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Chapter 7.1  The start of the Great Cultural Revolution

Critique of historical drama "HAI Rui dismissed from office"

In November 10, 1965, the newspaper Wenheibo in Shanghai published an article written by YAO Wen-yuan and entitled “On the new historical drama ‘HAI Rui dismissed from office’”. This opened the prelude to the Great Cultural Revolution. The drama was written in 1959 by WU Han, a famous Ming Dynasty expert and vice mayor of Beijing. At that time, MAO Ze-dong advocated to learning the spirit of "daring to upright and outspoken" of HAI Rui, an official of the Ming Dynasty. He asked cadres to speak of the truth. To follow MAO’s advocating, WU Han went into action without delay by publishing the historical drama “HAI Rui dismissed from office”. He also published articles entitled "HAI Rui scolded the emperor", "On Hai Rui", etc. In 1962, the script "HAI Rui dismissed from office" staged.

MAO Ze-dong’s wife JIANG Qing watched the show and claimed that this drama has big problems. She went to the Culture Department and the Propaganda Department, and had a meeting with the ministers and deputy ministers of the two Departments, asking them to criticize the staged drama. But the four ministers did not take her advice seriously and took no action at all. Prime Minister ZHOU En-lai learned this and told WU Han that some people said that the drama insinuates. WU replied that I didn't insinuate. ZHOU let WU write a report to explain what happened. The Beijing party secretary and mayor PENG Zhen tried to protect WU and, as the result, the critique on WU did not really happen, for this time.

In 1964, JIANG Qing once again suggested to MAO that the drama "HAI Rui dismissed from office" should be criticized, and got the support from MAO. She began to look for someone to write a critique article. She talked to three writers in Beijing, but all of them was afraid of writing such an article because WU is a famous historian and therefore they do not dare to criticize him. With failure in Beijing, JIANG planned to go to Shanghai to find someone to write because the first secretary of the Party in Shanghai, KE Qing-shi, had always been very closely following Chairman MAO. With MAO's support, JIANG went to Shanghai and talked with KE in spring 1965. Under KE’s arrangements, there formed a writing team consisting of JIANG Qing, ZHANG Chun-qiao who is the party secretary for education in Shanghai, YAO Wen-yuan who is a member of the editorial committee of Shanghai newspaper Liberation Daily and previously wrote critique articles against famous writers HU Feng, DING Ling, BA Jin and others. YAO was assigned to compose an article criticizing the drama "HAI Rui dismissed from office".

In the following six months, YAO was working hard in a house in Kangping Road. In the meantime, JIANG often came to Shanghai, in the name of discussing issues on ‘revolutionary model operas’ (a type of Beijing operas with a modern theme, created by and under leadership of JIANG), including operas "Harbor" and "Fight in Mt. Weihu". But in fact, she was coming to discuss the article YAO was composing. According to JIANG's intention, YAO’s article stated that WU’s drama is to associate the history with the issues at the present times.
After YAO finished his writing of the essays entitled "On the new historical drama ‘HAI Rui dismissed from office’", ZHANG Chun-qiao invited some academic celebrities in Shanghai to discuss YAO’s essays, and to seek their comments. ZHANG said to the academics: "I am honored to have you, the experts and professors here today. The presented article of Comrade YAO Wen-yuan is only a draft, that is, it is still very immature and only for soliciting opinions. Please feel free to let us know your comments so that we can make further changes." The deputy director of the Shanghai Institute of History Studies, ZHOU Yu-tong, said: "WU Han is a long-term friend of mine and I know that he is a good man. He was a brave fighter for democracy against the GMD fascist ruling before the Liberation, and faithfully followed the Party and won the trust of Chairman MAO. How can it be said that he is anti-party and anti-socialism? Does it take an academic issue as a political issue and trap people in sin?" Then, Professor LI Ping-xin of History Department of the East China Normal University and the party secretary of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, LI Pei-nan, also spoke one after another, against YAO’s essays. These opinions, however, were not accepted in modifying the essays. YAO’s article was published in Shanghai newspaper Wenhui in November 10, 1965.

**Please of "God the respected"**

In January 21, 1966, MAO Ze-dong let JIANG Qing go to Suzhou City to talk with LIN Biao about convening literary cadres in the Army to have a meeting. JIANG then went to Suzhou, and said to LIN: "I want to please the 'God, the respected', i.e. the People's Liberation Army, to support me." LIN said okay to her. LIN then let his wife YE Qun call the vice director of the Army’s General Political Department, LIU Zhi-jian. After reporting to the director of the General Political Department, XIAO Hua, LIU led the vice culture minister of the Department, XIE Tang-zhong, the propaganda minister CHEN Ya-ding and the vice propaganda minister LI Man-cun in a forum. Soon after, YE called LIU again to convey LIN's words by reading slowly every single word of LIN as follows: "Comrade JIANG Qing came to Suzhou yesterday and talked to me. In the aspect of literary work, she is very strong politically and an expert in the arts. She has a lot of valuable advice, and you should pay high attention to her advice and implement her advice. In the future, you should provide her all documents and news on literary aspects in the Army so that she knows the situation of the Army’s literary works, and you should ask for her opinions so that the Army’s literary work can be improved."

In early February, LIU Zhi-jian’s team arrived at the Yanan Hotel in Shanghai to meet JIANG Qing. When the meeting began, JIANG declared: "No record and no unauthorized leaking, and do not let Beijing know." Then, she briefed on her own experiences, saying that she was form
Zhucheng County of Shandong Province, and in her teens moved from Jinan City to Qingdao City and then to Shanghai City. She said that she became an assistant of Chairman MAO after marrying with him in Yanan, and then a "literary sentry" after entering Beijing. She then told the participants that she bought theater tickets her own, "wearing a mask ... found that figures ruling our stage are monsters and freaks of all descriptions, emperor, gifted scholars and beautiful ladies. It is a complete mess. I reported it to Chairman MAO, so there were his 'Two instructions on literature and arts'. ... Though twenty-four years have passed after Chairman MAO published his "Speech at the Yanan Forum on literature and arts", his words have not been implemented in the literary and art circle, and the stage still dominated by the emperor, gifted scholars and beautiful ladies, dead people and foreigners. Though Chairman MAO has repeatedly criticized, they basically ignore his words but instead listen to ZHOU Yang, LIN Mo-han and XIA Yan, etc. (Note: these are officials in the literature and arts) ... Why is this so? I thought for a long time and now understand that there is, in the opposite side of Chairman MAO’s, an anti-Party and anti-socialism black line. In the past seventeen years (after the foundation of the new China in 1949), they have been ruling us."

At nights, she and all others got together, watching movies. While watching, she continuously gave her comments, saying this movie does not write along the correct political line but the wrong line, and that film beautifies the enemy and sing for the praises of a traitor; this movie demonizes the working people and the people's army, and that film glorifies war misery and preached pacifism; this one focuses on love and romance and is vulgar, and that one does not write the hero but middle character; this film artificially create a tragic ending by shaping a hero first and then letting him die, and that film is to let a niche in the temple of fame alive, etc. After watched dozens of films in this way, JIANG summarized that "there is not even one satisfactory".

In addition to watching films together with and listening to JIANG, the participants also have discussions either in groups or in an individual conversation with JIANG, but there was always only one person, i.e. JIANG, was talking. On February 19, JIANG finally said: "I have no more to say. You can leave now."

After the forum ended, LIU Zhi-jian got together with the other three people, and let CHEN Ya-ding write down JIANG’s words and prepare a document entitled "Summary of the symposium on Army’s literary work summoned by Comrade JIANG Qing". The summary was then sent to JIANG for her to review. Bringing the summary, LIU subsequently flew from Shanghai to Jinan City and reported to LIN Biao, who lived in the Nanjiao Hotel in Jinan City. After reviewing the summary, LIN said: "This document is good and is of an important achievement. The symposium led by Comrade JIANG Qing is in a right direction. After returning, you should communicate it rapidly, study it hard and implement it seriously." In the morning of the second day, LIU flies from Jinan City back to Beijing. When arrived at the Beijing Airport, LIU unexpectedly received a call from JIANG’s secretary, conveying JIANG’s words that the summary "distorted my original intention. ... It gives me a big trouble. ... Don't convey, don't send out the summary." She also said that she has told Chairman MAO about it, and Chairman MAO lets CHEN Bo-da participate in the modification of the summary.

CHEN Bo-da, JIANG Qing, LIU Zhi-jian, et al then had a meeting. CHEN said: "Seventeen years of dictatorship by the black line in literary field is a very important issue, but the summary does not clarify where the black line came from. ... It should be clearly stated that this black line in arts is actually the continuation of the WANG Min’s Right Opportunism Line in the 1930s. ... The Beijing opera revolution personally led by Comrade JIANG Qing has made modern operas available, such as Beijing operas "Shajiabang", "Story of a red light" and..."
"Taking of Mt. Weihu", and the ballet "Red women army" etc. These are our proletarian things. These have to be written in the summary, so to make clear what should be broken and what should be established." JIANG was very happy for CHEN’s words and said: "This helps us to improve, hits the nail on the head, and is very powerful. Some people will not feel comfortable!" After the meeting, CHEN Ya-ding revised the summary accordingly. In this revision, the original wording of "Comrade JIANG Qing’s extremely important advice" were changed to "common understanding" or "discussion results" of the symposium participants.

JIANG sent the revised summary to MAO for review and approval. MAO makes eleven changes. Accordingly modified version of the summary was once again sent to MAO by JIANG. MAO made changes in more than ten places and sent back to JIANG with an instruction: "I have reviewed this twice and it seems okay now. I changed a little. I ask you to consider the changes. I suggest to send this, in the name of the Central Military Commission, to some comrades in charge for soliciting opinions, pointing out errors and modifying. Of course, the first ones it should be sent to solicit opinions are comrades in the CMC." Later, MAO added words "Comrade LIN Biao commissioned" to the title of the Summary. Finally, the summary was issued on April 10, 1966, as a document from the Party’s Central Committee.

After that, a large number of films had been criticized national wide and a large number of litterateurs were called a "black gang", "bourgeois representatives" or "counter-revolutionary revisionists", including HU Feng, FENG Xue-feng, DING Ling, AI Qing, QIN Zhao-yang, LIN Mo-han, TIAN Han, XIA Yan, YANG Han-sheng, QI Yan-ming, CHEN Huang-mei, SHAO Quan-lin, et al.

Later, YAO Wen-yuan published another article entitled "On anti-revolutionary double-faced ZHOU Yang", calling ZHOU as "the general leader of the black line of anti-party and anti-socialist literatures and arts". At the time, ZHOU was Vice Minister and the party secretary of the Culture Ministry, and concurrently a party secretary of the Propaganda Department of the party.

In November 28, Premier ZHOU En-lai delivered a speech at a conference of people in the literature and arts circle. He said: "Let me introduce people sitting here. They are Comrade CHEN Bo-da, Comrade KANG Sheng and Comrade JIANG Qing (Note: JIANG did not have any official position at the time), all of them firmly support and execute Chairman MAO’s proletarian revolutionary line. All the achievements in literary revolution are inseparable from Comrade JIANG Qing’s guidance. … Comrade JIANG Qing personally took part in the struggle and art practice. Although the tough war circumstance in past times had damaged Comrade JIANG Qing's physical health, but spiritual comfort and encouragement will certainly be able to compensate for these losses. I am a layman in arts and an unsuccessful supporter. … I am a layman in music. ... In this regard, Comrade JIANG Qing directly helped me, and I has gotten a profound experience in the practice of learning revolutionary songs."

**LUO Rui-qing criticized**

After replacing PENG De-huai and becoming the Defense Minister at the Mt. Lu Conference in 1959, LIN Biao nominated LUO Rui-qing as the chief of general staff of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) and the chief secretary of the Central Military Commission, succeeding HUANG Ke-cheng who was also criticized at the Mt. Lu Conference.
Since 1965, however, LUO said on many public occasions that he does not agree with some of LIN's arguments. LIN said in a military meeting in 1965 that army should “highlight the politics” and that "the military training is now too prominent and used too much time so that it impacts the politics in some degree." LUO replied by saying: "1965 is the best year in military training since the founding of the PRC. This is also what Chairman MAO said." LIN then said: “Military training should not impact politics. In the opposite, politics can impact all others.” LUO replies: “But it should not be a random impact.” LIN explains: "When politics is left out, all other works washed away, including military training. If politics is not highlighted, even a good training would be no use, and everything else, including military training, cannot be successful. Without good political work, even good training would have no use if solders go backward but not forward." LUO said: "‘Red’ (referring to good political accomplishment) and ‘Expert’ (referring to good training accomplishment in the case of Army) should have dialectical relationship. When political accomplishment becomes good, other works should also be done. Political work is to ensure the completion of the task of training. Otherwise, if only promoting politics every day, but training is always not good and no raise, then it is of an armchair politician, as Chairman MAO has said. Solders could also run backward if military training is not good enough.” In other occasions, LUO disagree with LIN’s "Peak theory" (referring to LIN’s words of "MAO Ze-dong Thought is the peak of the Marx-Leninism) and said: "Will Marx-Leninism and MAO Ze-dong Thought no longer develop?" In review of a script to be appear in the newspaper Liberation Army Daily, LUO deleted all words of "peak" and "the highest and the most live " (referring to LIN’s words of "MAO Ze-dong Thought is the highest and most live Marx-Leninism"). He wrote an instruction beside: "Chairman MAO won't agree with such words if he knows." After learned from MAO Ze-dong's secretary TIAN Jia-ying, LUO said at the end of June, 1965, to personnel of the Liberation Army Daily: "I have asked Comrade Jia-ying, our theorist, and he said: 'It is better not to use the wording of 'the highest' and 'most live' 'Highest'? Is there one just lower than the 'highest'? 'Most live'? Is there one just lower than 'most live'? Are Marx's and Lenin's books dead and not moving forward?" When someone reminded LUO that these are LIN Biao's words, he said: "LIN’s words are not necessarily always right. We listen to who has truth, rather than who's rank is higher."

At the end of November 1965, LIN Biao's wife YE Qun went from Suzhou City to Hangzhou City to visit MAO Ze-dong. She reported to him LIN's opinion on LUO Rui-qing, with some materials presented. After listening to her, MAO let her return to Suzhou City at the night and tell LIN: "I need to consider what to do about it. Ask LIN Biao pay more attention to safety in Suzhou."

A few days later, MAO decided to convene an enlarged meeting of the Politburo Standing Committee in Shanghai to criticize LUO, but not face-to-face. In December 8, the standing committee members LIU Shao-ji, ZHOU En-lai, ZHU De and DENG Xiao-ping flew, each in a plane separately, from Beijing to Shanghai. The main persons in charge of the Central Military Commission, the PLA and the State Departments flew to Shanghai by four aircrafts. The total number of attendants was close to one hundred. All of them lived in the Jinjiang Hotel.

In the Hotel, YE Qun privately told the Air Force commander WU Fa-xian: "Since you do not know the situation, here I tell you a little bit of materials that can be used for exposure and critics at the meeting.
"First, LUO Tall (the nick name of LUO Rui-qing as he is very tall) is against LIN Biao's point to make politics outstanding, and said that we should highlight both politics and military training, and both are important. That is, he takes eclecticism.

"Second, LUO has not reported military works to LIN for a long period of time. He did not discuss nor ventilate with LIN a number of important issues. For example, the military contest held in the area near the Ming Dynasty Tombs in Beijing, LUO did not report to LIN though he was in Beijing. LIN completely disagrees with LUO’s approach.

"Third, LUO asked LIN to hand the power he has to someone better. Once, LUO came to our residence to report military works to LIN, and LIN let him leave earlier since LIN felt not well. LUO then loudly said in the hallway: 'A sick man (referring to LIN Biao whose health is not good) still tries to control everything? A sick man should make way for others and don't be on the way.' LIN was almost fainted.

"Fourth, LUO Rui-qing had told LIU Ya-lou on four points, including the suggestion that LIN is relegated to the 'second tier', or just working at the Central but letting LUO take care of works in the Central Military Commission. In addition, when LIN let me go to the ‘Four Cleanups’ Movement so that he can get first-hand information, LUO opposed by saying that 'why do you go to 'Four Cleanups', while your main job is to take care of LIN's health.'

"Nobody knows these information except YANG Cheng-wu, XIAO Hua, LEI Ying-fu and you. You and these others should speak out at the meeting and poke the materials out."

In the morning of December 18, the enlarged Politburo Standing Committee meeting began, chaired by DENG Xiao-ping and assisted by ZHOU En-lai. The participants were divided into three groups, led by LIU Shao-ji, ZHOU En-lai and DENG Xiao-ping, respectively. MAO Zedong and LIN Biao didn't show up at the meeting, but MAO called a Standing Committee meeting at night every day, listening to report and making decision.

In the second group led by ZHOU En-lai, YE Qun spoke for several hours, accusing LUO Rui-qing’s ambition. She said that, since 1964, LUO has begun to push LIN Biao down, shouting "the sick get out of the way to make a way for a better man." She said that LUO let LIU Ya-lou tell her four suggestions: "First, LIN will be out of the central political arena sooner or later. If it is not now, it will be some time later. Second, protect LIN's health. Third, LIN should not interfere the military affairs any more. Fourth, let LUO do the Central Military Commission's works." She said that she replied to LIU: "LIN Biao's honor is already very high and he has no intention to have more." She said that, after coming home, she spoke to LIN about this matter and LIN said: "LUO Rui-qing is a careerist."

In the third group led by DENG Xiao-ping, nobody really knew what the LUO Rui-qin's problems are, and therefore nobody spoke. DENG then said: "Some people say that WU Fa-xian knows something. Do you want to speak first?" So, WU spoke, repeating what YE Qun told him. When he finished, DENG asked: "That's it?" WU answered: "Yes, that is what I know." So, the meeting was in silence again. Under repeated inspirations of DENG, somebody spoke, but only for a few words. DENG declared the meeting closed just at 11 AM.

On December 19, the meeting disclosed a letter of WU Fa-xian to LIN Biao:
"Vice Chairman LIN: I have spoken on LUO Rui-qing’s problems in a group discussion. There are two issues that need a written report for your attention:

"(1) In September 1964 (I do not remember the exact date, but it was not far after Comrade LIU Ya-lou returned back from a visit to Romania), comrade LIU Ya-lou said that Comrade LUO Rui-qing had said to him that comrade LIN Biao had talked to Comrade LUO Rui-qing. He said that Comrade LIN Biao is not in a good health condition and therefore LUO should independently work on military affairs in the future and be bold in dealing with
problems independently, and do not to go around and ask for instructions (Note: meaning not asking for instructions from Marshal HE Long anymore); and that Comrade LIN Biao also asked Comrade LUO Rui-qing spend more time on surveying national battlefield terrain, go there to have a personal look because, once there is a war, the Army will depend on his command. This passage of Comrade LIU Ya-lou to me may fully demonstrate that Comrade LUO Rui-qing’s ambition to seize the military power.

"(2) In the late April of this year, Comrade LIU Ya-lou's illness became very serious. I went to Shanghai on the evening of April 23 and visited him in the morning of the next day by the bedside in the hospital. (Note: at the time, LIU is the commander and WU the political commissar of the Air Force). At that time, Comrade LIU Ya-lou was taking a blood transfusion. He waved hand to the nurse to let her walk away and then said to me, on and off: 'LUO wrote me a letter, I do not know what his purpose is. He insulted me. I was fooled. I'm sorry to Comrade LIN Biao and Comrade xx. You should pay attention to avoid being fooled in the future.' When he spoke, he was very weak, his sound was very low, his tongue a little stiff and his eyes red. LIU did not show me LUO's letter nor speak the contents of the letter." (Note: Later, in LIU Ya-lou's relics, there found a letter to him from LUO, asking him not control the Air Forces affairs too much and let them go a bit.)

That night, ZHOU En-lai talked to WU and asked: "How did LUO Rui-qing oppose LIN Biao?" WU was a little bit surprised and asked: "You don't know that?" ZHOU said he doesn't know the situation. So, WU repeated what YE Qun told him and added: "I heard that the Navy has some information related to it."

In the morning of the next day, LIU Shao-qi talked to WU, WU told him YE’s words once again. At the noon, LIU invited WU for lunch together.

In the evening of December 20, ZHOU En-lai asked WU Fa-xian to arrange an aircraft, with the best equipment and the most reliable crew, to take LUO Rui-qing to Shanghai City from Kunming City in Yunnan Province. In particularly, he asked WU to have a good grasp of the aircraft, prepare measures for contingency, and make sure "the aircraft only fly eastward, but not allowed to fly westward (to Burma or India)". ZHOU also said that, after the plane arrived at Shanghai Airport, only three men can meet LUO there: CHEN Pei-xian as the host because he is the mayor of Shanghai, XIE Fu-zhi who is the Minister of the Public Security Department, and WU himself who is the controller of the aircraft. And no one else should go to the airport. ZHOU repeatedly stressed that LUO’s coming to Shanghai should be strictly confidential and WU should not tell anybody.

When WU was going to leave the room, his secretary came in, telling him that PENG Zhen is calling from Beijing. WU was then going to pick up the phone, but immediately stopped by ZHOU. ZHOU said to the secretary: "Just say that 'we could not find WU'. PENG may want to find out what is going on in the meeting."

In the afternoon of December 21, LUO's plane arrived at Shanghai, together with QIN Ji-wei, the commander of the Kunming Military Region. LUO's face was very bad, he was very nervous, and seemed to be aware of what is happening. Mayor CHEN took LUO to a house within Jinjiang Hotel. ZHOU En-lai and DENG Xiao-ping et al were waiting there, ready to talk with LUO.

Participants of the meeting continued to criticize LUO, still not face-to-face. They spoke up this time. On the afternoon of December 23, a general assembly held in the Hotel’s restaurant on the Hotel’s top floor. LIU Shao-qi, ZHU De, ZHOU En-lai, DENG Xiao-ping and other
leaders attended the meeting, but MAO Ze-dong and LIN Biao didn't show up. ZHOU En-lai presided the assembly and DENG Xiao-ping made a concluding statement with five points: (1) The conference has tentatively revealed some problems of LUO Rui-qing, and now comes to an end for this stage. (2) LUO’s major problem is not to resolutely implement Comrade LIN Biao’s instruction of “Highlighting politics” and it is an eclectic error. (3) LUO’s problems exposed and criticized in the meeting will be conveyed to him and will give him some time to recognize his problems and errors. (4) LUO’s problems should be known only by the participants and not be spread. (5) The question of what to do next will be answered by the Central after returning to Beijing. The meeting was dismissed after DENG’s conclusion.

After the Shanghai meeting, MAO Ze-dong called a meeting of the CMC Standing Committee. The meeting decided to repeal LUO Rui-qing's duties as CMC Secretary and the PLA chief of staff. It was also decided to appoint the CMC’s Vice Chairman YE Jian-ying the CMC secretary, and YANG Cheng-wu acting chief of the general staff. Afterwards, LUO was sidelined.

At the beginning of March 1966, DENG Xiao-ping convened a small meeting in Huaihirentang Hall in the Zhongnanhai District, with only thirty people attended. On the meeting, DENG said: "On LUO Rui-qing’s problems, the Shanghai meeting has lifted the lid. Now, Chairman MAO decided to continue the meeting in Beijing. It is still a small meeting of the Central Military Commission mainly, participated also by main officials of the Big Military Regions, of the various Departments of the central authority, and of the State Council's relevant Departments. The total number of participants will not be more than one hundred. In the Army side, CMC vice chairman and secretary YE Jian-ying, and YANG Cheng-wu and XIAO Hua will form a leading group to preside over the meeting and lead a face-to-face struggle against LUO. The meeting place is the Jingxi Hotel in order to secure."

A meeting to denounce LUO Rui-qing started on March 4 at the Jingxi Hotel. In the first day of the meeting, YE Jian-ying explained the purpose of the meeting and requirements first. No member of the Politburo Standing Committee showed up in the meeting. When LUO arrived at the meeting, no one stepped forward to greet him. Since then, every time LUO came to a meeting, he was a lonely man holding a pen and a notebook, sitting behind a table and recording something. On the first day of the discussion, XU Guang-da exposed some words and deeds of LUO when in Yanan. LUO seemed surprised and very angry, but did not say anything.

In the second day of the meeting, YE Qun made a phone call from Suzhou to WU Fa-xian, asking if he had spoken out. He told her that he did not. She then asked him to speak, and repeated what she said during the Shanghai meeting. In addition, she told him that, when she visited LIU Ya-lou to verify LUO’s four points, LIU's wife ZHAI Yun-ying was present. Therefore, she asked WU to visit ZHAI immediately together with a secretarial who should record what ZHAI would say. She also requested WU that ZHAI should sign the record, and that the record should immediately be sent to LIN Biao in Suzhou. In accordance to YE’s request, WU and his secretary visited ZHAI. At the end of the visit, ZHAI wrote a statement, which she signed. The statement read: "Ya-lou was sick and in the hospital at 922 Huashan Road, Shanghai. Once Comrade YE Qun and comrade LIN Dou-dou (LIN Biao’s daughter) visited him in the bedside. I was not there when they talk. Later, I entered the room to ask Ya-lou to take medicine, and saw Ya-lou was sitting in the couch and
heard Ya-lou said: 'Okay, I'm tired now. I have four points and let us talk about them next time.' (He repeated this sentence three times.) I do not know what these four points are. Ya-lou hadn't told me." WU send the statement to LIN Biao immediately.

One week after the meeting started, YE Qun in Suzhou City called WU Fa-xin again and said: "LIU Ya-lou was the commander of the Air Force. Who will speak if you don't? Only you are the most suitable person to speak. You must speak immediately, and tell YU Li-jin (Note: the political commissar of the Air Force) also to speak. What are you afraid of, as I had already spoke on the four points when reporting to Chairman MAO and at the meeting in Shanghai?" WU told YANG Cheng-wu about YE's call and YANG said: "What can you say to LIN Biao if you do not speak on it?" In the next day, YE called WU once more and said: "I have asked YANG Cheng-wu and he told me you have still not spoken out. LIN Biao said that we must ask ‘WU Fat’ (WU Fa-xian’s nickname) to speak on the 'four points' at the meeting. It is already late and you would be more passive if you don't speak now. LIN also said you must think over whom you will follow, LIN or LUO? LIN also asked me to tell you that ‘LUO Tall’ reached out in the party and wanted to seize military power, and that Chairman MAO had personally presided and mastered over the meeting to solve LUO’s problem. I want you to think carefully because you posted words of LUO Tall everywhere in the Air Force. You have lifted him up so high, why? LIN Biao said that you are very close to LUO and that you must thoroughly expose LUO’s problems and keep away from him." WU hurriedly replied: "Of course, I follow LIN. How can I follow LUO’s heel?" YE said: "Good. You should speak at the meeting tomorrow morning. You are the most appropriate person to tell what LIU Ya-lou said. Both you and YU Li-jin should speak out at the meeting. I have already talked to YANG Cheng-wu, and he and others will follow after you and YU speak." In the second day, WU and YU spoke at the meeting, exposed LUO words for the "four points". After their speech, other participants overwhelmingly criticized LUO, especially on his "four points".

In the morning of March 18, LUO left a note to his wife in their home: "Zhi-ping: I didn’t tell you about the meeting for the sake of discipline. Good bye, please ask our children to listen to the party forever and listen to the words of Chairman MAO forever. Our party is always glorious, right and great. You must continue to correct yourself and be a revolutionary." Then, he jumped from the second floor and, as the result, one of his legs was broken and he was sent to the Beijing Hospital for treatment. In the second day’s meeting, YE Jian-ying announced LUO’s jump off building with an intention of suicide.

At the end of March, a general meeting held. On the meeting, PENG Zhen, YE Jian-ying, YANG Cheng-wu and XIAO Hua have spoken. At last, YE announced that critique on LUO Rui-qing comes to an end.

**PENG Zhen criticized**

PENG Zhen is a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC, and the mayor and party’s first secretary of Beijing City. He was angry for that JIANG Qing had not let him know before criticizing Beijing’s vice mayor WU Han, and said: "I have watched the drama ‘HAI Rui dismissed from office’ and not seen a big problem of it... In Shanghai, ZHOU Xin-fang also played in the drama, and is ZHANG Chun-qiao (the secretary for culture and arts of the Shanghai municipals committee of the Party) responsible to it?" The persons in charge of the Propaganda Department and the Xinhua News Agency also thought that it is very doubtful to relate the drama to the tide of anti-collectivization as accused in YAO’ article. PENG told newspapers in Beijing do not reprint YAO’s article.
Two weeks later, MAO Ze-dong said to JIANG Qing: “Beijing newspapers do not reprint YAO’s article. Let us reprint it as a booklet.” In November 24, 1965, the Shanghai branch of the Xinhua Bookstore inquired orders of booklet of YAO’s article from all other branches of the Xinhua Bookstores throughout the country. To this inquiry, PENG asked the Beijing branch of the Bookstore not to reply even if Shanghai calls. PENG had done so until the 29th day of the month when he had to let the "Beijing Daily" fully reprint YAO’s articles, but added a note written by himself, emphasizing equality and persuading through reasoning. After that, in accordance with ZHOU En-lai and PENG Zhen’s opinion of forming an atmosphere of academic discussion, some long articles written by DENG Tuo, ZHOU Yang and LI Qi, et al appeared in newspapers Beijing Daily, People's Daily et al. Among them, some academic articles criticized the exaggeration approach used in YAO’s article.

In February 3, 1966, PENG called a meeting of the “Cultural Revolution Group” consisting of five members. The group was founded in July 1964 under MAO Ze-dong’s suggestion, with PENG as the group leader, LU Ding-yi (the minister of the Central Propaganda Department of the Party) as his deputy, and KANG Sheng, ZHOU Yang and WU Leng-xi as group members. This meeting was enlarged to include XU Li-qun, HU Sheng, YAO Zhen, WANG Li, FAN Ruo-yu, LIU Ren and ZHENG Tian-xiang et al. PENG said at the meeting: "WU Han's problem is an academic problem, not related to PENG De-huai (i.e., not related to the reversing-verdict tide) and therefore not related to the Mt. Lu Conference in 1959. Academic criticism should not overly done and, if it does, it would fire back." The other participants were in favor of his view, except KANG Sheng who said WU Han's problem is a problem of a political nature and is related with the Mt. Lu Conference in 1959.

Finally, PENG made a summary of the meeting. According to his summary, the meeting prepared a document entitled "Outlined report on the current academic discussion", often referred to as the "February Outline". The outline read: “In discussions on academic problems, one should stick on principles of ‘seeking truth from facts’, and of everyone being equal in front of the truth. One needs to convince others by reasoning, but not arbitrarily flinging his weight around as a scholar tyrant would do.” On the 8th day of the month, PENG, LU and KANG went to Wuhan City to report to MAO Ze-dong in there. After listening their report, MAO said: “The key to WU Han's ‘HAI Rui dismissed from office’ is ‘dismissed from office’, which is related to PENG De-huai who dismissed from office in the Mt. Lu Conference.” He twice asked PENG: "Is WU Han anti-party and anti-socialism?" PENG did not answer the question directly.

On March 17, an enlarged meeting of the Politburo Standing Committee held. MAO said at the meeting: “All local authorities should pay attention to the question of whether or not the newspapers, magazines and presses are in our hands, and should criticize ‘bourgeois academic authority’. … The magazine The Front is in the hands of WU Han, LIAO Mo-sha and DENG Tuo, and the magazine is anti-party and anti-socialism.” He proposed that we should have a “Culture Revolution” in the fields of literature, history, philosophy, law science and economics, and that we must ask how much they are Marx-Leninist. … We need to train our own young academic authority, and be not afraid of young men who are against the authorities.” In the 28th to 30th day of the month, MAO talked to KANG Sheng, JIANG Qing and ZHANG Chun-qiao for several times. He said to them: “The ‘Outlined report of the Cultural Revolution Group’ (of PENG Zhen) confuses the class boundaries, does not distinguish right and wrong, and therefore is wrong.” He stressed the need to support the leftists and build a team to start the Cultural Revolution. He also said that if the Beijing municipal Party committee and the Central Propaganda Department continue “to cover up bad guys, then they should be disbaned.
And the ‘Group of five’ (i.e. the Cultural Revolution Group headed by PENG Zhen) should be disbanded.” KANG Sheng conveyed MAO’s words in the meeting of the Party’s Secretariat on April 9. In addition, KANG listed a series of wrong doings of PENG Zhen after criticism of WU Han started. CHEN Bo-da went further by revealing a series of PENG’s "crimes" committed from the period of civil revolution to the period of socialist revolution. The meeting decided to thoroughly criticize errors in the "February Outline" (referring to "Outlined report of the Cultural Revolution Group" of PENG Zhen).

From April 16 to 20, MAO called an enlarged meeting of the Politburo Standing Committee again, criticizing PENG’s "crimes against the party". The meeting decided to cancel the "February Outline" and disband the Cultural Revolution Group of five persons. MAO said: “Beijing municipal Party committee did not allow even a needle to insert into it, not even a drop of water to pour in. PENG Zhen wanted to transform the party in accordance of his own view, which, however, prepared the fall of his own. … If there are people in the central playing tricks, I will call the locals together against them, just as what SUN Wu-kong did: Call havoc in heaven against those who protect the Jade Emperor. … Phenomenon is visible but the essence is hidden. The essence will be revealed through the phenomenon. The essence of PENG Zhen had hidden for thirty years.”

Peng Zhen's position has not been formally revoked, but he "stood aside", that is, not involving in any works.

**LU Ding-yi criticized**

LU Ding-yi was the Minister of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central committee. LU and the Department showed indifference to YAO Wen-yuan's article "On the new historical drama 'HAI Rui dismissed from office '". In March 1966, MAO at the meeting in Hangzhou warned the Department: “Do not become the Rural Work Department. (Note: The Rural Work Department headed by DENG Zi-hui was revoked in 1962 for making ‘rightist mistakes’.)” Soon after, MAO declared that the Central Propaganda Department is the "Palace of Hell", and called to "down with the Palace of Hell and liberate the imps."

It happened that LU Ding-yi's wife YAN Wei-bing had written many anonymous slander letters to YE Qun (LIN Biao’s wife) in a long period of time. In 1942, during the Yanan Rectification Movement, when YAN heard that YE has problems of hiding to the Party her own history and falsely report years of her party membership. YAN then reported these to the party organization of the Institute of Marx-Leninism where YE worked. But the Institute did not take attention to her report. In 1943, YE were in the Central Hospital in Yanan to give birth to her first child, while YAN was hospitalized also in the hospital. YE often ate chicken, while the living condition in Yanan at the time was difficult. Sometimes chicken cannot be found, YE clamored. In this regard, words went around among the medical staff, and the sick and wounded patients. YAN was also very dismissive of YE’s style. After the founding of New China, YE Qun became the manager of the LIN Biao Office and looked herself higher and higher. YAN saw it and became angry.

Once, YAN went to Harbin Institute of Military Engineering to visit her son there. A daughter of LIN Biao and his ex-wife was also studying in the Institute. YAN learned that LIN’s daughter was discriminated by YE: YE did not allow her to go home in Beijing in holidays and vocations. In this regard, YAN was in deep indignation. After returning to Beijing, she wrote an anonymous letter denouncing YE.
From later 1950s, LIN’s family had constantly received anonymous letters, in which the main content was to abuse YE by saying about her life before and after living in Yanan. LIN’s daughter Dou-dou also received an anonymous letter, telling her that she is actually not a biological child of LIN. Many of these letters are signed as “WANG Guang-x” mailed from a nursery where mother of WANG Guang-mei (Note: LIU Shao-ji’s wife) was working. Some of the letters were written on postcards and therefore tantamount to public leaflets. LIN and YE were very angry after receiving such anonymous letters one after another, and started to secretly investigate to find who wrote these letters, but not successfully. The Ministry of Public Security and the Department of Military Security had also involved in the investigation but also had no results.

By early 1966, YAN once shopped in a store for the inner-circle of high-ranking official’s families. Just when entering the store door, she was collided by a woman who was just going out the door. It happens that the woman were YE! The two women quarreled. Afterwards, YAN went to the General Political Department of the Army, denouncing YE riding roughshod over others. YAN spoke Mandarin with strong Wuxi accent, and the officer YAN was talked to spoke Mandarin with the Jiangxi accent. As the result, they could not really understand to each other well and therefore have to communicate by writing. So, YAN wrote down the story. Bringing YAN’s writing, the officer reported to LIN. Looking at the handwriting, LIN felt the handwriting is so familiar and finally recognized it is somehow similar to those of the anonymous letters. He then told his suspicion to the Ministry of Public Security. The Ministry immediately sent somebody to the Central Propaganda Department where YAN worked, took her files, checked her handwriting and identified all those anonymous letter were actually of YAN’s handwriting.

The Ministry of Public Security reported the matter to the Party’s central committee. LIU Shao-ji et al. believed that LU Ding-yi was not involved in the matter and therefore commissioned PENG Zhen (who had not yet been criticized at the time) to tell LU the detail story. At the beginning of February, 1966, PENG asked LU to come into his house. PENG showed LU the photocopy of the anonymous letters. Being startled, LU said to PENG: "I don’t know YAN had written anonymous letters. I even do not know how many children LIN has and what their names are until now after I see the anonymous letter. I could not imagine how she could write these anonymous letters. It is unthinkable. Some handwriting was written by YAN, but there are some that I am not sure. In order to make sure, I can go to get some of her handwriting, and you please pass them to the Ministry of Public Security to check them." PENG said: "The Ministry has checked the handwritings, and it is for sure that the anonymous letters are all written by YAN. The Party’s Central Committee has discussed the matter and believes that YAN is dangerous, and decided to protect you and let you leave YAN by living in a hospital." So, LU was admitted to the Beijing Hospital. This did not cause YAN suspicion because LU actually had problems in his digestive system. She often went to the hospital to visit her husband. In April 28, YAN was put into a jail and later transferred to the famous Qincheng Prison (especially for prisoners of high-ranking officers). Soon after, LU himself was under "isolation and self-review".

In May 1966, the Politburo held an enlarged meeting. One day, before the meeting officially started, LIN put a handwriting of his own on the rostrum table, which say: “I proved that: (1) YE is pure and virginal when marrying me, and always decent afterwards. (2) YE Qun had never fallen on love with WANG Shi-wei or xxx. (3) ‘Tiger’ and ‘Dou-dou’ (nicknames of LIN’s children LIN Li-guo and LIN Li-heng) are biological children of YE and me. (4) All words YAN countered in her anti-revolutionary letters are rumors she made.”
ZHOU En-lai saw this handwriting and felt very surprised. Later, NIE Rong-zhen saw it and said: "Why put this? Remove it!" Then, LIN’s handwriting was removed away.

**YANG Shang-kun criticized**

YANG Shang-kun was the director of the General Office of the Central Committee. He was dismissed for an incident occurred in the late 1965. At that time, MAO Ze-dong's special train was stopped in the platform of the Changsha railway station. Talking with MAO’s female secretary ZHANG Yu-feng, a communication soldier imitated the private talks between MAO and ZHANG in the carriage. ZHANG immediately told MAO the event. MAO then immediately questioned the communication solder and learned that his compartment is bugged! He further traced the matter and soon learned that the bugging equipment was set in his carriage by YANG Shang-kun in accordance to a resolution of the Party’s Politburo after LUO Rui-qing showed the resolution to MAO. The resolution stated that the Politburo decides to set bugging equipment in MAO’s carriage in order to help the Politburo members to understand MAO's instructions and carry out the instructions in a timely manner.

MAO had never liked recording his speech or even taking notes, not to mention being bugged. For recording his speech, his consent must be obtained in advance. Usually, when he is ready to speak at a meeting, YANG would ask him if he allows to record. If MAO said "yes", YANG then arranges recording. In November 1959, in a central working meeting held in Hangzhou City, MAO had told the participants do not write record. Then HU Qiaomu said that somebody is even making tape-recording! MAO was so angry and said: "Who lets you record? Those who would do it again in the future will be dismissed from the Party!"

Arguments became even bigger in an event in April 1961. At that time, MAO received foreign guests in Changsha City and WANG Dong-xing (Deputy Director of the CPC Central Office) arranged for someone to take photos and sound record. After knowing it, MAO was very unhappy and asked who approved recording. So, WANG called KANG Yi-min (vice director of the confidential room) and LAI Kui (the chief of the meeting section under the confidential room) in, and said to them that Chairman MAO entrusted me to talk to you and asked us to take a picture as an evidence for the event. Then, WANG let the guard captain wrote down words of "Violation of instructions and illegal recording" on a piece of paper, put it in the front of the recorder, and let a photographer to take four photos: the first photo was of five persons, i.e. WANG, KANG, LAI, XU Ye-fu (MAO's confidential secretary) and LIU Ji-shun (Full time recorder of the confidential room); the second one was photo of KANG, LAI and LIU; the third one was of LIU alone, and the fourth one was of the recorder. These photos were sent to MAO. Later, the responsible persons in the confidential room, YE Zi-long, KANG Yi-min and WU Zhen-ying together wrote a report to acknowledge their errors and were subjected to disciplinary punishment within the party. Soon after, the Central Secretariat held a special meeting, presided over by DENG Xiao-ping, to discuss the recording issue. The meeting made a resolution entitled "On sound recording and paper recording" that states: “Only the important ones among the central official meetings can be recorded if approved in advance by Party’s Secretariat. In all other occasions, recording is not allowed, including talks between central leading comrades, talks between a central leading comrades with foreign guests. These requirements are valid not only to the central but also to the locals.”

But now, the bugging equipment was installed on MAO’s train! In November, 1965, YANG was removed from the post of director of the Central Office, and sent to Guangdong Province and became a party secretary there and, later, further decreased to vice party secretary in a region of the province.
The four high-ranking officials who had been criticized at the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution. From left: PENG Zhen, LUO Rui-qing (who is much taller than the soldier on right in the photo), LU Ding-yi and YANG Shang-kun.

From May 4 to 26, 1966, the Politburo held a meeting to criticize and review the cases of PENG Zhen, LUO Rui-qing, LU Ding-yi and YANG Shang-kun. Finally, the meeting passed a resolution that revoked all positions of the four. (Note: The resolution was affirmed later in the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Party’s Eighth Central Committee held in August. Further, the plenary session decided to establish a special committee “to examine the four comrades’ anti-party activities and abnormal relationship among them”.)

**The May 16 Notice**

After passing the resolution on PENG, LUO, LU and YANG, the Politburo meeting passed in May 16, 1966, the "Notice of Communist Party of China Central Committee", known as the "May16 Notice". This notice devoted much to criticism of PENG Zhen’s "February Outline". The notice claimed: "The representatives of bourgeoisie are a group of counter-revolutionary revisionists who have snaked into our party, government, army and various cultural circles. Once the time is right, they will try to seize power and change proletariat dictatorship into bourgeoisie dictatorship. Among these figures, some have been caught, some have not yet and still gotten our trust, trained as our successors, and some are sleeping in our bedside like a Khrushchev. Party committees at all levels must give full attention to this." The May 16 Notice is a symbol of the start of the Cultural Revolution. The meeting confirmed the repeal of PENG Zhen as head of the "Group of Five for Cultural Revolution" and, instead, formed a new group called Central Cultural Revolution Group", with CHEN Bo-da as the leader, KANG Sheng as a consultant, JIANG Qing as the first deputy leader, and ZHANG Chun-qiao and YAO Wen-yuan as members. The new group is directly affiliated to the Politburo Standing Committee, which means the new group is at the same level as the Central Politburo, the State Council and the Central Military Commission.

In May 18, LIN Biao gave a long speech at the meeting. According to MAO's suggestion, he mainly talk about coup. He said: "It would be better for other members of the Standing Committee to speak, but they let me speak first, so I speak a little now. I didn't write a script, but just say what I thought when read some materials..." The fundamental problem in a revolution is the problem of political power. With the power, the proletariat and the working people have everything. Without the power, everything lost. Though production relation is the foundation, but it can be changed only after seizure of power, and it can be consolidated and developed after seizure of power. Otherwise, it is an economic nationalism, and a beggar doctrine and begging for mercy. After the proletariat got power, millionaires and billionaires can be defeated all of a sudden, and then proletariat has
everything. So, no matter how a multitude of things happened, don't forget the direction and the center. Never forget power. Forgetting power is to forget the politics and the fundamental view of the Marxism, and one becomes an economist, anarchist and idealist. A person is a fool when his head was cut off but still does not know how. ... What is power? SUN Zhong-san said it is management of all people. But he did not understand that the power is actually a tool for a class to suppress another class. Either revolutionaries or counter-revolutionaries are as such. I want to use my habit of using language and say that power is repressive authority. Of course, functions of a power are not only to suppress. Proletariat political power also has functions to transform peasants and small private owners, engage in economic development, and fight against external aggression. Power has various functions, but the main function is repression. Both the reactionaries in the society and the representatives of the exploiting classes snaked into the Party have to be suppressed. They could be killed, sentenced, controlled and forced to do labor, expelled from the party, or dismissed form the position. Otherwise, we do not really understand the Marx doctrine’s fundamental view about power, and are foolish. ...

"In recent years, especially the last year, Chairman MAO put forward to prevent revisionism in all area and all fronts, both inside and outside the party, both the upper and lower levels. As I know it, it was mainly focused on leading organs. In recent months, Chairman MAO pays particular attention to the prevention of Counter-revolutionary coup and has taken a lot of measures. He talked about it after LUO Rui-qing’s problem occurred. After PENG Zhen’s problem occurred, Chairman MAO talked about this problem once again. He deploys forces to prevent counter-revolutionary coup and to vital units occupied by them, such as radio stations and broadcasting stations. He arranged the army system and the police system for it. In these few months, these things were what Chairman MAO was doing. This is an article that is not entirely written down. This is an article that is not printed. We have to learn from this article though it has not been printed yet. For these actions, Chairman MAO did not sleep well for many days. This is a very deep and very serious problem.

"Now, coup becomes a trend and is all over the world. Presumably, there are two kinds of regime changes. The first one is a people’s revolution, which comes from the underground rebels, such as CHEN Sheng and WU Guang, the Taipingtianguo and our communist party. The second kind is a counter-revolutionary coup. It mostly is a palace coup, from the regime internally. They could be a combination of an upside and a downside coup in a country, one combined with foreign subversive activities or armed attack from foreign enemy, or one combined with scourge. It is with big bang, big noisy and big chaos. It is so in history, and now. "Talking about coups in the capitalist countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America since 1960, there are 61 coups, among which 56 were successful. In these coups, 8 leaders were killed, 11 deposed and 7 became a puppet. These 61 coups occurred in six years, i.e. 11 coups annually on average. ... Looking at our country, there are many examples that 10, 20, 30 or 50 years after a dynasty was founded, a coup occurred and power lost. ... (Note: He then spoke on coups in each dynasty of China, from Zhou Dynasty, Warring States of the Chunquzhanguo Period, Dynasties of Qin, Han, Sui, Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming, Qing and the Republic of China, one dynasty by one dynasty.)

"Sixteen years have been passed since we obtained the political power. Will our proletariat power not be subverted and usurped? It will be if we do not pay attention to it. Khrushchev subverted the Soviet Union. Yugoslavia has changed even earlier. Hungary was also subverted after Nagy appeared and engaged in more than ten days of disaster. There are many such things. Now Chairman MAO pays attention to this counter-revolutionary coup problem and talked to us who do not pay enough attention to it. Is it the case that there are no such things but we say it much with no reason at all? No, there are a lot of signs and 'the storm is coming and we fell it in the house', just as the old saying goes. … Through the fights against LUO Rui-qing, PENG Zhen, LU Ding-yi and his wife, and YANG Shang-kun, you can
smell a little of it, the smell of gunpowder. ... LUO controlled the military. PENG caught a lot of power in the Secretariat of the Central Committee. LUO's hands are long and PENG's even longer. LU is one of the commanders in the cultural front and ideology. YANG engaged in confidential information and contacts. ... Chairman MAO said: 'Over the past sixteen years (i.e. after the establishment of New China), we have not occupied the ideological front.' If it goes on, people will not vote for us and not for Chairman MAO, but for them. If there was a battle, people would go with them by picking up the gun and hitting us. Pen and gun are what one depends on in seizure of power...

"Chairman MAO was the founder of our party and of Chinese revolution, and is the great leader of our Party and country, and the greatest contemporary Marx-Leninist. Chairman MAO has genuinely, creatively and comprehensively inherited, defended and developed the Marx-Lenin doctrine, and raised the Marx-Lenin doctrine to a new stage. ... Chairman MAO's experiences are far more than Marx, Engel and Lenin. ... Chairman Mao is a genius. What are we different from Chairman MAO? We struggle together with him and some of us are older than him. We are younger than him, but also experienced a lot of things. We also read books, but we do not understand the books, or do not really understand. Chairman Mao understands what he reads. A lot of people put a lot of little circle on the book when reading, and made the book full of circles, which, as I see it, proves that he did not understand the book, do not know what the center of the book is, what the primary is, and what secondary is. A few decades ago, Chairman MAO has understood the kernel of dialectics already, but we do not. He not only understands, but also is skilled to use. There is a great distance between understanding a theory and using it in practice. You understand it, but not necessarily know how to use it. On playing table tennis, you know the rules, but you still cannot beat ZHUANG Ze-dong or XU Yin-sheng (Note: they are table tennis world champions, and very famous in China). It is the same as to the war: you have a little of military knowledge from books, but not necessarily win a battle. MAO Ze-dong Thought is full of materialism. Chairman MAO has widely used and developed the Marx-Lenin’s theory and there is no second person in the contemporary world does so. The geniuses in the 19th Century were Marx and Engel, and in the 20th Century Lenin and Comrade MAO Ze-dong. Don't defy and you are not as good as him. ... We support Chairman MAO now, will support him when he would go away, and MAO Ze-dong Thought would last forever. ... MAO Ze-dong Thought is lighthouse of human being, is the sharpest weapon in the world revolution, and is the truth universally applicable. ... Living as long as ninety years or more than a hundred years, Chairman MAO is the supreme leader of our party and his words are criterion for correctness of our action. Whoever should oppose him, the whole country will criticize them and the whole party will put them to death. Anyone doing a secret report in a meeting, after Chairman MAO would go away, as Khrushchev did after Stalin’s death, must be ambitious or bad, and the whole country will criticize him and the whole party will put him to death. MAO Ze-dong Thought is always the universal truth and our guide to action forever, is the common wealth of Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the whole world revolution, and is forever shining. The people's Liberation Army takes Chairman MAO’s works as textbook for cadres and soldiers of the whole Army. This is not because I am clever, but because we must do so. Using MAO Zedong Thought to unite the whole Army and the whole Party, then whatever problems can be solved. Every sentence of Chairman MAO is the truth, and one sentence of him is actually more than ten thousand of our sentences. ..."

On May 23, there held a meeting specifically to criticize ZHU De’s negative attitude to criticism of PENG, LUO, LU and YANG. The meeting was under the auspices of LIU Shaoqi, while MAO Ze-dong did not attend. The meeting was small. On the meeting, ZHU De made a self-criticism and said: "My mistakes in the past have been examined two times.
The first time was after the occurrence of GAO and RAO, and I made a review on my mistakes in a meeting. The second one was after the PENG De-huai’s problem occurred and I made another review on my mistakes in the enlarged CMC meeting. ...” ZHU then reviewed his mistakes in history, namely the split with MAO during the Mt. Jinggang Period. After ZHU’s review, a lot of people spoke. Among them, CHEN Yi’s speech is very fierce, and he asked: "ZHU De, I want to ask you: Do you plan a coup?" ZHU replied: "I don't have neither the power nor the guts." CHEN said: "As I see it, you want to be an emperor. You also praised Khrushchev and have a very big ambition." At this time, Ulav chimed in: "What is stranger is that he said that conclusion cannot be made even after one has died. We said that Khrushchev opposing Stalin is wrong and revisionist. But he said that we still have to have a good relation with the Soviet Union, and that the Soviet Union also cannot live without us.” ZHU said: "As to the question if I have ambition, I am eighty years old and need others to pull when climbing a hill, also need help when walking, and do not mention about working. I have not managed anything, and don't even talk about being an emperor. However, I always want to take care of our team and always hope the team will be forever." ZHOU En-lai said: "Talking about the first half of the time in the fight between Comrade ZHU De and ZHANG Guo-tao, we should thank Comrade LIU Bai-cheng because, without LIU, you would probably become a king there. In the second half, you decided to go northward only after the push of Comrade HE Long, Comrade RENG Bi-shi and Comrade GUAN Xiang-ying. Without these comrades, you may even slip to the Hexi Corridor region. After the liberation in 1949, you had even more mistakes. Chairman MAO often said that you were edged to both the GAO-RAO event and the PENG-HUANG event. That you speak everywhere is a dangerous thing and we worry about it. There is a time bomb in the Politburo Standing Committee, which Chairman MAO also worried about. You speak everywhere. If you want to talk, you need write a draft and consult with us. Thus, you are not reliable and we cannot trust you." DENG Xiao-ping did not speak. LIN Biao said: "The problem was exposed in the Mt. Lu Conference, and solved there, which was a great victory. It destroyed one of the biggest hidden troubles of the Party. Chairman MAO talked several times about the possibility of Party’s split, and it actually points PENG De-huai and ZHU De. In the Mt. Lu Conference, it had been considered whether to expose the problem and, after weighting the pros and cons, it was believed that the hidden danger should be resolutely revealed and eliminated, otherwise it will continue to develop and become even a greater problem in case of Chairman MAO passed away. ... ZHU De, you are ambitious, your self-review on mistakes is by far not enough. Some people thought it is himself who wants to have a self-review. No, it is not the case! It is the Party’s Central Committee decided to let him ‘take pants off’, and he had to do so. You (Note: referring to attendants of the meeting) probably don't know, but CHEN Yi’s critique is actually not too much. He does not admire Chairman MAO much, and he wants to be the leader. About GAO Gang’s event, he also advocated presiding the Politburo by turns. Wanting to be the Chairman, do you have the ability for it? You have never been the commander in chief, even for a single day. After the Nanchang Uprising, there is no governing in the troops, just walking randomly, and it was CHEN Yi who commanded the troops going to Mt. Jinggang. Before the Zunyi Conference, the Red Army was commanded by LI De and, after the Zunyi Conference, by Chairman MAO. After that, Chairman MAO has commanded. During the Anti-Japanese war, you are in war front (meaning ZHU did not command the whole war but only in the frontier). The liberation war was under Chairman MAO’s command. You do not have the ability, but you think your ability is okay. When you were not under Chairman MAO’s command, i.e. you left the Mt. Jinggang area and went southward, the result was the loss of two battalions out of total of three, and it was Chairman MAO who took you back to the base. ... In the last year, after LUO Ru-qing’s problem revealed, he spoke at the Shanghai meeting: ‘We should not say that MAO Ze-dong Thought is the pinnacle of Marx-Leninism in the world
because if it is already in the top, how can it develop further?’ Probably, who is in the top is not Chairman MAO, but ZHU De yourself, or Khrushchev.”

In fact, before this time of criticism, ZHU De had already been under fire in an enlarged politburo meeting. It was on May 12 when ZHU said: “It is necessary to read thirty-two books on Marx-Leninism designated by Chairman MAO. I plan to spend one to two years to read all of them. Chairman MAO accepted the Marx-Leninism. ...” At this point, LIN Biao interrupted him and said: "Does Chairman MAO only ‘accept’ it? He develops it to the highest peak!" LIN Biao added that ZHU already said at the end of an earlier Politburo meeting: “We should not say that MAO Ze-dong’s Thought is the pinnacle of contemporary Marx-Leninism, because it would not develop if it is already in the peak.” LIN Biao then continued to say: "See how he evaluates MAO Ze-dong Thought!” At this point, KANG Sheng chimed in: "Objecting the words of ‘MAO Ze-dong Thought is the highest and most living Marx-Leninism and is the pinnacle of contemporary Marx-Leninism’ (as LIN Biao put it) is to oppose Chairman MAO Thought, and is the same as PENG Zhen in this respect." ZHU De explained: "I do not oppose Chairman MAO. ..." KANG did not let him finish, but interrupted and said: "I hope you study all these LIN Biao’s talks. It will be much better than you study thirty-two books. As I see it, although you are a party member in procedure, but your thoughts did not join the Party and still a person outside the party. ... You want to be over Chairman MAO." Some other people also spoke. One of them said ZHU De is "the party's most dangerous man" and "a time bomb in the Party."

[Note: As seen from what happened later, MAO Ze-dong defended ZHU De. After LIU Shao-ji was down, ZHU once said in a meeting: "During the Cultural Revolution, I feel that we should not relax in the production but ensure greatly increase in industrial and agricultural production." Soon after, the Central Cultural Revolution Group member QI Ben-yu posted a big character post that requests down of ZHU De. Overnight, there emerged many big character posters all over streets of Beijing, describing ZHU De as "a big warlord", "ambitious man" and "black commander", and request to throw ZHU De "out of the Zhongnanhai District" and to "criticize him and make him badly smelly". The news reached MAO and MAO said: "It is not so. In the past, the GMD requested to 'kill pig (Note: The word ‘pig’ in Chinese has the same pronunciation as ZHU) and pull hair (Note: The word ‘hair’ in Chinese has the same pronunciation as MAO) off’. Now you say he is a black commander. ‘ZHU-MAO’ (Note: the GMD called the Red Army as ‘ZHU-MAO Red Army’), ‘ZHU-MAO’, if the commander (ZHU) is black, how can the political commissar (MAO) is red? ZHU De should not be criticized. He is the red commander!” After MAO’s words went out, the wave of criticizing ZHU took off immediately.]
Chapter 7.2 Critique of the LIU-DENG Line

The working groups

Ten days after the Party’s Central Committee issued the "May16 Notice" in 1966, seven teachers of the Philosophy Department at Beijing University, led by NIE Yuan-zi, put up a big character poster on the east wall of the school’s Big Dining Room, entitled "What have SONG Shuo, LU Ping and PENG Pei-yun done during the Cultural Revolution?" The three people named here were responsible persons of the party committee at Beijing University. The poster criticized them for trying to tie the hands of masses, not allowing any mass meeting nor big character posters, but only small meetings and small character posters. After the big character poster posted, other people also put up big character posters, asked the authors of the poster: "Why are you against the leadership of the Party?"

However, the magazine "Red Flag", with CHEN Bo-da as the chief editor, published the poster of NIE et al. in their bulletin "Briefing on Cultural Revolution". And the newspaper Liberation Army Daily of the CMC led by LIN Biao published an article entitled "Stripping evildoer's disguise of 'authority' and open fire onto them", with an editor's comment supporting NIE Yuan-zi et al.

In May 29, LIU Shao-qi, ZHOU En-lai and DENG Xiao-ping et al. had a small meeting and envisaged to send a working group led by the party secretary ZHANG Cheng-xian of the Education Ministry to Beijing University; and to send another working group led by CHEN Bo-da to go to the “People's Daily”. During the meeting, ZHOU called MAO Ze-dong who was in Hangzhou City, and got okay from MAO. In the next day, LIU, ZHOU and DENG formally wrote a letter to MAO in order to get MAO’s instruction on sending a working group to People's Daily. The letter stated: "In the past two months, People's Daily’s prestige decreased greatly, resulting in adverse effects on the Party and the State. The newspaper editors cannot change the present situation, and many of them asked the Central to send a working group there. We held a meeting today to discuss the issue and thought to send a temporary working group under the direct leadership of CHEN Bo-da to control the newspaper’s publication and to direct Xinhua News Agency and radio stations in the field of foreign news." On the same day, MAO replied: "Agree to do that." In the second day, CHEN Bo-da led a working group and controlled the People's Daily.

On June 1, MAO wrote an instruction on the poster of NIE Yuan-zi et al: “Comrade KANG Sheng and CHEN Bo-da: This article could be broadcasted by Xinhua News Agency and published in various newspapers across the country, which is necessary. A reactionary fortress as Beijing University is may then begin to be broken. Please consider and implement." In the evening, the Central People's Broadcasting Station broadcasted the poster of NIE et al. On the same day, People's Daily published an editorial entitled "Sweeping out all the monsters and freaks", which was inspired, modified and validated by CHEN Bo-da. The editorial wrote: “Within the past few months, hundreds of millions of peasants, workers and soldiers, the masses of revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary intellectuals responded to the calls from
the Party’s Central Committee and Chairman MAO, armed with MAO Ze-dong Thought, swept out a lot of monsters and freaks in the ideological and cultural fields. It was like a strong wind and storm, swift and violent, and broke spiritual shackles imposed upon them for many years. The so-called bourgeois ‘experts’, ‘scholars’, ‘authority’ and ‘ancestors’ have been down and completely discredited.” In the next day, People's Daily published the full text of the poster of NIE Yuan-zi et al. with a commentator's article entitled "Cheer for a big character poster from Beijing University".

After publishing the editorial and commentator's article, there emerge more than 700 big character posters at Qinghua University, criticizing the university’s president JIANG Nan-xiang, but immediately there appeared more than 10,000 big character posters defending the president, with slogan of "Defend president JIANG! Defend the Party committee of the university!" In Shanghai City, Tongji University, Jiaotong University, Fudan University and Shanghai University of Science and Technology put up many big character posters, exposing problems of the university party committees. In the Nanjing University, there also arose big character posters criticizing the university’s party committee secretary and the president, KUANG Ya-ming.

On June 3, LIU Shao-qi held a Politburo Standing Committee meeting and issued an instruction of eight points:
(1) Recognize the difference between inside and outside the country, and protect confidentiality;
(2) Do not post big character posters in streets;
(3) Hold all meeting within the school and do not hold massive meeting denouncing someone;
(4) Don't hold demonstrations in streets;
(5) Don't go to other universities;
(6) Do not surround residence of “black gang members”;
(7) Don't beat or insult anyone; and
(8) Prevent destruction by bad guys.

The meeting also agreed with proposal of LI Xue-feng, the first Secretary of the North China Bureau, and decided to send a working group to every college and middle school in Beijing to help leading the Cultural Revolution there. LIU Shao-qi said: “We need make all colleges and middle schools in Beijing in a good order, organize all students there and make the movement on the right track.” DENG Xiao-ping added: “The eight points in the instruction should be conveyed fast. Let us hold a big meeting of one hundred thousand people and let the instruction go directly to the mass!” In the second day, LIU and DENG flew to Hangzhou City to report to Chairman MAO and to ask MAO please return to Beijing to have the leadership. MAO commissioned LIU to deal emerging issues. Since then, local Party committees all over the country sent working groups to local schools to implement the Eight Point Instruction.

On the June 4, the Party’s Central Committee reconstructed Beijing Municipal Committee: LI Xue-feng became the first Secretary of the Party’s Beijing Committee (the former first secretary PENG Zhen has been down earlier) and WU De served as Second Secretary of the committee. Then, the new Beijing Party committee decided to revoke LU Ping from the post of secretary of Party committee in Beijing University, and PENG Pei-yun from deputy secretary post. During the re-organization period, the working group headed by ZHANG Cheng-xian took the power of the Party committee in the University. However, People's Daily published on the next day an editorial entitled "Be a proletarian revolutionary or a bourgeois royalist?" The editorial criticized LU Ping and a handful of people, who desperately resist the socialist education movement and carried out all kinds of merciless
struggle against a group of activists for as long as seven months. The editorial said that this is an extremely serious counter-revolutionary incident. In the following day, KANG Sheng went to Beijing University to have a look at big character posters, and talked to the students and teachers around there in the front of the Third Canteen of the University. He said: "Students! Seeing your posters, I am very happy. Facing you, the revolutionary students, any monsters and freaks, any PENG Zhen, LU Ding-yi, LUO Rui-qing and alike, and any LU Ping, PENG Pei-yun and alike will all be knocked down!"

On the June 8, some students of the Xi'an Jiaotong University opposed the working group there and said that the working group is with the black line, and so is the provincial party committee. At that night, the working group held a meeting and considered these students as a group of "outliners" "floating out" and as a group of ghosts and monsters escaped from cage. The working group decided to trace them immediately. In the following two days, all "outliners" were taken to a large or a small meeting to be criticized and denounced against. The student leader LI Shi-ying and others were put on high hat and shown to public in the university. At the noon of the next day, LI tried suicide but unsuccessfully.

On June 10, ten young teachers of the Finance Department at the Beijing Finance Institute, together with some students, rallied and exposed the problems of the Institute and the Department, and pointed the fight direction to the working group there. The Institute’s party committee and the working group designated the event as a "rampant attack to the Party and an anti-revolutionary event". The ten young teachers were designated as counter-revolutionaries.

In June 13, students of universities and middle schools in Nanjing City, who had views different from an article published in "Xinhua Daily", went to the newspaper building and put up big character posters. Police and the newspaper workers sieged them.

On June 17, a female student of the First Middle School affiliated to the Beijing Normal University, LI Li-li, and thirteen others put a big character poster entitled "At what position does the working group stand?" They were identified by the working group as rightists and were denounced. On the morning of June 18, some students in the Beijing University took more than 40 "black monsters" to the campus and openly criticized them, without approval of the working group. The working group believed that this is a new tendency of the class struggle and, with an agreement of LIU Shao-qi, caught many "rightists". On June 20, students of the First Middle School affiliated to the Beijing Normal University put up a big character poster entitled "Ferret out monsters snaked into our liver!" On the same day, LIU Shao-qi talked to the working group, saying that we need to criticize the rightists. Also on the same day, a standing member of Beijing College of Geology’s party committee, LI Gui, together with some cadres and teachers, wrote to the Party’s Central Committee and the State Council, exposing mistakes of the working group. In return, the working group, according to the instructions of BO Yi-bo, designated LI Gui and others as rightists and counter-revolutionaries. Also in this day, student TAN Hou-lan of Beijing Normal University and seventeen other students put up a big character poster entitled "Where does SUN You-yu put the movement to?" The poster got a lot of support from teachers and students. TAN Hou-lan and other students were, however, identified as "rightist" and "anti-party and counter-revolutionary" by the working group, with "black materials" prepared very quickly. Also on the same day, BO Yi-bo and the Beijing’s new party committee identified the big character posters written by students of Beijing Forestry College as "counter-revolutionary black creeds" and "poisonous weeds". The poster’s authors were identified as of "anti-party small group" and subjected to mercilessly denouncing. Over a hundred of students who copied the poster were branded as counter-revolutionaries, four of them suicide successfully.
On June 20, LIU Shao-qì talked to members of the working group of the Middle School Affiliated to the Beijing Normal University and requested them to initiate the teachers and students to support the working group, and said that they have to fight the battle well. On the next day, LIU said in a meeting: "In some schools, someone tried to catch the power of the school and push the working group out of the school, someone even tried to catch archives, guns, broadcasting facilities et al, which should not be allowed. It is not allowed to seize power at their own will. If a working group is not good, it can be removed from the school, but it is not good to remove or interrupt party’s leadership." On June 28, LIU and DENG called an enlarged meeting of the Politburo Standing Committee, and said in the meeting that the movement needs to have steps and to formulate specific policies that is helpful in implementation. Facing increasingly serious situations, LIU decided to forward the 8th issue of the "Beijing University Cultural Revolution" to the whole country. He also prepared a draft of a comment on behalf of the Central Committee, which stated: "The Central believes that the approach the working group at Beijing University took in dealing with chaotic fighting in the university is correct and timely. All units elsewhere can refer it in case similar phenomena occur." In the afternoon of July 11, LIU listened to the report given by the working group in the Middle School Affiliated to Beijing Normal University and said: "For those young students who made mistakes, we welcome you to correct your mistakes. If you had made mistakes and not correct them, then we could debate with you using the facts and reasoning." For the older teachers, he said: "We could criticize them a bit. They might correct a bit and we would still use them."

In July 18, MAO Ze-dong returned to Beijing after eight months of patrol over southern China. On the same day, he listened to the report given by CHEN Bo-da and other members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and read materials they provided. On the second day, LIU Shao-ji chaired an enlarged meeting of the Politburo Standing Committee. At the meeting, CHEN proposed revocation of the working groups by saying: "The working groups are not cleverer than students. ... Some working groups attack students." DENG Ciaoping immediately retorted: "We should treat working groups correctly. We have no experience of such movement, and so are they. The bad working groups can be removed as the first step, the good ones stay and agent party’s duty in the school." The meeting chair LIU said: "Among the working groups, some are good and some bad. They are in the forefront and hardworking. We should not place too high a demand." After the meeting, CHEN put various criticism publicly on working groups. Observing the Central has different opinions, students in many schools split into two factions: one supports and the other opposes the working group. There were many events of driving the working group out school. On July 22, LIU once again hosted a meeting, discussing a preliminary plan of the Cultural Revolution in higher learning institutions in Beijing. On the meeting, the members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group criticized the working groups sent by municipal party Committee that they were afraid of the masses, suppressed democracy and "pour cold water" onto the mass movement. LIU said: "We have materials that prove that someone had incited the masses to fight to each other." KANG Sheng patted his bag and said: "We also have materials." CHEN then requested to withdraw the working group from the Beijing University. DENG stood up quickly, with one of his hand on waist and a finger of the other hand pointing at CHEN, and said sternly: "You said we were afraid of the crowd, so you go ahead and try!" He clearly stated: "I do not agree to withdraw the working group." LIU also said clearly: "Most of the working groups are good and therefore we should help and educate them to correct mistakes they made. On withdrawing working groups from schools, I think some of them should not withdraw."
In July 24 and 25, MAO talked to members of the Politburo Standing Committee, members of the Central Secretariat and members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, severely criticizing the working groups. He said: “There were a period of time in which the movement was cold and cheerless. That is, after June 20 or so, there are many places being desolate. The working groups do not know how to fight and how to make change, but can only serve to impede the movement. Therefore, we should take them out.” To MAO’s critiques, LIU did not disagree. Two days later, he chaired an enlarged meeting of the Politburo Standing Committee and the meeting decided to withdraw all working groups.

On July 29, more than 10,000 teachers and students in Beijing held an assembly in the Great Hall of the People, and LIU Shao-qi, ZHOU En-lai, DENG Xiao-ping and LI Xue-feng attended the assembly, and made speeches. LIU said in his speech: "We had once sent working groups. Just as Comrade Xue-feng, Comrade Xiao-ping and Comrade En-lai said in their speeches, sending work groups is a decision or with consent of the Central. Now we found that the method of sending working groups doesn't fit in with the current movement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and therefore the Central decides to withdraw the working groups." He added: "As to how to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, you do not know. You might ask us how we do the Revolution and I honestly answer you: 'I also don't know.' I think that so are many members of the party's Central, many other comrades and members of working groups. It will mainly depend on the majority of the teachers, students and staff in each school to learn the revolution in practice of the revolution. I want to say one word of truth now: 'We, including me, now can only learn from you, can only listen to you, but not advice you since we do not understand the situation.'... How to do the revolution? I can only speak one phrase: 'mobilize the masses'... On more specific methods, you don't know, and so am I... Now you have a meal to eat and eat enough, but with no need to attend a class since the Central Committee of the Party had decided that you do not attend classes for half a year. What to do while there are no classes for half year? Do revolution and be specialized in doing revolution."

Actually, MAO was behind the podium background of the meeting when LIU and others spoke. After LIU’s speech, MAO showed up from behind the background. At this time, the audience applauded, and shout slogan of “Long live Chairman MAO! Long, long live!” The slogan resounded through the audience. ZHOU En-lai stood up on a stool in a front corner of the podium, and commanded the audience to sing the song of "Sailing on the sea depends on the helmsman". The song reads: "Sailing on the sea depends on the helmsman, things growing depends on the sun, plants growing depends on rain and revolution depends on MAO Ze-dong Thought. ..." ZHOU’s left arm was injured during the war time and could not be straightened, but it still struggled to go with vigorously waving of his right arm for commanding singing.

**The Eleventh Session of the Eighth Central Committee**

From August 1 to 12, MAO Ze-dong hosted the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee in Beijing. Presented at the meeting were 74 members and 67 alternate members of the Central Committee, and responsible persons of provinces and central departments. NIE Yuan-zi of the Beijing University and other representatives of teachers and students also attended the meeting. On August 1, DENG Xiao-ping announced opening of the plenary session, said that the duration of the session will be five days, and there are four items in the agenda: Discuss and pass the decision on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; Discuss and approve the major resolutions for national and international issues passed by the Central
since the Tenth Plenary Session, Pass the Bulletins of the plenary session; and approve the personnel change decision made in the enlarged Politburo meeting held in May.

Then, LIU Shao-qi reported to the plenary session the major initiatives taken by the Politburo since the last plenary session. In his speech, he took the responsibility of sending the working groups and said: "During period of the Cultural Revolution, we have reported the situation in Beijing to Chairman MAO once a week. During this period of time, I was in Beijing and had mistakes in the Great Cultural Revolution, especially in the problem on working groups. I take the main responsibility. ... Comrade CHEN Bo-da has proposed not to send or withdraw working groups and he mentioned it three times. ... In the first time he mentioned, not much discussion was made. In the second time, after he wrote suggestions with two points, the majority of the comrades in the discussion still support the working groups, and I also spoke for the working groups, considering the working groups is convenient, that is, sending if you want to send working group and withdrawing if you want withdrawal." At this point, MAO said sternly: "At that time, the only thing was sending." LIU explained: "At that time the problem was withdrawal already. I said that this is relatively simple, i.e. order to withdraw if we want." Once again, MAO jumped in and retorted: "CHEN Bo-da wanted to withdrew, but you did not." LIU explained once again: "At the time I was considering that a part of the organizations in each college in Beijing have been paralyzed in such a big movement and thinking interruption of the leadership of the party is not good." MAO asked: "How can it be interrupted?" LIU continued: "I asked to myself at the time: Is it right to decide withdrawal or just taking a look? Comrade Bo-da raised the question at the third time, and we discussed it one more time, but the majority of the comrades did not advocate for withdrawal. I still have the previous viewpoint. I think that this method is mobile, and not determined to withdraw and wanted to have a further look. Furthermore, Chairman MAO was about to return to Beijing at the time and I thought we could ask for his advice and make decision after he comes back. On the second day after Chairman MAO came back, we had a meeting again and felt the working group is a problem. At the time, Chairman MAO came back and we sought advice from him. Chairman MAO was determined and the working groups should be revoked. Chairman MAO had talked to some comrades about the withdrawal one day earlier. Comrades TAO Zhu and LI Xue-feng talked to me about it." Once again, MAO interrupted LIU's speech and said: "Less than 10% of working groups are good, more than 90% of them are completely wrong. No matter what, the working groups have done bad things: they cannot fight, criticize nor change things, but repress and hinder people, playing a bad role. Generally speaking, 90% of the working groups did very bad things. Sending working groups is in wrong direction and along a wrong line, and actually stands in the bourgeois side to oppose the proletarian revolution." The meeting lasted for two hours and the atmosphere of the meeting was tense for the two hours.

On the meeting next day, ZHOU En-lai, CHEN Yi and LI Xue-feng spoke and reviewed own mistakes on sending the working groups. ZHOU said: "For the problem of sending working groups, I think the Politburo Standing Committee members, especially those presiding over the works in Beijing, i.e. we a few persons, are responsible. ... Even after Chairman MAO came back and listen to our reports, we still advocated not to withdraw working groups, which is even a bigger mistake."

At 5 PM, LI Xue-feng' secretary received a phone call from LIU’s secretary, saying that Comrade Shao-qi asks LI to go to the Construction Work College together with him. The phone was immediately hung up and LI did not have a chance to reply a word. LI returned the call and heard: "Comrade Shao-qi has gone already to pick you up." LIU also ask the Central Cultural Revolution Group to send someone to participate and they sent QI Ben-yu.
In the college, LIU et al attended the debate between two factions of students. At last, LIU spoke to the students. He said: "It seems that the working group in your school made mistakes. Of these mistakes, not only the working group is responsible, but also the Central Committee of our party and the new Beijing municipal Party committee. The Central Committee agreed to send working groups and then the Beijing’s party committee came up. Therefore, it is better not to send working groups, and sending working groups is wrong. Which part of what the working group did in your school was right and which part was wrong? You know the answer, but we don't know yet. ... Let us not call the meeting a debate, but a discussion. Is it better? That is, there are different views and let us discuss them! Let us correct mistakes, insist the right and unite. I will be very happy if I can help you to unite." On the second day, LIU came to the college again, called in the leaders of the two opposing mass organization, called the "August 1 Group" and "Revolutionary Group" respectively. Later he also called in ordinary students of the two organizations. He listened to their views, persuade them patiently and hope that the two fractions of students not to oppose to each other but to unite, and work together for the better going of the revolution.

On August 4, the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee continued. LIU attended discussions of the Middle and South China Group, and said: "When Chairman MAO was not in Beijing, I chaired the Central’s duties. I would never shirk from the responsibility. The central problem is against the mass movement with the bourgeois stand. The comrades in the Politburo Standing Committee, in the secretariat and in the Beijing municipal Party committee agreed and approved to send working groups when the vigorous and vital movement came up. In this Cultural Revolution, the masses came up for democracy and the Chairman supported them so strongly. So we were caught in the middle, as squeezed under the pressure from both upside and downside, which checks whether or not you support the masses. While a revolution against some other people may be okay to you, but how about a revolution against your own? This is a big question. We need to be determined. The worst scenario is for us to step down in a revolution against us. We can step down, but one might not step down if he is determined to let others oppose him. If you don’t allow people oppose you, then you would be forced to step down."

On the afternoon of August 4, MAO called a meeting of the Politburo Standing Committee, criticized LIU anonymously: "Form Qing Dynasty, then the North Warlords period, to the GMD era, the governments suppressed student movements. Now, the Communist Party also suppresses the student movement. The Central itself was against its own orders made previously. The Central ordered to close schools for half year, especially for students to participate in the Cultural Revolution, but suppress them when the students come up. ... This meeting has to solve this problem, otherwise it is dangerous. The so-called following the mass line, the so-called faith in the masses, the so-called Marx-Leninism and so on, all are false. It has been in this way for many years and it busted out whenever this kind of thing occurred. It is absolutely clear that they are against the proletariat while standing in the bourgeoisie side. They said that opposing the new municipal Party committee is anti-party. Why cannot the new municipal Party committee be opposed while they suppress the student movement? I did not go to the ordinary mass to investigate while some others did but became more bourgeoisies and against the proletariat more. Prohibiting contacts between class and class, between department and department, and between school and school is a suppression and a horror, and the horror come from the Central. ... The poster by NIE Yuan-zi and others of the Beijing University is the 1960's version of the Paris Commune Declaration --- the Beijing Commune. Putting up big character posters is a very good thing, because it can be known by the people of the whole world! But Xue-feng’s report said the party has its discipline, the state
has its laws, and we should differentiate inside and outside of the country. The Central of the Communist Youth League not only did not support the youth students to participate in the movement, but suppress it. They should be strictly dealt with." The more MAO speak, the angrier he is, and it seems that it will implicate in other people. LIU volunteered to take responsibility and said: "In this period of time, Chairman MAO was not in Beijing and I actually presided over the Central’s works in Beijing. I am the main person who should be responsible. ..." MAO snapped and said: "You took dictatorship in Beijing. And you dictate well!" LIU again took the responsibility of sending working groups and said: “The worst thing is nothing more than to step down, and I do not afraid to step down. There are five things I do not afraid of. …” YIE Jian-ying chipped in and said: "We have millions of troops and are not afraid of monsters and freaks." MAO snapped: "The monsters and freaks are sitting here!" The entire hall was suddenly frozen.

On August 5, MAO wrote a big character poster entitled "Bombard the headquarters --- a big character poster of mine". It stated: "The first Marx-Leninist big character poster (referring to the poster by NIE Yuan-zu et al.) and the People's Daily’s commentator are written very well! Comrades, please re-read this poster and the commentator. However, in the past more than 50 days, some leading comrades from the Central to locals acted in a diametrically opposite way by standing in the reactionary bourgeois stand, implemented a bourgeoisie dictatorship, suppress down the vigorous and vital proletarian movement of the 'Cultural Revolution' movement, confused truth and false, turned things upside down, suppressed the revolutionaries, suppressed the dissents, implemented the white terror, thought themselves proudly, helped bourgeois portliness and destroyed proletarian spirit -- how poisonous it is! Linking it to the right deviation in 1962 (Note: The year is the last year of the difficult three years, and LIU adjusted economic policies and supported the rural Household Responsibility System) and the leftist-shaped right deviation in 1964 (Note: In the year the Four Cleanups Movement began, and ‘Taoyuan experience’ provided by LIU’s wife WANG Guang-mei was popularized), should it make you think about in depth?"

On the day, LIU was meeting with foreign guests. After returned home, LIU got a call from ZHOU En-lai, asking him not to appear in public events nor meet a foreigner anymore.

On August 7, MAO’s big character poster was available for all participants of the meeting. On the next day, the plenary session passed a document entitled "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". It contains 16 provisions and declared the purpose of the Culture Revolution is to "fight and crack down the powerful officers taking the capitalist road". After that, the meeting entered session to discuss MAO’s poster, i.e. to criticize LIU Shao-qi and DENG Xiao-ping et al. In discussion sessions, LIU frequently reviewed his “mistakes”. In a break time during the group discussion period, a vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Union, CHEN Shao-min (female), met LIU. She said to LIU: "Comrade Shao-qi, I would like to report to you on the work of women workers when you have time." She meant to say that I still trust and respect you LIU Shao-qi. LIU replied quietly: "The mistakes are independent on other comrades. Only I myself is responsible for the mistakes. Please do not worry."

On August 8, MAO called ZHOU En-lai in and said: "It seems that LIU Shao-qi could not be the next leader. I have observed him for twenty-one years and now am completely disappointed. I have also observed DENG Xiao-ping for seven years and am also disappointed now. After putting LIU Shao-qi down, what can we do now?" ZHOU replied: "Only LIN Biao is the most appropriate person to replace LIU Shao-qi." MAO nodded and said: "Good. Let us take LIN Biao to Beijing." After ZHOU left, MAO wrote a list of new leaders, in which LIN Biao and ZHOU En-lai were listed as vice
chairmen of the Party’s Central Committee (Note: later, ZHOU crossed out his name in the list so that LIN became the only vice chairman of the Central Committee). On the same day, ZHOU let WU Fa-xian (commander of the Air Force) sent a special plane to Dalian City where LIN Biao lived at the time, and took LIN and his wife to Beijing.

At 10:30 AM next day, the plane landed at the airport in the western suburb of Beijing. ZHOU was waiting there. After the cabin door was opened, ZHOU immediately boarded to see LIN. At this time, WANG Dong-xing hurried to the airport and also entered the cabin. WANG was the director of the General Central Office of the Central Committee and now was MAO’s representative to meet LIN. ZHOU and WANG talked to LIN for half an hour in the cabin. After they got off the plane, ZHOU accompanied LIN to see MAO.

When seeing MAO, LIN immediately made a bow with hands folded in front and repeatedly talked about his illness, and expressed that he does not wish to take up the new post. MAO was angry and said: "You want to be Emperor MIN Shi-zong (an emperor of the Ming Dynasty, who was piety Taoist and had no interest in politics)!” He berated LIN by saying: "That you don't want to be involved in the movement is false!" Seeing MAO’s anger, LIN finally accepted the new job.

In the evening of the day, ZHOU called in Generals YANG Cheng-wu, ZHANG Ai-ping, XIAO Hua, XU Guang-da, XIAO Jin-guang, SU Zhen-hua and WU Fa-xian, and other responsible personnel in various central departments, a total of more than twenty people. He pulled out a piece of paper from his coat pocket and said: "This is a big character poster written by Chairman MAO on August 5. This is his handwriting manuscript. Now I read his handwriting manuscript." Then ZHOU read it two times in a row. He said after reading: "As you have seen now, years of facts prove that LIU Shao-qi can no longer preside over the Central’s works. Originally Chairman MAO wanted to cultivate LIU Shao-qi as his successor, but LIU failed to live up to Chairman MAO’s hope. The Central has now decided to take comrade LIN Biao back to Beijing to replace LIU Shao-qi and serve as first vice chairman of the Central. I let you know information now, but you should not pass it downward temporarily, and you just keep yourselves for knowing it. The Central will let you know when it decides to convey this information."

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee was going to end soon. Before the end of the end of the session, MAO unexpectedly proposed restriction of central leadership, which was not in the original agenda. According to his suggestion, the plenary session decide to add CHEN Bo-da, KANG Sheng, TAO Zhu, Xu Xiang-qian, NIE Rong-zhen and Ye Jian-ying as members of the Politburo, add LI Xue-feng, SONG Ren-qiong and XIE Fu-zhi as alternate members. The central secretariat was also reorganized: PENG Zhen, LUO Rui-qing and LU Ding-yi were revoked from the Secretariat and YANG Shang-kun from alternate membership, and XIE Fu-zhi and LIU Ning-yi were added as member of secretariat, and TAO Zhu was appointed to the executive secretary of the secretariat.

MAO also put forward to re-elect the Politburo Standing Committee, which was also not scheduled on the agenda. He showed a list of eleven candidates. (Note: In the past, a list of candidates had been the result of a prior and repeated consultation and brewing, but not like this time that a list suddenly provides by someone alone.) They are MAO Ze-dong, LIN Biao, ZHOU En-lai, LIU Shao-qi, ZHU De, CHEN Yun, CHEN Bo-da, KANG Sheng, LI Fu-chun, DENG Xiao-ping and TAO Zhu. The CPC has practiced an election with candidates of equal number, and therefore these eleven people were elected to the Politburo Standing Committee. The next thing is in what order the names should be listed. The order provided by MAO was: MAO, LIN, ZHOU, DENG, CHEN (Bo-da), KANG, LIU, ZHU, CHEN (Yun), LI and TAO. He put DENG in the fourth place because DENG got full votes in the election for
the Politburo Standing Committee (i.e. 73 votes, and MAO and LIN too). JIANG Qing commented to persons around her, however: "DENG Xiaoping was listed at the last one previously (Note: the previous Standing Committee members were listed in the order of: MAO, LIU, ZHOU, ZHU, CHEN, LIN and DENG), how can he be raised to the fourth after making mistakes together with LIU? No, this is not good." She then told LIN her view. Then, LIN suggested to MAO that switch DENG and CHEN Bo-da in the order. But JIANG was still not satisfied and talked to MAO directly: "CHEN Confucius (Note: nickname of CHEN Bo-da as he is a scholar) is only an intellectual, and unable to suppress DENG. TAO Zhu is strong and should be moved up." Finally, MAO decided the order to be MAO (Chairman), LIN (vice chairman), ZHOU, TAO, CHEN (Bo-da), DENG, KANG, LIU, ZHU, LI and CHEN (Yun).

On August 12, the plenary session ended. At the end of the session, LIU Shao-qi made a simple speech: "For the wrong line that the Central made during the Cultural Revolution, I take the main responsibility. ... I shall obey the party discipline at least, and will not be duplicitious and not engage in any underground activities. If I have opinions, I shall put them on the table." He also requested to resign from the posts of a Politburo Standing Committee member and the State’s President, but this request was not discussed.

The Central Working Conference

In October 1966, MAO Ze-dong decided to convene a central working conference to let LIU Shao-qi and DENG Xiaoping review their own mistakes. Before the meeting, LIU and DENG wrote self-review separately, and submitted them to MAO. MAO made comments on their reviews. The comment to LIU’s self-review read: "Comrade Shao-qi: It is basically well-written, very serious and good, especially the second half is even better. Suggest to print and issue it, on a draft form, to comrades in the Politburo, the Secretariat, the working groups to the schools and other units (leading cadres), Beijing municipal party committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Group, for them to discuss and provide opinions. In this way, you may have some gains, and then modify the draft and re-submit. This way may be sober and you please weigh." On DENG’s review, MAO wrote: "Comrade Xiao-ping: You may speak as is. ... Is it better to add a few proactive and encouraging words, for example, 'with my own efforts and active help from comrades, I believe my mistakes will be corrected in a timely manner. I will stand up again. Please give me time'? Are you unable to get up after doing revolution for the first half of your life? Also, the word 'primary' in the title should be removed." After received MAO's comments, LIU wrote a letter to ZHOU En-lai: "Chairman Mao has seen my review’s outline, written a segment of words and returned it to me. Now I send it to you, please have a look. I agree with the views of Chairman MAO. ... Please print and issue them. Please give me opinions of comrades in a few days, which will help me. Should the comment from Chairman MAO also be printed? You please discrete." ZHOU then printed both LIU’s self-review and MAO’s comment, and issued them to the appropriate personnel.

On October 9, the central working conference held in the West Beijing Hotel. At the beginning of the meeting, the members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, CHEN Bo-da, JIANG Qing, KANG Sheng et al were very active. They walked around each big discussion group, accused leaders of various provinces, cities and autonomous regions, and persons in charge of various departments of the Central Committee, the State Council and the People's Liberation Army, accusing them be lack of understanding of the Cultural Revolution, and suppress students and young Red Guards, and destruct everywhere. But other participants spoke very shortly with only a few words just to show standing along the right line.
In this way, the meeting continued for ten days, the situation did not open up as MAO wished. According the proposal given by the Cultural Revolution Group, ZHOU En-lai ordered WU Fa-xian to arrange aircrafts to pick up heads of some rebel mass organizations country-wide to Beijing to attend the meeting and expose the problems of the working groups sent to schools and other units. A head of a rebel mass organization in Guizhou Province arrived at Beijing airport, and went to the West Beijing Hotel directly by a car sent by the Central Office. He looked great and immediately spoke for three hours in the Northeast China discussion group, exposing how the first secretary of Guizhou provincial party committee, ZHOU Zheng-lin, had deconstructed the Culture Revolution, how he suppressed the student movement, and how he arrested Red Guards. ZHOU En-lai attended the discussion session, listened and nodded to show his agreement. The move to take these heads of rebel mass organization to the meeting and let them to ignite worked very well. After they attended, the meeting gradually set to a climax. Especially on the issue of sending working groups, there were more and more opinions against LIU and DENG. A lot of people said that sending working groups was wrong because the working groups put down the vigorous and vital Cultural Revolution and desolated the movement. They expressed their support to MAO’s decision to repeal working group. Then, MAO convened a plenary session and spoke for about ten minutes. He talked about the importance of the Cultural Revolution, and requested party committees at all levels and their responsible people not be afraid of the masses and go to the masses, be a student first and then a teacher, and draw fire onto oneself.

In the evening of October 23, a plenary session held in the conference room on the second floor of the West Beijing Hotel. After the meeting started, MAO Ze-dong asked LIN Biao to preside over the meeting. LIN immediately announced: "The meeting tonight is for comrades LIU Shao-qi and DENG xiao-ping to make self-reviews."

LIU immediately began to read the manuscript he had already written: "My self-review of mistakes is divided into three parts. The first part talks about errors in the 50 or so days. The mistakes I made in the 50 days after June 1 of this year in guiding the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is about route and direction. I am fully responsible for these mistakes. ... The second part is to say that my mistakes this time are not accidental. Actually, in the history I also made some mistakes on principle and route. For example, in 1946 I made mistakes in guiding the war in Northeast China and the guidance to LIN Biao was not enough; in the 1949, my speech in Tianjin City had a right-deviated mistake; in 1962, I made right-deviated mistakes; and in 1964, I made the left-shaped but actually right-deviated mistakes, etc. ... The third part is about the reasons for me to have the mistakes. The first reason is that I did not understand that the Culture Revolution is the more thorough and more extensive stage in the development of the socialist revolution, and that I did not understand the method of the Cultural Revolution but feared of disorder and was afraid of counter-revolutionaries coming to catch the power. The second reason for my mistakes is the erroneous estimate of the situation and my worldview had not remade. The third reason, which is the most fundamental one, is that I had not well learned MAO Ze-dong Thought. ..." DENG Xiao-ping's self-review of mistakes was very short. He said: "Among the central leading comrades country-wide, those who represent the bourgeois reactionary line during the Cultural Revolution are Comrade Shao-qi and myself. ... It must be made clear that the vast majority of the working groups to schools and other units, except countable few of them, are good comrades and mainly not responsible for the mistakes made during the period of time. The main responsibility should be borne by Comrade Shao-qi and myself."

After LIU and DENG finishing self-reviews, LIN asked MAO if he has any instruction. MAO then stood up and said a few words. He said he himself also bears responsibility while LIU and
DENG made mistakes. Then, LIN Biao, CHEN Bo-da and KANG Sheng spoke and criticize the serious mistakes LIU and DENG made.

On October 25, MAO spoke in the meeting: "In the past, I trusted someone too much and we engaged in 'the front group' (Note: That is of LIU and DENG, etc.) and 'the back group' (Note: That is MAO) in the Central. As a result of it, there emerged a considerable number of baronies and my opinion cannot be go through in Beijing." On the rise of the Cultural Revolution, he said: "It came in a short period of time and was very fierce. I did not expect that the broadcasting of a poster caused the whole nation sensate. ... You were dashed awfully after a pounce of the Red Guards. ... The fire of the Cultural Revolution was set by me." He continued to say that we should allow someone to make mistakes and allow them to correct the mistakes. He told the attendees: "I am not intend to hit you down, and so are the Red Guards as I see it. I also worry while you can't pass. You could be forgiven because the time is too short and you made the wrong route not deliberately. We should not completely blame Comrades LIU Shao-qi and DENG Xiao-ping, and they made mistakes with reasons. ... It is not good to put big character posters against LIU and DENG on the streets! We should allow them to make mistakes and allow correcting. Let the Red Guards to have a look at the book 'The formal story of Ah Q’. LIU and DENG were engaged openly, not secretly. We should let LIU and DENG continue to do revolution."

The central working conference ended on October 28. After the meeting, the Red Guards set off countrywide a new upsurge of criticism to the bourgeois reactionary line of LIU and DENG. On December 16, they held a general assembly "Ceremony of swearing of Beijing’s middle school students criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line" in the Capital Worker's Stadium. At the end of the general assembly, the Central’s leaders were arranged to walk around the stadium. At the time, ZHOU En-lai escorted JIANG Qing, MAO’s wife, stepping down from the podium and went round the field. ZHOU let JIANG go in front of him, and he himself behind her. JIANG kept walking in the front. In daily life, ZHOU responded and granted whatever JIANG requested, and arranged them personally. Once JIANG wanted to move to the No. 10 Building of the Diaoyudai State Guesthouse and asked her secretary YANG Ying-lu to call ZHOU on this matter. ZHOU immediately answered the phone and said: "Comrade JIANG Qing's idea is right and I agree. I will now give comrade WANG Dong-xing a call and ask him to prepare it ready for Comrade JIANG Qing. Are there any other requirements made by Comrade JIANG Qing?" YANG said: "Comrade JIANG Qing said that the security situation needs to be checked and the rooms should be sterilized by ultraviolet, and she did not mention any other requirements." ZHOU said: "That's all right. I will ask Comrade WANG Dong-xing to deal with them." Soon after, everything was available in accordance to JIANG's requirements. One day in the summer of 1967, the Central held a "getting together meeting". In the middle of the meeting, a nurse came and gave JIANG medicine with a cup of water. After drinking a bit and, probably feeling the water a little bit too hot, LIANG hurled the cup into the ground and shouted: "A-ya-ya! The nurse wants to burn me with boiling water and murder me!" WANG Dong-xing let another person to provide another cup of water. When the second cup of water came, ZHOU immediately stood up, quickly took the cup, touched the cup with his hands, felt it was not so hot, and then personally handed it to JIANG and said: "The boiled water is not hot now. Please, Comrade JIANG Qing, take the medicine."
HE Long's fate

Marshal HE Long suffered during the Cultural Revolution. As early as in May 1966, when the Culture Revolution began, someone in the Beijing University posted a big character poster stating that a PLA troop came to the school at the beginning of the year and asked for renting houses. The poster said this was to get a mutiny. In fact, renting houses was approved by the CMC (Note: HE Long chaired the Commission whenever LIN Biao would be sick) and the houses were for a newly formed regiment that was also approved by the Commission, and the regiment’s duties were militia training and maintenance of public order. The Beijing Garrison had assumed that this regiment to live in universities in Beijing and therefore sent, in February, somebody to the Beijing University and the People’s University of China to discuss possibility of renting houses there. Later, they thought it probably is not appropriate for a troop to live in a school and decided to let the regiment live in a shooting range in the suburb. On this event, KANG Sheng said: "HE Long privately mobilized troops, engaged in 'February mutiny' and constructed bunkers in Beijing suburb." He also said: "HE Long provided guns and cannons to Physical Culture and Sports Commission (which was chaired by HE). The cannons were set in Shichahai and aimed at Zhongnanhai District (where the Central is located)."

In June 1966, the Air Force held its Eleventh Plenary Session of the party committee. Soon after the session opened, deputy commanders of the Air Force, LIU Zhen, CAO Li-huai, XU Shen-ji, CHANG Qian-kun, CHENG Jun and TAN Jia-shu, immediately launched an attack on WU Fa-xian (the commander of the Air Force) and YU Li-jin (the political commissar of the Air Force). Their leader LIU Zhen was an admiral (Note: the Air Force has only two admirals, himself and the late LIU Ya-lou, the former commander of the Air Force) and concurrently an alternate member of the party’s Eighth Central Committee, while WU Fa-xian’ rank was only lieutenant general and was not a member of the Central Committee but, after the former command LIU Ya-lou died, took over the commander position of the Air Force. To this, LIU Zhen had been very dissatisfied. Other deputy commanders were also angry in their hearts because the former commander LIU Ya-lou was of an overlord style and often embarrassed them. For example, CHANG Qian-kun, although a deputy commander, was often criticized by LIU Ya-lou. He once told someone: "I often wear smaller shoes in the Air Force, so that my feet of ‘three inch’ became that of two and a half inches." Another deputy commander once prepared a document and submitted it to LIU YA-lou. After reading it, LIU was not satisfied, and pointed to him with a finger and said: "What kind of stuff you have prepared! It can only be used as bathroom tissue!" Now, LIU had passed away, and they put their anger on WU, the new commander of the Air Force. In early July, LIU Zhen formally submitted a letter to the CMC and LIN Biao, which lists their 25 viewpoints, among which 10 were pointing to LIU Ya-lou and 15 to WU Fa-xian.

YIE Jian-ying reported to LIN Biao the situation of the Party Plenum of the Air Force. LIN responded: "The situation of the Air Force is abnormal. LIU Ya-lou and WU Fa-xian have faults and mistakes that should be criticized, but the way they attack LIU and WU isn't right. Someone tries to dismiss others from office to seize power by the chance given by the Cultural Revolution." LIN Biao's view was conveyed to LIU Shao-qi on July 19 (Note: at the time, LIU had not affected by the impact of the revolution yet). LIU Shao-qi then held a Politburo Standing Committee meeting. He said in the meeting: "Without letting the main leaders of the Air Force’s Party committee know, somebody had done illegal activities for a small section. We may also call it underground activities. It is absolutely wrong for someone to dismiss some others from office to seize power by them. This kind of activities should be
stopped at the very beginning. We must get a clear understanding of the problems." Deng Xiaoping said: "Wherever CAO Li-huai goes, there will be a mess."

As so, LIU Zhen and others had to self-review their mistakes. When LIU Zhen gave his self-review, CHENG Jun said: "In a night meeting during the Air Force’s Plenary Session, FU Chuan-zuo, I, and other two went to HE Long’s place to report on the situation of the Air Force’s Party Plenum. HE listened and said: "Both Wu Fa-xian and Yu Li-jin should no longer preside over the meeting. You yourselves could organize the meeting. You guys should keep talking about your opinions! And you continue to criticize Wu and Yu since they have wrong doings."

Wu Fa-xian immediately reported to LIN Biao about what CHENG Jun said. After listening, LIN said: "On this, you should write a material and sent it to me." So, Wu found CHENG Jun and others, prepared a document and send it to LIN with a note that reads: "Chairman Mao, Vice Chairman LIN: We are sending a material prepared by CHENG Jun, HUANG Li-qing, FU Chuan-zuo and LIAO Guan-xian. Please read. It now appears that the reason for eleventh plenary session of the Air Force party committee to become as such is that there are two lines manipulating the meeting. One of them is a red line headed by Vice Chairman LIN and runs through the eleven plenary session throughout; and the other is a black line headed by Marshal HE Long." In August 28, LIN Biao asked Wu Fa-xian to come and said to him: "They are ambitious and intervene everywhere, including the headquarters of the General Staff, the Navy, the Air Force and the Politics College. … The Air Force is a piece of rich meat and all want to take it. You have to be alerted on possibility for them to rob your power." LIN let Wu prepare a document on how HE Long put a hand to the Air Force.

In September 2, LIN Biao phoned LI Zuo-peng: "You should pay attention to HE Long. Actually, HE Long supported LUO Rui-qing. HE pulled up a large number of people against me. The Central Military Commission will soon solve his problem." He let LI prepare a document on how HE Long stepped in to the Navy. After receiving all these materials form the Air Force and the Navy, LIN sent them to MAO Ze-dong.

In the morning of September 5, MAO called HE Long in to the Swimming Pool Lounge of the Zhongnanhai District and handed these materials to him. After reading them, HE asked: "Should I talk to Wu Fa-xian?" MAO replied: "There is nothing to talk about." And he added: "You should not be afraid, I will protect you. … I know you well, and as I told you in the past: 'you are loyal to the party, loyal to the people, and strongly fight against enemies, and well contact with the masses.'" A few days later, MAO asked his secretary XU Ye-fu to call HE Long: "After talking with LIN Biao and several other old comrades, the problems have been solved. You may now visit the relevant comrades and try to solicit their views on you."

At the morning of the next day, HE went to LIN Biao’s residence to solicit his views. After HE stated the purpose of the visit, LIN said: "Commander HE Long, I do not have any opinion against you." HE said: "No, no, Commander LIN. There should always be a little." After a pause, LIN said: "If you say there is, then there is only a little bit. Your problem can be big or small, and the main thing is that in the future you should pay attention to a problem on whom you support and whom you oppose." HE smiled and said: "Commander LIN, how can I, after being in revolution for so many years, do not know whom I should support and whom oppose! I oppose anyone who opposes the Party’s Central and Chairman MAO, and I support anyone who supports the Party’s Central and Chairman MAO." While they were talking, YE Qun let several guards lurk behind the scenes and said it was to prevent HE to assassinate Vice Chairman LIN. (Note: HE always carried a gun).

Later, LIN Biao said in a meeting that HE Long "tries seize power everywhere" and is a "swordsmen", and an important issue now is "to show out HE Long’s problems". LIN further
summed up the events that can show how HE attempted to seize power: "The first event is in the Air Force, i.e. in the 11th plenary session of the Party committee there. The second event is in the Navy, i.e. SU Zhen-hua opposing LI Zuo-peng. The third event is in the headquarters of the General Staff, i.e. WANG Shang-rong and LEI Ying-fu opposing YANG Cheng-wu (the acting Chief of Staff). The fourth event is in the PLA Institute of Politics, i.e. CAI Shun-li opposing MO Wen-hua." Approved by MAO, LIN Biao said in a CMC meeting: "HE Long has a problem." In October, participants of the CMC meeting was expanded to include responsible persons in various headquarters of the PLA and leaders of various Big Military Regions. In December, JIANG Qing spoke in Qinghua University and Beijing University, and said: "HE Long has a problem. You should oppose him." She also told HE Long's son HE Peng-fei: "Your father has made a serious mistake and we have the supporting materials. You tell him that I will have some actions against him."

At the end of the year, ZHOU En-lai said to HE Long: "Your health is not good. If you stay at your home, then the revolutionaries come every day and you cannot get a good rest. The Party has decided that you temporarily move to the New Six Complex (a complex located in the West Hill of Beijing) and live there." Not long after HE moved there, the revolutionaries of the PLA Politics College declared that they will try to catch HE there. HE's wife XUE Ming made urgent calls to ZHOU En-lai for three times, but got no response. HE and his wife decided to directly go to ZHOU's residence in order to tell him that they will move back home to live. When they arrived, ZHOU wasn't back home from work yet but let his secretary to tell HEs: "The Prime Minister (ZHOU) lets you rest here temporarily and don't go home." The secretary prepared a bed for them. So, HEs started to live at ZHOU's residence.

In January1967, MAO and ZHOU discussed in Zhongnanhai District on HE’s problem. Finally, MAO decided to take an isolation measure on HE, implemented by ZHOU personally. In the afternoon of January 19, ZHOU, together with LI Fu-chun, on behalf of the Politburo, talked to HE who lived at ZHOU’s residence. ZHOU told HE with a flat tone: "Vice Chairman LIN said that you spread words saying he had problem in history, that you put your hands everywhere including the headquarters of the General Staff, the Navy, the Air Force, Armor troop and Signalmen troop, that you did not propaganda MAO Ze-dong Thought, and that he has worried about what would happen after Chairman MAO passed away. In addition, he said that you, XIA Xi and GUAN Xiang-ying had responsibility for over-expansion of Anti-Revolutionist Elimination Movement in the Honghu Red Base in history." When ZHOU was talking, HE was angry and wanted to say something for several times, but ZHOU did not let him speak. Finally, ZHOU said: "You don't say anything. Chairman MAO protects you, as you know. I protect you too. We have found a place for you to live. I will pick you back in the coming fall. ... You should ‘study and reform yourself continuously when you become older and older’, as an old saying goes."

HE and his wife were sent to the West Hill Area in Beijing and lived in a separate house there. He is in isolation performed by a team of soldiers.

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