realize his "mistakes" and change his attitude towards the "Cultural Revolution" through criticism. He also proposed that Deng Xiaoping preside over the Central Committee to make a resolution on the "Cultural Revolution". Deng Xiaoping rejected it on the grounds that he had been isolated from the movement for a long time and that he was "a man in the Taohuayuan" who was not suitable to preside over the decision-making. This matter touched Mao Zedong greatly.

"Countering against the right-leaning style of overturning verdicts" started from Tsinghua University

On November 3, the Tsinghua University Party Committee held an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee. Wu De, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and the first secretary of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China, attended the meeting to convey the main content of Mao Zedong's opinions on the letter from Liu Bing and others.

Liu Bing, the former deputy secretary of the Party Committee of Tsinghua University, etc., wrote to Mao Zedong twice on August 13 and October 13. The content reflected the work style of Tsinghua University Party Secretary Chi Qun and Deputy Secretary Xie Jingyi and the relationship with the masses. The problem is mainly domineering and domineering in daily work, fighting for power and profit. In particular, Chi Qun was not elected as a member of the Central Committee at the Tenth National Congress of the Party, and was not a minister after the Fourth National People's Congress. The impact, etc., requires the central government to send a working group to investigate and resolve. The letter was forwarded by Deng Xiaoping. It is a normal phenomenon of inner-party life for a Communist Party member to report to the Chairman of the Party Central Committee the problem of the person in charge of their unit through proper organizational procedures. This is in full compliance with the principles stipulated in the Party Constitution. However, Mao Zedong pointed out that the motivation of these two letters was impure, that he wanted to overthrow Chi Qun and Xie Jingyi, and that the target was directed at him (Mao Zedong) himself; Deng Xiaoping forwarded the letter from Liu Bing and others, and it was considered to be partial and supportive of Liu Bing. Such assertions are obviously not in line with the facts.

After Tsinghua University conveyed Mao Zedong's instructions, it began to set off a campaign of "criticizing Deng and countering the rightist style of overturning verdicts". First, they criticized Liu Bing and others within the scope of the enlarged party committee

meeting, and then organizedly posted overwhelming posters, catching wind and shadow, hanging up and down. The Minister of Railways Wan Li, the Minister of Education Zhou Rongxin, and the head of the Academy of Sciences Hu Yaobang, who were actively carrying out the rectification work, were all spared, and finally reported to Deng Xiaoping. And through visiting, sending big-character posters, printing and distributing materials, etc., it gradually spread to other colleges and universities and all over the country.

In late November, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a greeting meeting in Beijing based on Mao Zedong's opinion. More than 130 senior cadres in charge of the party, government, and military agencies participated in the meeting. At the meeting, the "Key Points of Greetings" reviewed and approved by Mao Zedong was read out. The document stated: "Liu Bing, Deputy Secretary of the Party Committee of Tsinghua University, and others... used methods of spreading rumors and slandering black and white to falsely accuse the current Tsinghua University Party Secretary Chi Qun and Deputy Comrades Xie Jingyi and the secretary are actually targeting Chairman Mao." "The problems at Tsinghua University are by no means isolated, but a reflection of the current struggle between the two classes, the two roads, and the two lines. Right-leaning style of overturning the verdict"; "Some people are always dissatisfied with the Cultural Revolution, always want to account for the Cultural Revolution, and always want to overturn the verdict." "Chairman Mao instructed to say hello to some comrades, lest these comrades make new mistakes." Although the "Gang of Four" started from Tsinghua University, although it had considerable influence, it was always informal. The convening of the greeting meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China showed the support and affirmation of the Central Committee, which quickly expanded the "Countering the Right Deviation and Overturning the Verdict" movement to the whole country, and criticized Deng Xiaoping from no name to name.

Zhou Enlai's Death and New Personnel Arrangement

Just when dark clouds rolled over the land of China again, amidst the clamor of "criticizing Deng, fighting back against the rightist trend of overturning the verdict", a superstar that the people placed great hope and great trust on fell.

On January 8, 1976, Zhou Enlai, one of the main leaders of the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China, one of the founders of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and an outstanding Chinese revolutionary, statesman, military strategist and diplomat, passed away. Zhou Enlai fought bravely, devoted himself to the victory of the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people and the cause of communism, and selflessly dedicated his life's energy. He made indelible contributions to the building of the party and the people's army, to the development of the united front, to the consolidation of the great unity of the people of all ethnic groups, and to the friendship between the Chinese people and the people of the world. During the "Cultural Revolution", he fought in various forms against the sabotage of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. He has done a lot of useful work for the party and the country in a very difficult situation. He made unremitting efforts to minimize the losses caused by the "Cultural Revolution" and to protect a large number of cadres inside and outside the party. His death has aroused the infinite sorrow of the whole party and people of all nationalities in the country.

On January 8, the Central Committee formed the "Comrade Zhou Enlai Funeral Committee" headed by Mao Zedong. On the 9th, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council issued a notice of "ceremoniously mourning Comrade Zhou Enlai". More than 10,000 party and state leaders, as well as people from all walks of life in the capital, bid farewell to Zhou Enlai's body. On the 15th, a memorial meeting for Zhou Enlai was held in the Great Hall of the People with more than 5,000 participants, and Deng Xiaoping delivered a eulogy. On this day, flags fly at half-staff across the country, and all recreational activities are stopped. Deng Xiaoping said: "The death of Comrade Zhou Enlai is of great significance to our party, our army, our people, our country's socialist

revolution and construction, the international anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, anti-hegemony cause and the cause of the international communist movement. Loss."

After Zhou Enlai's death, who would become the Premier of the State Council became the focus of attention of the general public at that time. According to the order of deputy prime ministers, Deng Xiaoping is the first, but he is already on the verge of being knocked down in the "counterattack against the right-leaning trend of overturning verdicts", and there is no possibility of being promoted to prime minister. Next came Zhang Chunqiao, who ranked second. He thought he was right and wrong, and his party members in Shanghai couldn't wait to put up big slogans on the streets, "Strongly demand Zhang Chunqiao to be the prime minister". However, Mao Zedong had other considerations. He chose Hua Guofeng, the sixth-ranked vice-premier, as acting prime minister. On February 2, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice: "At the proposal of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee unanimously approved Comrade Hua Guofeng as the acting premier of the State Council... During the period of Comrade Ye Jianying's illness, Comrade Chen Xilian was in charge of the work of the Central Military Commission. Hua Guofeng used to work in the Hunan Provincial Party Committee. In 1971, he was transferred to the head of the State Council's business group. In 1975, he was appointed as the Vice Premier of the State Council. He was appointed to assume the main leadership position of the party and government under the specific historical conditions of "criticizing Deng" at that time.

Why did you choose Hua Guofeng instead of Zhang Chunqiao as the acting Premier of the State Council? So far, I have not seen first-hand information about how Mao Zedong considered trade-offs. A foreign biographer once made this analysis: "The 'Gang of Four' trying to manipulate the sick Mao Zedong, of course, did not intend to pave the way for Hua Guofeng, a foreign politician who is not well known to people, to come to power. However, they are crazy Strong opposition to Deng Xiaoping is undoubtedly beneficial to Hua

Guofeng's promotion...Hua Guofeng's favorable condition is precisely that he does not join any faction, but is loyal to Chairman Mao for a long time." Therefore, "he is acceptable to both the pragmatic and radical factions. people". Although the terms "pragmatic" and "radical" are unscientific, the foreigner's analysis is reasonable.

Another unusual thing about this notice is that it notified the whole party of Ye Jianying's "illness" in the form of a document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. At that time, Ye Jianying was in good health and had no discomfort. Obviously, this is a disguised method to "hang up" Ye Shuai so that he cannot hold military power. This is a major organizational measure taken to promote the campaign of "criticizing Deng and countering the rightist style of overturning verdicts".

Transmission of Mao Zedong's Speech

The effectiveness of the rectification work presided over by Deng Xiaoping is obvious to all. It represents the correct leadership of the party and has won the support of the majority of cadres and the masses. The campaign of "criticizing Deng and fighting back against the right-leaning style of overturning verdicts" was against both the truth and the people's hearts. It encountered widespread resistance in different forms from the very beginning.

In order to "help the leaders of the provinces to make a better turn", according to Mao Zedong's opinion, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China called meetings of the heads of the provinces, cities, autonomous regions, and major military regions in batches from early February to early March to "continue to say hello." At the meeting, Mao Yuanxin's many speeches from October 1975 to January 1976 on "criticizing Deng and countering the Rightist style of overturning verdicts" were conveyed.

In these talks, Mao Zedong repeatedly reiterated that "class struggle is the outline, and the rest are the ends." "What was the Cultural Revolution for? It was class struggle." He believed that

some old comrades were dissatisfied with the "Cultural Revolution" because "their thinking was still at the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and they did not understand, resisted, or even opposed the socialist revolution." . He said: These people "have become high-ranking officials, and they must protect the interests of the high-ranking officials. They have good houses, cars, high salaries, and waiters, which are more powerful than capitalists." He emphasized: "To carry out the socialist revolution, you don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It's in the Communist Party. Those in power in the party are taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still going." He made it clear that his general view on the "Cultural Revolution" was "30-70, 70% grades, 30% mistakes", and two mistakes, "1. Overthrow everything, 2. All-out civil war". But he also said: "To overthrow everything, some of them are right, such as the Liu and Lin Group, and some of them are wrong, such as many old comrades. These people also have mistakes. It is okay to criticize them. They have no experience in war for more than ten years. There was a full-scale civil war, most of the guns were robbed, and a fight was also an exercise." These talks, no matter from the theoretical or practical aspects, are very difficult to be convincing. Since it is admitted that the "Cultural Revolution" made the mistakes of "overthrowing everything" and "all-out civil war", it is obviously a serious mistake of the overall situation, and it is also unreasonable to say that it was only a three-point mistake.

On February 25, Hua Guofeng said at the second greeting meeting: "At present, we must do a good job of criticizing Deng and Comrade Deng Xiaoping's wrong revisionist line, and unite the broad masses of cadres and the masses under this general goal... Comrade Deng Xiaoping's problems can be criticized by name." On March 3, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China printed and distributed Mao Zedong's speech on "Criticizing Deng and Countering the Rightist Trend of Overturning Verdicts" and Hua Guofeng's speech on February 25. Since then, the campaign to criticize Deng Xiaoping has spread noisily in newspapers and periodicals across the country.

The Development and Disadvantages of the "Criticize Deng" Movement

The "Gang of Four" was the most vigorous propagandist and vanguard of the "Criticizing Deng, Countering the Right Deviation and Overturning the Verdict" movement. They took the opportunity to intensify their activities to seize the supreme leadership of the party and the country, and first focused on attacking Deng Xiaoping.

Jiang Qing staged an attack in the Politburo on January 7, accusing Deng Xiaoping of "reversing rightist and overthrowing the case throughout the country, restoring the restoration and retrogression, and calling for not being afraid of being overthrown a second time, and doing it as hard as he can." During the continuing greeting meeting held by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Jiang Qing called a meeting of the heads of 12 provinces and autonomous regions without authorization on March 2, and denounced Deng Xiaoping as a "traitor", "comprador bourgeoisie", and "agent of international capitalists". Jiang Qing said: "Deng Xiaoping...exported raw materials, signed long-term contracts with foreign capitalists, etc. He also said that Hangzhou, Suzhou, Guangzhou, and many other places should be opened to foreigners to visit, eat, drink and play, and earn foreign exchange ". These were originally the correct measures to open up to the outside world and expand foreign trade, but when it came to Jiang Qing, they became "entirely representing the interests of the comprador bourgeoisie." She also absurdly advocated dismantling the American equipment imported from Daqing, on the grounds that "Daqing is an independent and self-reliant advanced unit established by the chairman... It is embarrassing for the Chinese to install it in Daqing. Foreigners go to visit and install American equipment. I said to tear it down." Jiang Qing did not forget to reveal his political ambitions in his speech. She said: Empress Lu and Wu Zetian are "two great female politicians in feudalism. They are more powerful than men, and they are Legalists." "Someone wrote to Lin Biao saying that I was Wu Zetian, and someone said that I was Empress Lu. I am so honored" and so on. At the same time, Zhang Chunqiao also

repeatedly slandered Deng Xiaoping as a "monopoly bourgeoisie" who "engaged in revisionism at home and capitulationism abroad."

During this period, they ordered the writing team under their direct control to publish a large number of articles in newspapers and periodicals, attacking, slandering and denying the rectification work presided over by Deng Xiaoping in 1975. In this regard, the "Liang Xiao" (i.e., Tsinghua University and Peking University's big criticism group) under the direct command of Chi Qun played a particularly bad role. In accordance with the conspiracy of the Jiangqing counter-revolutionary clique to "want one field and criticize it in one field" and "to arrest capitalist roaders layer by layer," they first published the reactionary article "The Direction of the Educational Revolution Cannot Be Tampered" to open a gap in the education field. Then they threw out reactionary articles such as "Responding to the Right-leaning Overturning Style in the Science and Technology Industry", "Negating the Literary Revolution is for the Restoration of Capitalism". In February 1976, he published reactionary articles such as "Class Struggle Is the Outline, and the Rest Is the Project", directly slandering Deng Xiaoping as the "general root", "general representative" and "the biggest leader who refused to repent" of "reversing the verdict" and "restoration". the establishment taking the capitalist road", etc. From September 1975 to October 1976, "Liang Xiao", a royal writing team alone, concocted more than 60 reactionary articles. Among them, 39 articles were publicly published in newspapers and periodicals such as People's Daily, Guangming Daily, and Beijing Daily, and some of them were broadcast to the whole country through Xinhua News Agency. They also privately compiled and printed materials such as "Excerpts of Deng Xiaoping's Speeches", "Comparison between Deng Xiaoping's Speeches and Chairman Mao's Teachings", "Comparison between Deng Xiaoping's Opportunist Speeches" and disseminated them throughout the country through various channels. The activities of "Liang Xiao" and other imperial writing groups did their best to "criticize Deng" for the "Gang of Four". In their writings, the rectification of all aspects of work is "right-leaning overturning the verdict" and "restoring capitalism"; carrying out the four modernizations is "making 'wedding

clothes' for the bourgeoisie to reappear on the stage", "satellites go to the sky, and red flags fall to the ground"; Describing the requirements and measures for the development of productive forces as "the theory of only productive forces", calling for criticism, and advocating "do not produce for the wrong line". These writing teams are indeed worthy of being experts in turning right and wrong and confusing black and white.

What needs to be pointed out here is that when the "Gang of Four" was attacking and slandering in articles and public opinion, they also criticized and besieged many old comrades, and did their best to persecute them personally. They made up a ridiculous formula that "veteran cadres are 'democrats', and 'democrats' are 'capitalist-roaders'". Zhang Chunqiao said: "In our party, first of all, there are bourgeoisie and comprador bourgeoisie inside the Politburo." ". The persecution of Minister of Education Zhou Rongxin to death is a typical example of the "Gang of Four" cruelly persecuting veteran officials. In February 1976, according to Zhang Chunqiao's instructions, Chi Qun, together with the "Gang of Four", planted party members in the Ministry of Education and established the "Temporary Leading Group of the Ministry of Education", which completely deprived Zhou Rongxin of the Minister of Education. Then, when Zhou Rongxin's condition was very serious, Zhou was forced to go to the Ministry of Education every day to accept criticism. On April 12, Zhou Rongxin passed out at the criticism meeting, and was unreasonably delayed before being sent to the hospital in time. After being sent to the hospital for a long time, he did not receive timely rescue and correct treatment, so he died of Hanhen that night. Hu Yaobang, Wan Li and others were criticized and persecuted many times.

"Criticizing Deng and fighting back against the right-leaning style of reversing verdicts" destroyed the relatively stable situation that had just emerged after the rectification of various fronts. Many correct policies and measures put forward during the rectification were wantonly criticized, a group of leading cadres who resolutely implemented these policies were attacked, and those with serious

factions and rebel leaders who were dismissed or transferred during the rectification were reused. Sectarianism and fighting have resurfaced in some areas. Work and production were suspended in many areas, and industrial production failed to meet the plan. From January to May 1976, 1.23 million tons of steel were under-produced, and other major industrial products such as chemical fertilizers and cotton yarn were also under-produced in large quantities, which affected the supply of goods in the market by 1.4 billion yuan and reduced fiscal revenue by 2 billion yuan. The established national economic plan of 1976 has become impossible to complete. In July, a national planning work symposium was held, and it was suggested to lower the original production targets of some major industrial products. With the approval of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, for example, steel production was lowered from 26 million tons to 24 million tons, and capital construction investment was reduced by 20% compared with the original plan. billion etc. But the adjusted plan didn't actually work out either. In 1976, the total industrial and agricultural output value increased by only 1.7% over the previous year, far below the planned rate of 7-7.5%. Steel output was only 20.46 million tons, only 79% of the planned amount, lower than the level in 1971. The railway freight volume was 840 million tons, only 93% of the planned amount was completed. The delivery and utilization rate of fixed assets was 58.9%, a decrease of 5% over the previous year. 85 large and medium-sized projects were completed, 82 fewer than the previous year, which was one of the years with the worst investment returns after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Of course there are other factors here, such as the Tangshan Earthquake, but the launch of "criticizing Deng and countering the right-leaning overturning the verdict" and the interference and sabotage of the "Gang of Four" and their party members in various aspects of actual work undoubtedly caused such an economic situation. main reason.

4. Mourning Zhou Enlai's Tiananmen Incident

From 1966 to 1976, ten years of ups and downs completely dissipated the sacred halo of the "Cultural Revolution", beautiful empty ideals could not replace the miserable reality of life, and all kinds of "great" rhetoric could no longer arouse people's heart passion. The vast majority of people have gradually come to understand the essence of the "Cultural Revolution" from personal experience, and no longer have any illusions about it. On the contrary, all kinds of grievances, dissatisfaction and indignation have accumulated. The outbreak of people's anger is only a matter of time and conditions.

"Criticizing Deng and fighting back against the Rightist style of overturning verdicts" further made the broad masses of cadres and the masses realize the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution", and more clearly saw the face of the "Gang of Four" that harmed the country and the people. The doubts, dissatisfaction, and resentment that had accumulated in people's hearts for a long time and developed rapidly finally burst out through the Tiananmen incident. The fuse was that the "Gang of Four" suppressed and opposed the people's mourning for the beloved Premier Zhou Enlai.

The Perverse Action of the "Gang of Four"

During Zhou Enlai's funeral, the "Gang of Four" made enemies of the people and issued various prohibitions to prevent the masses from commemorating Zhou Enlai. In addition to prohibiting the spontaneous mourning activities of the masses, the media of public opinion is also specially controlled, and the mourning of the masses is not allowed to be reported. On January 9, the second day after Zhou Enlai's death, Xinhua News Agency asked Yao Wenyan how to organize hundreds of millions of people to mourn Zhou Enlai's propaganda reports and publish articles mourning Premier Zhou?

Yao Wenyan's answer was: "The eulogy has not been published yet, and we are not organizing it now. We should ask for instructions again if we want to organize a response after the eulogy is published." Under his ban, in the six days before the memorial meeting from the 9th to the 15th, a total of two messages were sent to bid farewell to Zhou Enlai's remains by party and state leaders and representatives from all walks of life in the capital. The touching scenes of mourning by people of all nationalities across the country have not been reflected in the newspapers. Especially on the 11th, millions of people in the capital supported the old and the young, and shed tears on dozens of miles of long streets to see Zhou Enlai's hearse off. The editorial team of Jiangsu Province's "Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers Review" wrote an article "Dear Premier Zhou in Meiyuan New Village", but the "Gang of Four" actually ordered it to be listed as a "reactionary article" and the background must be investigated. These despicable acts can only arouse people's incomparable resentment.

On January 14, the day before Zhou Enlai's memorial service, the "People's Daily" published a special report on the front page titled "The Great Debate Brings Big Changes", which raped public opinion and insisted that the people of the whole country were the most. What I am concerned about is the big debate on Tsinghua University's "counterattack against the rightist style of overturning verdicts". Nonsense: "The great revolutionary debate has aroused the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism. They regard class struggle as the key link to do a good job in various tasks as a practical action to fight back against the Rightist style of overturning verdicts. The revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses has caused various A steamy situation at work." And so on. As a result, letters and telegrams flooded into strong protests. Some people even wrote to refer to the editor-in-chief installed by the "Gang of Four" in the People's Daily as "Goebbels" (referring to the German fascist propaganda minister who was capable of spreading rumors).

On February 13, the writing team of the "Gang of Four" published the article "The Worry of Confucius", with a large number

of "worry" characters. What do you say "the disciples of Confucius and Mencius in the future... like Confucius, their "concern for the country and the people" is entirely for the purpose of "prospering and destroying the country, inheriting the world, and raising the people", which is an out-and-out disaster for the country and the people... in an attempt to make People have doubts about new things, and lose confidence in the great situation and bright future of the revolution." The article said in a sarcastic tone: "Let the 'mourning women' of the old system hold the skeleton of Confucius and burn with worry, calling the heavens and the earth." These people ridiculed the masses mourning Zhou Enlai as "weeping women".

On March 5, when Shanghai's "Wen Wei Po" published a press release broadcast by Xinhua News Agency that the commanders and fighters of the Shenyang army studied and commemorated Lei Feng, they deleted Zhou Enlai's inscription on learning from Lei Feng. On March 25, in an article published on the first page of Wen Wei Po, the sentence "that capitalist roader in the party wants to help the downed capitalist roader who has refused to repent so far" appeared, blatantly attacking Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. "Wen Wei Po" was an important public opinion tool for the "Gang of Four" during the "Cultural Revolution" for a long time. After these two articles were published, they aroused the anger of the cadres and the masses. Within a few days, Wen Wei Po received more than 1,000 protest calls and more than 420 protest letters and telegrams. However, Zhang Chunqiao and others publicly expressed their condolences to Wen Wei Po and gave them awards. When the news came out, the crowd was even more angered.

Mass protests from Yuhuatai to Tiananmen

Students and people in Nanjing City, which is adjacent to Shanghai, acted first. On March 20 and 28, many students, workers, and residents in Nanjing held demonstrations and rallies to commemorate Zhou Enlai and oppose the "Gang of Four." "The Great Conspirator Zhang Chunqiao" and other big slogans, and painted the slogans on the trains bound for Beijing and Shanghai.

From the end of March to the beginning of April, people in Hangzhou, Zhengzhou, Xi'an, Taiyuan, Fuzhou and other cities took advantage of the traditional custom of commemorating the revolutionary martyrs during the Ching Ming Festival, broke through the resistance of the "Gang of Four", and held activities to mourn Zhou Enlai.

Since the end of March, people in the capital have spontaneously gathered in Tiananmen Square to lay wreaths and baskets in front of the Monument to the People's Heroes, post leaflets, recite poems, and deliver speeches, expressing condolences to Zhou Enlai and denouncing the crimes of the "Gang of Four." Many poems contain strong emotional and political content, expressing the inner thoughts of the masses who want to speak but dare not speak out. like:

Shenzhou wants to change, the
wind and rain have lost the sky,

Evening stars and dark moon,
the red sun is hard to show in the
sky.

.....

Daji wanted to rule Chi County,

Claiming to be Wu Zetian.

The Yangtze River flows
eastward day and night,

Gather righteous heroes in the
world.

Another example:

The red heart bears fruit,

Green blood blooms
revolutionary flowers again,

If the monster spews poisonous
fire,

There are people who capture
demons and fight ghosts.

If you want to hear ghosts
crying sadly,

I cry jackals laugh.

Shedding tears to pay homage
to Xiongjie,

Raising the eyebrow sword out
of its sheath.

The display of a large number of denunciation essays and battle poems aroused strong resonance from the people's hearts, and they rushed to copy and spread quickly. The "Gang of Four" was very afraid of this, and did everything possible to obstruct and suppress it. On April 2, a phone call was sent in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, wrongly accusing the Nanjing masses of their just actions. He believes: "The emergence of big-character posters and slogans directed at the central leadership comrades in Nanjing is a political event that splits the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and shifts the direction of criticizing Deng." Take the opportunity to expand the situation, make trouble, and destroy." "The behind-the-scenes planners of this political incident must be thoroughly investigated." "Four Olds", the so-called instructions to prevent the masses from going to Tiananmen Square to mourn. But the fire of the masses, already burning, is by no means so easily extinguished.

The crowd, who had already run out of patience, was furious. Some poems ask tit for tat:

Who said Qingming is the Four
Olds? Who said Qingming is used to
smelly?

Every year I pay homage to my
martyrs, what is the reason for the
ban today!

It is impossible to say that
"Wenhui" lights up ghost fires, and

its own people write spring and
autumn.

Send a message that the evil
spirits are slow and rampant, don't
learn from the forest bandits and kill
them.

On April 4th (Bingchen Qingming Festival), the mourning activities reached a climax. People from the capital and other places who came to Beijing disregarded the heavy bans at that time, and more than 2 million people visited Tiananmen Square.

The Tiananmen incident is a concentrated manifestation of the people's protest movement across the country, and it occurred under the influence of the party's correct leadership and the party's correct propositions such as realizing the "four modernizations". The form of this movement was mourning Zhou Enlai and opposing the "Gang of Four", but it actually showed the people's opposition to the "Left" errors of the "Cultural Revolution" and their support and support for the correct leadership of the party represented by Deng Xiaoping.

The Wrong Suppression of the April 5th Movement

On the evening of April 4, Hua Guofeng presided over a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee (Ye Jianying and Li Xiannian did not attend) to discuss the events that had occurred in Tiananmen Square in the past few days. Hua Guofeng and others listened to the materials reported by the "Gang of Four" cronies, and wrongly supported the "Gang of Four"'s slander against the masses. Hua Guofeng said: "It's very vicious. A group of bad people jumped out. Some of their writings directly attacked the chairman, and many attacked the central government." Wu De said: "It seems that this time is a planned action. From four years to 1975, he made a lot of preparations for public opinion... This year's incident was formed by Deng Xiaoping's long-term preparations." "The nature is clear, it is an incident caused by counter-revolutionaries." The meeting decided to "take some necessary measures" to "prevent further incidents from being provoked." These measures mainly include: cleaning up the wreaths and slogans in Tiananmen Square

from that night; arranging militia and public security personnel to surround the monument to prevent the masses from sending wreaths and rallies; mobilizing the garrison to "prepare on the second line." Mao Yuanxin wrote a written report on the discussions and decisions of the Politburo meeting, and Mao Zedong circled the report.

In the early morning of April 5th, all the wreaths in Tiananmen Square were removed. Poems, elegiac couplets, and banners were all gone. Some people who voluntarily guarded the wreaths all night were arrested. Three heavily guarded blockades were placed around the Monument to the People's Heroes. Wire. The crowds who had flocked to Tiananmen Square since early morning were extremely angry about this. Because it was rumored that the confiscated wreaths were placed in the basement of the Great Hall of the People, tens of thousands of people gathered outside the east gate of the Great Hall of the People from 9:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m., making the just demand of "return my wreath and my comrade-in-arms". Shouting "Whoever opposes Premier Zhou will be defeated." The furious crowd clashed violently with some of the militiamen, policemen and soldiers on duty in Tiananmen Square. The "broadcast propaganda vehicle" dispatched by the public security department and several cars were damaged in the chaos. In the afternoon, the "Workers' Militia Headquarters" at the southeast corner of Tiananmen Square caught fire, and the masses, militiamen, and police were all injured.

These violent incidents in Tiananmen Square, the center of the capital, should not happen in normal life in a socialist society. The reason why it appeared, on the one hand, expressed the extreme anger of the broad masses, which was intolerable and unable to express, so they had to resort to violence against violence; on the other hand, it was also the "Cultural Revolution" that destroyed socialist democracy and blocked All speech channels make it impossible for the masses to express their will through normal channels. "Defending the mouth of the people is better than defending Sichuan", the result of suppression will always explode.

This is also the general law that things must be reversed when they are extreme. However, at the time, these actions also provided an excuse for the "Gang of Four" to carry out suppression. Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and others watched the development of the situation in the Great Hall of the People and discussed countermeasures.

At 6:30 p.m., Wu De, the first secretary of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China and director of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee, was ordered to make a radio speech. He declared that "there are bad people in Tiananmen Square who are sabotaging and counter-revolutionary sabotage activities." The reactionary nature of political events exposes their machinations". He ordered that "the revolutionary masses should leave the square immediately". This speech was broadcast repeatedly in Tiananmen Square, and many people gradually dispersed after hearing the news. At 9:30, all lighting equipment in Tiananmen Square was opened, and 10,000 militiamen and 3,000 policemen were ordered to run into the square. They surrounded those who insisted on staying in Tiananmen Square with wooden sticks, beat them and arrested them (a total of 388 people were arrested). There are also more than 20,000 militiamen and 5 battalions of garrison troops standing nearby as a reserve force.

In the early hours of April 6, some members of the Politburo listened to the report of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China. They believed that the Tiananmen incident was "the nature of a counter-revolutionary riot" and instructed the public security department to "find out the headquarters" and "don't tie the militia too tightly." If you do it, I will do it too'." The meeting estimated that the masses would take action, so another 30,000 militiamen were organized to gather around Tiananmen Square on standby, and nine battalions of troops were sent to "mobilize at any time" in the urban area. Mao Yuanxin reported the decision of the Politburo meeting to Mao Zedong in writing, and Mao Zedong agreed. However, the day was peaceful.

Under strict security, the masses did not hold any major activities in Tiananmen Square.

Two Resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

On April 7, Mao Yuanxin reported the situation to Mao Zedong twice. Mao Zedong agreed to publicly publish the so-called "live report" of the "People's Daily" reporter on the Tiananmen incident and Wu De's radio speech at Tiananmen on the evening of April 5. The so-called "on-site report" prepared by Yao Wenyan's organization falsely accused the masses of mourning Zhou Enlai as a "counter-revolutionary activity" and the Tiananmen incident as a "counter-revolutionary political incident". Because it "openly played out the banner of supporting Deng Xiaoping, frantically pointed the finger at the great leader Chairman Mao, split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and tried to reverse the current general direction of criticizing Deng and countering the rightist trend of overturning verdicts." These were the biggest crimes at that time, and they should really be "heinous". Mao Zedong listened to these reports and said that the nature of the Tiananmen incident had changed. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee is required to make a resolution, publish it in a newspaper, and publish it publicly. He also proposed to use the Tiananmen incident as a basis to remove Deng Xiaoping from all his posts, retain his party membership, and wait for the approval of the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee to be held in the future.

On the evening of April 7, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a meeting, read out and passed two resolutions that had been prepared and issued in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The content of the first resolution is: "According to the proposal of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China unanimously approved Comrade Hua Guofeng as the first vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China." The content of the second resolution Yes: "The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China discussed the counter-revolutionary incident in Tiananmen Square and Deng Xiaoping's recent performance, and believed that the nature of Deng Xiaoping's problem has become an antagonistic contradiction. According to the proposal of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Political Bureau unanimously passed the abolition of Deng Xiaoping's party All internal and external positions, retain party membership, in order to see the effect." After these two resolutions were passed by the Politburo, they were broadcast to the whole country by the Central People's Broadcasting Station an hour later.

The next day, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a telephone notice requesting all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions to immediately convene large-scale mass meetings, read out the two resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and have the main leaders of each province, city, and autonomous region deliver a clear-cut speech, firmly Grasp the general direction of the struggle to criticize Deng, and further carry out the great struggle against the right deviationist style of overturning verdicts.

All regions acted according to orders, and all provinces, cities, and autonomous regions sent telegrams to the central government expressing their support for the two resolutions of the central government and the handling of the Tiananmen Incident. Parades and rallies were organized in major cities to support the Central Committee's resolution and denounce Deng Xiaoping. All of a sudden, newspapers and periodicals across the country were filled with such expressive things. At the same time, according to regulations, the so-called "political rumors" were investigated, and the active participants and "masterminds" of the Tiananmen incident and other similar incidents were arrested. Many people were arrested or sentenced.

The erroneous resolution on the Tiananmen incident and the forced mass gatherings and demonstrations could neither change the objective nature of the incident itself nor change the masses' ideological understanding at all. Severely depressed and bruised.

Due Evaluation of the Tiananmen Incident

The nationwide protest movement centered on Tiananmen is no accident. Engels said: "Wherever there is a revolutionary shock, there is always a social demand as its background", "it is the spontaneous and irresistible expression of the people's demands and needs". The heavy disaster caused by the "Cultural Revolution", which has lasted for nearly 10 years, has aroused more and more hatred among the masses, and it is becoming more and more unbearable. People once pinned their strong hopes of restoring the Party's fine traditions and correct policies on Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and other revolutionaries of the older generation, but they were treated extremely unfairly. The perverse actions of the "Gang of Four" aroused the strong anger that had been accumulated in the hearts of the people for a long time, so in the Tiananmen incident, it spontaneously and unstoppably formed a general outbreak in the form of national traditional mourning.

Tiananmen was not a purely spontaneous mass movement unrelated to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Although on the whole, this revolutionary mass movement is not under the unified leadership of any party organization at the first level, but many grassroots party organizations directly and indirectly organize and support the employees of their units to participate in the struggle. Many members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League actively participated in the struggle and became the backbone of the struggle. Judging from the struggle goal of this revolutionary mass movement, it is to realize the four modernizations put forward by the party and to oppose the "Gang of Four" to bring disaster to the country and the people. The realization of the four modernizations was reaffirmed by Zhou Enlai on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China at the

Fourth National People's Congress, and the correct leadership of the party represented by Deng Xiaoping led the people of the whole country to strive for it. The broad masses are required to realize the struggle program formulated by the correct leadership of the party. In the Tiananmen incident, the role of the party was realized in a special form under special historical conditions. This protest clearly showed the solidarity of the people of the whole country. This laid a great mass foundation for the subsequent crushing of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique.

5. The death of Mao Zedong smashed the "Gang of Four"

The more rampant "Gang of Four"

The wrong characterization of the Tiananmen incident and the brutal suppression of the majority of party members and the masses gave the "Gang of Four" an illusion that they had won. On April 7, when Jiang Qing held a banquet in the Great Hall of the People to entertain the "meritorious officials" who suppressed the masses, he shouted a toast to "We have won". Therefore, "decided to be more rampant", under the banner of "criticizing Deng", further ambitious activities to usurp power. They published all kinds of so-called "criticizing Deng" articles in newspapers and periodicals.

On April 18, 1976, "People's Daily" published "What Does the Tiananmen Square Incident Explain?" " editorial, calling for "pushing the struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping and fight back against the right-leaning style of overturning verdicts to a new climax." This editorial actually demonstrated from the Tiananmen incident that this incident "further proves that the bourgeoisie is in the Communist Party." The editorial said: "The capitalist-roaders like Deng Xiaoping who refuse to repent in the party have become the top figures of the bourgeoisie and the main force fighting against the proletariat in an attempt to restore capitalism in our country." "The development of class struggle, from The false accusation letter of a small number of people in Tsinghua University, and the counter-revolutionary political incident in Tiananmen Square all have deep political background and class roots, and their origin lies in Deng Xiaoping." And so on.

On May 18, the "People's Daily" published an article signed by Liang Xiao's "Gang of Four" writing team "There is indeed a bourgeoisie in the party-An analysis of the counter-revolutionary incident in Tiananmen Square", further demonstrating this absurd

argument. When Yao Wenyuan revised this article, he deliberately added the words that Deng Xiaoping was the "general backstage" of the Tiananmen Incident, fearing that his explanation was not clear enough. They have repeatedly advocated the fallacious concept of "the bourgeoisie within the party", which not only violates the scientific principles of Marxism, but also completely violates the actual situation. leading cadres.

During this period, the cronies of the "Gang of Four" repeatedly threatened that "there are still capitalist roaders who wear military uniforms, hat badges, and collar badges", "capitalist roaders are not just a few people, but a layer of people", etc., their sinister intentions are clearly revealed .

Natural disasters and man-made disasters follow

In 1976, not only was the political situation dangerous, but various natural and man-made disasters followed one after another. On July 6, Zhu De, one of the founders of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, one of the main leaders of the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China, and an outstanding Chinese revolutionary and military strategist, passed away. Zhu De fought bravely for the victory of the Chinese people's liberation cause and the cause of communism, and dedicated his whole life selflessly. During the "Cultural Revolution", he was framed and insulted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary groups, but fortunately he was protected by Mao Zedong. His death is a great loss to the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, and the people of all ethnic groups in the country are deeply saddened and missed.

After 22 days, on July 28, a strong earthquake of magnitude 7.8 occurred in Tangshan and Fengnan, Hebei Province, and affected Tianjin and Beijing. People's lives and properties in the epicenter suffered huge losses, and Tangshan, a medium-sized industrial city with a population of one million, was turned into ruins. The casualties were heavy, with a total of 242,769 dead and 164,851 seriously injured. Such a strong earthquake occurred in a densely populated

city and caused such heavy casualties, which is not only rare in Chinese history, but also the largest in the world in the 20th century. It naturally arouses the strong attention of the people of China and the world. On the day of the earthquake, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent a message of condolences to the people in the disaster area. Subsequently, a central condolence group headed by Hua Guofeng was sent to the disaster area to condolences to the affected people. At the same time, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and relevant departments of the provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, and the central government quickly formed rescue teams, medical teams, and construction teams from all directions to rush to the disaster-stricken areas for rescue, and a large number of relief materials were quickly transported to the affected areas. The people in the disaster-stricken areas fought bravely, resisted the earthquake, provided disaster relief, and rebuilt their homes.

At a time when people across the country were anxious about the Tangshan earthquake and actively supported the disaster relief struggle, the "Gang of Four" had completely different feelings. Not only did they not care about the lives and sufferings of the people at all, but they unreasonably attacked the earthquake relief work that saved lives and healed the wounded. Nonsense talk about "erasing Tangshan is nothing", and attacking the earthquake relief work is "criticizing Deng with disaster relief". Jiang Qing even unreasonably attacked the central government and responsible comrades in Hebei Province and Tangshan City for leading the earthquake relief work as "capitalist roaders panicked." Under their clamor, all offers of foreign aid were rejected. On August 11, "People's Daily" published an editorial based on Yao Wenyuan's speech: "Deep Criticism of Deng, Earthquake Relief". The editorial said: "The party's opportunist leaders are always trying to take advantage of the temporary difficulties caused by natural disasters to reverse the direction of the revolution and restore capitalism." At this time, Deng Xiaoping had been dismissed. "The opportunist leader of the party" obviously refers to the main leaders of the party at that time.

During this period, Jiang Qing and others without authorization issued three reports, including "General Outline of the Work of the Party and the Country", "Several Issues Concerning Accelerating Industrial Development", and "Several Issues Concerning Scientific and Technological Work" (referred to as "Report Outline"). The document drafted under Deng Xiaoping's guidance but not published was slandered as the "three big poisonous weeds" and was the so-called "product of Deng Xiaoping's revisionist program". Nonsense said that "On the General Outline" "is Deng Xiaoping's political declaration to restore capitalism" and "evidence of overturning the case and restoring it." The "Twenty Articles of Industry" "is an industrial management regulation called 'speeding up industrial development', which is actually an industrial management regulation to speed up the restoration of capitalism." Carrying out the product of the revisionist program of "Three Directives as the Keynote" is to "overturn the case of the Cultural Revolution, settle the accounts of the Cultural Revolution, and oppose the proletariat's overall dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the entire field of superstructure in order to restore capitalism. evil purpose". And so on, accusations were imposed, and criticism was launched across the country. The fact that the "Gang of Four" is an enemy of the people has been deeply hated by the majority of cadres and the masses. Criticism of the so-called "three big poisonous weeds" has been widely resisted by cadres and the masses. Some masses openly said that our country will be fine if we follow these three documents.

After Mao Zedong's death, the "Gang of Four" stepped up to usurp power

At a critical moment when the people's great hopes for rectification were suddenly interrupted, the "criticism of Deng" was widely resisted, and social turmoil recurred, while Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other national pillars left one after another, and the country experienced a deep political crisis. On September 9, Mao Zedong, China's most important Marxist revolutionist, strategist and theorist, the main founder and leader of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of

China, passed away. Mao Zedong made indelible contributions to the victory of the Chinese people's liberation cause and the development of the socialist cause. He made great contributions to the liberation of the oppressed nations of the world and the cause of human progress. Although Mao Zedong made serious mistakes such as launching the "Cultural Revolution" in his later years, in terms of his life, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweighed his faults. His achievements are the first, and his mistakes are the second. The death of Mao Zedong has plunged the entire Party, army and people into grief.

On September 9, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council, and the Central Military Commission jointly issued the "Message to the Party, Army, and People of All Ethnic Groups in the Country." On the same day, the establishment of the "Chairman Mao Zedong Funeral Committee" headed by Hua Guofeng, Wang Hongwen, Ye Jianying, and Zhang Chunqiao was announced. An announcement was issued that condolences will be held in the Great Hall of the People for 7 days, and entertainment activities will be suspended nationwide for 10 days. On September 18, a grand memorial meeting with millions of people was held in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. Hua Guofeng delivered a eulogy speech at the meeting, expressing that he would "carry through the proletarian revolution initiated by Chairman Mao to the end."

The death of Mao Zedong made the existing deep political crisis more serious and urgent. The broad masses of cadres and the masses are deeply worried about the future and destiny of the party and the country, and this worry is well-founded. In order to usurp the supreme leadership of the party and the country, the "Gang of Four" has long been actively planning to seize military power. After this plot failed, they planned to establish the National Militia Headquarters in an attempt to turn the militia into a "second armed force" under their control. This conspiracy failed again, so they did everything possible to expand and arm the local militias already under their control.

In late August, when Mao Zedong was still seriously ill, the best friends of the "Gang of Four" in Shanghai, according to Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao's instructions, released weapons in a surprise attack and stepped up their efforts to equip the Shanghai militia. A total of more than 74,000 guns, 300 cannons, and more than 10 million rounds of guns and ammunition were fired. They also conspired and concocted a so-called "Implementation Plan for Preventing Counter-Revolutionary Riots" codenamed "Counter-Revolutionary Riots." The riots were rehearsed. On the second day after Mao Zedong's death, they fired more than 6 million bullets and 15,000 artillery shells in a surprise attack within 20 hours. Conduct so-called "combat readiness exercises". Several leaders in Shanghai also went to the militia headquarters for surprise inspections, deployed emergency forces, and made specific preparations for launching an armed rebellion.

After Mao Zedong's death, the "Gang of Four" stepped up their conspiracy to seize the supreme leadership of the party and the country. On September 11, Wang Hongwen set aside the duty room of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee and set up another "duty room" in Zhongnanhai. He used the name of the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to call the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions to ask for instructions and reports to the duty offices set up by them in a timely manner on major issues.

The "Gang of Four" also arranged for some people from Tsinghua University, Peking University, and Xinhua News Agency to write "Letters of Loyalty" and "Letters of Encouragement" to Jiang Qing. Some openly proposed in the letter that Jiang Qing should "be the chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the chairman of the Military Commission" and "take up this heavy burden" to create public opinion for Jiang Qing to come to power. Jiang Qing and others are also actively preparing for their coming to power. Jiang Qing asked Tianjin City to make a special dress for her, and Wang Hongwen also took a standard portrait

ready to be hung all over the country, and ordered the literary and art circles to shoot "Grand Festival" and other films.

The "Gang of Four" attempted to use Shanghai as a base to seize the power of the central party and government leadership, and they secretly made many arrangements for Shanghai's cronies. On September 21, Zhang Chunqiao was in Beijing to listen to a report on the surprise firing of guns in Shanghai, and he told the visitors to "pay attention to the trend of class struggle." On September 23, Wang Hongwen said in a telephone conversation with his cronies in Shanghai: "The struggle is not over yet. The bourgeoisie in the party will not be willing to fail. Someone will always bring out Deng Xiaoping." On September 28, Zhang Chunqiao sent Someone sent a message to some leaders of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China, expressing that "Shanghai has a big test, and there is going to be a war."

october victory celebrated by the peoples

The blatant activities of the "Gang of Four" to usurp the party and steal the country made Chen Yun, Deng Yingchao and other revolutionaries of the older generation very anxious. Most of them were in a difficult situation, but they still exchanged information through various channels and expressed to Ye Jianying their expectation to solve the "Gang of Four" issue. In late September, Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen sent someone to inform Ye Jianying, asking him to make up his mind quickly and make up his mind to solve the "Gang of Four" issue. Hua Guofeng, Li Xiannian, Wang Dongxing and others also exchanged views many times to study ways to eliminate the "Gang of Four", a carbuncle of the Party and the country. On September 21, Hua Guofeng went to Li Xiannian's residence to discuss the settlement of the "Gang of Four" issue, and asked Li to go to Ye Jianying on his behalf. On September 24, after Li Xiannian went to Ye Jianying's apartment to discuss with him the issue of dealing with the "Gang of Four", Ye Jianying and Hua Guofeng discussed face to face and came to the correct decision. An inevitable serious struggle has come.

After Mao Zedong's death, the "Gang of Four" forged a so-called Chairman Mao's last order to "follow the established guidelines", and published on September 16 "Chairman Mao will always live in us" in People's Daily, Red Flag magazine, and Liberation Army Daily. Published in an editorial. The editorial said: "Chairman Mao instructed us: 'Follow the established guidelines'." "According to the established guidelines means following Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and various policies." "Always follow Chairman Mao's teachings, adhere to class struggle as the key link, adhere to the party's basic line, and adhere to the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." They ordered that "according to the established policy" be the center of propaganda at that time, occupying the main page in the newspapers and periodicals, with numerous articles and repeated propaganda. They did this in order to dress themselves up as Mao Zedong's loyal heirs, to elevate themselves as "orthodox" within the party, and to attack Hua Guofeng and other central leaders.

After the National Day, their activities became more explicit. On October 1, Jiang Qing gave a speech at Tsinghua University. She reminded everyone to be vigilant that "there will still be people who will reverse the case for him (referring to Deng Xiaoping)." And said: "I also want to swear to you young people that you must exercise your body and fight against them. Class struggle and line struggle are still going on." On October 3, Wang Hongwen said in a speech in Pinggu County, Beijing: "The Central Committee When revisionism appears, what do you do? Down!" "Tang Xiaoping, Wang Xiaoping, etc. may appear in the future, so be vigilant!" "Keep your eyes wide open and watch revisionism."

On October 4, Liang Xiao, the writing team of the "Gang of Four", published the article "Always Follow Chairman Mao's Established Policy" on the front page of "Guangming Daily". The article said: "To tamper with Chairman Mao's established policy is to betray Marxism, socialism, and the great theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." "Any revisionist leader who dares to tamper with Chairman Mao's established policy

is absolutely not good. What's next." Some facts need to be added here: On the evening of April 30, 1976, after Hua Guofeng accompanied New Zealand Prime Minister Muldoon to be received by Mao Zedong, he stayed to report to Mao Zedong on the national situation and other issues. Mao Zedong immediately wrote three sentences for Hua Guofeng in his own hand, one is "take your time, don't rush"; Hua Guofeng conveyed Mao Zedong's first two sentences at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and Jiang Qing and others were present. However, Jiang Qing and others changed "according to the past policy" to "according to the established policy", and made a big fuss about it as Mao Zedong's "command", which made Hua Guofeng have to come forward to correct it. On October 2, Hua Guofeng made a comment on the "Speech Draft of the Head of the Chinese Delegation at the 31st Session of the United Nations General Assembly" submitted for review by Foreign Minister Qiao Guanhua on September 30: The article quoted Chairman Mao's instructions to me I checked with Chairman Mao's own handwriting and there were three wrong words. Both Chairman Mao's writing and what I conveyed to the Politburo were "according to the past policy". I deleted it in order to avoid passing it on by mistake. However, Zhang Chunqiao commented on this document: "Comrade Guofeng's comment, it is recommended not to issue it, so as not to cause unnecessary disputes." After Jiang Qing circled it, he drew a line to express his agreement with Zhang Chunqiao's opinion. On the one hand, the "Gang of Four" tried their best to obstruct Hua Guofeng's instructions, so as to prevent the fraud of forging Mao Zedong's last instructions from being exposed; ", with a very high tone, saying that anyone who does not follow this so-called "instruction" is a "revisionist leader." This naturally raises serious concerns. This article alluded to the fact that the leaders of the party and country at that time were "revisionist leaders" and clamored that "it will definitely not end well." Therefore, it is naturally regarded as a serious signal that the "Gang of Four" is imminent to seize power in an all-round way. Afterwards, in an outline written by Zhang Chunqiao himself, I found this sentence: "Revolution and dictatorship. How to revolutionize, how to consolidate political power,

and kill people." It proves that the "Gang of Four" is indeed going to kill them.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China acted decisively and took decisive measures. In the name of convening the Standing Committee to discuss the editing and publication of the fifth volume of "Selected Works of Mao Zedong", Yao Wen Yuan was invited to participate, and Jiang Qing was dealt with separately. Hua Guofeng presided over it himself, Ye Jianying was in command, and Wang Dongxing, the person in charge of the general office of the Central Committee and the security force, was in charge of specific matters. At 8:00 p.m. on October 6, Hua Guofeng and Ye Jianying presided over a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Politburo in Huairan Hall, Zhongnanhai to implement the will of the party and the people. After Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen, and Yao Wen Yuan arrived at the meeting room, they respectively announced their isolation review, and sent people to Jiang Qing's residence in Zhongnanhai to announce the implementation of this decision. At the same time, measures of isolation and inspection were also adopted for the best friends of the "Gang of Four" in Beijing. In less than an hour and a half, without firing a single shot, the Jiang Qing clique that was accused by everyone was shattered. At the same time, they also sent people to control the news and public opinion organizations controlled by the "Gang of Four", such as China Central Radio, Television, and Xinhua News Agency. At 10 o'clock that night, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a meeting in Yuquan Mountain in the western suburbs of Beijing to discuss major issues for the party and the country after the "Gang of Four" was crushed. On the morning of the 7th, the meeting passed the decision to appoint Hua Guofeng as the chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the chairman of the Central Military Commission.

After the cronies of the "Gang of Four" in Shanghai found out the news that Jiang Qing and others were quarantined and inspected, they immediately held an emergency meeting and implemented emergency mobilization. They organized an armed

rebellion command team, mobilized and deployed 33,500 militiamen, used more than 27,000 guns of various types, mobilized 225 vehicles, concentrated a large amount of supplies and food, deployed specific steps for the rebellion, and attempted to launch an armed rebellion. They are also preparing to publish a letter to the people of the whole city and the whole country, and cooperate to publish "a few quotations and materials on how Khrushchev came to power" to create public opinion. The stipulated slogan is "Give me back Jiang Qing, give me back Chunqiao, give me back Wenyan, give me back Hongwen", in an attempt to make the last struggle to save Jiang Qing's counter-revolutionary clique.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China had anticipated the Shanghai issue and took timely and effective measures. The leading members of the "Gang of Four" in Shanghai were summoned to Beijing successively, and a group of leading cadres were dispatched to Shanghai to control the situation. The People's Liberation Army is ready to deal with the incident. The remnants of the "Gang of Four" instigated an armed rebellion in Shanghai, which was strongly resisted by the cadres and the masses in Shanghai, preventing their plot from succeeding.

On October 14, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China announced the crushing of the "Gang of Four". People rushed to tell each other, elated, the masses raised their glasses to celebrate, the wine was sold out in many places, and the whole country was jubilant. The Shanghai people condemned the "Gang of Four" and swept across the city, and Jiang Qing's conspiracy to launch an armed rebellion in Shanghai collapsed in an instant. From October 21st to 30th, 29 provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and various units of the People's Liberation Army held grand rallies and parades successively, resolutely supported the decisive measures taken by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to smash the "Gang of Four", and warmly celebrated the major victory of smashing the "Gang of Four" .

The Jiangqing counter-revolutionary group has long been enemies of the people, and the crimes they committed during the "Cultural Revolution" are too numerous to list. To smash the "Gang of Four" is the common will of the whole party, the army and the people of the whole country. Mao Zedong never handed over the supreme leadership of the party and the country to the "Gang of Four", and criticized and exposed them, alleviating the party's difficulties in this sharp struggle. Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian and others played an important role in the struggle to smash the "Gang of Four", and Wang Dongxing also did some useful work. The victory of smashing the "Gang of Four" saved the party from danger, saved China's socialist cause, ended the disaster of the "Cultural Revolution", and brought our country into a new historical period of development.

The "Cultural Revolution" was launched and led by Mao Zedong. "Comrade Mao Zedong bears the main responsibility for the overall and long-term serious mistakes of the 'Cultural Revolution'. However, Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes are ultimately a great The mistakes made by proletarian revolutionaries." "When he made serious mistakes, he repeatedly asked the whole party to study the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin seriously, and he always believed that his theory and practice were Marxist. It is necessary to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this is his tragedy." "He led the struggle to crush the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique, and also made important criticisms and exposures of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and others, preventing them from seizing the supreme leadership. The ambition was successful. These all played an important role in our party's successful smashing of the 'Gang of Four'." "During the 'Cultural Revolution', our Party was not destroyed and was able to maintain unity, the State Council and the People's Liberation Army were able to carry out much necessary work, and the Fourth National People's Congress, attended by representatives of all ethnic groups and walks of life, could still be held and The candidates for the State Council with Comrades Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping at the core of leadership have been confirmed. The foundation of China's socialist system is still preserved, socialist

economic construction is still going on, and our country remains unified and exerts important influence in the international arena. These important facts are It is inseparable from the great role of Comrade Mao Zedong." "Although he made serious mistakes in the 'Cultural Revolution', as far as his life is concerned, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his faults. His achievements are First, mistakes are second."

[1] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 2, Page 1.

[2] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 2, pages 23 and 20.

[3] "Comrade Ye Jianying's Concluding Speech at the Enlarged Military Commission Meeting", July 15, 1975.

[4] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 2, pp. 28-30.

[5] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 2, p. 34.

[6] Regarding the "can't read" in Mao Zedong's words, according to the staff around Mao Zedong: In August 1974, after being examined by medical experts, Mao Zedong suffered from "senile cataract" and could not read. In August 1975, cataract was successfully removed from one eye and vision was restored.

[7] Quoted from Fan Shuo: "Ye Jianying in 1976", Central Party School Press of the Communist Party of China, 1990 edition, p. 65.

[8] "The indelible brilliance, the unceasing longing", see "People's Daily" on January 6, 1977.

[9] Zhou Enlai's inscription reads: "A clear class standpoint between what to hate and what to love, a revolutionary spirit that is consistent with words and deeds, a communist style that is public and selfless, and a proletarian fighting spirit that is selfless."

[10] After a comprehensive review, there was not a single counter-revolutionary among the 388 people. Among them, only 3 people have committed crimes such as theft and need to be investigated for criminal responsibility. This is the news broadcast by Xinhua News Agency on November 18, 1978.

[11] "Revolution and Counter-revolution in Germany", see "Selected Works of Marx and Engels", Volume 1, p. 501.

[12] In 1923, the earthquake in Tokyo, Japan killed 100,000 people, and in the earthquake in Chile in 1960, 7,000 people died. The death toll in the Tangshan earthquake was 2.4 times that of Tokyo and 35 times that of Chile.

[13] "The 'Gang of Four' Sabotage Earthquake Relief Heavily Heinous", see "Liberation Army Daily" November 12, 1976.

[14] "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Several Historical Issues of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China".

Chapter Seven Thoughts After Ten Years of Catastrophe



1. The serious consequences of the ten-year civil unrest

When Mao Zedong launched the "Cultural Revolution", he originally thought that the "great order of the world" could be achieved through chaos in the world. But things backfired. The ten-year "Cultural Revolution" caused the party, the country and the people to suffer the most serious setbacks and losses since the founding of the People's Republic of China. "Never forget the 'Cultural Revolution'!" This is the common cry of people who have survived that catastrophe. We all hope to sum up the lessons of the "Cultural Revolution", keep them firmly in mind, and pass them on to future generations. We will never allow similar civil strife to happen again in China. The full display of the damage caused by this disaster can make people learn from the pain and engrave it in their hearts. However, the consequences of the ten-year catastrophe are many. If the material loss can be calculated, then the damage to the spiritual culture and the trauma deep in the soul are difficult to calculate clearly even with the help of the most advanced electronic computers. . I am afraid that it will require the joint efforts of economists, political scientists, historians, sociologists, philosophers, etc., and a long period of investigation and research to obtain a comprehensive and accurate estimate and a thorough liquidation. This book only makes a little comment on its big end.

(1) The wrong theory and the wrong practice under its guidance have caused unprecedented ideological confusion and seriously weakened the belief in Marxism-Leninism

Using correct theory to guide the revolutionary mass movement is one of the important differences between the revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party and all previous revolutionary movements, and it is also the fundamental guarantee for the inevitable victory of this revolutionary movement. As Mao Zedong

said: "Since the Chinese have learned Marxism-Leninism, the Chinese people have changed from passive to active in spirit." The victory of the Chinese revolution is also the victory of Marxism-Leninism.

The role of theory is that it can guide people to correctly analyze the situation, recognize social reality, accurately define the object and driving force of the revolution, formulate correct strategies and tactics, and thus guide the revolutionary movement to overcome all difficulties and obstacles and move from failure to victory. Wrong theories, on the other hand, have exactly the opposite effect, which will inevitably lead to misjudgment of the situation, confusion between the enemy and ourselves, and reversal of right and wrong, resulting in serious setbacks, losses and failures of the revolutionary cause. The so-called "Theory of Continuing the Revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" as the guiding theory of the "Cultural Revolution" was once praised as "the pinnacle of Marxism-Leninism" and "the third glorious milestone", but in fact it was such a False revolutionary theories have caused far-reaching and serious harm. Regarding the reason why this theory is wrong, we have analyzed and criticized it many times in the past in combination with the actual process of history, so I won't repeat it here.

It is worth mentioning that an important theoretical reason for the confusion between the enemy and ourselves and the reversal of right and wrong is the lack of correct understanding and accurate definition of revisionism, the number one enemy of the "Cultural Revolution". It can be said that for more than 20 years, no one, including the party leader Mao Zedong, has made it clear what revisionism (including modern revisionism) is.

Mao Zedong used the concept of revisionism very broadly and uncertainly. He not only believes that revisionism is right-leaning opportunism, but that some leaders of the Communist Party of China have promoted a revisionist line, and that Song Jiang, the leader of the peasant uprising in the novel "Water Margin" in the late Northern Song Dynasty more than 800 years ago, is also "revisionist." . In this

way, revisionism is mainly used not as an ideological and theoretical concept, but as a political concept. Revisionism has become the number one enemy of the revolutionaries, and the definition of this enemy is highly subjective. This "Cultural Revolution" in which even the main goal of the struggle is ambiguous will inevitably lead to chaos and chaos, which will lead to a catastrophe.

In fact, the concept of revisionism has a specific meaning. It specifically refers to those systematic wrong theoretical viewpoints that some people in the communist movement distort and falsify the basic principles of Marxism from the right or "left". According to this definition, the whole set of so-called "theories of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" propagated during the "Cultural Revolution" can be regarded as genuine revisionism. Of course, we are not in favor of using one ambiguous concept to refute another ambiguous concept. We advocate adhering to the Marxist method of concrete analysis of specific issues. Therefore, as long as it is pointed out that the so-called "theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" is a "left" erroneous theory that "obviously departs from the track of Mao Zedong Thought, which combines the principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution", enough.

"The reason why Marx's theory is omnipotent is because it is correct." Correct theories help the masses understand the truth, unify their thinking, and have a common and clear goal of struggle. Only then can they work together to win victories and accomplish great things. After the Yan'an rectification movement and the Seventh National Congress, the Communist Party of China has achieved a high degree of unity and unity on the basis of Mao Zedong Thought. The Chinese democratic revolution has developed rapidly, which is the most glorious example. However, under the guidance of wrong theories, the "Cultural Revolution" reversed right and wrong and acted against the law. It seems that all the unique and barbaric practices that were popular at that time were all "revolutionary actions", all were correct, and all were necessary for "anti-revisionism and prevention of revisionism". . This will inevitably

cause great confusion in people's thinking, and cause great losses and harm to the country and the people. And these erroneous theories are all carried out under the banner of "creatively developing Marxism", which cannot but greatly damage the reputation of Marxism, and appear among a considerable number of people, including some Communist Party members, especially young people. crisis of faith. This kind of ideological and theoretical trauma has very serious consequences, and it cannot be completely healed in a short period of time.

(2) The organization of the Communist Party of China and the political institutions of the People's Republic of China have been severely weakened

The "Cultural Revolution" was carried out in the name and call of purifying the party's organization and consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. The practical effect is exactly the opposite of the advertised goal.

Due to theoretical errors, unclear political boundaries, reversed targets, and perverse methods, the Chinese Communist Party itself suffered great damage during the ten years of turmoil. During the "Cultural Revolution", at the grassroots level, such as the party organization at Peking University, it was said to be a "revisionist party". In provinces and cities, for example, the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China is said to be "the lair of revisionist groups." In the central government, it is said that there is a "bourgeois headquarters", while there is also a "Liu Shaoqi's revisionist political line and organizational line" throughout the country. In short, all levels of the Communist Party of China are dead, and they must "kick out the party committees to start a revolution." As a result, the majority of party members were suspended from organizational life for a long time, and the branch, party committee, county committee, and provincial committee were basically paralyzed for several years, and they openly called for rebuilding the Communist Party of China. During the "Cultural Revolution", the party's leadership was left with only the so-called

"leadership of Chairman Mao" and the leadership of Mao Zedong Thought. Without the Party organizations at all levels to carry out various specific tasks, and without the broad masses of Party members to take the lead and play the backbone role, how can such Party leadership be realized! One of the crux of the "Cultural Revolution" that led to ten years of turmoil lies in the fact that Effectively abolished the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing groups took advantage of the fire to loot. They recruited people who played tricks and tricks for fame and fortune, as well as various social dregs, and formed their own gangs to help replace the party and grab power and profit. Wang Hongwen yelled about "depending on the faction and not on the party". Zhang Chunqiao blatantly announced: "The rebel team is the party branch, and the team committee is the branch committee. The original party branch is not needed, and the rebel faction is allowed to play the role of the party branch." After Mao Zedong proposed to rebuild the party organization, they stepped up their "surprise joining the party", "Assault promotion", unscrupulous to expand their power. In order to stuff the backbone of their gang into the leadership team, Wang Hongwen actually said: "Everything must be based on needs. What does it matter if a traitor is a real traitor, as long as Jiang Qing believes in it." Jiang Qing said: "You can join the party if you have problems." , "Approval without introduction". They want to surprise those who want to join the party, but their own unit can't pass it, so they "fly across the sea", that is, get it to other units for approval and approval. Those who are opposed by the masses of the unit and cannot pass, they use high-handed means to be named by their superiors and accepted into the party within a time limit. Most members of the "Party Core Group" at the grassroots level do not agree to admit those who join the Party, so they put pressure on them, "calling names and moving stones." Some gang backbones have no time to go through the formalities of "surprise joining the party" and can't wait to seize power, so they are stuffed into the leadership team first, and then go through the formalities of joining the party, playing the so-called trick of "waiting to recruit new ones". Weng Senhe, a new counter-revolutionary in Zhejiang, blatantly

shouted: "We must seize the current favorable opportunity, make full use of our political advantage, and round up (referring to surprise party membership) as soon as possible." Severe impurity of the tissue. Even a group of careerists, conspirators, adventurers, vandals and looters were mixed into the Communist Party, and their representatives were able to enter the leadership groups at all levels, and even be promoted to very important leadership positions, causing great harm. Unbelievable and strange things also happened in the chaos. For example, at the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee held in October 1968, a worker from the No. 1 Shijiazhuang National Cotton Factory who had not yet joined the party attended. At the group meeting, this worker openly pointed at the noses of Zhu De, Li Xiannian and other revolutionaries of the older generation and shouted loudly. This kind of joke, which seems unbelievable today, was a living reality back then.

The two cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing have smashed the Chinese Communist Party's organizations at all levels, and established their nationwide gang system from top to bottom. In the areas and units they control, the gang system has replaced the party organization, allowing them to do whatever they want. Lin Biao tried in vain to establish a family world in which the Lin family would inherit from father to son, while Jiang Qing followed the example of Lu Zhi, Wu Zetian, and Nala family, and wanted to become the queen. As a result of the "Cultural Revolution" against and against revisionism, China almost returned to the extreme autocratic rule of the feudal dynasty. This is a great historical irony.

State power was severely weakened during the "Cultural Revolution". The People's Liberation Army, the pillar of the regime, has been messed up; the main tools of the dictatorship, such as public security, procuratorate, and judiciary, have been "thoroughly smashed"; Arrests, illegal detentions, and arbitrary house raids were extremely common, and people's lives and property were lost. Government agencies at all levels were falsely accused of being "old governments" and deprived of power, and social order was very chaotic. According to incomplete statistics at the time, before

October 14, 1966, the number of people accused of being "ghosts and snake spirits" and driven from the cities to the countryside totaled more than 397,400 across the country. During the 40 days from the end of August to the end of September 1966, 85,198 people were sent back to their hometowns in Beijing alone, 1,772 people were killed, and 33,695 households were ransacked. In many places, part of the property illegally seized was exhibited internally or publicly as the "results of the Red Guards", and many properties were looted by the "rebels" as private property. A large number of veteran cadres who fought in the long-term revolutionary struggle, fought in the north and south, and made great contributions to the cause of China's revolution, were tortured, imprisoned, and tortured. Many were injured, maimed, and even passed away with grievances. In just one prison located in the suburbs of Beijing, during the four years from 1967 to 1971, more than 500 senior leading cadres were imprisoned. 34 people were tortured to death, more than 20 people were disabled, and more than 60 people suffered from mental illness. These are only sporadic statistics, but it can also be seen that the problem is serious. These bloody and tragic facts all happened in the name of "consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat" and "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat".

Marxism holds that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most thorough and extensive democracy in history for the broad masses of the people. However, during the "Cultural Revolution", Lin Biao created the "aphorism" that "political power is the power of suppression" and widely implemented it. Under the "power of repression", the broad masses of the people are stripped of all democratic freedoms, and they openly claim that this is the total dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. The facts are clear, this is a gross distortion and the most brutal abuse of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(3) The national economy has been greatly damaged

The programmatic document "Sixteen Points" of the "Cultural Revolution" stated: "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful driving force for the development of our country's productive forces." It has reached the brink of collapse. If calculated based on the increase in benefits of a normal annual investment of 100 yuan, the loss of national income will reach 500 billion yuan in 10 years. Let's give an example of what this figure contains. From the founding of the People's Republic of China to 1979, the original value of fixed assets of all state-owned enterprises (including industry, agriculture, construction, transportation, post and telecommunications, commerce, and urban public utilities) built during the 30 years was 489.25 billion yuan. It is the entire family property of our country's state-owned enterprises. The loss of national income during the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution" is equivalent to the loss of the same wealth accumulated by hundreds of millions of people across the country after 30 years of hard work.

The Jiangqing Group is the culprit in disrupting production. Under the guise of "revolution", they created all kinds of fallacies that disrupted production. They slandered the basic principle of historical materialism that productive forces determine the relations of production and ultimately determine the nature of society, which is the so-called "revisionist theory of productive forces", and wantonly criticized it, causing great ideological confusion. They talk nonsense that "when the revolution is done well, production will naturally go up", and openly encourage workers to "not be afraid of stopping production, not afraid of stopping work." Zhou Enlai re-proposed the task of building four modernized powers at the Fourth National People's Congress. They attacked it as "capitalization" and "satellites go up to the sky and red flags fall to the ground." When Deng Xiaoping presided over the daily work of the central government, he rectified all aspects of work, making the national economic situation better day by day, but they encouraged workers to "not produce for the wrong route" and "not make wedding clothes for the bourgeoisie to power"; The rectification changed the phenomenon of traffic jams, but they clamored that "it is better to be delayed by socialism than to be on time by revisionism." They

slandered the socialist principle of distribution according to work as "the economic basis for the production of bourgeois elements", caring about the lives of the masses is "material stimulation", exporting oil is "traitorism", introducing technology and equipment is "worship of foreign countries" and strengthening enterprise management. It is to engage in "management, blocking, and pressure", and to engage in economic accounting is "profit in command". In short, they viciously slandered and destroyed all kinds of policies and measures that were beneficial to strengthening my country's socialist economic construction and developing productive forces. However, the absurd slogans they advocated were clearly sabotaging production, but they prevailed during the "Cultural Revolution" and created enormous pressure on workers in production and economic sectors. The vast number of honest cadres and workers can only watch the loss and destruction of production, construction and state property with tearful eyes. Even if we try our best to remedy the situation in the face of difficulties, it is impossible to reverse the distressing situation.

Due to the huge destruction of production and construction, coupled with the interruption of family planning work, the population increased dramatically. During the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution", people's living standards not only did not improve, but declined. In terms of food, the per capita consumption of grain was 381 jin in 1966 and 383 jin in 1976, 28 jin and 26 jin lower than the peak of 409 jin in 1956; 3.2 catties, 1.6 catties and 1.9 catties lower than the highest 5.1 catties in 1956. In terms of clothing, the average consumption of cotton cloth per person was 20 feet in 1966 and 23.7 feet in 1976, 9.2 feet and 5.5 feet lower than the peak of 29.2 feet in 1959. From the perspective of housing, during the first five-year plan period, housing construction investment accounted for 9.1% of non-productive investment, while it accounted for only 4% during the third five-year plan period in the first five years of the "Cultural Revolution". During the Fourth Five-Year Plan period in 2009, it only accounted for 5.7%; the population increased a lot, but the investment in housing construction dropped sharply, resulting in a serious situation of overcrowded housing for urban residents. During

the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution", the wages of employees in all sectors owned by the whole people were adjusted only once in 1971, and due to the increase in the number of workers, the average wages of employees decreased by 4.9% from 1966 to 1976. These are all bitter wines brewed by the "Cultural Revolution", and the people can only swallow them with resentment and resentment amidst the empty clamor of "the situation is excellent" and "a scene of singing and dancing".

The social turmoil caused by the "Cultural Revolution" and the "Left" errors in economic construction caused huge losses to the national economy. At the same time, under the dominance of the "Left" ideology, they overestimated the international situation and the danger of war outbreaks, one-sidedly emphasized that economic construction should serve war preparations, and proposed that construction projects should "back up mountains, disperse, enter caves" and "border The erroneous policy of "survey, design, and construction" has caused huge waste and loss of manpower, material and financial resources.

The "Cultural Revolution" caused a serious imbalance in the main proportion of the national economy. Heavy industry rose from 32.7% in 1966 to 38.9% in 1976; while agriculture dropped from 35.9% to 30.4% in the same period; light industry dropped from 31.4% to 30.7% in the same period . Within agriculture, due to the overemphasis on food as the key link, cash crops and forestry, animal husbandry, sideline and fishery industries have been squeezed out. Although grain production has increased, the overall agricultural income has decreased and the ecological balance has been destroyed. The proportional relationship between industrial and agricultural production and transportation is also not suitable. The total industrial output increased by 1.25 times in the past 10 years, while the railway freight turnover only increased by 28.2%, resulting in a backlog of goods and poor circulation. The economic management system has become more chaotic, the economic benefits have declined in an all-round way, the input has been increasing, and the output has been decreasing day by day.

Calculated by the increase in national income per hundred yuan of accumulation, it was 35 yuan during the "First Five-Year Plan" period, 26 yuan during the "Third Five-Year Plan" period, and dropped to 16 yuan during the "Fourth Five-Year Plan" period. The profit and tax realized for every 100 yuan of capital in industry was 34.5 yuan in 1966, and dropped to 19.3 yuan in 1976. On the whole, the entire national economy is on the verge of collapse. From this point of view alone, it is not an exaggeration for people to call the ten years of the "Cultural Revolution" a decade of catastrophe.

(4) Scientific and cultural undertakings were severely damaged

The 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution" was the darkest period in the history of science and culture in New China. During the 10 years of great turmoil, the business of intellectuals and professional cadres was abandoned. The long-term interruption of teaching in institutions of higher learning and secondary professional schools has caused my country to miss the training of more than 1 million college graduates, 2 million technical secondary school graduates, and several million young talents. In the composition of our country's scientific and technological team, there has been a gap of more than 10 years. The learning of the growing young generation has been delayed, the old illiteracy has not been eradicated, and a large number of new illiteracy have emerged. According to the 1982 census, there were as many as 230 million illiterate and semi-literate people in mainland China, a large part of which was increased due to the "Cultural Revolution". Many scientific research units stopped working, and some were even disbanded. In addition, the theoretical research of basic science was labeled as "three separations" (that is, separation from politics, production, and reality), and was discriminated against and attacked. This has seriously damaged the foundation and team of the entire scientific research enterprise. Although some outstanding achievements have been made in some aspects of scientific research in the past 10 years, as far as the overall level is concerned, the gap with the world's technological

level has widened, and it has become a serious laggard in the rapidly developing world technological trend.

A large number of experts and professors with achievements and contributions were wrongly labeled as "reactionary academic authorities", "secret agents", "counter-revolutionary revisionists" and so on, and were persecuted, and many of them were persecuted to death. According to the "Indictment of the Special Procuratorate of the Supreme People's Procuratorate of the People's Republic of China", in the education field, there are more than 142,000 cadres and teachers who have been framed and persecuted in units affiliated to the Ministry of Education and 17 provinces and cities. Famous professors Xiong Qinglai, Jian Bozan, He Sijing, Wang Shourong, Gu Yuzhen, Li Guangtian, Rao Yutai, Liu Pansui, and Matt were persecuted to death. In the field of science and technology, more than 53,000 scientific and technical personnel have been framed and persecuted in units directly under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, two research institutes of the Seventh Ministry of Machinery Industry, and 17 provinces and cities. Famous geophysicist Zhao Jiuzhang, metallurgist Ye Zhupei, theoretical physicist Zhang Zongsui, entomologist Liu Chongle, plant taxonomist Chen Huanyong, metallurgist ceramicist Zhou Ren, etc. were persecuted to death. In the health field, among the 674 professors and associate professors in 14 higher medical schools directly under the Ministry of Health, more than 500 people were framed and persecuted. Famous pathologist Hu Zhengxiang, pharmacologist Zhang Changshao, thoracic surgeon Ji Suhua, acupuncture expert Lu Shouyan, famous Chinese medicine practitioners Ye Xichun and Li Zhongren were persecuted to death. In the sports world, a large number of cadres and coaches have been framed and persecuted. Rong Guotuan, the first table tennis world champion in New China, outstanding coaches and athletes Fu Qifang and Jiang Yongning were brutally persecuted and passed away unjustly.

The "Cultural Revolution" originated from the so-called "Literary and Art Revolution", and the literary and artistic circles were

regarded by Jiang Qing as his own taboo. Therefore, the literary and art circles naturally became the "hardest hit area". In April 1966, the "Summary of the Symposium on Literature and Art Work in the Army Entrusted by Comrade Lin Biao and Comrade Jiang Qing" issued, defined literature and art as "our political and political affairs have been dominated by an anti-Party, anti-socialist black line that is opposed to Chairman Mao's ideology." ". Based on such charges, more than 60 domestically produced films were declared "big poisonous weeds" at the Army's Creation Conference held in the same month. At the end of the year, Yao Wenyuan openly announced that the opera films made after the founding of the People's Republic of China "are all poisonous weeds, all alluding to the new society." Almost all poetry, novels, dramas, fine arts and other literary and artistic works created after the founding of the People's Republic of China, as well as translated Western works, are all said to be "sealed, capitalized, and repaired black goods." Bookstores are not allowed to sell these books, library collections are not allowed to be borrowed, and personal collections are often copied as "four olds". Through various feudal and fascist methods such as criticizing books, banning books, and burning books, they willfully destroy culture.

There are many excuses for their criminalization of literary and artistic works. Works with historical themes are "borrowing the past to satirize the present" and "emperors and generals erect monuments and biographies"; foreign translations and introductions are "worshiping foreign countries", "peddling capitalism and revisionist goods"; Political tendency"; the works depicting flowers, birds and landscapes are "promoting the leisure and leisure of feudal literati"; So many ropes, sticks, and clear rules and regulations have plunged the entire literary and art world into a sad situation where all horses are silent and flowers are withering.

People in the literary and art circles suffered deeply. "Only the Ministry of Culture and its directly affiliated units have been framed and persecuted more than 2,600 people. Famous writers, artists Lao She, Zhao Shuli, Zhou Xinfang, Gai Jiaotian, Pan Tianshou, Ying

Yunwei, Zheng Junli, Sun Weishi and others were persecuted to death."

Under the call of "Break the Seal, Funding, Repairing" and "Kicking the Emperors and Generals Out of the Stage", cultural nihilism was greatly encouraged and developed, leading to an unprecedented dissatisfaction with national traditional culture, historical places of interest and various cultural heritages. destroy. Some Red Guards in Beijing rushed to Qufu, Shandong under the bewitching of Jiang Qing and his gang, and smashed the Confucian Temple, Confucian Mansion and Confucian Forest, which is a prominent example. Cultural relics across the country have been severely damaged, and the irreparable losses are countless.

Literally, the name "Cultural Revolution" seems to promote the development of Chinese culture, education, science and technology. But what this "revolution" brought about was great cultural damage, causing serious internal injuries to our country and people, and the negative impact of this internal injury is extremely far-reaching.

(5) Social thoughts and customs have been seriously poisoned

The "Cultural Revolution" was once advertised as an "ideological revolution," "a revolution that touched people's souls," and it would bring about "the great popularization of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought." History has proven that the "Cultural Revolution" popularized, on the one hand, "Left" ideology, and on the other hand, formalism.

During the "Cultural Revolution", a set of "theories of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" was truly taught every year, every month, every day, and poured into people's hearts. As a result, when many veteran cadres and intellectuals were persecuted innocently, they sincerely reviewed that they "couldn't keep up with the situation", "couldn't keep up with Chairman Mao's great strategic deployment", "the bourgeois world outlook has not been reformed", "made a Capitalist roaders made mistakes", etc.

They took all kinds of crude and unreasonable criticisms, and kept up with the trend of the "Cultural Revolution", and often ended up "adding mistakes to mistakes", which is really hard to be a human being. It was not until after the September 13th incident that most of them woke up and gradually consciously adopted an attitude of criticism and resistance to the "Cultural Revolution".

Young people are active in thinking, but lack knowledge, practice, and theory, so they are most likely to be indoctrinated by "Left" ideology. They cannot tell what is socialism and what is capitalism; what is the dictatorship of the proletariat and what is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; what is Marxism-Leninism and what is revisionism. However, they ask themselves to be the most revolutionary. As a result, driven by blind enthusiasm and with the spirit of sacrifice of "going through fire and water, not saying anything" and "defending with blood and life...", many stupid and bad things were done. Driven by "standing at the forefront of class struggle", many young people believe that "violent actions" and fighting "all monsters and monsters" are the most steadfast revolutionary spirit. Many young people gave their precious lives in the struggle of "one class overthrows another class" and under the spur of "the revolution cannot be so gentle, courteous and frugal". Some people with "horns on their heads and thorns on their bodies" are set up as role models for young people to learn from. Under the agitation of the "Left" trend of thought, all kinds of unhealthy tendencies such as anarchism, liberalism, extreme individualism, playing tricks, and forming cliques are rampant.

The fine traditions of the Communist Party of China have been completely destroyed. People saw those founding fathers, old revolutionaries who were born and died, accused one by one of being "careerists", "conspirators", "old counter-revolutionaries", "traitors", "big warlords", "unrepentant capitalist roaders" ". The only few who were named "assistants" and "students" of the great leader who "learned best, followed closely, and used most vividly", and wore the dazzling crown of "members of the Proletarian Command" , and soon became ugly, or fell to the ground, or was despised,

reprimanded and spurned by the people. With the ups and downs of the "Cultural Revolution" until bankruptcy, each of these people was nailed to the pillar of shame in history, and their infamy will last forever. And in this way, the "glorious, great, and correct" Chinese Communist Party was "exposed" for a while to the point that "there are no good people in Hongdong County." Faced with such a scene, the party's prestige and credibility among the masses has been greatly reduced. In particular, many young people who lack social experience have heard and witnessed such dazzling scenes. Compared with the education they received in books and classrooms, in the Young Pioneers and the Communist Youth League, the fine traditions of the Chinese Communist Party have become incompatible in their minds. No hypocritical preaching. The "Cultural Revolution" also seriously damaged the prestige of the Communist Party of China and socialist China among the people of the world, and discredited the international communist movement, which is also recognized by all.

Formalism manifested in various aspects is that people's thinking is rigid, their thinking is empty, they dare not face up to it, or they cannot calmly understand reality. These are the universal ideological features of the "Cultural Revolution". The "three allegiances" and "four infinities" to Mao Zedong became the yardstick to measure the depth of a person's revolution. At that time, dancing the "Loyalty Dance", singing the "Loyalty Song", and doing "Quotation Exercises" were the concrete manifestations of infinite loyalty. The so-called "blood flows to the character of loyalty, and strength to the character of loyalty" is an oath of infinite loyalty. Hanging a badge on his chest, offering a statue at home, holding a red treasure book in his hand, and saying Long live, is a model of infinite loyalty. It's okay not to eat or sleep, but it's a big crime not to participate in the "early request" and "late report". The learning effect depends on how many "quotations" you have memorized, how many "experiences" you have written, and how many times you have said "explanations". This "revolutionary new fashion" is really a refurbishment, full of wonders. The actual effect of these formalistic

practices is that they greatly undermine the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and leave deep wounds in people's hearts.

During the "Cultural Revolution", the number of Mao Zedong's works, images, and badges printed was also regarded as the standard and means of popularizing Mao Zedong Thought. According to statistics, in 1967 alone, more than 91 million copies of "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" were published, which was eight times the total of more than 11 million copies published in the 15 years before the "Cultural Revolution"; 369 million copies of "Quotations from Chairman Mao" were printed. Together with the 259 million previously published volumes, there are a total of 628 million volumes; "Portrait of Chairman Mao" has printed 1.214 billion copies. By March 1969, 2.2 billion Mao Zedong badges had been produced. At that time, there were 700 million people in the country, with an average of more than 3 coins per person. This consumes a lot of manpower, material resources, and financial resources, and encourages formalism.

In short, the "Cultural Revolution" was not a political revolution, nor a cultural revolution, nor an ideological revolution. In a word, it is not a revolution in any sense. It did not and never will bring any social progress, only chaos, destruction and disaster.

As a special political movement, the "Cultural Revolution" was a long-term "Left" serious error committed by the Chinese Communist Party, and its disastrous consequences must be fully recognized and scientifically and accurately evaluated. This is an important question that no one who studies this period of history can avoid. However, social and historical development is a complex process. While spending a lot of time and energy engaging in wrong class struggles, the normal life of society has not been interrupted, neither has it stopped all production for a day, let alone stop consumption for a day. If there is input, there will be output, and if there is hard work and contribution, there will be corresponding results. These are also things that must be seen. Especially since the majority of cadres and the masses have been educated and influenced by the Communist

Party of China for many years, they have a strong sense of responsibility for the cause of socialism and the rise and fall of the country. Most party members act with party spirit, and most people act with conscience. They stuck to their posts, persisted in production and work, and resisted and fought against the ultra-left mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" in various forms, thereby limiting its destructive effects to a certain extent. The efforts and struggles of hundreds of millions of people have enabled the economic construction of mainland China to achieve certain results during this special period. During the 10 years from 1966 to 1976, the total output value of industry and agriculture increased by an average of 7.1% per year based on comparable prices. Although it was much lower than the average annual growth rate of 10% from 1952 to 1966, and there was a hidden crisis, there was at last growth.

The areas in which the national economy has made progress are mainly:

1. Grain production maintained a relatively stable growth. In the past 10 years, agricultural production conditions have improved somewhat. In 1976, the output of tractors and walking tractors reached 73,700 units and 240,000 units, equivalent to 6.7 times and 66 times that of 1965, respectively. In 1976, the ownership of power machinery for irrigation and drainage in rural areas increased by 4.9 times compared with that in 1965. In 1976, the output of agricultural chemical fertilizers reached 5.244 million tons, twice as much as in 1965. Due to the improvement of production conditions and the large input of labor force, the average growth rate of agriculture reached 3.9% in 10 years. Grain output reached 572.6 billion catties in 1976, an increase of 183.6 billion catties over 1965.

2. A number of large-scale industrial enterprises with relatively advanced technology have been established. The petroleum industry developed rapidly. The Daqing Oilfield in the west of Heilongjiang Province has become a large-scale enterprise with an annual output of 50 million tons of crude oil. Shandong Shengli Oilfield and Tianjin Dagang Oilfield have also begun to take shape. Crude oil production

in 1976 totaled more than 87 million tons, equivalent to 6.7 times that in 1965. With the increase of crude oil production, the petrochemical industry has also been developed. In the metallurgical industry, important enterprises such as Sichuan Panzhihua Iron and Steel Plant, Gansu Jiuquan Iron and Steel Plant, Chengdu Seamless Steel Tube Plant, and Guizhou Aluminum Plant were established. In the machinery industry, a large number of enterprises have been established, such as the Hubei No. 2 Automobile Manufacturing Plant and the Sichuan Deyang No. 2 Heavy Machinery Plant. The coal industry has built large coal mines such as Liupanshui in Guizhou, Baodingshan and Furongshan in Sichuan, and Yanzhou in Shandong. The electric power industry has also developed considerably.

3. Build some inland railway lines and the Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge. The project was arduous, and the 1,085-kilometer Chengdu-Kunming railway was put into operation in 1971. The main section of the 820-kilometer Hunan-Guizhou Railway has been completed. From Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, through Jiaozuo, Henan Province, and Zhicheng, Hubei Province, to Liuzhou, Guangxi, the north-south railway was also divided into Jiaozhi Line, Taijiao Line, and Zhiliu Line, which were officially completed in 1979. The Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge was completed in 1968. It is a world-advanced railway and highway bridge.

4. A number of important achievements have been made in science and technology. It has achieved fruitful results in the breeding and promotion of indica hybrid rice, nuclear technology (including the successful explosion of hydrogen bombs), artificial satellites, launch vehicles and other cutting-edge science and technology research and manufacturing.

The above-mentioned achievements in construction are the result of the hard work of the broad masses of workers, farmers and intellectuals in our country. It is by no means the result of the "Cultural Revolution". It can only show that without the 10-year catastrophe, my country's economic construction would have been

much faster and its construction achievements would have been much greater.

2. The "Cultural Revolution" must be completely negated

Since the "Cultural Revolution" was wrong from theory to practice, and it was a catastrophe for the Chinese people, it should be completely negated as a matter of course, so as to ensure that this man-made, long-term, and huge disaster will never happen again in China, and also make the revolutionary people of the world have gained useful reference. Regarding the complete negation of the "Cultural Revolution", some issues need to be further explained and clarified.

(1) Completely negate the exact meaning of the "Cultural Revolution"

Complete negation of the "Cultural Revolution" has a specific meaning. It refers to the complete negation of the set of theories, policies, methods, organizations and activities with the "Cultural Revolution" as the general theme, rather than the negation of everything that happened in those ten years. The reason is very clear. During those 10 years, the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese government and people have done many other things besides the "Cultural Revolution", including production activities and other activities that must be carried out in order to survive and develop in any period. Although other works were also heavily affected by the "Cultural Revolution", they themselves did not have specific content of the "Cultural Revolution", nor were they an integral part of the "Cultural Revolution" itself. During those 10 years, there were destruction and construction, mistakes, and resistance and correction of mistakes. There were a lot of bad people and bad things, and there were also good people and good things. That is to say, although the 10 years from 1966 to 1976 are called the "Cultural Revolution" period, it is only because the "Cultural Revolution" is unique to these 10 years, and is used to distinguish it from other

historical periods, and it is by no means that, In the past 10 years, apart from the "Cultural Revolution", nothing else has been done. On the contrary, industrial and agricultural production, basic construction, education and scientific research, culture and health care, social consumption, etc. in other periods after the founding of the People's Republic of China are still available in these 10 years. It's just branded with the "Cultural Revolution". Therefore, a distinction must be made between the "Cultural Revolution" itself and the history of these ten years. The "Cultural Revolution" itself must be completely negated, but the history of these 10 years and the objective historical process with complex content cannot be simply and comprehensively negated.

However, all theories and practices of the "Cultural Revolution" must be completely negated, and its legacy must be unremittingly eliminated. The most important thing here is to get rid of the "Left" thinking that is not suitable for socialist society, such as "taking class struggle as the key link" and "observing everything, analyzing everything, and judging everything from a class point of view" that were popularized during the "Cultural Revolution" legacy. The "Cultural Revolution" was the product of the long-term vicious development of the "Left" trend of thought, and it made the "Left" mistakes reach their peak. "Left" mistakes were not only systematized and theoreticalized, forming a relatively complete set of policies and methods, but also became dominant and overall mistakes, affecting all corners of the country and all fronts, and lasted for 10 years. as long as. This situation is unprecedented in the history of the Communist Party of China, and the influence and poison of "Left" is deep, widespread, and serious, and it is also unprecedented. Therefore, it takes long-term and concerted efforts to effectively eliminate the legacy of "Left" thought. Of course, it is undoubtedly necessary to prevent and oppose all kinds of right thoughts arising from the wavering of faith caused by the "Cultural Revolution". However, this should never shake the determination and attention to eliminate the legacy and influence of the "left". Whether the ideological understanding is correct or not determines whether people's behavior is correct or not. Without a clear

understanding of the "Cultural Revolution", future troubles cannot be eradicated, and long-term and stable social progress cannot be guaranteed. This is the biggest issue affecting the future and destiny of the more than one billion Chinese people.

(2) The "Cultural Revolution" had no positive significance in opposing bureaucracy

Regarding the complete negation of the "Cultural Revolution", there are still some vague understandings and erroneous views. For example, some people see that there are still many and serious bureaucratic phenomena in current social life, so they think of the "Cultural Revolution". It is said that only another "cultural revolution" can completely sweep away bureaucracy. This is a manifestation of the unclear understanding of the "Cultural Revolution".

The "Cultural Revolution" was by no means a movement against bureaucracy, and it did not produce any positive effects against bureaucracy. The two programmatic documents of the "Cultural Revolution", neither the "May 16 Notice" nor the "Sixteen Articles", did not stipulate the task of fighting bureaucracy. Other documents guiding the movement issued during the "Cultural Revolution" also never regarded anti-bureaucracy as the goal or important task of the "Cultural Revolution". The entire "Cultural Revolution" from document regulations to actual actions, the task to be solved is to rectify "those in power taking the capitalist road", criticize "reactionary academic authorities", "bombard the bourgeois headquarters", "take away capitalist the power of the road establishment", and so on. Although at the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution", Liu Shaoqi envisioned a movement to solve the problem of bureaucracy that was divorced from the masses, but this was neither the guiding ideology of the "Cultural Revolution", nor was it able to be put into practice at all. However, Liu Shaoqi, who imagined to fight against bureaucracy, became the primary target of the "Cultural Revolution" to overthrow. Among the large number of party and government leading cadres who were overthrown during the "Cultural Revolution", none of the major crimes were

bureaucratic mistakes. In fact, if viewed from the perspective of anti-bureaucratism, the launch of the "Cultural Revolution" itself showed the greatest bureaucracy of arrogance, abuse of power, divorce from reality, divorce from the wishes of the masses, and indifference to the suffering of the masses.

Using the mass movement of the "Cultural Revolution" and the methods of "Great Democracy" cannot counteract bureaucracy. Because bureaucracy is a complex social dirt left over from a long history, a product of economic and cultural underdevelopment, and a manifestation of imperfect political and economic systems such as lack of democracy and the legal system, high centralization, unclear administrative responsibilities, and tenure of cadres for life. A drawback. Clearly, to eliminate the social phenomenon of bureaucracy, what is needed is to improve the economic and cultural level, establish a sound democracy and the legal system, and reform the political and economic system, and this is a task that will take several generations and great efforts to complete. Lenin spoke very profoundly. He said: "The fight against bureaucracy will take decades. It is the hardest fight. Whoever tells you that we can get rid of bureaucracy in no time at all, is a liar who likes to talk beautifully." If someone instigates the use of methods such as the "Cultural Revolution" to fight against bureaucracy, it is likely to be "a liar who likes to talk beautifully." Because using "mass movement" and "great democracy" methods to attack bureaucracy can only cause social unrest, undermine national construction, and create a large number of unjust, false and wrong cases. It can be seen that the "Cultural Revolution" was exactly the opposite of anti-bureaucratism, and it did not and will not produce positive effects of anti-bureaucracy. Of course, the reasons why people participated in the "Cultural Revolution" were complex and varied. Being dissatisfied with the bureaucrats and wanting to use the movement to deal with him is also one of them. However, it cannot be said that the "Cultural Revolution" was anti-bureaucratic.

(3) "Capitalist roaders" is a non-scientific concept that confuses the enemy and ourselves

There is also a saying that the "Cultural Revolution" is to punish the "capitalist roaders", which includes the content of anti-bureaucratism. It is a great misunderstanding to confuse the whole "capitalist roaders" with anti-bureaucracy. The focus of the "Cultural Revolution" was indeed to "rectify those in power within the party who are taking the capitalist road." However, no matter during or before the "Cultural Revolution", Mao Zedong did not give a clear explanation of the concept of "capitalist roaders", and the documents of the party and the government did not propose specific criteria for judging what a "capitalist roader" is. Therefore, during the "Cultural Revolution", the vast majority of leading cadres at all levels of the party and the state, as well as enterprises and institutions, were labeled as "capitalist roaders" or "made the mistake of capitalist roaders." Moreover, the hardest hit are those cadres who dare to grasp work, are able to make up their minds, and insist on clear rewards and punishments; At that time, there was such an angry saying: "Doing more work is a big crime, doing less work is a small crime, and not doing work is not a crime." Is this anti-bureaucracy? No! This encourages and fuels bureaucracy.

From the perspective of the main target of the "Cultural Revolution", the "capitalist-roader" is a subjective and fictional revolutionary target, but in terms of its connotation, it is a very arbitrary and non-scientific concept, and no one has been able to explain it concretely. speak clearly. However, from some of Mao Zedong's remarks, we can still see certain characteristics of the "capitalist-roaders" he subjectively identified. For example, in April 1969, Mao Zedong said at a meeting: "In fact, the power is still in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Of course, there is the Communist Party, but the capitalist roaders, who engage in material stimulation, are in command of profits and bonuses. , deductions, fines, and the management of the working class. I think the ownership system has not been resolved, at least most of it, not all of it." Here, Mao Zedong believes that "material incentives", "profits in command", "bonuses in command", " Those who control, block, deduct, fine, etc. are "capitalist roaders." In the "Important Instructions of Chairman Mao" published in 1976, it was also stated: "Some party members do not

want to advance, and some people retreat and oppose the revolution. Why? They have become high-ranking officials, and they must protect the interests of high-ranking officials. They have A good house, a car, a high salary, and waiters are more powerful than capitalists." These words are also a description of the "capitalist roaders", and based on this, the conclusion that "the bourgeoisie is in the Communist Party" is made. Such analysis and judgment are both theoretically and practically untenable.

Taking the road of socialism or the road of capitalism are two fundamentally opposed political and social development directions, representing completely different class interests. Therefore, "capitalist-roaders" is a political concept with a strong class nature. According to the basic principles of Marxism, the existence and characteristics of classes should be explained from the economic relations, especially from the relations of possession of means of production, and the criteria for distinguishing and classifying classes should be put forward. Mao Zedong also indeed raised the issue of "unresolved ownership". So what kind of ownership system exists in our country? It's a pity he couldn't answer. Because the leading cadres of the party, government and enterprises in our country manage public-owned industries on behalf of the people's country, if they are bourgeois (or the "bureaucrat class" as Mao Zedong once proposed but no longer used), then It will also completely negate the socialist nature of our country. Such logical inferences were unacceptable to Mao Zedong. This is probably the fundamental reason why a scientific definition of "capitalist-roaders" cannot be given.

Other characteristics of "taking the capitalist road" proposed by Mao Zedong in his speech, such as "bonuses in command", are actually to protect the material interests of laborers, and to pay bonuses according to the results of labor. This is the embodiment of the socialist principle of distribution according to work. It has nothing to do with taking the capitalist road. The so-called "profit in command" actually refers to requiring enterprises to realize profits, which is an objective need of socialist production and construction.

Let me ask, if socialist enterprises are not profitable, how can they maintain the livelihood of employees, how can they accumulate funds to expand reproduction, and how can they realize socialist modernization? Establishing certain labor management systems is an objective requirement for organizing production and is indispensable for any modern enterprise. How can it be said to implement "management, detention, deduction, and punishment" on workers. Socialist modern enterprises require strict systems and disciplines.

As to what kind of management system or measures socialist enterprises adopt is more in line with national conditions and reality, this is a big topic that needs to be gradually explored in practice and gradually perfected in reform. Starting from the "Left" concept, leaders who advocate that socialist enterprises should realize profits, that workers should be rewarded and punished clearly, and that they adopt certain management systems or measures in enterprises are called "capitalist roaders" and classified as bourgeois. It is completely wrong to "whole" within the scope.

Using living conditions to explain the existence and characteristics of "capitalist roaders" is even more arbitrary without any scientific basis. Today's China is still poor and backward. There are still a few people who have cars and live in good houses. If the economy develops in the future and most families, including many workers and farmers, have cars and good houses, even better than our current "good houses", then what should we say? Shouldn't socialism take cars and live in good houses? From this unscientific argument, we can see the shadow of the absurd theory that the poor are revolutionary, the rich will change, and poverty is a characteristic of socialism. During the "Cultural Revolution", the "capitalist roaders" were agitated, causing a large blow, hurting many good people, and indulging many bad people. However, no form of bureaucracy has been reversed. This is an objective fact that has been proven by history.

(4) The "Cultural Revolution" was not a real revolutionary mass movement

The "Cultural Revolution" was once praised as "the great revolutionary mass movement". Will the complete negation of the "Cultural Revolution" negate the masses and the mass movement? This involves a way of thinking. Everyone knows that when observing a problem, one should not only look at the phenomenon, but the essence. On the surface, the "Cultural Revolution" did involve hundreds of millions of people, and it was very large-scale and vigorous. However, as long as we analyze it from the outside to the inside, we can see that the "Cultural Revolution" was not a real revolutionary mass movement at all.

Marxism believes that real mass movements are "not the result of the activities of a few people, but the spontaneous and irresistible expression of the people's demands and needs." When the "Cultural Revolution" occurred, what were the general demands and needs of the Chinese people? By 1966, after several years of adjustments, the serious difficulties of the national economy had been basically overcome, industrial and agricultural production had seen an all-round increase, and people's lives had also been improved to a certain extent. However, the economy of the whole country is still very backward, and the problem of food and clothing for a considerable part of the people has not been solved, and there is generally no comparatively affluent life. The urgent need of the broad masses is to develop the economy and improve material and cultural life. At the first meeting of the Third National People's Congress held from the end of 1964 to the beginning of 1965, Zhou Enlai announced in the government work report: the task of adjusting the national economy has been completed, and my country's national economy will enter a new period of development. And it clearly stated that in a not too long historical period in the future, my country should be built into a socialist powerhouse with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology. This was a concentrated expression of the wishes of the people of all ethnic groups in the country at that time.

Developing social productive forces and realizing the four modernizations is a program that correctly reflects the law of development of a socialist society, and it is also where the fundamental interests of the Chinese people lie, and it is the general demand and urgent need of the people. Instead of leading the masses to go all out to carry out socialist modernization, mobilizing the masses to seize power from the so-called "capitalist roaders" and carry out the "Great Political Revolution" in which "one class overthrows one class" is obviously incompatible with China's objective historical process and The demands and needs of the general public run counter to each other. Therefore, at the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution", the cadres and the masses generally felt that it was sudden and did not understand that the "conservatives" had become the majority, and it was not without objective reasons. A movement that goes against the demands and needs of the masses cannot be called a revolutionary mass movement at all. People call the "mass movement" of the "Cultural Revolution" the "moving masses", which is realistic and meaningful.

That being the case, why did so many people join the "Cultural Revolution"? Considering the specific historical conditions at that time, the main reasons for the involvement of hundreds of millions of people in the "Cultural Revolution" are as follows:

1. Out of trust in the Chinese Communist Party and Mao Zedong. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong, the Chinese people won victories in the democratic and socialist revolutions, and made great achievements in socialist construction. The broad masses firmly believe that the leadership of the party and Mao Zedong is wise and correct. They participated in the "Cultural Revolution" not out of their own personal feelings and judgments, but in response to the leadership's call. Especially at that time when the cult of personality was prevalent, slogans such as "Chairman Mao instructed me to follow, Chairman Mao waved me forward" carried out long-lasting and extensive publicity. The trust of the masses in the leader cannot be completely based on a correct

and clear understanding, and it has become the norm of social life at that time to respond to everything.

2. From the "Left" ideology that grew up in the party in the late 1950s, through one political movement after another, to the eve of the "Cultural Revolution", it has already had a wide range of influence among cadres and the masses. That set of "Left" preaching has become a creed and a frame that everyone dare not doubt, and dare not go beyond. This stifles independent thinking and encourages blind obedience and conformity. Many people, especially young people, under the ambiguous call to "anti-revision and prevent revision", blindly believed in the wrong judgment that "revisionism leads to imminent restoration of capitalism" Inspired by a strong sense of responsibility, he participated in the "Cultural Revolution".

3. Due to strong political and ideological pressure. At that time, he sharply raised the question of which side to stand in the two-line struggle, whether to be a revolutionary or a royalist, such an urgent choice. And it is emphasized that this is a matter of position, political direction, revolutionary cause, and even revolution and counter-revolution. Under heavy political pressure, people are forced to express their attitudes and make choices.

4. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and a group of careerists and conspirators took the opportunity to instigate and deliberately create turmoil, and incited some people who did not know the truth, especially young students and workers to "rebel against revisionism." The social trend that caused a rush, fear of falling behind, caused some people to be drawn into the vortex of the "Cultural Revolution" involuntarily.

Due to the combination of the above reasons, a huge and irresistible social trend has formed, impacting all parts of the country and all aspects of social life. As a result, the "Cultural Revolution" was launched rapidly, forming a typhoon-like frenzy and huge waves, making some people want to stay out of the movement, but it was impossible. Of course, there are also some so-called "Happy

Schools", but their thoughts are not easy and their lives are not peaceful.

The "Cultural Revolution" was not the demand and needs of the broad masses, and the masses suffered greatly during the movement, which hindered the development of Chinese society and history. Therefore, it is by no means a revolutionary mass movement. "History has proven that the 'Cultural Revolution' was a civil strife wrongly launched by leaders and exploited by counter-revolutionary groups, which brought serious disasters to the party, the country and the people of all ethnic groups."

(5) The "Four Big Four" are brutal damage to democracy and the legal system

The methods of the "Cultural Revolution" were "big talk," "big release," "big-character posters," and "big debates," which is the so-called "big democracy." This kind of "big democracy" was originally a request made by a small number of radicals during the party consolidation campaign in 1957. Later, he was caught by the leaders and used as a method of "leading the snake out of the hole" in the anti-rightist movement. Practice has proved that this "big democracy" is not a real way to develop socialist democracy. However, Mao Zedong affirmed the core "big-character posters" of the "Four Great Movements" at that time. In July 1957, he said in a speech at a meeting of cadres in Shanghai: "Big-character posters are good things, and I think they must be passed on." Later, in his article "Introducing a Cooperative", he said: "big-character posters are an extremely useful new weapon...should be used forever." During the "Cultural Revolution", big-character posters spread everywhere in mainland China . At that time, the number of big-character posters was even used as the standard for judging whether a person or a mass organization was "revolutionary". Some people were labeled as "famous rebels" just because they wrote a big-character poster that fit a certain need, and they rose to the top; of course, there were also people who wrote a big-character poster that offended someone. The "current counter-revolutionaries" were denounced, locked up in

the cowshed, imprisoned, and even persecuted to death. The effect of big-character posters can be described as great!

So, looking back today, objectively speaking, what role did the big-character posters play in the "Cultural Revolution"? Here, following Mao Zedong's method of criticizing "party stereotyped writing", it is also summarized as "eight major crimes": creating public opinion and expanding momentum; Siege; exposing private affairs and insulting personality; spreading rumors and encouraging mistakes; leaking secrets and harming the country. As for "speaking out", "opening up" and "debating", during the "Cultural Revolution", they have actually evolved into mass criticism, mass struggle, and corporal punishment. These are extremely brutal acts of undermining and trampling on democracy, but it is really ironic that they are called "big democracy".

Democracy, including political democracy, economic democracy, social democracy, etc., is a concept with a wide range of connotations and many different interpretations. As one dictionary puts it: "It is used arbitrarily by many individuals and groups with very different or even opposing political opinions." We use democracy here as a superstructure. From this perspective, democracy is class-based, and can only be distinguished from class attributes. Socialist democracy is higher than capitalist democracy. It cannot be distinguished by the way of use, such as the size of the scope and the number of people. Therefore, the so-called "big democracy" is actually a distortion of the Marxist theory of democracy. The "Cultural Revolution" became a catastrophe, and the practice of "great democracy" was also an important reason. Deng Xiaoping said in a speech at a cadre meeting in 1980: "To sum up the historical experience now, we have to admit that the practice of the 'four majors', taken as a whole, has never had a positive effect."

After the test of practice, the theory of the "Cultural Revolution" - "the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" is a completely wrong "Left" theory; Seizing power by factions" and "criticizing reactionary academic authorities" are wrong

policies to confuse the enemy and ourselves; the method of the "Cultural Revolution"—"Great Democracy" is a wrong method to create turmoil and harm the people. There is nothing worthy of affirmation in such a "great revolution" and must be completely negated.

Three lessons never to be forgotten

When Mao Zedong launched the "Cultural Revolution", he originally thought that through chaos in the world, he could achieve great order in the world. But things backfired, and the 10-year turmoil caused incalculable damage to the entire country. However, viewed from another perspective, the chaos caused by the "Cultural Revolution" fully exposed the weaknesses and flaws in our country's politics, economy, ideology, and culture, as well as the mistakes and drawbacks in our social life. The negative side left an unforgettable deep impression on people and prompted people to think deeply. People who have experienced this disaster have summed up their own lessons consciously or unconsciously from different levels and angles. Don't forget the "Cultural Revolution"! This is a powerful call that resonates widely. During the "Cultural Revolution", everyone has different experiences, different positions, and different perspectives, and the lessons learned from personal experience will also be different. But as long as you hold a scientific attitude, you can learn from it. Engels has a famous saying: "A great class, just like a great nation, no matter where it learns from, it is not as fast as learning from the consequences of its own mistakes." All the practices of the Communist Party of China since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, It is the best proof that you take your mistakes seriously and learn a lot quickly and scientifically from the consequences of your mistakes.

On the whole, we believe that the main lessons of the "Cultural Revolution" are as follows:

(1) A clear understanding of national conditions is the key to the success or failure of the cause of socialism

Combining Marxism with China's reality is the guiding ideology of the Communist Party of China. The requirements of this guiding

ideology have two aspects: one is to treat Marxism with a correct attitude, neither deviate from the fundamental principles of Marxism, nor treat certain principles as dogmas, because Marxism is constantly enriched and developed in practice. First, under the guidance of Marxism, we must correctly understand China's basic national conditions, and thus propose the party's line, principles, and policies in different periods. Fundamentally speaking, the victory of the Chinese democratic revolution is the result of a good combination of the two, the Mao Zedong Thought, the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communists, and the correct leadership of the Chinese people in the revolutionary struggle. The mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" are, fundamentally speaking, proof of the opposite. Because the "Cultural Revolution" not only misunderstood and dogmatized Marxism, deviated from the spiritual essence of Marxism, but also divorced from China's reality, leading to a wrong judgment on China's political situation and development requirements, thus causing a catastrophe .

After the victory of the Chinese democratic revolution, China entered the primary stage of socialism after only a few years of transition. Although the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production in our country has shortcomings such as too hasty requirements, too rough work, too fast changes, and too simple and uniform forms, it has finally completed the elimination of the bourgeoisie and entered the national economy under the condition of continuous development of the national economy. The historical mission of a socialist society. Moreover, the transition period is short, and although there will be some unfavorable factors and difficulties and problems, these difficulties in progress can be completely overcome under the guidance of correct policies. The Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China made correct judgments on the main contradictions and main tasks, and put forward many important ideas for adjusting the economic system, which are basically in line with the national conditions. If the basic ideas of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China are carried out, the

problems left over from the socialist transformation will not be unsolvable.

However, understanding China's national conditions is not an easy task. The road to truth is often tortuous and long. People's understanding of the essence of things also requires a process of repeated and positive and negative comparisons. The 20-plus years of hardships after the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China have fully proved that it is not easy to truly understand the national conditions. In October 1957, Mao Zedong made the contradiction between "two classes" and "two roads", which was still a misjudgment of the main domestic contradiction and was accepted by the whole party. The extreme theoretical roots of the "Cultural Revolution". The mistake in judging the principal contradiction reflects a major mistake in understanding China's national conditions.

Mao Zedong has always advocated seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality; he has always asked the whole party to do everything in line with China's national conditions. With a high degree of generalization ability and popular expressions, he pointed out that China's national conditions are "poor and white", which is used to point out the backwardness of China's economy and culture. Whether this generalization is scientific and accurate can naturally be studied. However, making this generalization itself is enough to prove that Mao Zedong did not pay attention to the study of national conditions. Regrettably, he did not make a comprehensive and dialectical analysis, and overemphasized the beneficial aspects of "one poor and one white" to the cause of socialism. It is believed that if the country is poor, the people's enthusiasm for revolution will be high; if the level of education is low, people will easily accept the principles of socialism and communism. The disadvantages of "one poor and one white" have been ignored. In fact, poverty shows that the development level of my country's productive forces is still very low, and the task of developing the national economy and realizing the four modernizations is particularly arduous, so we should not rush for success; the level of education is low, but people's minds

are not blank. Thousands of years of feudal tradition The influence of culture is still strong, and it is also very difficult to change the state of ignorance and backwardness, and it cannot be done quickly. In disregard of such national conditions, attempts are made to rely on class struggle as the driving force to change production relations out of thin air without the objective economic basis of production levels, eager to increase the degree of public ownership, and artificially narrow the differences between workers and peasants, urban and rural areas, physical labor and mental labor, in an attempt to With this method, we can accelerate the development of the socialist cause, and even hope to enter the communist society soon. In connection with this, in terms of ideological construction, all members of society are required to use the moral realm of a few advanced figures in various compulsory ways. This leads inevitably to a certain degree of utopianism.

The fundamental difference between scientific socialism and utopianism does not lie in the verbal admission of the fact that China's economy and culture are backward. Recognizing the backwardness of economy and culture is only a low-level understanding of national conditions. The key lies in whether to develop productivity in a down-to-earth and correct way that conforms to objective laws. And more importantly, how to scientifically and accurately grasp the objective development law of building socialism in such an economically and culturally backward country, and formulate correct lines, guidelines and policies on this basis.

New China was born out of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, passed through the stage of full capitalism development, and entered socialism after a short period of new democratic society. This important historical feature shows: First, China's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution was victorious under the leadership of the proletariat. This objective historical process determines that China can pass through the stage of fully developed capitalism, which is painful for the masses of workers and peasants, and enter a socialist society through a new democratic society.

Second, socialism should be based on highly socialized production and a fully developed commodity economy, but China did not have these conditions when it entered a socialist society. Therefore, China must go through a long period of time, even hundreds of years, in the primary stage of socialism before it can develop to a higher stage of socialism. Utopianism on the issue of revolutionary development is the belief that it is possible to surpass the primary stage of socialism, and to be able to develop on the basis of an economy with low levels of development of productive forces, socialization, and commercialization, or even basically remain on the basis of a natural economy. Build socialism and even enter communism.

A clear understanding of national conditions is the starting point for solving all revolutions and constructions in China. To correctly understand the national conditions, we must rely on the guidance of Marxism, and be good at constantly summing up practical experience, so as to enrich and develop Marxism in practice. The "Left" trend of thought that led to the "Cultural Revolution" also wanted to develop Marxism subjectively, but it not only departed from China's national conditions, but also violated the basic principles of Marxism. The result was disasters for the country and the people, and the Chinese Communist Party itself was seriously damaged , This lesson is very heavy and painful.

(2) To build socialism, economic construction must be the center, and class struggle must never be the key link

From the perspective of guiding principles, it can be said that the "Cultural Revolution" was the product of "class struggle as the key link". This is a major deviation from objective laws. It is now clear that the central task of the primary stage of socialism is the development of productive forces. The basic system of socialism in China is adapted to the development of productive forces. However, due to complex historical and social reasons, some specific systems of socialism and some links and aspects of implementing the fundamental system still have shortcomings. reform. Whether it is economic system reform or political system reform, it is all for the

purpose of developing productive forces, and must revolve around and serve the center of economic construction. Therefore, such a reform is the self-improvement and development of the socialist system, and it is by no means a "political revolution in which one class overthrows another class."

In the international communist movement, there was a fairly common trend in the late 1940s and mid-1950s when countries that had established a socialist system carried out reforms in their political, economic, and cultural systems. The Communist Party of China, represented by Mao Zedong, put forward the policy of "let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in articles such as "On the Ten Major Relationships" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People", which contain important and distinctive reform content. However, due to the impact of some domestic and international events, it deviated from the correct direction that had already had a good start. Since the Anti-Rightist Movement, "Left" thinking has developed rapidly. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which has been basically resolved, is emphasized as the main contradiction of society, and exaggerated and absolutized as the main contradiction throughout the entire historical stage of socialism. The construction of the socialist economy, which should have been the main task and central work of the party, was instead placed in a secondary and subordinate position. On the surface, or from the actual effect of a period, it seems to be a reaction against the trend of reform. However, from the overall perspective of Mao Zedong's ideological development and practical activities, it is not appropriate to make such a conclusion, nor is it sufficiently convincing.

Mao Zedong was a revolutionary with strong courage and enterprising spirit. He has never been satisfied with what he has achieved. "Continuous revolution" is his consistent guiding ideology, and "strive for greater victories" is his favorite slogan. Especially after the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, more and more flaws in the traditional socialist model were exposed. It was Mao Zedong who first raised the call for

emancipating the mind, breaking superstition, and breaking rules and regulations. Mao Zedong was by no means a conservative politician. However, in his philosophical thoughts, he overemphasized the reaction of the spirit, the reaction of the superstructure, and the reaction of the relations of production; The reforms he advocated went astray. This is also closely related to his lack of realistic understanding of socialized mass production and experience in leading economic construction. The "Great Leap Forward" and the People's Commune Movement, in a certain sense or Mao Zedong's subjective aspect, are all major experiments in an attempt to open up a new way to build socialism and transition to communism. Later, class struggle was used as the key link, and even the "Cultural Revolution" was launched, which also contained the subjective intention of establishing a "perfect" and "pure" socialism. Unfortunately, none of these experiments and intentions laid the cornerstone of building socialism on a solid and reliable material basis for the development of productive forces. Instead, they erroneously criticized the "theory of only productive forces," which inevitably gradually Deviate from historical materialism and move towards idealism and utopia, the result of practice will inevitably bring disaster. Whether it is conducive to the development of productive forces is the fundamental criterion for testing guidelines, policies, and methods in socialist construction; if you leave this criterion to seek other criteria, you will fall into utopianism.

Building socialism cannot be based on class struggle. This is a profound lesson learned at a heavy price. After the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes, emphasizing class struggle as the key link will inevitably mistake a large number of social contradictions that do not belong to the scope of class struggle as class struggle, adopt wrong methods of struggle, artificially intensify the contradictions, and even lead to A catastrophe like the "Cultural Revolution". Of course, "due to domestic factors and international influences, class struggle will exist for a long time within a certain range, and may intensify under certain conditions." Therefore, it is also wrong to think that class struggle has been extinguished in the primary stage of socialism. Since class struggle only exists within a

certain range, it is impossible to put class struggle in a position that is "higher than everything, greater than everything, prior to everything, and more important than everything" as it was propagated during the "Cultural Revolution." It is also impossible to search for "new trends in class struggle" "at all times, in everything, and everywhere", and there is no need to engage in "all-round class struggle across the country." The methods and methods of carrying out class struggle within a certain range can no longer adopt the set of loud and buzzing political campaigns used in the past, and should mainly rely on and use the means of the legal system. Class struggle exists within a certain range, and it will naturally have its reflection or influence among the people. It is worth noting that those reflections or influences cannot be equated with class struggle. Therefore, among the people, it is wrong and unacceptable to use class analysis methods at will, to label classes indiscriminately, and to adopt the method of class struggle.

(3) We must adhere to the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership, and oppose any form of personality cult

An important reason why the "Cultural Revolution" was able to occur and last for more than 10 years is that the Chinese Communist Party has not taken effective measures for a long time to prevent the growth of the cult of personality. In addition to other factors, a cult of personality fanaticism has arisen among the majority of party members and the masses, undermining the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership, and depriving the party of the means to correct the mistakes of its own leaders.

Democratic centralism is the fundamental organizational principle of the party. Collective leadership is a manifestation of democratic centralism in the party's leadership work. The party of the proletariat, the socialist state, needs centralized leadership. However, this centralization is a centralization based on democracy. Only by adhering to collective leadership can we make correct decisions, implement correct policies, avoid or reduce mistakes in

work, and the cult of personality is the corrosive agent of collective leadership. Personality cult is a manifestation of idealism in history. It exaggerates the role of the leader and even deifies the individual; it reverses the relationship between the individual and the organization and between the individual and the collective, placing the leader above the organization and the collective; , but demands that the people be loyal to the leader personally. The leader has become the "great savior" standing above the masses. His words and deeds not only affect the ups and downs of the country, but also determine the lives, fortunes, sorrows and joys of hundreds of millions of people. Under the condition of the prevalence of personality worship, the leader holds absolute authority, and his every word has become the "supreme instruction" that everyone must follow. This is the extreme manifestation of personality cult developed during the "Cultural Revolution".

Personality worship has a long tradition of feudal rule in China, and behind it is the deep and wide influence of small productions like a vast ocean that cannot represent themselves. This kind of tradition and influence, combined with the political system with over-centralized power formed during the long-term revolutionary struggle, and the long-term neglect of democracy and the construction of the legal system after the founding of the People's Republic of China, have planted the bane of cultivating the cult of personality. When the leader grows pride, develops subjectivism, and is not calm enough amidst the great victories and praises, especially when he feels that he "needs a little personality cult" for some temporary considerations, he acquiesces and even supports it. At that time, the fire of personality cult will soon be ignited, and the unsound democratic legal system and the remaining rational thinking will be burned to ashes.

It is under such conditions that a major personal decision-making error by a leader will lead to a global catastrophe. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and his like took advantage of this situation, and under the banner of "holding the highest, learning the best, following the most closely, and using it most vividly", they conveyed people's

wishes with "close comrades in arms" and "supreme instructions". The status, rising to the peak of power by the wind of personality worship, rampantly, doing evil, causing great harm to the country and the people.

Personality cult is the product of underdeveloped economy and culture. Therefore, eradicating the breeding soil of personality cult depends fundamentally on the development of economy and culture. The degree of democratization of the political life of the party and the country is very low, and various systems are not perfect, which is an important condition for the occurrence and development of personality cult. In order to avoid the recurrence of historical tragedies such as the "Cultural Revolution", it is necessary to reform the political and economic systems. While vigorously developing the productive forces of a socialist society, organizational and institutional measures must be taken to prohibit any form of personality cult. The Party Constitution adopted by the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China stipulates: "The Party prohibits any form of personality cult. It is necessary to ensure that the activities of Party leaders are under the supervision of the Party and the people, and at the same time maintain the prestige of all leaders who represent the interests of the Party and the people. "It is the first time in the history of the Chinese Communist Party that the article against the cult of personality is written into the party constitution. It shows that the Chinese Communists are serious about accepting the lessons of the "Cultural Revolution" and their attitude against personality cult is firm. Of course, this principle still needs to be gradually enriched and a series of specific laws and regulations must be established to ensure it.

(4) We must improve and develop socialist democracy and the legal system, and we must never advocate "rebellion is justified" and "lawlessness"

During the "Cultural Revolution", China's already weak democratic system was destroyed unprecedentedly. In the sound of "rebellion is justified", the country's fundamental law - the

Constitution has become a piece of paper that has no effect at all. All laws and decrees were almost completely destroyed, and law enforcement agencies were smashed as black agencies. The President of the country and leading party and government cadres at all levels were arbitrarily fought and imprisoned. Beating, smashing, looting, plagiarism, and arrest have become common practice, and the basic rights, personal freedom, and safety of citizens have been completely lost. This "lawless" chaotic situation has brought the entire country and society to the brink of collapse. From the disaster of the "Cultural Revolution", people have personally experienced the consequences of the trampling of socialist democracy and the legal system, and they also have a deeper understanding of the inseparable relationship between democracy and the legal system, as well as its extreme importance to socialist construction. It is precisely because inner-party democracy and socialist democracy have not been realized and developed as they should be, and democracy has not been legalized and institutionalized, that the conditions for the "cultural revolution" to occur.

After 28 years of arduous struggle under the leadership of the people, the Communist Party of China has gained national power and established a country in which the people are the masters of the country. The most essential content of the Communist Party's leadership over national life is to support the people to be the masters of the country, to give full play to the enthusiasm and creativity of hundreds of millions of people, and to build a new socialist life. To achieve such a goal, it is necessary to unremittingly establish and develop a complete set of socialist democratic system, institutionalize and legalize the people's mastery of the country. In other words, it is to establish and develop socialist democracy. The fundamental requirement of socialist democratic politics is to ensure that the people enjoy and realize the power to manage political, economic, cultural and social affairs through various forms. What is decisive here is the enjoyment of supreme power over the administration of the state. Democracy is rule by the will of the majority expressed through legal procedures. The will of the majority constitutes the basic content of the legal system. Socialist

democracy is the premise and foundation of the socialist legal system, and the socialist legal system is the embodiment and guarantee of socialist democracy. Without the socialist legal system, there will be no socialist democracy.

In the process of leading the people to carry out the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution, the Chinese Communist Party once cultivated and developed a relatively good democratic tradition within the party, and influenced the vast number of soldiers and civilians. Although this democratic tradition has no fixed laws and procedures, it has indeed become a common practice. Therefore, in the early days of the founding of the People's Republic of China, it played a very important role and had a good influence on the democratization of political life in our country. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, a constitution and a series of laws and decrees were formulated, and "all power of the country belongs to the people" was written into the constitution. The various constructions of socialist democratic politics have been actively and steadily advancing for a period of time. It is a pity that this process of promoting democracy was interrupted by the growing "Left" trend of thought and the political movement of expanding class struggle. Under seemingly sacred slogans such as "class struggle as the key link" and "anti-revisionism and prevention of revisionism," the construction of socialist democratic politics has been increasingly damaged. During the period of the "Cultural Revolution", "rebellion is justified" and "lawlessness" have openly become things that are glorified and praised, and the democratic legal system has disappeared.

The painful historical lessons have awakened the people of the whole country to strengthen the construction of socialist democratic politics. The construction of democracy and the legal system is increasingly placed in the important position it should be, which is the embodiment of positive reflection on the lessons of history. Of course, it should also be recognized that the construction of socialist democratic politics is a long-term and arduous task. A high-level and

perfect democracy and legal system must also be based on the full development of economy and culture. The development of citizens' democratic consciousness, democratic knowledge and democratic living habits is a necessary condition for the development of socialist democratic politics. These cannot be achieved overnight. We can only proceed from the reality of the primary stage of socialism in our country, through reforms in various aspects, along with the development of economic and cultural construction, especially the popularization of national education, and gradually advance in coordination.

However, in the construction of socialist democratic politics, the country's constitution and laws must have inviolable sacred authority that everyone must strictly abide by, so that the democratic rights of all citizens can be effectively guaranteed; the party must be within the scope of the constitution and laws activities, no party organization at any level and its leaders can have powers above the law; special citizens; the constitution and laws shall never be violated under any pretext, etc. These fundamental democratic principles must be resolutely implemented at any time and under any circumstances. "Without democracy, there will be no socialism, and there will be no socialist modernization", "Democracy must be institutionalized and legalized", these deafening warnings are conclusions drawn from the lessons learned from the "Cultural Revolution".

(5) It is necessary to raise the level of Marxist theory in the whole party

The catastrophe of the "Cultural Revolution" did not prove that Marxist theory was "obsolete" or "bankrupt" as some people asserted. On the contrary, it teaches us negatively that the basic principles of Marxism cannot be violated. The reason why we have suffered this catastrophe, in a certain sense, is the result of the Chinese Communist Party's lack of due attention and correct grasp of theoretical study and research in a period of time, and it can also be regarded as the result of the low level of Marxism. a punishment.

The "Cultural Revolution" was launched and led by Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong bears the main responsibility for this overall and long-term serious error of "Left" deviation. However, the whole party at that time generally accepted Mao Zedong's set of erroneous theories of "taking class struggle as the key link" that led to the "Cultural Revolution". There may be a few people who have doubts, but not only no one from the bottom to the top of the party publicly raised doubts or systematically disagreed, but they were highly appraised and widely praised, and they were regarded as a creative development of Marxism and highly respected. Few people doubt the correctness of his "anti-revision and prevention of revisionism" and the pursuit of "pure" and "perfect" socialist goals. The widely held view at the time was that Mao Zedong led us to open up a new road to building socialism, so we could study hard, deepen our understanding, and strive to follow closely. Some "theoreticians" also made many researches, interpretations and developments to prove the correctness of those "left" theories. This in itself can be said to be the most practical test of the theoretical level of all Chinese Communists. As a result, it should be said that the results are quite bad.

As far as Mao Zedong himself was concerned, when he made serious mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution", he repeatedly asked the entire party to study the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin conscientiously, and he always believed that his theory and practice were Marxist and were for the benefit of the people. It is necessary to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism. This is also an effective test of his Marxist theoretical level. It should be said that Mao Zedong's mistakes were firstly caused by mistakes in theory and understanding, which in turn led to mistakes in practice. Misinterpreting or dogmatizing some assumptions and conclusions of Marx and Lenin shows that there is a problem with the attitude towards Marxism. This is an important reason for the formation of the set of erroneous theories of the "Cultural Revolution".

"Once the theory has mastered the masses, it will also become a material force" is Marx's famous saying. The development of socialism from the victory of one country to the victory of many countries has proved the powerful power of Marxist theory after it has mastered the masses. The "Cultural Revolution" proved from the negative side that wrong theories can become a force that can cause huge damage to the entire social life if they control the masses. The ten-year catastrophe occurred under the guidance of "the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and a large number of erroneous theoretical viewpoints derived from it, and under the slogan of defending the purity of Marxism. Under the condition that the wrong theory has mastered the masses, even if a few people see the mistakes in the theoretical guidance, they will be powerless to turn the tide. This proves from another perspective the extreme importance of raising the level of Marxist theory among party members, cadres and the masses.

When the Chinese Communist Party entered the period of socialism, it did have the weakness of insufficient theoretical preparation and insufficient theoretical research on socialism. The Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China adhered to the principle of combining Marxism with China's reality, and put forward basic principles, policies, methods and many important ideas for building socialism. However, those things that were correct or basically correct were interrupted and gradually negated by the increasingly serious "Left" trend of thought before they could be further elucidated or tested and developed in practice. Marxism is a constantly developing science in practice. The theory of scientific socialism must also be combined with the practice of various countries and the development of the times in order to be perfected day by day. "In this process, it is necessary to abandon the individual theories of the predecessors who are limited by historical conditions and still have utopian elements, and it is inevitable to get rid of the dogmatic understanding of Marxism and the erroneous views attached to the name of Marxism. Practice has brought new development to the theory of scientific socialism." This is the new

understanding of how to treat Marxism with a correct attitude when summarizing the lessons of the "Cultural Revolution".

As a scientific tool of understanding, Marxism will never become outdated in terms of its positions, viewpoints, and methods. The basic principles of Marxism must be adhered to, but Marxism cannot be regarded as immutable. Practice is constantly moving forward, and the times are advancing. Of course, Marxism, which is the scientific crystallization of the spirit of the times, must also continue to develop. The premise of developing Marxism is to uphold Marxism. If the basic principles of Marxism are not adhered to, developing Marxism will become empty talk! Only by persisting in developing and persisting in development is the correct attitude towards Marxism.

Jiang Zemin pointed out in his speech at the meeting celebrating the 70th anniversary of the founding of the party: "Only by vigorously improving the level of Marxist theory in the whole party can we control the overall situation and grasp the initiative in the intricate contradictions and struggles; can we better adhere to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, avoid making 'left' or right mistakes; only then can we constantly summarize the fresh experience created by the masses, make new theoretical generalizations, and push forward the modernization drive and reform and opening up victoriously." It is a profound elaboration of the importance of the theoretical level of doctrine, and of course it is also a scientific summary of historical experience and lessons.

4. Historical Compensation

As a brief history of the "Cultural Revolution", it analyzes the causes of the "Cultural Revolution", outlines the whole process of its development in the past 10 years, focuses on several important historical events, and discusses its evaluation and application. The main lessons learned can be concluded here. However, after writing the experience and lessons, we feel that there is still more to say, and there always seems to be something missing. What is missing? After much deliberation, what I said above is all about the "Cultural Revolution" itself, and lacks a broader and longer-term perspective to observe and analyze the "Cultural Revolution". Below, we try to talk about some views from this perspective.

First of all, the establishment of any new social system in human history cannot be smooth sailing without experiencing setbacks and failures.

Lenin said two sentences very well: "Is there a new mode of production in history that was established at once without going through many failures, mistakes and mistakes? Half a century after the overthrow of serfdom, the Russian countryside There are still many remnants of serfdom. Half a century after the abolition of black slavery in the United States, the blacks there are often still in a semi-slaved state." "Conceive the history of the world as a smooth forward development, and there will be no great backwardness from time to time. It is undialectical, unscientific, and theoretically incorrect."

The development of world history is indeed like this. Let us look at the history of the establishment of the Western capitalist system. The British bourgeois revolution was a revolution that started earlier and had a greater impact. It started in 1640. But after the victory over the king came the dictatorship of Cromwell. Then came the restoration of the old dynasty in 1660. It was not until 1688 that the

bourgeois political party ushered in a king from the Netherlands who brought the Dutch army and navy into the UK in a coup d'etat, and basically established the constitutional monarchy that has continued to this day, stabilizing the capitalist system. It took 48 years before and after. Taking France again as an example, the bourgeois revolution that broke out in 1789, known as the "Great Revolution", can be said to be the most thorough bourgeois revolution in Western countries, but it also caused the greatest social shock. After the revolution, progress and reaction, republic and monarchy, civil war and foreign war, foreign conquest and surrender, revolutionary terror and counter-revolutionary terror were intertwined. It was not until the establishment of the French Third Republic in 1875 that the capitalist system was compared. stable development. It lasted 86 years. Other countries need not be listed one by one.

From the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 to the outbreak of the "Cultural Revolution" in 1966, there were only 17 years. It is almost impossible for the proletariat (through its party, the Communist Party of China) to take up the heavy responsibility of running the country in a short period of time, ill-prepared, inexperienced, without making any mistakes, without experiencing failures and setbacks. This is not to say that it is inevitable to make such an overall "Left" error as the "Cultural Revolution". Because from the perspective of the objective law of the development of human society, it is not necessary for any country to have a "cultural revolution" like China after the establishment of a socialist system, and it does not have historical inevitability. However, from the perspective of the difficulty of establishing a new social system, making mistakes is indeed inevitable. What's more, the communist system we want to establish is more profound and difficult than previous revolutions. The bourgeois revolution is nothing more than replacing an old system of exploitation with a new system of exploitation, and it still has to go through many failures and setbacks. And our revolution is to fundamentally eliminate exploitation and establish a social system in which the majority of the people are the masters of the country and finally realize the ideal of common prosperity. How can we imagine smooth sailing without going

through difficulties and twists and turns? Or Lenin said it well: "It is only through these mistakes that workers and peasants can learn to build a new life, can learn not to manage independently of capitalists, and can open a way for themselves to pass through thousands of obstacles to invincible socialism. ."

Second, historical disasters are usually compensated by historical progress.

As Engels pointed out: "There is no great historical disaster that was not compensated by historical progress." This is a general law of the development of world history, and China is no exception. The "Cultural Revolution" was a huge historical disaster. The great historical turning point achieved by the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party and the brilliant construction achievements recognized by the world in the following 20 years just reflected the compensation of this historical progress.

Two years after the crushing of the "Gang of Four" in 1976, the erroneous theories and slogans of the "Cultural Revolution" continued to be adhered to in major aspects, and work in all aspects was in a state of hesitation. However, the objective trend of historical development is irresistible, and the will and demands of hundreds of millions of people will eventually be realized. The great historical achievement of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in December 1978 is that through this plenary session, it fundamentally broke through the serious fetters of long-term "Left" errors, corrected the guiding ideology of the Chinese Communist Party, and re-established Marxist ideological line, political line and organizational line. This plenary session played a huge historical role in bringing order out of chaos, proposing reform tasks, and promoting rural reform. It marks a great historical turning point with far-reaching significance in the development of the party's cause since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

This plenary session resolutely broke through the shackles of dogmatism and personality worship in the party's leadership

ideology, and re-established the ideological line of dialectical materialism. The plenary session criticized the erroneous policy of "two whatevers" (i.e., "we will firmly uphold whatever decisions Chairman Mao made, and we will unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave"), and spoke highly of the principles on the issue of truth standards. It is believed that if a party, a country, or a nation proceeds from the book and its thinking is rigid, then it will not be able to move forward, its vitality will stop, and the party and the country will perish. Such understandings show that the ideological line has been corrected, which has had a profound and long-term impact on the development of all aspects of work.

The Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party resolutely stopped using the slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link", and made a strategic decision to shift the focus of work to socialist modernization. Economic construction has since become the unshakable central task of the whole party and the country. This reflects the law of historical development and the wishes of the people, and represents the fundamental interests of the people. In order to meet the requirements of shifting the focus of work, this meeting put forward the historical task of reforming all aspects of the work of the party and the country in a far-sighted manner. The plenary session pointed out: "The realization of the four modernizations requires a substantial increase in productivity, and it will inevitably require changes in various aspects of production relations and superstructures that are not compatible with the development of productivity, and changes in all inappropriate management methods, activities and ways of thinking. , and thus a broad and deep revolution."

The plenary session discussed and emphatically put forward the tasks of improving socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system, and decided to improve the party's democratic centralism, improve party rules and laws, strictly enforce party discipline, and uphold the Party Central Committee and party committees at all levels based on the historical experience of the Communist Party of China. Principles of collective leadership. Later,

"Several Guidelines on Political Life in the Party" was adopted as the regulations that must be followed by the party's inner life and all party members.

From the content of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, it can be seen that this meeting was the beginning of comprehensively and seriously correcting the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution". With the development of the work of setting things right and the idea that practice is the only criterion for testing truth has become deeply rooted in the hearts of the people, the Chinese Communists, on the basis of summarizing the positive and negative experiences of the past 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and on the basis of studying international experience and the world situation, began to find a way. The road to building socialism with Chinese characteristics has opened up a new stage of socialist construction. This is another historic leap in the combination of Marxism and China's reality. This is history's greatest compensation for the disaster of the "Cultural Revolution".

Deng Xiaoping made it clear in one sentence that the relationship between the past and the successor of this historical development. He said: "We are reforming. Why is the content of our reform so extensive and profound? Because we have the lessons of the 'Cultural Revolution'." He also said: "We implement the policy of reform and opening up, and everyone agrees. This is due to the 'Cultural Revolution' of ten years. The lessons of this disaster are too profound."

Thirdly, the greatest achievement of historical compensation is to find the road to building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The history of nearly a century and a half since the publication of the "Communist Manifesto" has fully proved that the proletariat and its political parties are capable of leading the people to overthrow the old regime and establish a new regime. However, the issue of how to build socialism after seizing power has not been

fundamentally resolved for a long time, although great achievements and valuable experience have been obtained. This is also one of the fundamental reasons for the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the drastic changes in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, it has adhered to the correct direction of combining Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete reality, continuously summed up the experience of its own practice, and learned from the experience and lessons of other countries in the world, and gradually formed the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics . For the first time, this theory systematically answered a series of basic questions about how to build socialism, how to consolidate and develop socialism in a country with a relatively backward economy and culture like China, and inherited and developed Marxism with new ideas and viewpoints. .

The theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the product of the combination of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the reality of contemporary China and the characteristics of the times. It is the inheritance and development of Mao Zedong Thought. The most precious spiritual wealth. Deng Xiaoping respected practice, respected reality, keenly grasped the pulse and opportunities of the development of the times, and was good at summarizing the experiences and creations of the masses. He not only inherited the predecessors, but also broke through the stereotypes. The great theoretical courage of the new realm of socialism has made a historic contribution to the establishment of the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The establishment of this new theoretical system and the correct path are the most reliable guarantee that our cause can withstand the test of various risks and successfully achieve the goal, and it is also the most valuable contribution to the international communist movement. It will have a long-term and extensive impact on all aspects of our country's political life, cultural life and economic construction.

The Chinese people have come out of the catastrophe of the "Cultural Revolution" and its shadow. Practice has proved that the path opened up by the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is correct. Although there will still be difficulties and obstacles on the way forward, and it is impossible for real social life to be "full of singing and dancing", the road has been opened, and the positive and negative experiences of more than 50 years have turned into wealth. The prospects for the development of China's socialist cause It is infinitely bright.

[1] Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. 4, p. 1516.

[2] "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Several Historical Issues Concerning the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China".

[3] "Selected Works of Lenin", Volume 2, People's Publishing House, 1972 edition, p. 441.

[4] Li Xiannian's speech at the National Planning Conference on December 20, 1979, see Selected Important Documents Since the Third Plenum of the Central Committee (Part 1), People's Publishing House, 1982, p. 290.

[5] "The Judgment of History", Mass Publishing House, 1981 edition, p. 37.

[6] "Loyalty Dance", "Loyalty Song", and "Quotation Exercise" are all Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others who pushed the personality worship of Mao Zedong to the extreme during the "Cultural Revolution" in order to achieve their ulterior motives. Some mass activities with a strong feudal color were instigated for human purposes. The "early request" and "late report" mentioned below are also of this nature, and they are quite generally mandatory.

[7] Volume 32 of "The Complete Works of Lenin", page 41.

[8] "Selected Works of Marx and Engels", Volume 1, page 501.

[9] "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Several Historical Issues of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China".

[10] "Dictionary of Marxism, Socialism and Communism", Oriental Publishing House, 1988 edition, p. 429.

[11] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 2, p. 257.

[12] "Selected Works of Marx and Engels", Volume 4, People's Publishing House, 1972 edition, p. 285.

[13] "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Several Historical Issues of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China".

[14] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 2, Pages 168 and 146.

[15] "Selected Works of Marx and Engels", Volume 1, Page 9.

[16] "Compilation of Documents of the Thirteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China", People's Publishing House, 1987 edition, p. 69.

[17] "Selected Works of Lenin", Volume 4, Page 14.

[18] "Selected Works of Lenin", Volume 2, p. 851.

[19] "Selected Works of Lenin", Volume 3, p. 596.

[20] Volume 39 of "The Complete Works of Marx and Engels", People's Publishing House, 1977 edition, p. 149.

[21] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping", Volume 3, pages 264 and 265.

Appendix Chronicle of Events in the "Cultural Revolution"

(May 1966-October 1976)

1966 (May-December)

From May 4th to 26th, the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee was held in Beijing. A total of 76 members of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and heads of relevant units attended the meeting. The main document passed at the meeting, the "Notice of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" (later called the "May 16 Notice" to distinguish it from other Central Committee notices of the Communist Party of China), was a programmatic document for launching the "Cultural Revolution". Solving the so-called problems of Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi, and Yang Shangkun became the main content of the meeting. Lin Biao delivered a long speech at this meeting (the "May 18 Speech"), which became the main theme of the meeting. The meeting also made an important transfer of the heads of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. A new Central Cultural Revolution Group was established. In this way, the conference completed the preparations for launching the "Cultural Revolution" politically and organizationally. The "Left" policy took the dominant position in the Party Central Committee, which became the official start of the ten-year national turmoil.

On May 18, Lin Biao delivered a long speech at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. The main content was two aspects: one was to emphasize the danger of a coup, claiming that someone inside the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was planning a coup and subversion, so as to create an atmosphere of terror; Praise Mao Zedong's personal genius and advocate the cult of personality in order to gain political

capital for himself. At the end of his speech, Lin Biao made an impassioned oath: "We support Chairman Mao now, and we will also support Chairman Mao a hundred years later...Chairman Mao will live to that day, whether he is ninety years old or over a hundred years old, all belong to our party." The supreme leader, his words are our code of conduct. Whoever opposes him will be punished by the whole party and the whole country." The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China stated in the instructions that this speech "raised the red flag of Mao Zedong Thought the highest." As a result, this speech had a wide-ranging influence at that time.

On May 24, the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee decided to conduct a special review of the so-called "conspiracy against the party group" by Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi, and Yang Shangkun. After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, this unjust case was completely rehabilitated.

On May 28, the Central Cultural Revolution Group was established. The composition of its personnel is: team leader Chen Boda, advisor Kang Sheng, deputy team members Jiang Qing, Wang Renzhong, Liu Zhijian, and Zhang Chunqiao, and team members Xie Tongzhong, Yin Da, Wang Li, Guan Feng, Qi Benyu, Mu Xin, and Yao Wenyuan. After Tao Zhu was transferred to Beijing as the executive secretary of the Central Secretariat, he concurrently served as an advisor to the Central Cultural Revolution Group on August 2. But in just over half a year, Tao Zhu, Wang Renzhong, Liu Zhijian, Xie Tongzhong, Yin Da, Mu Xin, etc. were either defeated or excluded. The Central Cultural Revolution Group was completely controlled by Jiang Qing and his gang. This group gradually replaced the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Secretariat of the Central Committee and became the actual commanding body of the "Cultural Revolution". At the end of August, the central government notified that Jiang Qing would act as the head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group when Chen Boda was ill or went out.

On May 31, approved by Mao Zedong, Chen Boda led a working group to the People's Daily to seize power. On June 1, "People's Daily" published an editorial titled "Sweeping All Ghosts and Snakes". Then he successively published "The Great Revolution That Touched People's Souls", "Tearing off the fig leaf of the bourgeoisie's 'freedom, equality, and fraternity'", "Being a Proletarian Revolutionary or a Bourgeois Royalist?" ", etc., stabbing the spirit of the "May 16 Notice" to the society.

On the evening of June 1, according to Mao Zedong's instructions, the Central People's Broadcasting Station broadcast the full text of the big-character poster "What did Song Shuo, Lu Ping, and Peng Yun do during the Cultural Revolution?" posted by Nie Yuanzi and others of Peking University on May 25. ". The whole country was shaken, and the Peking University campus immediately boiled. The next day, when the "People's Daily" published this big-character poster, it distributed the commentator's article "A Big-Character Poster Cheering to Peking University". This commentator article co-written by Wang Li, Guan Feng, and Cao Yiou slandered the party organization at Peking University as "not a real Communist Party, but a fake Communist Party, a revisionist party." And called: "To completely destroy their gangsters, black organizations, and black discipline."

On June 3, Liu Shaoqi presided over an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, and formulated eight regulations, such as distinction between inside and outside, attention to secrecy, big-character posters not on the street, no collusion, and no beating or insulting others. The meeting also agreed with Li Xuefeng's opinion on sending working groups to paralyzed schools, and decided to send working groups to universities and middle schools to lead the "Cultural Revolution."

On June 4, the "People's Daily" announced the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the reorganization of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee. This

decision removed the first secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, Peng Zhen, the second secretary, Liu Ren, and other leaders of the municipal Party committee. Li Xuefeng, the first secretary of the North China Bureau, was appointed concurrently as the first secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, and Wu De, the first secretary of the Jilin Provincial Party Committee, was transferred to be the secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, reorganizing the leadership team of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China.

On June 10, Mao Zedong met with Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh in Hangzhou and had a long heart-to-heart talk. Mao Zedong said: "We are all over seventy, and one day we will be invited by Marx. Who is the successor, Bernstein, Kautsky, or Khrushchev, is unknown. Be prepared, There is still time. In short, it is divided into two, don't look at the shouting of 'long live' now."

On June 18, some people set up a so-called fighting ghost stage in Peking University, arresting people everywhere and fighting indiscriminately. More than 40 party and youth cadres, teachers, and students were hated, smeared with ink, punished to kneel, beaten, and even committed hooligan behaviors that insulted women. Upon hearing the news, the working group immediately rushed to the scene to stop it. That night, Zhang Chengxian, the leader of the working group, made a radio speech to the whole school. He said that the practice of avoiding the work group's random criticism and chaos is an action harmful to the revolution. The working group also wrote a briefing report on the occurrence and handling of this incident and sent it to the central government. On the 20th, Liu Shaoqi forwarded the briefing of the Peking University working group to stop the rioting incident across the country, thinking: "The method of the Peking University working group to deal with the chaos is correct and timely. If this phenomenon occurs, all units can refer to it." Peking University's approach." Many local party committees have referred to the approach of the Peking University working group, so that the phenomenon of chaotic criticism has been controlled to a

certain extent. But later, the forwarding of the briefing was said to be "suppression of the student movement."

On July 8, Mao Zedong wrote a letter from Wuhan to Jiang Qing in Shanghai. The content was esoteric and cryptic, including Mao Zedong's strategic vision for the entire "Cultural Revolution".

On July 16, Mao Zedong went swimming in the Yangtze River, "breaking through the rolling waves of the Yangtze River, swimming for 1 hour and 5 minutes, with a distance of 30 kilometers." This trip to the Yangtze River was widely publicized in newspapers and periodicals at the time, and the editorial title of "People's Daily" was "Following Chairman Mao to Advance Through Strong Wind and Big Waves".

On July 18, the "People's Daily" announced in a headline that "The Great Leader Chairman Mao Returns to the Capital Beijing".

On July 20, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice: The Propaganda Department of the Central Committee has been reorganized, and the list of new leaders is as follows: Tao Zhu as Minister, Chen Boda as Advisor (still in the name of Deputy Minister), Executive Vice Minister Zhang Pinghua, Vice Ministers Zhang Jichun, Yong Wentao (and State Council Wentao) Executive Deputy Director, Xiong Fu (also President of Xinhua News Agency), Liu Zuchun (also Secretary-General). The Propaganda Department of the Central Committee after this reorganization did not exist for long. By the beginning of 1967, after Tao Zhu was overthrown, it actually ceased to exist.

After listening to the report on July 25, Mao Zedong believed that the working group "would not approve, and secondly, would not change", which played a bad role and hindered the movement. make a revolution".

On July 29, the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China held a "Cultural Revolution" activist meeting for teachers and students of colleges and secondary schools in the

Great Hall of the People, announcing the decision of the Municipal Committee to abolish the working group. Deng Xiaoping and Zhou Enlai both said in their successive speeches that "the old revolution has encountered new problems." Liu Shaoqi said in his speech: "As for how to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, you don't know much, you don't know much, you ask us, I will answer you honestly, I don't know." Mao Zedong appeared on the rostrum before the end of the meeting, Greet the crowd.

From August 1st to 12th, the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing. There were 141 members and alternate members of the Central Committee attending the plenary session. A total of 47 people attended the meeting, including heads of central bureaus and party committees of provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, heads of relevant central departments, and representatives of "revolutionary teachers and students" from colleges and universities in the capital. The original agenda of the meeting consisted of four items: the first was to pass the "Decision on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", the second was to discuss and pass the central government's major measures on international and domestic issues since the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, the third was to pass the meeting communiqué, and the fourth was to It is a supplementary approval procedure for the decision of the enlarged Politburo meeting in May on personnel changes in the central government. The duration of the meeting was originally scheduled for 5 days. On August 5, Mao Zedong wrote "Bombarding the Headquarters—One of My Big-Character Posters", which changed the agenda of the meeting. Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping were exposed and criticized at the meeting. On the 8th, the Plenary Session passed the "Decision on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (referred to as "Sixteen Articles"). This is the first official and systematic document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the "Cultural Revolution". According to Mao Zedong's proposal, the plenary session temporarily added an agenda, reorganized the central leadership, and elected Mao

Zedong, Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai, Tao Zhu, Chen Boda, Deng Xiaoping, Kang Sheng, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, Li Fuchun, and Chen Yun as members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. Lin Biao ranked second and became Mao Zedong's successor. The plenary session by-elected Tao Zhu, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, and Ye Jianying as members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Li Xuefeng, Song Renqiong, and Xie Fuzhi as alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and Xie Fuzhi and Liu Ningyi as secretaries of the Central Secretariat.

On August 1, Mao Zedong wrote to the Red Guards of the High School Affiliated to Tsinghua University who opposed the working group, praising their "revolutionary rebellious spirit".

On August 18, Mao Zedong and others received the masses and Red Guards from all over the country for the first time in Tiananmen Square. Mao Zedong was wearing a military uniform, accepting and wearing the armband presented by the Red Guards. Some leaders of the Red Guards were invited to the Tiananmen Rostrum to participate in the review. Lin Biao praised the Red Guards as "vanguards of the Cultural Revolution" in his speech at the meeting. Call on them: "We must overthrow those in power who are taking the capitalist road, we must overthrow the bourgeois reactionary authority, we must overthrow all bourgeois royalists, we must oppose all kinds of acts of suppressing the revolution, and we must overthrow all ghosts and monsters!"

Since then, Mao Zedong has received many Red Guards. As of the end of November, a total of 8 interviews were held, involving more than 11 million Red Guards, school teachers and students. With the encouragement and support of Mao Zedong's letter and eight interviews, the scattered and sporadic rebellion actions in various places were quickly unified under the organization form of the Red Guards, which was popular all over the country, and developed into a frenzy that swept tens of millions of young people. "The storm spread across all corners of the country.

In late August, with the support of Mao Zedong and the instigation of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others, the Red Guards, in the name of "breaking the four olds" (that is, old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits), walked out of the school gate and "killed the society" . They smashed the signboards of time-honored shops, changed street names, arbitrarily fought against so-called "reactionary academic authorities", broke into houses and seized private property, burned classics, destroyed cultural relics, calligraphy and paintings, and destroyed places of interest, causing irreparable and serious losses.

On September 5, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council issued the "Notice on Organizing Revolutionary Students from Nonlocal Higher Education Institutions, Representatives of Revolutionary Students from Secondary Schools, and Representatives of Revolutionary Faculty and Staff to Visit Beijing to Visit the Cultural Revolution Movement." It stipulates that teachers and students who come to Beijing "take the train for free", and "living allowances and transportation expenses are paid by the state finance". As soon as this mouth was opened, teachers and students of non-local colleges and universities and middle schools rushed to Beijing; while Beijing students rushed to other places one after another, starting a nationwide series of links. The young people and Red Guards who participated in these series thought that they shouldered the historical task of protecting "the party will not change, and the country will not change." wind, and ignite the fire of the Cultural Revolution", which became an important force in creating chaos in the world.

On October 1, Lin Biao stated in his speech at the 17th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China: "During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeoisie's opposition to the revolutionary line continued. "The thirteenth editorial of the "Red Flag" magazine published later - "Advance on the Broad Road of Mao Zedong

Thought", called for: "The reactionary line of the bourgeoisie must be thoroughly criticized."

On October 6, initiated by organizations such as the Third Headquarters of the Red Guards in the capital, the "National Pledge Meeting of Teachers and Students in Beijing to Fiercely Fire Against the Bourgeois Reactionary Line" was held in Beijing with the participation of 100,000 people. Since then, a huge wave of criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line has been set off throughout the country.

From October 9th to 28th, the Central Work Conference chaired by Mao Zedong was held in Beijing. The theme of the meeting was to criticize the "bourgeois reactionary line". Chen Boda, head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, made a report entitled "Two Lines of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". Lin Biao spoke at the meeting, naming and attacking Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping for carrying out "a line of suppressing the masses and opposing the revolution." Liu Shaoqi made a self-criticism at the meeting and admitted that he had made a wrong direction and route. This inspection by Liu Shaoqi was sent to Mao Zedong in advance, and Mao made a comment that "basically it was well written."

On November 13, the Central Military Commission held a meeting of personnel from military academies and art units in Beijing at the Beijing Workers' Stadium. He Long, Chen Yi, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen and Ye Jianying attended the meeting and spoke. They criticized the event that certain rebel leaders in military academies gathered some people who did not know the truth to attack the Ministry of National Defense and beat the guards and soldiers.

On November 29th, a congress of representatives of teachers and students of military academies was held in the Beijing Workers' Stadium. Several veterans made important speeches again, criticizing the mistake of attacking the Ministry of National Defense again.

From December 4th to 6th, Lin Biao presided over the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, listened to the report of the symposium on industry and transportation, and discussed and passed the "Ten Regulations on Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production" (referred to as "Ten Industrial Regulations"). Lin Biao criticized the symposium on industry and transportation of five ministries (metallurgy, hydropower, railway, chemical industry, machinery) and seven cities (Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Shenyang, Kazakhstan, Han, and Guangzhou) chaired by Gu Mu and Yu Qiuli. It's not good, it's wrong, and the thinking is very wrong." He said: "Liu and Deng are not only a matter of 50 days, but a matter of ten or twenty years. The industrial front has been greatly influenced by Liu and Deng." He also said: This "Cultural Revolution" is "A critique campaign against the whole party, a critique of cadres". On the last day of the meeting, the Central Cultural Revolutionary Wang Li and others launched a surprise attack on Tao Zhu, accusing Tao Zhu of insisting on grasping production and using production to suppress the revolution. The meeting passed the "Ten Articles of Industry" revised and finalized by the Central Cultural Revolution.

On December 9, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Ten Regulations on Grasping the Revolution and Promoting Production" (draft), which officially extended the "Cultural Revolution" to grassroots units in various departments of industry, transportation, finance and trade across the country.

On December 15, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Instructions on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Rural Areas" (draft). The "Instructions" changed the original regulations at all levels below the county level that were still carried out in accordance with the deployment of the "Four Cleansing Movement" and required "incorporating the Four Cleansing Movement into the Cultural Revolution." In this way, the flames of the "Cultural Revolution" were fully ignited in cities, villages and various work units across the country without exception.

On December 26, Mao Zedong notified some people to attend the family banquet. Participants included Jiang Qing, Chen Boda, Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Li, Guan Feng, Qi Benyu, and Yao Wen Yuan. Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai, Kang Sheng, etc. were not notified. Mao Zedong made an important speech and raised his glass to wish the all-round class struggle in the whole country.

1967

On January 1, "People's Daily", "Red Flag" magazine, and "Liberation Army Daily" published editorials "Carrying the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Through to the End". The editorial stipulates that the political tasks of the whole party and the revolutionary masses in the whole country in 1967 are: "1967 will be the year when the class struggle will be launched in an all-round way in the whole country." It will be a year of general attack by those in power who take the capitalist road and the ghosts and monsters in society."

On the afternoon of January 4th, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and others took advantage of the opportunity to meet the "Wuhan Going to Guangzhou to Capture Wang Renzhong's Rebel Team" in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, and framed Tao Zhu as "a loyal implementer of the bourgeois reactionary line" and "Chinese The biggest royalist", "arbitrary behind the Central Cultural Revolution" and so on. Therefore, Tao Zhu, a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, an adviser to the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and known as the "No. 4 figure" in the CCP, was overthrown without any meeting and organizational procedures. Tao Zhu died in Hefei on November 30, 1969, at the age of 61, after suffering all kinds of persecution and torture. In December 1978, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China rehabilitated him and restored his reputation.

On January 6, under the planning of Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wen Yuan, in the name of rebel organizations such as the "Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebellion Headquarters" (referred to as the

General Department of Industry) and the "Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Organ Revolutionary Rebel Liaison Station" (referred to as the Liaison Station), Held the "Overthrow of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Conference" and issued three orders: announcing that Cao Diqu would no longer be recognized as the mayor of Shanghai; , Municipal People's Committee organs stop working. Set a precedent for the national seizure of power.

On January 8, Mao Zedong affirmed the seizure of power by Shanghai Wen Wei Po and Jiefang Daily. He said: "This is a great revolution, a great revolution in which one class overthrows another class." "Shanghai's revolutionary forces unite, and the whole country has hope. It must affect the entire East China, and affect all provinces and cities across the country."

January 12 According to Mao Zedong's instructions, the Central Cultural Revolution Group drafted a congratulatory message to various rebel groups in Shanghai, and published it in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution. Later, "People's Daily" and "Red Flag" magazine published editorials and reports, affirming Shanghai's seizure of power and calling on all localities to learn from Shanghai's experience. Since then, the "Cultural Revolution" has entered a new stage of comprehensive power seizure.

On January 13, in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council, "Several Regulations on Strengthening Public Security Work in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (the "Six Articles for Public Security") were issued. It clearly stipulates: "Attacking and slandering the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao are all current counter-revolutionary acts and should be punished according to law." Those who are dissatisfied are also punished as current counter-revolutionaries. This provision was one of the major sources of disasters that resulted in a large number of unjust, false, and wrong cases during the "Cultural Revolution."

On January 19th and 22nd, a meeting of the Central Military Commission was held at the Jingxi Hotel, mainly discussing the issue of whether the army should engage in the "Big Four". Jiang Qing, Chen Boda and others asked the army to mobilize the masses and carry out the "Four Great Movements". Kang Sheng said that the army should not be special. Ye Jianying, Chen Yi, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen and others firmly disagreed. When it came to the fact that many senior generals in the army were being gang-fought and their homes ransacked one after another, the old commanders were very angry. They knocked on the table and overturned the coffee table.

On January 23, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution jointly issued the "Decision on the People's Liberation Army Resolutely Supporting the Revolutionary Left Masses." Since then, the central government has issued new instructions to expand the tasks of the People's Liberation Army from supporting the left to supporting workers, supporting agriculture, military management, and military training; these are collectively referred to as "three branches and two armies." Using the People's Liberation Army to support the so-called "leftists" and carry out the struggle to seize power was Mao Zedong's major strategic decision to promote the "Cultural Revolution".

On January 28, the Central Military Commission issued the "Eight Orders".

From January 31 to March 8, Heilongjiang (January 31), Shandong (February 3), Shanghai (February 5), Guizhou (February 14), Shanxi (March 8), etc. Provincial and municipal revolutionary committees were established.

On February 8, Mao Zedong talked with Sisni Kabo and Bekir Baluku of the Albanian party and government delegation, and talked systematically about his intention to launch the "Cultural Revolution" and introduced the development of the "Cultural Revolution" situations and problems. He said: "In the past we engaged in

struggles in the countryside, in factories, in the cultural circles, and carried out socialist education campaigns, but we could not solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, openly, comprehensively, Mobilize the broad masses from the bottom up to expose our dark side." Mao Zedong also criticized the anarchist thought of "doubting everything and overthrowing everything" that was popular at the time.

On February 11, at the meeting of the Central Committee hosted by Zhou Enlai at Huairan Hall in Zhongnanhai, Ye Jianying and Xu Xiangqian continued to sharply criticize Chen Boda and others on the issue of the "Cultural Revolution" in the army.

At the central meeting on February 16, the conflict broke out more intensely. At the meeting, Tan Zhenlin, Chen Yi, Li Xiannian, Ye Jianying, Yu Qiuli, etc. sharply criticized the cruel punishment of veteran cadres and the "Hundred Ugly Picture" and other issues. The next day, Tan Zhenlin wrote another letter to Lin Biao, comparing Jiang Qing to "Wu Zetian", saying that he had "been intolerable" against Jiang Qing's perverse actions and had "made up his mind, ready to sacrifice, fight and fight." These were later called "Hailen Hall". Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Li checked and sorted out the records of the central meeting in private that night. After conspiring with Jiang Qing, Jiang Qing arranged for them to report to Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong listened to their reports.

In the early morning of February 19, Mao Zedong convened a meeting and severely criticized Tan Zhenlin and other old comrades who participated in the Central Meeting. And it was decided that Tan Zhenlin, Chen Yi, Xu Xiangqian and others should "ask for leave for review".

From February 25 to March 18, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held seven life meetings to criticize Chen Yi, Tan Zhenlin, Xu Xiangqian, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Ye Jianying, and Nie Rongzhen. Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda, Xie Fuzhi and others distorted the facts, made unlimited claims, imposed charges such as "anti-Party" and "February countercurrent", and criticized

these members of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, the Vice Premier of the State Council, and the Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China. . Since then, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, which adjusted the by-elections at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, ceased its activities, and the Secretariat of the Central Committee no longer worked, and was completely replaced by the Central Cultural Revolution Group.

From February 26 to March 15, the Central Military Commission held a meeting of cadres above the military level in Beijing. The center of the meeting was to raise the understanding of the "Cultural Revolution" and the struggle between the two lines among the senior military cadres, to thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line, in order to do a good job in supporting the Left, and resolutely carry the "Cultural Revolution" through to the end. On March 23, Mao Zedong received all the comrades present at the meeting.

On March 16, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Instructions on Printing and Distributing the Materials of Bo Yibo, Liu Lantao, An Ziwen, Yang Xianzhen and Others Surrendering and Rebelling" and the attachments, and Bo Yibo and others decided to publish successively from August 1936 to March 1937. The prison was wrongly defined as "surrender and rebellion". Since then, the vicious trend of "catching traitors" has blown across the country (this wrongful case was declared completely rehabilitated on December 16, 1978).

On March 20, Lin Biao spoke at a meeting of cadres above the military level, proposing the "Cultural Revolution" as "the victory or defeat of this struggle determines where China will go, determines China's destiny, and also determines the destiny of the entire human race." He said: "We have fought a great victory, won a great victory, a great victory for the Chinese people, and a great victory for mankind. We must have such a general view." Based on this, Lin Biao said a sentence that was widely used in the "Cultural

Revolution" The "famous saying" circulating: "The loss is the smallest, the smallest, and the smallest, but the achievement is the largest, the largest, and the largest." He incited to "take the initiative to attack" and "sweep him with 10th, 11th, and 12th typhoons."

On April 1, "People's Daily" published Qi Benyu's "Patriotism or Traitorism?" reviewed and approved by Mao Zedong. —Comment on the reactionary film "Secret History of the Qing Palace", using "Chinese Khrushchev" as a special pronoun to attack Liu Shaoqi. Qi Benyu's article became a signal, setting off an upsurge of criticizing "Chinese Khrushchev" across the country.

From April 12th to 18th at the enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao and others made speeches, weaving and criticizing the so-called "crimes" of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping.

On April 20, the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee was established. The director Xie Fuzhi, and the deputy directors Wu De, Zheng Weishan, Fu Chongbi, and Nie Yuanzi. Zhou Enlai represented Mao Zedong, Lin Biao represented the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, and the Central Military Commission, and Jiang Qing represented the Central Cultural Revolution.

On May 8, "People's Daily" and "Red Flag" magazine published an editorial article "The key to "cultivation" is to betray the dictatorship of the proletariat" which was discussed and approved by the enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China said in a notice on May 11: "We hope that all units will further carry out a massive criticism campaign against the largest group of people in power who take the capitalist road in the party."

On May 17, Jiang Qing framed and attacked Zhou Enlai by using the so-called "Notice of Wu Hao and others' Leaving the Communist Party" forged by the KMT's secret service in the 1930s.

On the 19th, Zhou Enlai wrote to Mao Zedong, explaining the whole story and attaching relevant historical materials. After Mao Zedong read it, he gave his instructions and handed them over to the comrades of the Central Cultural Revolution Group for review and storage. In December, someone wrote a letter to Mao Zedong on this matter. On January 16, 1968, Mao Zedong made a comment on this: "This matter has long been clarified, and it is the Kuomintang's rumors and slanders." As a result, Jiang Qing's conspiracy failed.

On May 18, "Red Flag" magazine and "People's Daily" published an editorial article "Great Historical Documents" to commemorate the first anniversary of the "May 16 Notice". The article said that Mao Zedong creatively "solved the revolutionary problem under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and was "three great milestones in the history of the development of Marxism."

On May 31, the "Liberation Army Daily" published an editorial: "Standing Up the Absolute Authority of Mao Zedong Thought."

On June 6, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee issued a seven-point circular, demanding to "correct the recent unhealthy trends of beating, smashing, looting, copying, and arresting."

On June 17, my country's first hydrogen bomb exploded successfully in the western region. From the atomic bomb to the hydrogen bomb, the United States took seven years, the Soviet Union took four years, and China only took two years and eight months to develop it successfully.

On July 2, Xinhua News Agency published a short commentary: "A Great Joy for the People of the World—Warm Congratulations to the Wide Distribution of "Quotations from Chairman Mao" Around the World." In 1967 alone, 350 million copies of "Quotations from Chairman Mao" were published.

On July 3, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution issued another announcement, proposing six measures to strictly prohibit disrupting traffic, robbing military trains, attacking PLA institutions, and killing PLA commanders and fighters. On the 24th, the central government once again issued a circular, making six regulations to stop violent incidents in some areas.

On July 18, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, and Chen Boda, taking advantage of Mao Zedong's departure from Beijing, decided without authorization to organize a meeting to criticize Liu Shaoqi and his wife, and ransacked his home and persecuted Liu Shaoqi.

On July 20, an incident occurred in Wuhan where the mass organization "Millions of Heroes" grabbed Wang Li, a member of the Central Cultural Revolution, and hundreds of thousands of people marched in the streets, shouting "Down with Wang Li". Lin Biao and Jiang Qing slandered the incident as a "counter-revolutionary coup", saying that Chen Zaidao and Zhong Hanhua, who were in charge of the Wuhan Military Region, were the main messengers, and Xu Xiangqian, vice chairman of the Military Commission, was the backstage. They not only organized a grand demonstration to welcome Wang Li when he returned to Beijing, but also decided to hold a meeting of one million people in Tiananmen Square on the 25th. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others attended the meeting in person. At the same time, it created momentum across the country, and all localities fought against the local "Chen Zaidao", setting off a wave of attacks on military institutions. Chen Zaidao, Zhong Hanhua and others were dismissed from their leadership positions in the Wuhan Military Region, and the Independent Division of the Wuhan Military Region was branded as a "rebel army", disbanded and its designation revoked. The "Millions of Heroes" were branded as "counter-revolutionary organizations" and "hundred bandits", and a large-scale investigation and struggle was carried out in the whole province of Hubei. According to statistics, more than 184,000 cadres, soldiers, and civilians were killed, maimed, or injured during this

investigation. More than 600 people were killed in Wuhan alone. In November 1978, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved the report of the Hubei Provincial Party Committee, officially rehabilitating the "July 20 Incident".

On July 22, Jiang Qing made a speech to representatives of a group of mass organizations in Henan, inciting violence with the so-called slogan of "Cultural Attack, Military Defense". The next day, Shanghai's "Wen Wei Po" publicly published the slogan "Cultural Attack, Military Defense". Since then, armed struggles across the country have escalated sharply, resulting in a situation of "all-out civil war".

On August 7, Xie Fuzhi publicly put forward the slogan of "thoroughly smashing the public security (security), procuratorial (procuratorate), and court (court)" at the mass meeting of the Ministry of Public Security. Many police officers were arrested and imprisoned. Within the Ministry of Public Security alone, 225 cadres and workers were labeled as "secret agents," "traitors," and "counter-revolutionaries," among others, and 47 of them were arrested and imprisoned. Among the seven deputy ministers of the Ministry of Public Security before the "Cultural Revolution", except for one part-time deputy minister (Wang Dongxing), the other deputy ministers were successively arrested, detained, and some were persecuted to death. According to statistics from relevant departments, more than 34,400 cadres and police officers in the public security, procuratorial, and judicial systems across the country have been persecuted, including more than 1,100 people who were persecuted to death, and more than 3,600 people who were injured and disabled. None of the 10 directors and deputy directors of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau was spared, and half of the cadres above the division level were beaten into various "enemies." As a result, the entire public security, procuratorial and judicial institutions were paralyzed, and in the end only military control could be imposed on the public, procuratorial and judicial institutions.

On the same day, when Wang Li, a member of the Central Cultural Revolution, met with representatives of the rebels from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he affirmed that "it is of course the right direction to pull Chen Yi." Under the instigation of Wang Li, the rebels smashed the Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, closed the party committee of the Ministry, and claimed to have seized the diplomatic power. He also issued orders to our foreign agencies in the name of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs without authorization, causing a series of foreign-related incidents.

On August 9, Lin Biao delivered a speech, putting forward such absurd propositions as "the current revolution is to revolutionize the lives we had previously revolutionized", and advocated "the establishment of a new state institution".

On August 10, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution issued the "Order on Sending National Defense Forces to Maintain Railway Traffic".

From August 12 to the end of the year Qinghai (August 12), Inner Mongolia (November 1), and Tianjin (December 6) three provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions revolutionary committees were established.

On August 22, the so-called "Capital Proletarian Revolutionary Anti-imperialist and Anti-revisionist Liaison Station" held a denunciation meeting in front of the British agency on the grounds that the British Hong Kong authorities persecuted our journalists stationed in Hong Kong. After the meeting, the rebels rushed into the agency and set fire to cars and office buildings, causing a serious illegal foreign-related incident.

On August 26, Mao Zedong approved Zhou Enlai's report and implemented quarantine inspections on Wang Li and Guan Feng. In January 1968, Qi Benyu was also quarantined for inspection. Since then, the situation of out-of-control foreign relations has gradually improved.

From July to September, Mao Zedong inspected North China, Central South and East China, and delivered many speeches. Mao Zedong believed: "The situation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution across the country is very good, not small. The overall situation is better than ever before." He defended the "chaos" by saying: "Some places seemed to be chaotic a while ago, but in fact they were chaotic. Enemies have tempered the masses." He called on revolutionary mass organizations in various places to realize a great revolutionary unity. He said: "As long as the two factions are revolutionary mass organizations, a great revolutionary alliance must be realized under the principle of revolution." Mao Zedong said: "The vast majority of cadres are good, and only a small number of bad ones. Yes Those in power within the party who are taking the capitalist road must be punished, but they are only a handful." "We must expand the scope of education." He emphasized: "The correct treatment of cadres is to implement the revolutionary three-in-one combination, consolidate the revolutionary alliance, and do a good job in the struggle, criticism, and reform of the unit. The key issues must be resolved." Mao Zedong's speech on October 7, 1967, by The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China officially forwarded it to other places for learning. It played a positive role in liberating a group of cadres and restraining the chaos from worsening.

On September 8, "People's Daily" published Yao Wenyan's "Comment on Tao Zhu's Two Books". When reviewing this article, Mao Zedong added a paragraph, pointing out the problem of the "May 16 counter-revolutionary group".

On September 13, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution jointly issued: "Notice on Strictly Prohibiting Looting of State Materials and Commodities, Storming Warehouses, and Securing State Property."

On October 1, Lin Biao made a speech at the 18th anniversary of the National Day, saying that the "Cultural Revolution" had

achieved a "decisive victory"; , so that they will never stand up."

On October 14, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution jointly issued the "Notice on the Resumption of Classes in Universities and Primary Schools to Cause Revolution".

On October 21, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution issued the "Notice on Soliciting Opinions on the Ninth National Congress".

On October 27, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution issued the "Instructions on Resuming the Party's Organizational Life in Units that Have Established Revolutionary Committees."

On November 6, "People's Daily", "Red Flag" magazine, and "Liberation Army Daily" jointly published an editorial article reviewed and revised by Mao Zedong: "Advance along the road opened by the October Socialist Revolution". For the first time, this article summarized Mao Zedong's erroneous thesis of launching the "Cultural Revolution" into the so-called "theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat".

On December 2, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution issued "Opinions and Questions on Rectifying, Restoring, and Rebuilding the Party."

1968

On January 1, "People's Daily", "Red Flag" magazine, and "Liberation Army Daily" jointly published an editorial on New Year's Day: "Welcome to the Comprehensive Victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". Proposed five tasks for 1968. For the first time published Mao Zedong's instructions in a document on October 27, 1967: "The party organization should be composed of advanced elements of the proletariat, and should be able to lead the

proletariat and the revolutionary masses to fight against class enemies. organization.” The editorial called it “our great program for party consolidation and party building.”

From January 5 to March 20, the central government successively approved Jiangxi (January 5), Gansu (January 23), Henan (January 25), Hubei (February 1), and Guangdong (February 20).), Jilin (February 22), Zhejiang (March 18), and Jiangsu (March 20) were established in nine provinces.

On March 22, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution issued an order to revoke Yang Chengwu's positions as acting chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army and member of the Standing Committee of the Central Military Commission; to revoke Yu Lijin's positions as political commissar of the Air Force, and to charge him as a "traitor" and arrest him. Legal action; Fu Chongbi's post as commander of the Beijing Garrison was revoked. On the 24th, a ten-thousand-person meeting of officials stationed in Beijing, troops and regiments and above was held in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. Central orders were read out at the meeting. Lin Biao made a long speech. He listed Yang Chengwu's three crimes as follows: first, he engaged in sectarianism; second, he engaged in double-dealing; Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing, etc. also attended the meeting and spoke. After the Lin Biao incident, Mao Zedong's views on the matter changed. Yang, Yu, and Fu successively released the status of being under guardianship, and resumed the corresponding leadership work. In March 1979, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China officially issued a document to completely rehabilitate the "Yang, Yu, and Fu Incident".

From April to May, Ningxia (April 4), Hunan (April 6), Anhui (April 14), Shaanxi (April 30), Liaoning (May 8), Sichuan (May September 28) and other six provinces and autonomous regions, the Revolutionary Committees were established.

On May 15, Xie Fuzhi gave a speech on the issue of class ranks at the plenary meeting of the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

On May 25, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Cultural Revolution forwarded Mao Zedong's notice on the "Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory Military Control Committee's Experience in Mobilizing the Masses to Struggle Against the Enemy", demanding that "the work of cleaning up the class ranks should be done well with steps and leadership."

On July 21, Kang Sheng said in a top-secret letter that "the essential requirements are to be submitted to Comrade Jiang Qing himself," and said: "Send the list you want." In this list, among the 193 members and alternate members of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 88 were framed as "secret agents", "traitors", "intelligent foreign elements", and "anti-Party elements". There are 7 people who have been included in the "stand aside and have not yet been included in the project", and 29 people who have "wrong or need to be investigated in history". These include party and state leaders Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, Chen Yun, Deng Xiaoping, Peng Zhen, Chen Yi, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Li Xiannian, etc. Afterwards, Kang Sheng and others ordered the person in charge of the Central Organization Department to fabricate the "Report on the Political Situation of the Central Supervisory Committee Members". 37 of the 60 members and alternate members of the Eighth Central Supervisory Committee of the Communist Party of China were framed as "traitors", "secret agents", and "counter-revolutionary revisionists". Fabricated the "Report on the Political Situation of Members of the Standing Committee of the Third National People's Congress" and "Report on the Political Situation of the Standing Committee Members of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference", and included 60 of the 115 members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and 60 of the 159 members of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative

Conference. The 74 people were framed as "traitors", "secret agents", "counter-revolutionary revisionists" and so on.

On July 27, more than 60 factories in Beijing formed a "Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team of Capital Workers" with more than 30,000 people, and marched into Tsinghua University, where factional struggles were fierce at that time, to rectify order and stop violence. Kuai Dafu, the head of Tsinghua Jinggangshan, ordered the resistance to be fired, resulting in bloodshed. But soon the Worker Propaganda Team took control of the entire campus.

In the early morning of July 28, Mao Zedong urgently summoned five people including Nie Yuanzi, Kuai Dafu, Han Aijing, Tan Houlan, and Wang Dabin, and severely criticized them. Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing and others were present. The conversation lasted five hours.

On August 5, Mao Zedong donated the mangoes given by foreign friends to the Workers Propaganda Team, and the newspapers and periodicals reported the matter with great fanfare. On the 15th, Mao Zedong met with representatives of the Workers Propaganda Team and expressed his support and concern.

From August 13 to 26, the revolutionary committees of Yunnan (August 13), Fujian (August 14), and Guangxi (August 26) and autonomous regions were established.

On August 25, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution jointly issued the "Notice on Sending Workers' Propaganda Teams into Schools", requiring that "under the leadership of the Revolutionary Committee, excellent industrial workers should be the main body, and the People's Liberation Army fighters should be formed. The Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team entered each school in batches."

On August 26, "People's Daily" published Yao Wenyan's article "The Working Class Must Lead Everything", which conveyed Mao

Zedong's instructions: "To realize the proletarian education revolution, there must be the leadership of the working class and the participation of the masses of workers. Among the students, teachers, and workers who are determined to carry the proletarian educational revolution through to the end, implement the revolutionary three-in-one combination. The worker propaganda team must stay in the school for a long time, participate in all tasks of struggle, criticism, and reform in the school, and lead the school forever. In rural areas, schools should be run by poor and lower-middle peasants, the most reliable allies of the working class." Yao Wen Yuan said: "Where there are many intellectuals, whether it is a school or other units, there should be workers and the People's Liberation Army. Go in, break the monopoly of intellectuals, and occupy those independent kingdoms, large and small." By the end of August, all 59 colleges and universities in the capital had stationed workers' Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Teams. Since then, the method of dispatching "worker propaganda teams" and "military propaganda teams" to schools has been gradually expanded to urban and rural areas across the country.

On September 5, the revolutionary committees of the two autonomous regions of Tibet and Xinjiang were established at the same time. So far, 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions in the mainland of the motherland have successively established revolutionary committees. "People's Daily" and "Liberation Army Daily" jointly published an editorial: "Long live the overall victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!" ". Announced that "the country's mountains and rivers are all red."

On September 12, "People's Daily" and "Red Flag" magazine published a commentator's article "On the Re-education of Intellectuals", arguing that "the working class has entered the cultural and educational positions, and the working targets are mainly intellectuals." And quoted Mao Zedong as saying: "In the entire process of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the transformation of intellectuals is a huge problem."

October 5th "People's Daily" published a newsletter entitled "Liuhe "May 7th" Cadre School Provided New Experience for the Revolutionization of Organs". Mao Zedong's call was published in the newsletter: "The majority of cadres are sent to work. This is an excellent opportunity for cadres to re-learn, except for the old, weak, sick and disabled. The in-service cadres should also be sent to work in batches." After that, Various "May 7th Cadre Schools" have been set up in various places, sending former cadres from party and government agencies and teachers from colleges and universities to work and study. Hundreds of thousands of cadres across the country went to the countryside to participate in physical labor. In February 1979, the State Council issued the "Notice on Relevant Issues Concerning Closing the "May 7th" Cadre Schools."

From October 13th to 31st, the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Enlarged Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing. Among the 97 members of the Eighth Central Committee, except for the 10 who died since the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee, only 40 attended this meeting. At the time of the meeting, 10 alternate members of the Central Committee were replaced as members of the Central Committee, which was just over half. Only 9 alternate members of the Eighth Central Committee attended the meeting. As many as 74 members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group and members of the Military Commission's working group were expanded to participate in this meeting, accounting for more than 57% of the number of people present at the meeting. Mao Zedong presided over the meeting and spoke on the issue of the "Cultural Revolution". He clearly stated: "This Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing the restoration of capitalism, and building socialism." The meeting agreed with Mao Zedong's thesis. Under extremely abnormal circumstances, the plenary meeting approved the "Review Report on the Crimes of Traitor, Internal Traitor, and Scab Liu Shaoqi" written with perjury under the chairmanship of Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi, etc., and made a decision to expel Liu Shaoqi from the party forever , revoked all his positions inside and

outside the party". Chen Shaomin, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China who attended the meeting, was not afraid of high pressure and refused to agree to this decision. There are countless party members and cadres implicated in this case across the country, and as many as 28,000 people have been sentenced for this alone. In February 1980, the Fifth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China officially passed a resolution to completely rehabilitate Liu Shaoqi's unjust case.

On October 16, "People's Daily" reprinted the fourth editorial of "Red Flag" magazine "Absorbing Fresh Blood from the Proletariat—An Important Issue in Party Consolidation Work". This editorial clearly stated for the first time to criticize the "Black Six Theories" of "Chinese Khrushchev", namely "the theory of the extinguishment of class struggle", "the theory of taming tools", "the theory of backwardness of the masses", "the theory of joining the party and becoming an official", "Intra-Party Peace Theory" and "Public and Private Dissolution Theory" (i.e. "Small losses and big gains"). Since then, a wave of criticism of the so-called "Black Six Theory" has been set off in national newspapers and periodicals.

On November 10, when Mao Zedong received foreign guests, he said: "We have fought for 22 years in the past, and this battle was easy to fight. The battle of the Cultural Revolution was not easy to fight, because the enemy is not very clear."

On November 12, "People's Daily", "Red Flag" magazine, and "Liberation Army Daily" published editorials: "Seriously study the history of the two-line struggle". The editorial said: "The history of our party is the history of the struggle between the two lines." "The Cultural Revolution was a decisive battle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line represented by Liu Shaoqi."

On December 22, "People's Daily" published an article titled "We also have two hands, so we don't want to be idle in the city!" " newsletter, the editor's note conveyed Mao Zedong's instructions: "It

is very necessary for educated youth to go to the countryside and receive re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants. We must persuade urban cadres and others to send their junior high school, high school, and university graduates Children, send them to the countryside for mobilization. Comrades from all over the countryside should welcome them." Since then, there has been an upsurge of educated youth going to the mountains and going to the countryside. During the "Cultural Revolution", more than 16 million educated youths went to the mountains and went to the countryside, and the state, enterprises, and institutions spent more than 10 billion yuan on the resettlement of the educated youths.

On December 29, the Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge was fully completed and opened to traffic. The total length of the bridge and railway is more than 6,700 meters, and the total length of the road bridge is more than 4,500 meters. This is the largest bridge designed and constructed by our country since the founding of the People's Republic of my country.

1969

On January 1, "People's Daily", "Red Flag" magazine, and "Liberation Army Daily" published the New Year's Day editorial "Using Mao Zedong Thought to Command Everything", which conveyed Mao Zedong's instructions: "To clean up the ranks of the class, one must pay close attention to it, and the other is to pay attention to policy. "The editorial said: "The work of cleaning up the ranks of the class must be paid close attention to, because only by doing a good job in this work and digging out a very small number of hidden enemies can the class front be clearly defined and the various tasks of struggle, criticism, and reform be cleared up. It was able to proceed smoothly." The clean-up class teams in all regions and units across the country have resulted in a large number of unjust, false and wrongly decided cases. For example, Yan Fengying, a well-known performing artist of Huangmei Opera, Fu Qifang, Jiang Yongning, and Rong Guotuan, three masters of table

tennis, were all persecuted to death in the ranks of the clean-up class.

On March 2, Soviet troops invaded the Zhenbao Island area of Heilongjiang Province and fired at Chinese border guards who were on patrol. Our border guards were forced to fight back, causing serious bloodshed. On the 15th, there was another larger-scale bloody conflict between the armies of the two sides. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of our country lodged strong protests to the Soviet government three times. On the 15th, Mao Zedong focused on the issue of war at the Central Cultural Revolution Meeting. "Prepare for war" later became an important guiding ideology of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

On March 15, Mao Zedong spoke to the members of the Central Cultural Revolution Meeting on the implementation of policies. He criticized the liquidation of class ranks for "arresting too many people, imprisoning too many people, and liberating too few people", emphasizing that "there must be a way out" and "there must be a distinction between capitalist roaders."

On March 21, Mao Zedong talked to the members of the Central Cultural Revolution Meeting about the preparations for the Ninth National Congress, and specifically invited Chen Yi, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian, and Nie Rongzhen to participate, and asked them to "study international issues." He also proposed that the report of the Ninth National Congress not talk about "February countercurrent".

From April 1st to 24th, the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing. There were 1,512 delegates present at the congress, representing about 22 million party members. There were three main items on the agenda of the congress: (1) Lin Biao made a political report on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; (2) Amendment of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China; (3) Election of the Central Committee of the Party. The Ninth National Congress elected 279 members and alternate members of the Central

Committee, of which there were only 53 members of the original Eighth Central Committee and alternate Central Committee members, less than one-fifth of the total number of the Ninth Central Committee. The main members of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing joined the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and many cronies and followers joined the Central Committee of the Party. The ideological, political, and organizational guidelines of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China are completely wrong.

On April 28, the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing. The plenary session elected the central leadership: Chairman Mao Zedong of the Central Committee, Vice Chairman Lin Biao; members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee Mao Zedong, Lin Biao (the following are in alphabetical order of surnames), Chen Boda, Zhou Enlai, and Kang Sheng. Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee Mao Zedong, Lin Biao (in alphabetical order of surnames), Ye Qun, Ye Jianying, Liu Bochong, Jiang Qing, Zhu De, Xu Shiyong, Chen Boda, Chen Xilian, Li Xiannian, Li Zuopeng, Wu Faxian, Zhang Chunqiao, Qiu Huizuo, Zhou Enlai, Yao Wenyuan, Kang Sheng, Huang Yongsheng, Dong Biwu, Xie Fuzhi; alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee Ji Dengkui, Li Xuefeng, Li Desheng, Wang Dongxing.

On June 9, He Long, a proletarian revolutionist, outstanding statesman and military strategist, and one of the founders of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, was framed during the "Cultural Revolution" and persecuted to death at the age of 73. On September 29, 1974, proposed by Zhou Enlai and approved by Mao Zedong, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on the Restoration of Comrade He Long's Honor".

In June, the Military Commission Working Group chaired by Huang Yongsheng and others held a symposium. Under the slogan of "preparing for war", this symposium put forward a huge national defense construction plan in accordance with Lin Biao's requirement

of "observing everything, checking everything, and implementing everything from the perspective of war". Due to the blind expansion of military production, the national defense combat readiness expenditure in 1969 soared by 34% compared with the previous year. In 1970 and 1971, it continued to increase by 15% and 16%. In the three years from 1969 to 1971, the national defense industry and national defense scientific research investment accounted for an average of 11% of the country's total capital construction investment, seriously affecting the normal development of the national economy.

On August 27, the central government decided to set up a national civil air defense leading group and provincial, municipal and autonomous region civil air defense leading groups.

On August 28, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued an order: the revolutionary committees of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions in the border areas, people of all ethnic groups, and all commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army troops stationed in the border areas are ready to smash the armed provocations of the US imperialists and Soviet revisionists at any time and prevent their surprise attacks. ... Fully prepare for the war against aggression.

On September 11, Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers A. N. Kosygin met with Premier Zhou Enlai of the People's Republic of China at Beijing Airport on his way home after attending Ho Chi Minh's funeral. The two sides agreed to take measures to normalize the border situation. And it was decided to resume the negotiations on the border issue interrupted in 1964 in Beijing in October. The meeting between the prime ministers of the two countries played a beneficial role in easing the extremely tense Sino-Soviet relations at that time.

On September 29, China's first 125,000-kilowatt dual-water internal cooling turbogenerator set was manufactured and installed in Shanghai, and officially generated electricity.

On October 17, Air Force Commander Wu Faxian signed an order according to Lin Biao's intention to promote Lin Ligu to the position of Deputy Director of the Air Force Command Office and Deputy Chief of Operations. In the afternoon of the next day, when Wu Faxian read this order to the cadres of the Air Force Command, he said: "In the future, everything in the Air Force will be reported to Comrade Lin Ligu, and Comrade Ligu can transfer the command." (referred to as "two everything")

On October 17, Lin Biao issued the No. 1 order to urgently strengthen combat readiness, requiring the entire army to enter a state of emergency combat readiness, and the command team to enter a wartime command position. On the 18th, Huang Yongsheng and others officially issued this "emergency instruction" with "Vice Chairman Lin's first order", which caused great shock in all aspects.

On November 12, Liu Shaoqi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China and former Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, died in Kaifeng at the age of 71 due to political persecution and physical abuse during the "Cultural Revolution".

On December 20th, Xinhua News Agency broadcast "Advanced Experience from the Sixth Factory and Two Schools Blooms and Bears Fruits in the Capital". The so-called six factories are: Beijing General Knitting Factory, Beijing Xinhua Printing Factory, Beijing No. 3 Chemical Factory, Beijing Beijiao Timber Factory, Beijing Erqi Locomotive and Rolling Stock Factory, and Beijing Nankou Locomotive and Rolling Stock Machinery Factory. The two schools are Tsinghua University and Peking University. At that time, it was said that the No. 6 Factory and No. 2 School were "a model for learning and applying Mao Zedong Thought".

1970

On January 31, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Instructions on Combating Counter-Revolutionary Sabotage Activities". Later, on February 5, the

"Instructions on Opposing Corruption, Theft, and Speculation" and "Notice on Opposing Extravagance and Waste" (the above collectively referred to as "one attack and three anti") were issued. According to the above-mentioned instructions, "one attack, three antis" campaigns have been launched in various places. By the end of November of the same year, the country had approved the arrest of more than 284,000 various elements, of whom more than 9,000 were sentenced to death. This movement has indeed cracked down on a small number of various criminals, but it has also resulted in many unjust, false and wrongly decided cases.

From February 25th to March 21st, the State Council held a national planning work conference to draw up the national economic plan for 1970, and began to study the outline (draft) of the fourth five-year plan. The meeting put forward the slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link, paying close attention to war preparations, and promoting a new leap in the national economy", and called for "concentrating efforts to build the strategic rear of the third front." The meeting set too high targets, resulting in new rash advances.

From March 17th to 20th, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a working meeting to discuss the convening of the Fourth National People's Congress and the revision of the Constitution. The issue of whether to establish a national chairman has become a focus of discussion. Most people at the meeting agreed with Mao Zedong's proposal that there should be no chairman of the country.

On March 27, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Cracking Down on the "May 16th" Counter-Revolutionary Conspiracy Group." On the one hand, the "Notice" proposes to prevent the tendency of expansion, but at the same time, it also emphasizes that there is not only one "May 16th" counter-revolutionary secret organization.

On April 11, Lin Biao put forward the idea of setting up the president of the country, and suggested that Mao Zedong should be the president of the country. The next day, Mao Zedong commented:

"I can't do this anymore, this discussion is inappropriate." In the six months before and after this, Mao Zedong said six times that there would be no chairman of the country and that he would not serve as the chairman of the country.

On April 24, my country's first artificial earth satellite was successfully launched.

On April 28, the Chinese government issued a statement supporting the meeting of the top leaders of Vietnam (North and South), Cambodia, and Laos. The statement pointed out: The Chinese government and Chinese people have always firmly supported the people of the three countries in Indochina against U.S. aggression, and regard this support as their due internationalist obligation.

On May 20, Mao Zedong published "People of the World Unite, Defeat the American Invaders and All Their lackeys!" "The statement supports the Indochinese people's anti-US and national salvation actions. Mass meetings and demonstrations were held in Beijing and in the provincial capitals, respectively, in support of Mao Zedong's statement.

On June 27, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved the "Peking University and Tsinghua University's Request for Instructions on Enrollment (Pilot)". With the promulgation of this report, colleges and universities across the country began to enroll students and resume classes after four years of suspension of enrollment.

On the same day, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice: 1969, 1970, and 1971 college graduates will be allocated from July 1970. The notice required graduates to go to rural areas, industrial and mining areas, border areas, and grassroots units to receive "re-education of workers, peasants, and soldiers."

On July 1, the Chengdu (Du) Kunming (Ming) Railway was completed and opened to traffic.

On July 31, Zhou Enlai convened a meeting of the State Council's business group to examine the issue of Zhang Linzhi, the former minister of coal industry, who was persecuted to death on January 22, 1967.

From August 23 to September 6, the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Lushan. At the opening meeting of the plenary session, Lin Biao delivered a speech praising Mao Zedong as a genius and insisting on setting up the president of the country. Later, at the group meeting, Chen Boda made speeches praising Lin Biao, insisting on setting up a state president, attacking Zhang Chunqiao without naming names, etc., and posted a briefing. There was a mess. On August 25, Mao Zedong convened an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and decided to withdraw the No. 2 briefing of the North China Group and ordered Chen Boda to review it. On August 31, Mao Zedong wrote the article "A Little Opinion", severely criticizing Chen Boda. This dealt a heavy blow to the Lin Biao Group.

From September 25th to October 5th, the State Council held the Northern Region Agricultural Conference. A total of 1,259 representatives from 14 northern provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions attended the meeting. The center of the conference was to solve the problems of slow agricultural development and self-sufficiency in food.

On October 26, the Tazara Railway broke ground. This was the largest engineering project that China aided a third world country at that time.

On October 28, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Convening Local Party Congresses at All Levels", requiring that the party committees at the provincial,

municipal, and autonomous region levels be basically established before July 1, 1971, the 50th anniversary of the founding of the party.

On November 6, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on the Study of Senior Cadres".

On the same day, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China made the "Decision on the Establishment of the Propaganda Group of the Central Organization". The "Decision" states: Under the leadership of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, a central organization propaganda group will be established. Kang Sheng served as the team leader, and Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan, Ji Dengkui, and Li Desheng were the team members. Administer the Organization Department of the Central Committee, the Central Party School, People's Daily, Red Flag Magazine, Xinhua News Agency, Central Broadcasting Bureau, Guangming Daily, Central Compilation and Translation Bureau, and the first-level institutions of the Workers', Youths' and Women's Central Committees and their May 7th Cadre Schools. The aftermath of the abolished Central Propaganda Department and Central Political Research Office. Since then, the power of central organization and propaganda has fallen into the hands of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyan.

On November 16, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Instructions on Communicating Chen Boda's Anti-Party Issues". The "Instructions" require that, in accordance with the arrangements made by the Party Central Committee, the "Criticism and Rectification" movement be carried out within the Party.

On December 18, Mao Zedong met with American journalist Edgar Snow. In this wide-ranging meeting and conversation, Mao Zedong revealed two important pieces of information: one was that he expressed his approval for talking with the most senior officials of the United States. The other is about the cult of personality, in which Lin Biao was criticized unambiguously but not by name. Said: "'Four Greats', disgusting!" The "Summary" of this conversation was printed

and distributed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the grassroots party branches in May 1971, and was orally conveyed to all party members.

On December 22, the North China Conference was held. A total of 449 people in charge of the party, government and military in North China participated in the meeting. After January 9, 1971, 143 people who participated in the symposium of the Military Commission also participated. At the meeting, the central government's decision to reorganize the Beijing Military Region was announced. Revoked the posts of Zheng Weishan as the commander of the Beijing Military Region and Li Xuefeng as the First Political Commissar of the Beijing Military Region and the Director of the Hebei Provincial Revolutionary Committee. Li Desheng was appointed as the Commander of the Beijing Military Region. Director. At the end of the meeting, Zhou Enlai made a summary report. The meeting ended on January 24, 1971.

On December 25, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved the construction of the Gezhou Dam project on the Yangtze River. Until January 1981, after a delay of five years from the original plan, the first phase of the project was basically completed, with a cumulative investment of 2.695 billion yuan.

1971

On January 8, Mao Zedong gave instructions to the Political Department of the Jinan Military Region's "Report on the Study and Implementation of Chairman Mao's "Army Be Cautious" Instructions": "This document is very good, and it clarifies the problem from the combination of theory and practice." On the 11th The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Central Military Commission, and the General Political Department issued the "Notice on Implementing Chairman Mao's Important Instructions on January 8," calling for "a self-education campaign that opposes arrogance and complacency and advocates modesty and prudence."

On February 19th, Mao Zedong gave instructions on a report by Zhou Enlai, and named the working group of the Military Commission. On the 20th, the working group of the Military Commission wrote a review report. Under Mao Zedong's repeated accusations, Huang Yongsheng and others had to make "self-criticism" at the meeting of the heads of units directly under the Military Commission. Mao Zedong instructed in their written review that "it is a matter of implementing these statements in the future."

On March 5, the Chinese party and government delegation visited Vietnam. On the 8th, Zhou Enlai and Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong signed a joint communiqué. The communiqué stated: "If U.S. imperialism continues to expand its war of aggression against Indochina, the Chinese people are determined to take all necessary measures, even at the cost of the greatest national sacrifice, to fully support the people of Vietnam and the peoples of Indochina, and to completely defeat U.S. aggression. By."

On March 15, Mao Zedong wrote a comment for the article "Long Live the Victory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune: "Our party has not read Marxism and Leninism for many years, and has not emphasized Marxism and Leninism. I don't even know what materialism and idealism are. There was a big joke in Mount Lu."

From March 21st to 24th, after Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Liguo conspired in Suzhou, they sent Lin Liguo to Shanghai to summon the main members of the "United Fleet" to formulate the counter-revolutionary armed coup plan "'571" Project Minutes", conspiring to instigate an armed coup, Murdered Mao Zedong in order to "seize national power".

On April 10, the American table tennis team was invited to visit China. This is the first American group invited to visit China after the founding of the People's Republic of China. They played games and visited in Beijing. On the afternoon of the 14th, Zhou Enlai met with the American table tennis team in the Great Hall of the People. The

visit of the US table tennis team to China caused great shock all over the world.

On April 7, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong sent Ji Dengkui and Zhang Caiqian to join the working group of the Military Commission. It was called "sand mixed" at that time.

From April 15th to 29th, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a "criticism and rectification" report meeting. A total of 449 people in charge of the central and local governments attended the meeting. On the 29th, Zhou Enlai made a summary on behalf of the Party Central Committee. He clearly pointed out that Huang Yongsheng and others "have a wrong direction and line in politics, and a mistake in sectarianism in organization."

From April 15th to July 31st, the National Education Work Conference was held in Beijing. The meeting approved the Minutes of the National Education Work Conference, which was drafted by Chi Qun, the head of the Military Propaganda Team of Tsinghua University, and reviewed and finalized by Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wen Yuan. The "Summary" denies the achievements of the education front in the 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, and puts forward the so-called "two estimates", namely: 17 years after liberation, "Chairman Mao's proletarian education line has basically not been implemented" and "the bourgeoisie has the politics of the proletariat"; the "world view of most teachers and the large number of students trained after liberation is basically bourgeois." The "Summary" was approved and issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on August 13 after Mao Zedong agreed. The "two estimates" made at this meeting and the many "left" policies put forward have severely suppressed the intellectuals for a long time.

On May 30, Zhou Enlai delivered a speech at the National Foreign Affairs Work Conference, expounding foreign policy under

the new situation, criticizing and correcting deviations in foreign propaganda work.

On June 18, Zhou Enlai attended the concluding meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. In his speech, he criticized the ultra-left trend of thought, such as burning the British agency, advocating sending troops to Hong Kong, severing diplomatic relations at will, smashing the embassy, and seizing power at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

From July 9th to 11th, Premier Zhou Enlai held talks with Kissinger, the special envoy of US President Nixon who was secretly visiting China, and National Security Affairs Assistant Henry Kissinger in Beijing.

On July 16, both China and the United States issued an announcement saying: President Nixon had expressed his desire to visit the People's Republic of China, and Zhou Enlai, on behalf of the Chinese government, invited President Nixon to visit China at an appropriate time before May 1972; President Nixon accepted this with pleasure. This incident became a major breakthrough in Sino-US relations.

From mid-August to September 12, Mao Zedong made an inspection tour in the south, and had many conversations with the leaders of the party, government and military in various places along the way. Mao Zedong said: "This Lushan meeting is another struggle between the two headquarters." He believes that the activities of Lin Biao and his group in Lushan "are planned, organized, and have a program. The program is to set up a state president, that is, 'Genius' is to oppose the line of the Ninth National Congress and overthrow the three agendas of the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee." Mao Zedong said: "Some people are eager to become the chairman of the country, want to split the party, and are eager to seize power." "The matter of Lushan is not over yet. It hasn't been resolved yet."

On September 13, Lin Biao defected and was killed in a plane crash in Undur Khan, Mongolia. On the 5th, Lin Biao and Ye Qun learned the content of Mao Zedong's southern tour from the secret reports of his party members, and decided to implement the "'571" Project Minutes" to murder Mao Zedong while he was traveling and launch an armed coup. On the 8th, Lin Biao issued a warrant to launch an armed coup, and handed it over to Lin Ligu's spy organization "United Fleet" for execution. Aware of Lin Biao's abnormal activities, Mao Zedong left Hangzhou early and then left Shanghai suddenly, which bankrupted the Lin Biao clique's plot to murder Mao Zedong during the trip. On the 12th, Mao Zedong arrived in Beijing safely. Lin Biao, Ye Qun, Lin Ligu, etc. saw the conspiracy brought to light, and fled to treason by plane in a hurry on the early morning of the 13th, passing through Undur Khan, Mongolia, where the plane crashed and died. The remnants of Lin Biao's clique either committed suicide or were captured without a fight. A counter-revolutionary armed coup plot was completely crushed. The demise of the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique objectively declared the bankruptcy of the theory and practice of the "Cultural Revolution".

On September 18, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice of Lin Biao's defection to senior cadres. This notification will be cascaded down later.

On October 3, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China decided to abolish the working group of the Military Commission and set up an office meeting of the Military Commission chaired by Ye Jianying, the vice chairman of the Military Commission. daily work. Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo, etc. left for inspection. On the same day, the central government decided to set up a central task force consisting of 10 people including Zhou Enlai, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan, Ji Dengkui, Li Desheng, Wang Dongxing, Wu De, and Wu Zhong. Under the leadership of the task force, set up a working organization, with Ji Dengkui and Wang Dongxing in

charge, to review the issues of Lin Biao and Chen Boda's anti-Party clique.

On October 25th, the 26th United Nations General Assembly passed the proposal of 23 countries including Albania and Algeria with 76 votes in favor, 35 votes against and 17 abstentions. Representatives of the United Nations were expelled from the United Nations and all its affiliated agencies. On November 15, the Chinese government delegation officially attended the plenary meeting of the 26th session of the United Nations General Assembly. The head of the delegation, Qiao Guanhua, delivered a speech at the meeting and was warmly welcomed.

On November 14, when Mao Zedong met Zhang Guohua, Liang Xingchu, Li Dazhang and others who participated in the symposium in Chengdu, he said: "You should stop talking about 'February Adverse Current'. What is the nature of 'February Adverse Current'? It was they who dealt with Lin Biao and Chen Boda, Wang (Li), Guan (Feng), Qi (Ben Yu)."

On December 11, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a notice to distribute one of the materials "The Struggle to Smash the Counter-Revolutionary Coup of the Lin-Chen Anti-Party Clique" compiled by the Central Task Force to the whole country for discussion inside and outside the party. Afterwards, the second and third materials of "The Struggle to Smash the Counter-Revolutionary Coup of the Lin-Chen Anti-Party Clique" and "The Struggle to Smash the Counter-Revolutionary Coup of the Lin Biao Anti-Party Clique" were successively issued, and the Criticism and Rectification of Lin Biao was carried out throughout the country.

From December 16th to February 12th of the following year, the National Planning Conference was held in Beijing. At this meeting, it was proposed that criticism of Lin should be based on the reality of the economic front, criticize the "empty politics" advocated by Lin Biao and his group, and solve the evil consequences of their interference and sabotage. Subsequently, the State Council presided over the drafting of the "1972 National Planning Conference

Minutes" (referred to as the "Industrial Ten Articles"), which proposed a number of rectification measures. The meeting minutes were not issued due to Zhang Chunqiao's obstruction.

On December 26, the "Instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Distribution of Rural People's Communes" drafted under the guidance of Zhou Enlai was issued. The "Instructions" emphasized that the rural areas should develop in an all-round way, and the permitted diversification should not be criticized as capitalism; it stipulated some specific policies that were conducive to collectively increasing production and increasing individual income, reducing farmers' burdens, and making distributions come true. This instruction was welcomed by the broad masses of cadres and the masses in the countryside.

On December 30, my country's Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement protesting against the United States and Japan's inclusion of my country's Diaoyu Islands and other islands in Japan's "return zone" and reaffirming my country's territorial sovereignty over these islands.

1972

On January 6, Chen Yi, Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission, Vice Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, died in Beijing at the age of 71. A memorial service will be held on the 10th. Mao Zedong personally participated in the memorial service, which was the first time since the "Cultural Revolution". He said to Chen Yi's wife Zhang Qian: Chen Yi is a good man and a good comrade. If Lin Biao's conspiracy is carried out, we old people will be wiped out. Mao Zedong also stated that the nature of the Deng Xiaoping issue was a contradiction among the people. These words of his quickly spread to the society through various channels and had a great impact.

On February 5, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai approved the State Planning Commission's "Report on the Import of Complete Sets of Chemical Fiber and Fertilizer Technology Equipment", and resumed

the introduction of complete sets of equipment and new technologies that had been interrupted for many years.

From February 21st to 28th, US President Nixon visited my country. Mao Zedong meets Nixon. Zhou Enlai and Nixon discussed the normalization of relations between the two countries and other issues of mutual concern. On the 28th, China and the United States issued a joint communique in Shanghai, marking the beginning of the normalization of relations between China and the United States.

On March 26, Xie Fuzhi died of illness at the age of 63. Xie Fuzhi was a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, secretary of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, and the main person in charge of Beijing and the Beijing Military Region. During the "Cultural Revolution", Xie Fuzhi directly participated in the conspiracy activities of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others to usurp the party and seize power, and committed serious crimes. On October 16, 1980, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China decided to expel Xie Fuzhi from the party and revoke the original eulogy for him. In January 1981, the Special Tribunal of the Supreme People's Court of my country confirmed that he was the principal criminal in the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary group case.

On April 7, the State Planning Commission issued the "Notice on Strictly Controlling the Increase of Employees and Fully Exploiting the Existing Labor Potential", which made some specific regulations on issues such as the number of employees exceeding 50 million in 1971 and the decline in labor productivity.

On April 24, "People's Daily" published an editorial "Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, cure illnesses and save lives" reviewed and approved by Zhou Enlai. The editorial said: "We must believe that more than 90% of the cadres are good and relatively good. Most of those who have made mistakes can be corrected." Precious wealth", should earnestly implement the party's cadre policy.

On May 1, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Eliminating the "Back Door" Phenomenon in the Enrollment Work of Colleges and Universities."

From May 21st to June 23rd, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a report meeting to criticize and rectify the movement in Beijing. A total of 312 people from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and heads of provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions attended the meeting. At the meeting, Zhou Enlai made reports such as "Personal Understanding of Our Party's Six Line Struggles in the Stage of the New Democratic Revolution" and "The Truth About the KMT's Rumors and Insulting Publishing of the So-called "Wu Hao Incident"".

On August 1, the Ministry of National Defense held a grand reception to celebrate the 45th anniversary of the founding of the PLA. Ye Jianying delivered a speech. Chen Yun, Wang Zhen, Teng Daiyuan and other veteran cadres who were persecuted attended the reception. This is the Army Day reception that veteran cadres have attended and published the most since the "Cultural Revolution".

On August 14, Mao Zedong issued instructions to Deng Xiaoping's letter. The instructions said: "Comrade Deng Xiaoping's mistakes are serious. But he should be distinguished from Liu Shaoqi. (1) He was punished in the Soviet area, that is, one of the four sinners Deng, Mao, Xie, and Gu, and he belonged to the so-called Maoists. The leader. The material on his rectification can be found in the two books "Two Lines" and "Since the Sixth National Congress". The person who came forward to rectify him was Zhang Wentian. (2) He has no historical problems, that is, he has not surrendered to the enemy. (3) He assisted Comrade Liu Bocheng in fighting He is capable and has military exploits. Besides, after entering the city, he did not do any good deeds. For example, he led a delegation to Moscow to negotiate, and he did not succumb to

Soviet revisionism. I have talked about these things many times in the past. Now say it again."

On August 21, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Soliciting Opinions on the Issue of the Three Branches and Two Armies", with the attached "Decision on Several Issues Concerning the Three Branches and Two Armies" (draft), affirming that "the achievements of the entire Three Branches and Two Armies are huge. ", at the same time pointed out: "The conspiracy of Lin Biao's anti-party clique disrupted the work of the three branches and two armies in some respects." The "Decision" stated: "In order to strengthen the unified leadership of the party," all localities and units that have established party committees will cancel the institutions and personnel of the three branches and two armies. Since then, various leftist support leading groups, offices, headquarters, liaison stations and other institutions have been dismantled one after another. The personnel of the three armies and the two armies withdrew to the army one after another, except for those who had been determined to stay in the place.

In August, Jiang Qing had many long talks with the visiting American associate professor Roxanne Whitaker (female) in Beijing, Guangzhou and other places for about 60 hours. Jiang Qing fabricated history in his conversation, tried his best to beautify himself, belittled and slandered the central leaders, and was severely criticized by Mao Zedong.

On September 1, He Xiangning, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang, and honorary chairman of the All-China Women's Federation, died of illness in Beijing at the age of 95. On the 6th, He Xiangning's coffin was transported to Nanjing, and according to her own wishes, she was buried in Liao Zhongkai's cemetery under Zijin Mountain in the eastern suburbs of Nanjing.

From September 25th to 29th, Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka was invited to visit China. Zhou Enlai and Tanaka Kakuei

held talks on the normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations. Mao Zedong met with Kakuei Tanaka. On the 29th, the Chinese and Japanese governments signed a joint statement in Beijing, realizing the normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations.

On October 1, "People's Daily", "Red Flag" magazine, and "Liberation Army Daily" jointly published the editorial "Seize New Victory". Among them, it is proposed: "speed up the pace of socialist construction"; "continue to implement Chairman Mao's cadre policy, intellectual policy, economic policy and other proletarian policies"; , to learn business, culture and technology for the revolution".

On October 6, the article "Some Views on the Revolution of Science Education in Comprehensive Universities" by Zhou Peiyuan, vice president of Peking University and a famous physicist, was published in Guangming Daily. According to the situation of colleges and universities at that time, according to the spirit of Zhou Enlai's instructions, the article proposes that sufficient attention should be paid to the research of the basic theories of science. This article was originally requested by People's Daily to Zhou Peiyuan. But Yao Wenyuan repeatedly obstructed it, so he had to publish it in Guangming Daily instead. After the article was published, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan sent people to Peking University to secretly investigate the "background" of the article. He also instigated Shanghai's "Wen Wei Po" to misappropriate the names of some teachers and workers, peasants, and soldiers to publish articles at length, criticizing Zhou Peiyuan's articles anonymously.

On October 11, the People's Republic of China and the Federal Republic of Germany signed a joint communiqué in Beijing, deciding to formally establish diplomatic relations between the two countries with immediate effect. Since the United Nations restored the legal rights of the People's Republic of China in October 1971, there has been a climax in the international community to establish or restore diplomatic relations with China: in the fourth quarter of 1970, 5 countries; in 1971, 17 countries; in 1972 , with 19 countries. Within

27 months, 41 countries established or resumed diplomatic relations with my country, almost equivalent to the sum of the first 20 years after the founding of the People's Republic of China (1949-1969, a total of 47 countries established diplomatic relations with my country). These 41 countries include: Iran, Turkey, Japan, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Tunisia, Zaire, Chile, Peru, Mexico, Italy, Austria, Greece, Belgium, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, etc.

On October 14, "People's Daily" organized and published three articles criticizing the ultra-left trend of thought and anarchism, including "Anarchism is a counter-revolutionary tool for fake Marxist liars" based on the spirit of Zhou Enlai's speeches criticizing the ultra-left trend of thought many times. He pointed out that Lin Biao was the chief culprit who incited the ultra-left trend of thought. However, publishing these articles was attacked by Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyan. At the same time, criticize the so-called "revisionism" and "resurgence of right deviation" in the People's Daily.

On November 26, the Chinese government and the Vietnamese government signed the 1973 Agreement on China's free economic and military aid to Vietnam in Beijing. The aid value determined in the agreement is 2.107 billion yuan. In 1972, 2.657 billion yuan was provided free of charge, accounting for 6.7% of the country's total fiscal expenditure in that year.

On November 28, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China submitted a request for instructions on holding a foreign affairs conference. It proposed to criticize the ultra-left trend of thought and anarchism instigated by the Lin Biao Group as the central content of the meeting. It was agreed by Zhou Enlai, but opposed by Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan.

On December 14, my country sent 36 international students to study in Britain and France. This is the first batch of overseas students sent by the country after the "Cultural Revolution" began.

On December 17, Mao Zedong said in a talk: Lin Biao "is the extreme right. Revisionism, split, conspiracy, betrayal of the party and country". And said: "Let's criticize the ultra-left trend less!" After that, only Lin Biao's extreme right was allowed to be approved, and the extreme left was not allowed.

On December 18, Zhou Enlai, based on Mao Zedong's instructions in a letter from Li Shuqing, the wife of the detained cadre and former vice minister of the Ministry of Railways, Liu Jianzhang, instructed the Ministry of Public Security and the Beijing Garrison to thoroughly investigate the issue of treatment in Beijing prisons. During this investigation, a group of veteran cadres who were innocently detained were released from prison.

1973

On January 1, "People's Daily", "Red Flag" magazine, and "Liberation Army Daily" jointly published an editorial titled "New Year's Message", emphasizing that: "In the new year, we must continue to criticize and rectify the wind. Grasp it well." "Firmly grasp the general direction of this struggle." The editorial conveyed Mao Zedong's instruction of "digging holes deeply, accumulating grain widely, and not seeking hegemony," and asked the entire party and the people of the whole country to "continue to advance along the line of the Ninth National Congress of the Party."

On January 2, the "Report on Requesting Instructions on Increasing Equipment Imports and Expanding Economic Exchanges" proposed by the State Planning Commission, including the plan to import 4.3 billion US dollars of complete sets of equipment and stand-alone machines from abroad, was approved by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai for implementation. Together with previously confirmed and added import items, the total amounted to 5.14 billion US dollars. By the end of 1979, most of these imported projects had been completed and put into operation.

From January 7th to March 30th the National Planning Conference was held in Beijing. The meeting discussed the

"Regulations on Adhering to Unified Planning and Strengthening Economic Management" drafted by the State Planning Commission. Among them, 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions are in favor, and Shanghai is against. Zhang Chunqiao called it "glorious isolation" and blocked the release of the document.

On February 28, the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference held a symposium to commemorate the 26th anniversary of the "2.28" Uprising of the Taiwanese people in the Taiwan Hall of the Great Hall of the People. More than 100 people attended, including Zhou Jianren, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Fu Zuoyi and Xu Deheng, vice chairmen of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, people from all walks of life, and representatives of Taiwan compatriots in Beijing. Everyone unanimously stated that the liberation of Taiwan and the reunification of the motherland are the common aspiration and sacred duty of the people of all ethnic groups in China, including Taiwan compatriots. This is the first meeting that has been publicly convened in the name of the CPPCC since the "Cultural Revolution" launched in 1966 and published in newspapers.

On March 8, Zhou Enlai invited foreign experts and their families to participate in the commemoration of International Working Women's Day. At the meeting, he severely criticized Lin Biao, Chen Boda, Wang Li, etc. for interfering and sabotaging foreign affairs, expressed apology to foreign experts who were wrongly criticized or forced to leave my country, and welcomed them back to China. The meeting had a good impact.

On March 9, Zhou Enlai presided over a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. According to Mao Zedong's opinion, he briefly explained the development of his illness, and formally asked for two weeks' leave from the Politburo for examination and treatment.

On March 10, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China officially issued a document in accordance with Mao Zedong's instructions on August 14 of the previous year, deciding to restore Deng Xiaoping's party organization and the position of Vice Premier of the State Council.

From May 20th to 31st, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a working conference in Beijing to prepare for the convening of the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China. The meeting passed the "Decision of the Central Committee on the Selection of the Ten Representatives of the Party", and agreed to the "Request for Instructions from the Political Bureau of the Central Committee on Amending the Party Constitution" approved by Mao Zedong. According to Mao Zedong's opinion, the meeting announced the liberation of 13 veteran cadres including Tan Zhenlin, Li Jingquan, and Ulanhu; it was decided that Wang Hongwen, Hua Guofeng, and Wu De should attend the Politburo meeting and participate in the work of the Political Bureau.

On June 10, Mao Zedong's reply letter to Li Qinglin, a rural elementary school teacher in Putian, Fujian, was printed and distributed to the whole party. In order to coordinate and solve the problems of educated youth going to the countryside, the State Council held the National Work Conference on Going to the Countryside for Intellectual Youth from June 22 to August 7 to solve some problems.

On July 4, when Mao Zedong talked with Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao, he talked about the issue of criticizing Confucius. Mao Zedong believed that Lin Biao, like the Kuomintang, "respected Confucianism and opposed the law", and criticized the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On July 19th, "Liaoning Daily" published the physics and chemistry written by Zhang Tiesheng, an educated youth and production team leader of Baita Commune in Xingcheng County, Liaoning Province, on the cultural investigation of college entrance examination in Liaoning Province under the title "A Thought-

Provoking Answer Sheet". A letter on the back of the test paper. Jiang Qing and others used this letter to stir up an unhealthy trend of "opposing restoration and resurgence". Zhang Tiesheng, who scored 0 in the physics test and 6 in the chemistry test, was not only admitted to university, but also joined the Communist Party of China, and later became a member of the Standing Committee of the Fourth National People's Congress. In 1983, Zhang Tiesheng was sentenced to 15 years in prison for the crime of counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement and conspiracy to subvert the government.

On August 7, "People's Daily" published the article "Confucius——A Thinker Who Stubbornly Maintained Feudal Slavery" which was wholesaled by Mao Zedong himself. The author of the article is Yang Rongguo, a professor at Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou.

On August 20, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved the "Review Report on Lin Biao's Anti-Party Group and Counter-Revolutionary Crimes", and decided to permanently expel Lin Biao and his main members of the counter-revolutionary group Chen Boda, Ye Qun, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and others from the party, and revoked them All positions inside and outside the party.

From August 24th to 28th, the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing. There were 1,249 delegates present at the congress, representing 28 million party members across the country. On behalf of the Central Committee, Zhou Enlai read out the political report prepared in advance under the auspices of Mao Zedong. Wang Hongwen made a report on revising the party constitution. The congress elected 195 members of the Central Committee and 124 alternate members of the Central Committee. Some veteran cadres who were hit and persecuted during the "Cultural Revolution", such as Deng Xiaoping, Wang Jiaxiang, Wulanfu, Li Jingquan, Tan Zhenlin, Liao Chengzhi, etc., were elected as members of the Central Committee.

On August 26, Xinhua News Agency announced that my country's first electronic computer with 1 million calculations per second was successfully designed and manufactured.

On August 30, the First Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing. The plenary session elected Mao Zedong as the chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Zhou Enlai, Wang Hongwen, Kang Sheng, Ye Jianying, and Li Desheng as vice-chairmen. 21 members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee: Mao Zedong, Wang Hongwen, Wei Guoqing, Ye Jianying, Liu Bocheng, Jiang Qing, Zhu De, Xu Shiyu, Hua Guofeng, Ji Dengkui, Wu De, Wang Dongxing, Chen Yonggui, Chen Xilian, Li Xiannian, Li Desheng, Zhang Chunqiao, Zhou Enlai, Yao Wenyuan, Kang Sheng, Dong Biwu. There are 4 alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee: Wu Guixian, Su Zhenhua, Ni Zhifu, Sai Fuding. There are 9 members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee: Mao Zedong, Wang Hongwen, Ye Jianying, Zhu De, Li Desheng, Zhang Chunqiao, Zhou Enlai, Kang Sheng, Dong Biwu. After the National Congress, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen formed the "Gang of Four" in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

On September 12, Zhou Enlai presided over a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to discuss various preparations for the Fourth National People's Congress. It was decided to set up a government work report drafting group, with Zhou Enlai as the group leader; a constitution revision group with Kang Sheng as the group leader and Zhang Chunqiao acting as the group leader; and an organization working group with Wang Hongwen as the group leader.

On September 23, when Mao Zedong met Shafie, the vice president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, he said: "Qin Shihuang is the first famous emperor in China's feudal society. I am also Qin Shihuang. Lin Biao called me Qin Shihuang. China has always been

divided into two factions. One faction says Qin Shihuang is bad. I agree with Qin Shihuang, but not Confucius."

In October, Jiang Qing and others launched the so-called "Counter-Right Resurrection Movement" at Tsinghua University and Peking University, claiming to arrest "representative figures" and sweep down "social foundations." Later, it gradually expanded to some regions and more units.

On December 9, Mao Zedong, in his conversation with Zhou Enlai, Wang Hongwen and others, affirmed that the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee proposed by him to criticize Zhou Enlai's so-called mistakes in foreign affairs was "well, very good." At the same time criticize Jiang Qing: "It is just that someone made two mistakes. One is about the eleventh line struggle. It should not be said that way, and in fact it is not. The other is that the Prime Minister can't wait. He (referring to Zhou) is not impatient, she (Refers to Jiang) I am the one who can't wait."

On December 12, Mao Zedong put forward a proposal at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee to exchange the commanders of the large military regions, and criticized that "the Politburo does not discuss politics, and the Military Commission does not discuss the army." He proposed that Deng Xiaoping join the Military Commission as chief of the general staff. On the 21st, Mao Zedong made self-criticism when receiving comrades who participated in the meeting of the Central Military Commission. He said that he had listened to Lin Biao's one-sided remarks and mistook He Long, Luo Ruiqing, Yang Chengwu, Yu Lijin, and Fu Chongbi. Mao Zedong once again called Zhu De the "Red Commander". On the 22nd, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued an order to exchange the commanders of the eight major military regions. Namely: Li Desheng, commander of the Beijing Military Region, swapped with Chen Xilian, commander of the Shenyang Military Region, Xu Shiyu, commander of the Nanjing Military Region, swapped with Ding Sheng, commander of the Guangzhou Military

Region, Zeng Siyu, commander of the Wuhan Military Region, swapped with Yang Dezhi, commander of the Jinan Military Region, and Han Xianchu, commander of the Fuzhou Military Region, swapped with Lanzhou Military Region Commander Pi Dingjun, the commander of the military region, was reversed. And ordered to arrive within 10 days. On the same day, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China followed Mao Zedong's proposal and issued a notice on Deng Xiaoping's participation in the leadership of the Central Committee and the Central Military Commission.

On December 28, "Beijing Daily" published "A Primary School Student's Letter and Excerpt from Diary". The author, signed by Huang Shuai, is a fifth-grade student at Zhongguancun No. 1 Primary School in Haidian District, Beijing. After Chi Qun and Xie Jingyi read this article, they thought it met their needs of "anti-rightist resurgence", so they instructed the "Beijing Daily" to send someone to rearrange the diary, and add editorial notes to publish it publicly. The editor's note said: "Primary School Students' Diary" proves that "the poison of revisionist mistakes on the education front is far from being eliminated." "Be wary of the revival of revisionism." "People's Daily" reprinted the full text.

1974

On January 12, Mao Zedong approved Jiang Qing and Wang Hongwen's letter requesting that "Lin Biao and the Way of Confucius and Mencius" be forwarded to the whole country. On the 18th, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China forwarded "Lin Biao and the Way of Confucius and Mencius" (one of the materials) compiled by the Great Criticism Group of Peking University and Tsinghua University under the chairmanship of Jiang Qing. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China stated in the notice forwarding the materials: "Lin Biao is an out-and-out follower of Confucius. Like the reactionaries who are about to perish in the past dynasties, he respects Confucius and opposes the law, attacks Qin Shihuang, and uses the teachings of Confucius and Mencius as a conspiracy to usurp the party and seize power. The ideological

weapon of capitalism." Therefore, it is required to "carry out criticism of Confucian and anti-Fa thought" in the criticism.

On January 19, the People's Liberation Army launched a self-defense counterattack on the Paracel Islands. On the 20th, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China issued a statement and warned the South Vietnamese authorities that in order to safeguard China's territorial integrity and sovereignty, the Chinese government and Chinese people have the right to take all necessary self-defense actions.

On January 24th and 25th, under the pretext of implementing the Central Committee's notice, Jiang Qing held a series of mobilization meetings to "criticize Lin Biao and Confucianism" among military units in Beijing, central government agencies, and state agencies. Chi Qun, Xie Jingyi and others spoke at the meeting, accusing someone of trying to overturn the "Cultural Revolution case" and insinuatingly attacking Zhou Enlai, Ye Jianying and other central leaders.

On February 1, "People's Daily" published the newsletter "Being the master of the wharf, not the slave of the tonnage".

On February 10, Jiang Qing created the "snail incident". Since then, a large number of "creepism", "traitorism" and "foreign slave philosophy" in the scientific and technological circles have delayed my country's scientific and technological exchanges with foreign countries and the introduction of advanced science and technology.

On February 11, "People's Daily" published an open letter written by Huang Shuai and Wang Yazhuo. Three young people from the Inner Mongolia Production and Construction Corps were labeled as "counter-revolutionaries" for writing letters under the pen name of Wang Yazhuo who disagreed with the viewpoint of "Primary School Students' Diary".

On February 15, Beijing held an exhibition of so-called "black paintings" aimed at Zhou Enlai. As many as 100 art workers were

implicated.

On the same day, Mao Zedong wrote a comment on Ye Jianying's letter: "Now, metaphysics is rampant and one-sided. Criticizing Lin Biao and Confucianism, and going through the back door, may dilute the criticism of Lin Biao and Confucianism." Mao Zedong also withheld Jiang Qing and others. Tapes from the January 25 conference.

On February 20, "People's Daily" published an editorial "Criticizing Self-denial and Restoring Rituals—Lin Biao's Reactionary Program for Restoring Capitalism".

On February 23, the Danjiangkou Water Conservancy Project was completed. The project has comprehensive benefits such as flood control, power generation, irrigation, shipping, and breeding.

On February 28, the "People's Daily" published an article signed by Chu Lan, "Comment on the Jin Opera 'Three Shangtaofeng'", insisting that the key point of this play was "reversal of Liu Shaoqi's verdict" and "negation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". So "San Shang Tao Feng" was labeled as "black drama" and "black model".

On March 5, Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao summoned Yu Huiyong, Chen Yading and others, clamoring to "reorganize" the army and "set fire to the wasteland".

On March 6, Wang Hongwen went to the General Staff Headquarters of the People's Liberation Army and clamored to "lift the cover". And said: "If you can't uncover it, smash it. If you can't break it, use a bomb." On the 11th, they ordered the "Liberation Army Daily" to stop compiling and distributing articles by itself, and only allowed to forward news from Xinhua News Agency. In fact, it stopped publishing in disguise.

On March 21, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China forwarded the "Diplomatic Bulletin" of the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs, conveying Mao Zedong's talk on dividing the three worlds.

From April 5th to 15th, with the approval of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the State Planning Commission held a symposium on grasping revolution and promoting production with the participation of heads of 15 provinces and cities and 10 ministries and commissions in Beijing to solve the problems that occurred under the impact of "criticizing Lin Biao and Confucianism" production difficulties.

April 6 According to Mao Zedong's proposal, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China decided that Deng Xiaoping would lead the Chinese delegation to attend the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly. On the 10th, Deng Xiaoping addressed the United Nations General Assembly.

On May 15th, Xinhua News Agency reported that a new oil field, Dagang Oilfield, was built in North China, and the recoverable crude oil in the proven oilfield was estimated to be more than 90 million tons.

On June 1, Zhou Enlai was admitted to the 305 Hospital due to overwork.

On June 14, Jiang Qing convened a meeting in the Great Hall of the People, under the pretext of preaching the struggle between Confucianism and Legalism, insinuating attacks on Zhou Enlai and flattering himself. And instructed her writing team to criticize "current Confucianism", with the focus on criticizing "great Confucianism in the party". According to Jiang Qing's instructions, "Liang Xiao", that is, the "Great Criticism Group of the Two Universities", quickly wrote "A Promising Female Politician Wu Zetian", "On the Patriot Wang Anshi--also on the Confucianism and Legalism in history. Traitor and patriotism" Struggle on Two Fronts", "Zhao Gao's Usurpation of Power and the Fall of the Qin Dynasty", "Research on the Historical Experience of the Confucianism and Legalism Struggle" and other articles were published in newspapers and periodicals, setting off a

wave of so-called "commenting the law and criticizing Confucianism".

On July 1, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Grasping the Revolution and Promoting Production". The "Notice" criticizes fallacies such as "not producing for the wrong route", and requires those who have been evacuated from their posts to return to their units to start production quickly, otherwise they will be treated as absenteeism. After the "Notice" was issued, the situation of units in a few areas improved, but the national industrial transportation production continued to decline.

On July 17, Mao Zedong criticized Jiang Qing at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, saying: "Don't set up two factories, one called a steel factory and the other called a hat factory, and put big hats on people at every turn." And publicly announced: "She does not represent me, she represents herself." Mao Zedong also criticized Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing, and Yao Wenyuan for engaging in gang activities. Mao Zedong said: "She is considered the Shanghai Gang! You have to be careful, you don't make it into a small sect with four people." This is the first time the issue of the "Gang of Four" has been raised.

On August 5, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China forwarded "Some Issues Criticizing Lin Biao's Bourgeois Military Line" edited by the Academy of Military Sciences.

On September 15, Xinhua News Agency reported that the Yellow River Qingtongxia Water Conservancy Project was basically completed.

On September 29, Xinhua News Agency reported that the Shengli Oilfield was built in the Bohai Sea area, with proven reserves of nearly 390 million tons.

On the same day, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Restoring the Honor of Comrade He Long".

On October 4, Mao Zedong proposed that Deng Xiaoping be the first vice premier of the State Council.

On October 11, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Preparing to Hold the Fourth National People's Congress in the Recent Period".

On October 17, at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the "Gang of Four" used the "Fengqinglun Incident" as an excuse to attack Deng Xiaoping.

On October 18, after conspiring with Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen went to Changsha to sue Mao Zedong about Zhou Enlai and other central leadership comrades, and was immediately criticized by Mao Zedong. Wang Hongwen lived in Changsha for three days and wrote a written review.

On November 12, Mao Zedong talked to Deng Xiaoping, pointing out: Jiang Qing and others are "imposed on others, and I am not happy." He also encouraged Deng Xiaoping to "take up" the burden of government and military work.

On November 29, Peng Dehuai, an older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and one of the outstanding leaders of the party, country and army, died in captivity at the age of 76. The Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party corrected the wrong conclusions made by Peng Dehuai at the Lushan Conference in 1959. On December 24, 1978, a grand memorial meeting was held for Peng Dehuai and Tao Zhu in Beijing, and Deng Xiaoping delivered a eulogy.

On December 23, Mao Zedong talked with Zhou Enlai and Wang Hongwen in Changsha, and once again criticized Wang Hongwen face to face: "Don't engage in a gang of four! It's not good for four people to get together!" He also said: "Jiang Qing has ambitions." "Talents are rare." Once again, Deng Xiaoping was proposed to serve as vice chairman of the Central Military

Commission, first vice premier of the State Council and chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army. Mao Zedong decided: The Premier (Zhou Enlai) is still the Premier, responsible for the preparations for the convening of the Fourth National People's Congress and the personnel arrangements for the State Council. After Zhou Enlai returned to Beijing, he reported Mao Zedong's speech to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and obtained the approval of the Political Bureau. This thwarted the "Gang of Four" conspiracy to form a cabinet.

1975

On January 5, according to Mao Zedong's proposal, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a document, appointing Deng Xiaoping as the vice chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China and the chief of the general staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Zhang Chunqiao was appointed as the director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

From January 8th to 10th, the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing. The meeting discussed the preparations for the Fourth National People's Congress, and decided to include the "Draft Amendment to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China", the "Report on Amending the Constitution", the "Government Work Report", and the candidates for the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council. The list of persons shall be submitted to the National People's Congress for discussion. The meeting elected Deng Xiaoping as vice chairman of the CPC Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee; approved Li Desheng's request to remove him as vice chairman of the CPC Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

On January 9, Li Fuchun passed away at the age of 75. Li Fuchun is a member of the Political Bureau of the Eighth Central

Committee of the Communist Party of China, a member of the Standing Committee, and the secretary of the Central Secretariat. He is one of the few proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation who persisted in their work despite hardships during the "Cultural Revolution" and were not defeated.

From January 13th to 17th, the first meeting of the Fourth National People's Congress was held in Beijing. The agenda of the meeting is: (1) to revise the constitution, (2) to pass the government work report, (3) to elect and appoint national leaders. Under the chairmanship of Zhu De, Zhang Chunqiao made the "Report on Amending the Constitution" on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Zhou Enlai made the government work report on behalf of the State Council. In his government work report, Zhou Enlai reiterated his vision of realizing the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology within this century. The conference passed the newly revised constitution; approved the government work report; elected Zhu De as chairman, Dong Biwu, Song Qingling (female), Kang Sheng, Liu Bocheng, Wu De, Wei Guoqing, Sai Fuding, Guo Moruo, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, Chen Yun, Tan Zhenlin, Li Jingquan, Zhang Dingcheng, Cai Chang (female), Ulanfu, Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, Zhou Jianren, Xu Deheng, Hu Juewen, Li Suwen (female), Yao Lianwei and other 22 people were vice chairmen; Zhou Enlai was appointed as prime minister, Deng Xiaoping, Zhang Chunqiao, Li Xiannian, Chen Xilian, Ji Dengkui, Hua Guofeng, Chen Yonggui, Wu Guixian (female), Wang Zhen, Yu Qiuli, Gu Mu, and Sun Jian are 12 deputy prime ministers. And appoint the ministers of the State Council and the directors of the committees. After the meeting, Zhou Enlai became seriously ill, and Deng Xiaoping, with the support of Mao Zedong, actually began to preside over the daily work of the central government.

On January 25, Deng Xiaoping delivered a speech at a meeting of cadres at the regiment and above levels of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, clearly stating that "the army must be rectified."

On February 4, the Liujiaxia Hydropower Station in the upper reaches of the Yellow River was fully completed, with a total power generation capacity of 1.225 million kilowatts, which was the largest hydropower station in the country at that time.

At 19:36 on the same day, a strong earthquake occurred in the Yingkou and Haicheng areas in southern Liaoning Province, with an intensity of 7.3.

On February 5, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on the Cancellation of the Military Commission Office Meeting and the Establishment of the Central Military Commission Standing Committee". The meeting of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission was chaired by Ye Jianying.

On February 18, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Notice on Studying Chairman Mao's Important Instructions on Theoretical Issues". On the 22nd, "People's Daily" published "Marx, Engels, and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" edited by Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan according to Mao Zedong's instructions, with a total of 33 articles. Subsequently, a movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat was launched throughout the country.

On February 21, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved the establishment of the preparatory groups for the three national congresses of workers, youth and women. The leader of the preparatory team for the trade union is Jin Zumin, the leader of the preparatory team for the Communist Youth League is Xie Jingyi, and the leader of the preparatory team for the Women's Federation is Yang Polan.

From February 25th to March 8th, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a meeting of secretaries in charge of industry of the party committees of all provinces, cities, and autonomous regions across the country, focusing on solving the problem of railway transportation.

On March 1, Zhang Chunqiao delivered a long speech at the meeting of directors of the political departments of major units in the army, advocating empiricism as the main danger at present.

On the same day, Yao Wenyuan published an article "On the Social Foundation of Lin Biao's Anti-Party Clique" in the "Red Flag" magazine, arguing: "Now, the main danger is empiricism." Afterwards, Jiang Qing also advocated: "Empiricism is the current enemy." Among them Under the instruction and command, an unhealthy trend of "anti-empiricism" was set off.

On March 5, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Decision on Strengthening Railway Work". After rectification, by the end of April of the same year, 19 of the 20 railway bureaus across the country had overfulfilled the loading plan.

On March 17, the Standing Committee of the Fourth National People's Congress held its second meeting to discuss Zhou Enlai's proposal on the amnesty and release of all war criminals put forward by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong. The meeting decided that all war criminals in custody should be released with amnesty and given citizenship rights. This decision is enforced by the Supreme People's Court. A total of 293 war criminals were released during this amnesty (including 290 war criminals who belonged to the Chiang Kai-shek clique of the Kuomintang, including 219 Chiang Army officers, 21 party and government personnel, and 50 secret agents; 2 war criminals from the puppet Manchukuo; 1 war criminal). So far, all the war criminals in custody have been dealt with.

On April 1, "People's Daily" reprinted the article "On the Comprehensive Dictatorship over the Bourgeoisie" by Zhang Chunqiao in the "Red Flag" magazine.

On April 2, Dong Biwu passed away at the age of 90. Dong Biwu is a great proletarian revolutionist and an outstanding leader of the party and the country.

On April 4, Zhang Zhixin, an outstanding Communist Party member who had been imprisoned for a long time on charges of "current counter-revolutionary" and other charges, was brutally murdered. On March 31, 1979, the Liaoning Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China held a meeting, announcing that Zhang Zhixin was completely rehabilitated, and ratified him as a revolutionary martyr.

On April 23, Mao Zedong criticized the "Gang of Four" for criticizing empiricism, pointing out: "The formulation seems to be against revisionism, including empiricism and dogmatism. Both are revisionist Marxism, don't just mention one, Let go of the other item." Mao Zedong also pointed out: "Self-righteous, always admonishing others, this is also a manifestation of not understanding Marxism-Leninism."

On May 3, Mao Zedong convened a talk with members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in Beijing, repeatedly emphasizing the need for stability and unity, the need to practice Marxism, and the need to be aboveboard; he criticized Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen, and told them "don't engage in the Gang of Four." But at the same time, Mao Zedong also emphasized; "This is different from the Lushan Conference" and "cure the sick to save the patient, and don't punish anyone." "I don't think the problem is big, so don't make a fuss about it, but if there is a problem, you have to explain it clearly." According to Mao Zedong's instructions, on May 27 and June 3, Deng Xiaoping presided over two meetings of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and criticized Jiang Qing and others.

On May 17, Mao Zedong wrote a comment on the Central Military Commission's request for He Cheng's appointment: "All slanderous and false statements in the past should be overthrown." The issuance of this instruction promoted the implementation of the cadre policy.

On June 4, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Instructions on Efforts to Complete This Year's Iron and Steel Production Plan".

From June 16 to August 11, the State Council held a planning work retreat. The meeting held that the main problems in economic life at that time were chaos and scatteredness, and we must pay close attention to rectification and emphasize centralization. The meeting proposed to rectify the soft, lazy, and loose leadership, and to establish various production management systems.

From June 24 to July 15, the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China held an enlarged meeting. More than 70 leading cadres from various headquarters of the Central Military Commission, major military regions, various military (army) branches, and senior military academies attended the meeting. On July 14, Deng Xiaoping made a report "The Task of Reorganizing the Army", emphasizing that the army must be reorganized and the problems of "swelling, looseness, arrogance, extravagance, and laziness" must be solved. He pointed out: "This is a new problem in the army's leftist support." Ye Jianying made a concluding speech at the meeting. He pointedly pointed out to the comrades attending the meeting that the army needs a high degree of centralization and unity, and bourgeois sectarianism is absolutely not allowed. After this meeting, under the leadership of the Central Military Commission, the army quota was seriously reduced, and the leadership team of the army was adjusted.

On July 1, the electrification project of the Bao (Chicken) Chengdu (Du) Railway was completed. This is my country's first electrified railway.

On July 4, Deng Xiaoping gave a speech to the students of the fourth period of the Central Reading Class, and for the first time put forward "three instructions as the keynote". The "three instructions" are Mao Zedong's three instructions: first, study theory, oppose revisionism and prevent revisionism; second, maintain stability and unity; third, develop the national economy. Deng Xiaoping said:

"These three instructions are interrelated and form a whole, and none of them can be lost. This is the outline of our work during this period."

On July 10, Xinhua News Agency reported that a huge Qin Dynasty pottery pit was discovered on the east side of Qinshihuang Mausoleum in Lintong County, Shaanxi Province. This major archaeological discovery is called a wonder of the world.

On July 14, Mao Zedong talked to Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao, criticizing the situation in the literary and art circles, saying: "The party's literary and artistic policies should be adjusted. One year, two years, and three years, gradually expand the art programs. There is a lack of poetry, novels, and prose. There is a lack of literary criticism." On the 25th, Mao Zedong wrote a comment on the letter from the author of the film "Entrepreneurship": "There is no major mistake in this film, and it is recommended to be released. No full blame is required, and there are as many as ten charges, which are too excessive. It is not conducive to the adjustment of the party's Literary policy." According to Mao Zedong's instructions, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved the resumption of publication of magazines such as "People's Literature" and "Poetry Magazine", and approved the holding of commemorative performances by the people's musicians Nie Er and Xian Xinghai. The "Poisonous Weed" film "Lifting the Ban" also published Lu Xun's works and a few other literary works. The situation in the literary and art circles has eased slightly.

On July 17, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China forwarded the "Report on Industrial Production in the First Half of This Year" issued by the State Council. The "Report" said: "Since March, industrial production and transportation have been better in January than in January. Crude oil, raw coal, power generation, chemical fertilizers, cement, internal combustion engines, paper and paper products, and railway freight volumes, etc., in May and June It has created the highest level of monthly production in history, and the situation of military production is relatively good." The

improvement of industrial production in the first half of the year shows that Deng Xiaoping's policy of rectifying the industrial front since he presided over the work of the Party Central Committee is effective.

On August 14, Mao Zedong talked about his views on several Chinese classical novels in a conversation with a teacher of the Chinese Department of Peking University. Mao Zedong said: "The book "Water Margin" is good because of surrender. It is a negative teaching material so that the people will know the capitulators." Yao Wenyan immediately drafted a report on how to publicize and implement this talk, which was approved by Mao Zedong. . After some planning, on August 31, the "People's Daily" published a short review of "Red Flag" magazine "Attention to Comments on "Water Margin"" edited by Yao Wenyan in an important position on the front page headline. At the same time, a long article "Comment on "Water Margin"" by the writing team of the "Gang of Four" was published. On September 4, the "People's Daily" published an editorial "Comments on the Water Margin", calling it "another major struggle on the political and ideological front in our country." On September 17, Jiang Qing said in a speech at the Dazhai Brigade in Xiyang County, Shanxi Province: "The review of "Water Margin" must be related to reality. The review of "Water Margin" has something to say. Song Jiang swayed the cover, is there anyone swaying it now? Chairman Mao? I think there are."

On September 2, the "Several Issues Concerning Accelerating Industrial Development" (referred to as "Industrial Twenty") drafted under the guidance of Deng Xiaoping put forward a draft for discussion.

From September 12th to 28th, the Third National Games was held in Beijing. Compared with before the "Cultural Revolution", the results of this sports meeting are far from ideal.

From September 15th to October 15th, the National Conference on Agricultural Learning from Dazhai was held in Xiyang County, Shanxi Province. More than 3,700 delegates attended the meeting.

Deng Xiaoping made a speech at the opening ceremony of the meeting and raised the issue of rectification in various aspects. Chen Yonggui delivered the opening speech. He said: The fundamental experience of Dazhai is to "adhere to the basic line of the party, mass revisionism, capitalism, and socialism." At the meeting, Hua Guofeng made a report titled "The Whole Party Mobilizes, Expands Agriculture, and Struggles to Popularize Dazhai County". The conference was held for more than a month, and the venue was later moved from Xiyang County to Beijing. Jiang Qing attended the conference and interrupted Deng Xiaoping's speech several times to express different opinions. She also gave a long speech on commenting on "Water Margin", and asked the meeting to print and distribute it. After Mao Zedong learned about it, he clearly instructed: "Fart, the text is not on the topic." "Don't publish the manuscript, don't play the recording, and don't print the speech."

On September 26, Deng Xiaoping listened to Hu Yaobang's explanation of the "Outline of the Report" on the work of the Academy of Sciences. Deng Xiaoping affirmed the view in the "Report Outline" that "science and technology are also productive forces".

In mid-October, the Political Research Office of the State Council drafted the "General Outline of the Work of the Party and the Country" (referred to as "On the General Outline", which had not yet been finalized) based on the spirit of Deng Xiaoping's several speeches.

From October 20th to 31st, the Chinese Academy of Agriculture and Forestry Sciences held a hybrid rice identification meeting in Changsha, attended by agricultural science workers from 21 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. the success of this scientific experiment. Can-type hybrid rice has gradually been popularized and planted on a large scale in China, which has produced huge benefits in increasing production.

On November 3, the Party Committee of Tsinghua University held an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee, and Wu De,

the first secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, conveyed Mao Zedong's letter to Liu Bing, the deputy secretary of the party committee of the university, and others who reported the problems of Chi Qun, the party secretary of the school, and Xie Jingyi, the deputy secretary of the school's party committee, which had been forwarded by Deng Xiaoping. Views. Mao Zedong said: "I read the letter with impure motives. I want to overthrow Chi Qun and Xiao Xie." From then on, the so-called "criticizing Deng and countering the right-leaning trend of overturning verdicts" began.

On November 20, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting to discuss the evaluation of the "Cultural Revolution". Before the meeting, Mao Zedong proposed that Deng Xiaoping preside over it, and the central government make a resolution affirming the "Cultural Revolution". Deng Xiaoping refused on the grounds that he was "a man in the Taohuayuan".

On November 26, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a "greeting meeting" in Beijing. At the meeting, the "Key Points of Greetings" reviewed and approved by Mao Zedong was read out. "Key Points" said: "The central government believes that Chairman Mao's instructions are very important. The problems in Tsinghua University are by no means isolated, but a reflection of the current struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines. Since then, the movement has gradually expanded to all regions and departments across the country.

On the same day, my country successfully launched a returnable artificial earth satellite. After 7 days of normal operation, the satellite returned to the ground safely on December 2 as scheduled.

On December 14, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China forwarded the "Report on the Great Debate on the Educational Revolution by Tsinghua University" to the party branches of universities, middle schools and primary schools across the country. The "Educational Revolution Debate" has since spread to the whole country.

On December 16, Kang died of illness at the age of 73. During the "Cultural Revolution", Kang Sheng served as an adviser to the Central Cultural Revolution Group, colluded with Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, conspired, fabricated charges, attacked and framed a large number of party and government leading cadres, and committed serious crimes. On October 16, 1980, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China decided to expel Kang Sheng from the party and revoke the original eulogy for him. In January 1981, the Special Tribunal of the Supreme People's Court of my country confirmed that he was the principal criminal in the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary group case.

1976 (January-October)

On January 8, Zhou Enlai, Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Premier of the State Council, and Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference passed away in Beijing at the age of 78. Zhou Enlai is a great Marxist, an outstanding leader of the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China, one of the founders of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and an outstanding Chinese revolutionist, statesman, military strategist and diplomat. His death has caused great sorrow to the whole party and people of all nationalities in the country. However, the mourning activities of the people were unreasonably restricted and obstructed by the "Gang of Four".

On January 15, Zhou Enlai's memorial service was held in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, and Deng Xiaoping delivered a eulogy. After the memorial service, when Zhou Enlai's body was sent to Babaoshan for cremation, millions of people braved the severe cold and stood in silent mourning to see him off. In accordance with Zhou Enlai's will, his ashes were scattered on the rivers and land of the motherland.

On February 2, according to Mao Zedong's two proposals on January 21 and 28, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee issued a notice: (1) Hua Guofeng was appointed as the

acting premier of the State Council; (2) Chen Xilian presided over the Central Military Commission during Ye Jianying's illness work.

On February 17, "People's Daily" published an editorial "Criticizing "Three Directives as the Key Point"".

On February 25, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China convened a meeting of heads of all provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, and major military regions to convey the "Important Instructions of Chairman Mao" compiled by Mao Yuanxin. Hua Guofeng said in his speech: "At present, we must do a good job of criticizing Deng and Comrade Deng Xiaoping's wrong revisionist line, and unite the broad masses of cadres and the masses under this general goal." "Comrade Deng Xiaoping's problems can be criticized by name."

On March 2, Jiang Qing arbitrarily called a meeting of the heads of 12 provinces and autonomous regions, scolded Deng Xiaoping, and called the sale of crude oil, coal, cotton cloth, etc. to capitalist countries a "traitor's act" and "represented the interests of the comprador bourgeoisie." After Mao Zedong found out, he commented: "Jiang Qing interfered too much."

On March 5th and 25th, Shanghai's "Wen Wei Po" continuously produced anti-Zhou Enlai incidents, which aroused great resentment among the people across the country. Various places issued 421 protest letters and telegrams to Wen Wei Po, and more than 1,000 protest phone calls.

In late March, large-scale mass demonstrations took place in Nanjing to commemorate Premier Zhou and oppose the "Gang of Four". On April 1, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a telephone notice about the "Nanjing Incident", saying that it was a political incident that split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and diverted criticism from Deng.

On April 5, the Tiananmen incident occurred. From late March to April 5, people in major cities across the country spontaneously

carried out activities to mourn Zhou Enlai and denounce the "Gang of Four" for using "criticizing Deng and countering the Rightist style of overturning verdicts" to carry out activities to usurp the party and seize power. On the evening of April 4, the Politburo meeting of the Central Committee believed that most people mourned the Prime Minister, while a small number of people insinuated and attacked the Central Committee, and some were very vicious. The Politburo determined that "this is a counter-revolutionary counterattack" and "it can be seen that there is an underground 'Pedofi Club' that is organizing activities in a planned way." And decided, starting from that night (the evening of the 4th), to clean up the wreaths, slogans and arrest "counter-revolutionaries". This decision was approved by Mao Zedong. All wreaths, flower baskets, slogans and poems on Tiananmen Square were cleared that night, and people who volunteered to guard the wreaths were also arrested. On the 5th, the masses in Tiananmen Square took protest actions under the slogan "Return my wreath, return my comrades in arms", which was wrongly declared a "counter-revolutionary incident" and brutally suppressed. The powerful protest movement centered on Tiananmen Square (April 5th Movement) is the revolutionary masses who commemorate Zhou Enlai, oppose the "Gang of Four", demand to correct the "Left" errors of the "Cultural Revolution", and support the correct leadership of the party represented by Deng Xiaoping. It laid a great mass foundation for smashing the "Gang of Four".

On April 7, the Politburo meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China unanimously passed the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning Comrade Hua Guofeng's Appointment as First Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council" and "Resolution of Removing Deng Xiaoping from All Posts Inside and Outside the Party" based on Mao Zedong's proposal.

On April 13, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a telephone notice regarding the robbery of weapons and food in Baoding, Hebei Province, and ordered the Hebei

Provincial Party Committee and the Hebei Provincial Military Region to solve the problem within a time limit.

On May 16, "People's Daily", "Red Flag" magazine, and "Liberation Army Daily" jointly published an editorial article "The Cultural Revolution Shines Forever—Commemorating the 10th Anniversary of the "Notice" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on May 16, 1966." The article listed Deng Xiaoping alongside Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao as "the leader of the revisionist front"; it claimed that to fight against the capitalist roaders, "you must be mentally prepared for a long-term war."

On June 14, the State Planning Commission submitted the "Opinions on the Implementation of the National Economic Plan in the First Half of the Year and the Arrangements for the Second Half of the Year" to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, pointing out that the industrial production situation from January to May was not good, and the fiscal revenue was short of 2 billion yuan.

On July 6, Zhu De, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, passed away in Beijing at the age of 90. Zhu De is a great Marxist, one of the outstanding leaders of the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China, one of the founders of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, an outstanding revolutionary, military strategist and statesman. On the 11th, Zhu De's memorial service was held in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, and Hua Guofeng delivered a eulogy.

From July 6 to August 1, the central planning work symposium was held in Beijing. At the meeting, the "Gang of Four" took the opportunity to make trouble, instigated several party members in Shanghai and Liaoning to attack, slandered the State Council retreat in 1975 as "the source of right-leaning reversal of verdicts in the economic field", and launched attacks on Hua Guofeng and other central leadership comrades. On the evening of July 20, the Political

Bureau of the Central Committee heard a report on the meeting and stipulated that it was not allowed to follow up on the State Council retreat, which made the "Gang of Four" plot to reverse the direction of the meeting unsuccessful.

At 3:42 a.m. on July 28, a strong earthquake of magnitude 7.8 or above occurred in Tangshan and Fengnan areas of Hebei Province, with the epicenter intensity reaching magnitude 11 and affecting Tianjin and Beijing. More than 242,000 people died in the earthquake, and more than 164,000 people were seriously injured. The industrial city of Tangshan was razed to ruins and suffered heavy losses. The State Council quickly dispatched more than 100,000 PLA commanders, more than 20,000 medical workers and tens of thousands of support personnel to the disaster area to fight the disaster and rebuild their homes together with the people in the disaster area. However, the "Gang of Four" attacked the Party Central Committee's grasp of the earthquake relief work as "using disaster relief to oppress and criticize Deng."

On August 23, "People's Daily" published an editorial titled "Grasp the Vulnerability, Deeply Criticize Deng". The editorial slandered three documents, "On the General Outline of the Work of the Whole Party and the Nation", "Some Issues Concerning Accelerating Industrial Development" and "Several Issues Concerning Scientific and Technological Work" as "three big anti-Party and anti-Marxist Poisonous weeds" concentratedly reflected Deng Xiaoping's "extreme right essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line". Under the instigation and command of the "Gang of Four", articles criticizing the three documents filled various newspapers and periodicals across the country. The "People's Daily" alone published as many as 110 articles and newsletters criticizing the so-called "three big poisonous weeds" during the more than 50 days from August 13 to October 6.

At 00:10 on September 9, Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chairman of the Central Military Commission, and Honorary Chairman of the National

Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, passed away in Beijing at the age of 83. Mao Zedong is a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionist, strategist and theorist, the main leader of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China. Although he committed "Left" mistakes in his later years, especially initiating and leading the "Cultural Revolution", which caused serious consequences, but in his life, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweighed his mistakes. His death caused great sorrow to the people of the whole country.

On September 18, one million people in the capital held a grand memorial meeting for Mao Zedong's death in Tiananmen Square. Hundreds of millions of people across the country mourned at the same time. Hua Guofeng delivered a eulogy.

On September 11, the "Gang of Four" stepped up their conspiracy to seize the highest power. Wang Hongwen set aside the duty room of the General Office of the Central Committee and set up another "duty room" in Zhongnanhai, and notified all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions across the country to ask them for instructions and reports in a timely manner.

On September 16, "People's Daily", "Red Flag" magazine, and "Liberation Army Daily" published the editorial "Chairman Mao will always live in our hearts", throwing out the so-called "Chairman Mao's deathbed instructions" forged by the "Gang of Four", that is, "follow the established guidelines ", and it was widely publicized in newspapers and periodicals across the country.

September 19 According to Jiang Qing's request, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an emergency standing committee. Jiang Qing asked Yao Wenyuan and Mao Yuanxin, who were not members of the Politburo Standing Committee, to attend the meeting, but Ye Jianying, a member of the Standing Committee and Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, was not allowed to attend. At the meeting, Jiang Qing made a big fuss, demanding that Mao Zedong's documents and files

be handed over to her and Mao Yuanxin to clean up. After a debate, it was finally decided that Mao Zedong's documents, files, and books should be temporarily sealed up by the General Office of the Central Committee. The attempt of the "Gang of Four" to control Mao Zedong's manuscript failed.

On September 29, at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Jiang Qing openly asked: "Chairman Mao passed away, what should the leaders of the Party Central Committee do?" Zhang Chunqiao said: "Comrade Jiang Qing's work will be arranged today." They also rejected Ye Jianying and Li Xiannian's suggestion that Mao Yuanxin return to work in Liaoning, and proposed that Mao Yuanxin, who was not a member of the Central Committee, "prepare the report of the Third Plenary Session." After a heated debate at the meeting, it was decided that Mao Yuanxin would return to Liaoning, and the preparations for the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee would be studied and resolved by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

On October 1, Jiang Qing gave a speech at Tsinghua University, instigating that: there will still be people who will reverse the verdict for Deng Xiaoping. She said: "I want to swear to you young people, you must exercise your body and fight with them." She told the young people to prepare for "a grand festival."

On October 2, Hua Guofeng pointed out that the so-called "Chairman Mao's deathbed instructions" were different from Mao's own handwriting when reviewing Qiao Guanhua's speech at the United Nations General Assembly, and that misinformation should be avoided.

On October 3, Wang Hongwen delivered a speech in Pinggu County, a suburb of Beijing, clamoring: "Revisionism has emerged in the central government, what should you do? Fight it down." He also asked everyone to "look at revisionism with wide eyes."

On October 4, "Guangming Daily" published an article "Always Follow Chairman Mao's Established Policy" by "Liang Xiao", the mouthpiece of the "Gang of Four". The article alluded to attacking Hua Guofeng and other party and state leaders as so-called "revisionist leaders."

On October 6, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, with Hua Guofeng and Ye Jianying at the core, carried out the will of the party and the people, took decisive measures, and announced the isolation and inspection of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan, and Wang Hongwen. Afterwards, the rebellion planned by the remnants of the "Gang of Four" in Shanghai was quickly disintegrated. Hundreds of millions of people across the country held grand rallies and parades to celebrate the historic victory of smashing the "Gang of Four". The ten-year civil strife of the "Cultural Revolution" came to an end.