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New Texts: Speeches at the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party

MICHAEL SCHOENHALS

Introduction

In the aftermath of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1956, the People's Publishing House in Beijing published a comprehensive collection of speeches made at the congress by delegates and observers. In the aftermath of the Ninth National Congress of the CCP, thirteen years later, no similar collection appeared. This fact has severely hampered the quality of Western research on the latter congress. Aside from the text of a short address by Mao Zedong, Lin Biao's Political Report, the new Party Constitution and a few official communiqués, there has been very little contemporary information to be had on what transpired at it. To most historians and researchers outside China, the Ninth National Congress of the CCP has remained somewhat of an enigma.

One of the few things that have been known ever since the secretariat of the congress presidium published its second communiqué on 14 April 1969 is that a number of delegates had addressed a plenary session of the congress that same day. At the time, photographs of them addressing the conference were distributed by the New China News Agency. Transcripts of their speeches were, however, not made public. Not even extracts or summaries appeared: only an official statement to the effect that they had expressed their full support for a speech by Mao, Lin's report and the Party Constitution.

Within the CCP, transcripts of the speeches made by the delegates were however given a fairly wide circulation. It is from a contemporary CCP source that Zhou Enlai's speech has been translated here. It is reproduced in a collection (the title page and colophon of which is unfortunately missing) now held in the Far Eastern Library, Stockholm. It contains the texts of speeches made at a plenary session of the congress on 14 April by Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Huang Yongsheng, Wang Hongwen, Chen Yonggui, Sun Yuguo, Wei Fengying and Ji Dengkui.

Mao Zedong's introductory remarks, and Lin Biao's impromptu comments upon hearing Zhou Enlai's speech are not included in the above collection. They are translated here from a collection of handwritten transcripts of speeches made at the congress held in the library of the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University. That collection also includes the text of speeches made by Mao Zedong on 5 April, 11 April, 13 April, 14 April, and 23 April.

Zhou Enlai's speech, despite its having been made on such an important occasion as a Party National Congress, has not been deemed suitable for inclusion in the official *Selected Works of Zhou Enlai*. When one reads it, it is easy to see why. It ought to have been entitled "In Praise of Chairman Mao's Closest Comrade-In-Arms". It deals exclusively with Lin Biao, and is an amazing harangue in praise of his political, ideological and military achievements. Among other things, it praises Lin for having given the Cultural Revolution Small Group his backing. It praises him for his having contributed to the popularization of Mao Zedong Thought. It expresses support for Lin's exposure of Luo Ruiqing's "counter-revolutionary anti-Party and anti-Army plot", and it maintains that "we do not only feel boundless joy because we have as our great leader the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era Chairman Mao, but also great joy because we have Vice-Chairman Lin as Chairman Mao's universally recognized successor". And so on and so forth. Zhou succeeds in showing that he was second to none when it came to showering praise on those who ranked above him in the political hierarchy.

Zhou's speech and the other texts now available provide us with new and important information about the Ninth National Congress. Zhou's speech in particular complicates the question of what the factional alignments at the congress really were, especially as far as the highest echelon of the Party was concerned, and it adds a new dimension to what is already known about the Zhou-Lin relationship at this time. If Chen Boda would have been the one to make this speech, it would have been easy to interpret it as a reconfirmation of the "received knowledge" that Chen supported "the cult of the individual". But here it is Zhou, the supposedly most moderate of the CCP's top leaders, who is speaking! There are certainly no easy answers to the question of what one is to make of his words. The CCP's official explanation, that "on occasion, during the 'Great Cultural Revolution', Premier Zhou made some remarks that were contrary to his own convictions", would seem far too simplistic as to be convincing.

Translations

Opening Remarks by Mao Zedong at Plenary Session of the Ninth National Congress of the CCP on 14 April 1969:

Comrades!¹

Today's agenda consists, firstly, of adopting the political report made by Comrade Lin Biao on behalf of the Center, and secondly, of adopting the constitution of the Communist Party of China. Preparing now to make statements are Comrades Zhou Enlai, [Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Huang Yongsheng, Wang Hongwen, Chen Yonggui, Sun Yuguo, Wei Fengying and Ji Dengkui]. Others who have not signed up may also make statements.

Speech by Zhou Enlai at Plenary Session of the Ninth National Congress of the CCP on 14 April 1969:

Comrades!²

I fully support the extremely important speech given by our great leader Chairman Mao at the opening ceremony.³ I fully support the political report made by Vice-Chairman Lin on behalf of the Party Centre.⁴ My warmest congratulations on the emergence, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian line in party-building, of the new party constitution.⁵

In his speech, Chairman Mao asked us to review the history of the party over the past forty-eight years.⁶ We should often review the history of the party, review the history of the struggle between the two lines inside the party, and in particular review the history of the struggle against the right opportunism of Chen Duxiu, the "left" and right opportunism of Wang Ming and the counter-revolutionary revisionism of Liu Shaoqi et al.. We should review the positive and negative fighting experiences of victory and defeat accumulated by the party during these forty-eight years, review the fighting experience of the party in international relations, and review the reasons for why we were able to achieve the victory of the new democratic revolution twenty years ago; why soon after that we were able to achieve the great victories of socialist revolution and socialist construction; and why today, after twenty years, we are about to achieve the even greater victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Only by understanding these things is it possible for us to understand that the history of the party is the history of the victory of Mao Zedong Thought; to understand that Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with creativity; to understand that Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, and to understand that Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which Imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory.⁷

In his speech, Chairman Mao said: "**We hope that the present Congress will be a congress of unity and an congress of victory and that, after its conclusion, still greater victories will be won throughout the country.**"⁸ We all express our determination, and furthermore firmly believe that this great call of Chairman Mao's will surely be realized.

The political report given at this congress by Comrade Lin Biao holds high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, and expounds brilliantly Chairman Mao's theory (xueshuo) of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It proves and explains how this great theory of Chairman Mao's amounts to a genial and creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory (lilun) of uninterrupted revolution, and how it has been proven absolutely necessary by the concrete practice of China's socialist revolution and the international communist movement.⁹ If Chairman Mao had not personally initiated and mobilized millions upon millions of the masses to engage in this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it would not have been possible to smash the bourgeois headquarters represented by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shaoqi, and as for the future of our party and country - as Chairman Mao pointed out a long time ago - "**it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its color.**"¹⁰

In the report, Comrade Lin Biao to the point and systematically summed up the experience of this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, analyzed the situation at home and abroad, and set forth the direction of development and fighting tasks hereafter.¹¹ In the report, he ever so appropriately gave the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group the kind of appraisal it deserves for having firmly carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.¹² During the group discussions, everyone agreed that this report of Comrade Lin Biao's is a great guiding programme for China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. This is entirely correct.

During this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Comrade Lin Biao has from beginning to end kept in step with Chairman Mao, and he deserves the general

acknowledgement given to him by the broad revolutionary masses as deputy supreme commander of the proletarian headquarters led by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao.

After Comrade Lin Biao had taken charge of the work of the Military Affairs Commission, he in 1961 initiated the publication, initially within the armed forces, of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao*, and soon afterwards promoted its dissemination all over China and all over the world. This, it is possible to maintain, was one of the most important measures carried out during the preparatory phase of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This treasured red book popularized the developed Marxism-Leninism of Mao Zedong Thought, made it possible for Mao Zedong Thought to become disseminated on a broad, unprecedented scale amongst the Chinese people and the revolutionary peoples of the world, and supplied millions upon millions of revolutionary masses with ideological arms. It was the most powerful mobilization of public opinion for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and it had a deep and far-reaching effect.

At the end of 1965, after Chairman Mao had launched the criticism of "Hai Rui Dismissed From Office," Comrade Lin Biao exposed Luo Ruiqing's counter-revolutionary anti-party and anti-army plot. Furthermore, at his proposal, a forum on art and literature was convened within the armed forces, and a summary that developed into the diametrical opposite of Peng Zhen's *February Outline* was published. This all gave a powerful impetus to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

On 18 May 1966, Comrade Lin Biao gave an important speech to an enlarged session of the Politburo of the Central Committee, elucidated the *Circular* of 16 May 1966 - the drafting of which had been personally led by Chairman Mao - and raised the point that whoever opposes Chairman Mao, whoever opposes Mao Zedong Thought, at any time or under any circumstances, will be condemned and punished by the whole party and the whole nation.¹³ This important speech of Comrade Lin Biao's held high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought, and became the bugle call for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

During the past three years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolutionary movement, Comrade Lin Biao has made important speeches at numerous critical moments: at the Central Work Conference convened after the conclusion of the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee in August 1966;¹⁴ at the Central Work Conference in October 1966;¹⁵ at the conference on industry in December 1966;¹⁶ at the meeting of cadres at the army level and above in March 1967;¹⁷ at the mass meeting to expose Yang Chengwu, Yu Lijin and Fu Chongbi on 24 March 1968,¹⁸ and at the enlarged Twelfth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee in October 1968,¹⁹ to list but some. He has, in accordance with a whole series of

latest directives from Chairman Mao, thoroughly unmasked the counter-revolutionary revisionism represented by Liu Shaoqi, severely criticized right and "left" adverse currents and evil trends of verdict-reversal, and stuck firmly to the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as indicated by Chairman Mao. These speeches of Comrade Lin Biao received the support and approval of the great leader Chairman Mao. They became the call to arms issued by the proletarian headquarters - of which Chairman Mao is the head and Vice-Chairman Lin is the deputy head - to millions upon millions of revolutionary people throughout the whole of China and in particular to the People's Liberation Army - personally founded and led by Chairman Mao and personally commanded by Vice-Chairman Lin - during the "three supports" and "two militaries" work.²⁰

Comrade Lin Biao became a close comrade-in-arms of the great leader Chairman Mao already forty years ago. Comrade Lin Biao is a glorious representative [of those] who after the defeat of the Nanchang uprising led a group of insurrectionary forces to Jinggangshan to accept the leadership of Chairman Mao. From then on, Comrade Lin Biao always kept in step with Chairman Mao, defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and made outstanding contributions to the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle and revolutionary cause. Comrade Lin Biao always stood firmly at the frontline of battle under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao in the three struggles against "left" opportunism during the Second Revolutionary Civil War, in the struggle against Wang Ming's right opportunist line during the Anti-Japanese War, in the struggle against Liu Shaoqi's and Peng Zhen's right opportunist line during the War of Liberation, and in the struggle against the anti-party clique of Peng Dehuai, Gao Gang and Rao Shushi after liberation.²¹

After Peng Dehuai's plot to seize power in the army and in the party had been exposed, Comrade Lin Biao himself took charge of the work of the Military Affairs Commission. Comrade Lin Biao developed Chairman Mao's thoughts on army building, as laid down at the Gutian Conference, and came up with the Four Firsts,²² the Three Eight Working Style,²³ the Four Good Companies,²⁴ the Five Good Fighters.²⁵ He revised the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention,²⁶ and advocated building our army into a great school of glowing red Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Lin Biao proposed that we "must never forget class struggle, never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat, never forget giving prominence to politics and never forget to hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought,"²⁷ and he forcefully propagated Mao Zedong Thought. In particular, he came up with a complete set of effective and practical popular methods for the study of Mao Zedong Thought, namely, as he himself remarks in the "Foreword to the Second Edition" of *Quotations From Chairman Mao*: "In studying the works of Chairman Mao, one should have

specific problems in mind, study and apply his works in a creative way, combine study with application, first study what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results, and strive hard to apply what one is studying."²⁸ This complete set of methods has been very effective in greatly popularizing Mao Zedong Thought throughout the whole party and the whole army, and among the people of China and revolutionary peoples of the world.

This time, in the new party constitution, it has been stated clearly that: "Comrade Lin Biao has consistently held high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and has most loyally and resolutely carried out and defended Comrade Mao Zedong's proletarian revolutionary line. Comrade Lin Biao is Comrade Mao Zedong's close comrade-in-arms and successor."²⁹ This is the most correct conclusion that can naturally be deduced from Comrade Lin Biao's more than forty years of revolutionary fighting. It is totally in accord with the facts. He has obtained the warm support of the whole party, the whole army and the revolutionary people of different nationalities in China, and he has also been given the backing of the broad revolutionary peoples of the whole world. We do not only feel boundless joy because we have as our great leader the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era Chairman Mao, but also great joy because we have Vice-Chairman Lin as Chairman Mao's universally recognized successor.

At present, the domestic and international situation is favorable to the people, and not to the enemy. Let the whole party and the entire people unite firmly, hold high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, unite around the proletarian headquarters of which Chairman Mao is the head and Vice-Chairman Lin the deputy head, implement the party's policies, forge ahead courageously, and advance from certain victory to victory.

Finally, let us cry out loudly:

Long live the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

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

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! Long Live! Long Long Live!

Impromptu Remarks by Lin Biao at Plenary Session of the Ninth National Congress of the CCP on 14 April 1969:

Comrades!³⁰

I have not prepared a speech, but there are a few things I want to say after having listened to the Premier's speech just now. I didn't know the contents of his speech beforehand. His appraisal of Chairman Mao is extremely correct, and very much in accordance with the

facts. The Chinese revolution would not have been victorious, and the Chinese Communist Party would not enjoy the high prestige it currently enjoys among the Chinese people, were it not for the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao. China would still be China under the rule of the Guomindang, or China under the rule of the imperialists. China would still be a China in darkness, and not a red China. Chairman Mao and Chairman Mao's great and wise leadership: these are the most important and decisive factors among the ones that have made us today a red, great and glorious China, a more powerful and prosperous country than any other country in history, and one that is able to influence the entire world. Chairman Mao is our greatest leader.

As for myself, I feel very ashamed. At a very early date, when I was still young, I joined Chairman Mao at Jinggangshan. At the time, because I was young, there were a lot of things I didn't know anything about, and so what I did was simply to follow Chairman Mao. I compared all the leaders to one another, and when I was through I felt that Chairman Mao was the one whom I ought to support. Chairman Mao, ultimately, was very sophisticated (gaoming), and I personally had only a very limited awareness. I was not at all, like the Premier said, a person of great foresight who was able to grasp the greater picture. I had not reached that level. To be quite honest, although I have supported Chairman Mao for decades, my ideological level as a whole has remained very very low, and not at all high, like the Premier said. Eventually I did achieve a few things in my work, but that was also under Chairman Mao's wise leadership. Had it not been for the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, our Party would not have achieved the victories it has achieved today, nor would I be here today. I have Chairman Mao to thank for everything. If I had been under He Long or Zhang Guotao, I would have been dead a long time ago. My head would have been chopped off a long time ago. I would definitely no longer have my head. Definitely! There is no question about it. I definitely would no longer have a head, definitely not. Would Zhang Guotao have put up with someone like me? He definitely would not have put up with me, and definitely would have gotten rid of me. Would He Long have permitted me to stay on? I would have met the same fate as Duan Dechang (who left for E-Yu-Wan in 1928...). Neither He Long nor Zhang Guotao would have kept me on. That I am still here today and able to do some work for the Party is altogether due to Chairman Mao.

At any given time, in all important questions, Chairman Mao always charts the course. In our work, we do no more than follow in his wake, and that's it. Therefore, the decisive factor and great force upon which all our victories depend is Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao has played a great role, and my personal role has been very tiny, very tiny, very tiny. This is the short statement I wanted you comrades to hear.

¹. This is a translation of parts of "Mao Zhuxi 4.14 Jianghua."

². This is a translation of "Zhou Enlai Tongzhi de Fayan - Zai 1969 Nian 4 Yue 14 Ri 'Jiuda' Quanti Huiyi Shang." For an official contemporary CCP reference to Zhou Enlai's speech, see "Press Communique of the Secretariat of the Presidium of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China" (14 April 1969) (hereafter referred to as "Communique"), in *Peking Review*, no.18, 1969, p.43, where it is stated that "Comrades Chou En-lai, . . . also spoke."

³. Mao Zedong, "Address at the Opening Session of the Ninth National Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party" (1 April 1969), in Stuart Schram, ed., *Chairman Mao Talks to the People: Talks and Letters 1956-1971* (New York: Pantheon, 1974), pp.280-1.

⁴. Lin Biao, "Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China" (1 April 1969), in *Peking Review*, no.18, 1969, pp.16-35. (Hereafter referred to as "Report")

⁵. "The Constitution of the Communist Party of China" (14 April 1969), in *Peking Review*, no.18, 1969, pp.36-9. (Hereafter referred to as "Constitution")

⁶. This is in some ways a matter of interpretation. In the available transcript, Mao himself briefly reviews the history of the CCP, but does not explicitly call upon the delegates to do the same.

⁷. Cf. "Communique," p.42: "Only by understanding the history of the Party is it possible to understand how Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism and understand the greatness of Mao Tsetung Thought and the correctness of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line." Zhou's final remarks quote Lin Biao's "Foreword to the Second Edition" of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1966), pp.i-iii.

⁸. This is the full text of "Chairman Mao's Latest Directive," as published in *Peking Review*, no.18, 1969, p.15.

⁹. Cf. "Communique," pp.42-3: "The delegates held that this report holds high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought [and] expounds profoundly Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

¹⁰. This is a quote from the 1963 "Draft Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on certain problems in our present rural work," attributed to Mao, and in turn quoted in, Lin Biao's "Report", p.20.

¹¹. Cf. "Communique," p.43: "This report . . . sums up systematically the experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of our country, analyses the situation at home and

abroad and sets forth the fighting tasks hereafter for the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation."

¹². There is only one reference to the Cultural Revolution Small Group in the published text of Lin's report, and it reads: "The Cultural Revolution [Small] Group under the Central Committee, which was set up by decision of the [May 16th] *Circular*, has firmly carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line." See "Report," p.22.

¹³. Lin Biao, "Address to the Enlarged Session of the Politburo of the Central Committee" (18 May 1966), in Michael Y. M. Kau, ed., *The Lin Piao Affair* (White Plains: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1975), pp.326-45. Near the end of this speech, Lin remarks that: "No matter how long Chairman Mao lives - ninety or over one hundred years - he is forever the supreme leader of our party, and his words will be the guideline for our actions. Whoever is against him will be punished and condemned by the whole party and the whole country. Whoever makes a secret report after his death, as Khrushchev did, must be an ambitious conspirator and a good-for-nothing and will be punished and condemned by the whole party and the whole country." Zhou's exact words are actually a verbatim quote from Lin's report to the congress (cf. "Report," p.29).

¹⁴. "Lin Biao Tongzhi Zai Zhongyang Gongzuo Huiyi Shang de Jianghua" (Comrade Lin Biao's Speech at a Central Work Conference) (13 August 1966), in Tianjin Shi Geming Weiyuanhui Zhengzhibu, ed., *Wuchanjieji Wenhua Dageming Zhongyao Wenxian Xuanbian* (Selected Important Documents from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution) (Tianjin: Tianjin Renmin Chubanshe, 1969), pp.314-26.

¹⁵. Lin Biao, "Talk at the Central Work Conference" (25 October 1966), in *The Lin Piao Affair*, pp.383-401. This translation is based on a garbled text. A good text is in *Lin Biao Xuanji* (Selected Works of Lin Biao) (N.p., n.d.), pp.178-91.

¹⁶. Lin Biao, "On 'Big Criticism'" in *The Lin Piao Affair*, pp.412-5. This translation is incomplete. A fuller version of this speech is "Zai Zhongyang Gongjiao Wenge Huishang de Jianghua" (Speech at a Cultural Revolution Meeting for the Central Industrial and Communications Departments), in *Lin Biao Tongzhi Yanlun Xuan* (Selected Speeches by Comrade Lin Biao) (Chongqing: Xinan Zhengfa Xueyuan, 1967), pp.181-8

¹⁷. Lin Biao, "Speech at Meeting of Cadres at the Army Level and Above" (20 March 1967), in *The Lin Piao Affair*, pp.424-31. This translation is incomplete. A complete text is in *Lin Biao Xuanji*, pp.200-15.

¹⁸. Lin Biao, "Speech at a Meeting of Army Cadres" in *The Lin Piao Affair*, pp.488-500. This translation is based on a corrupt text. A good text is in *Lin Biao Xuanji*, pp.229-42.

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- ¹⁹. "Zai Ba Jie Kuoda de Shier Zhong Quanhui Shang Lin Fuzhuxi de Zhongyao Jianghua" (Important Speech by Vice-Chairman Lin at the Enlarged Twelfth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee) (26 October 1968). A handwritten transcript of this speech is available at the Library of the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University.
- ²⁰. The expression "Three Supports" refers to: "Supporting industry, supporting agriculture and supporting the broad masses of the left." The expression "Two Militaries" refers to: "Military control and military and political training."
- ²¹. A number of biographical accounts of Lin's political and military career were published during the Cultural Revolution. See, for example "Mao Zhuxi de Qinmi Zhanyou Lin Biao Tongzhi" (Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao), in *Lin Biao Tongzhi Yanlun Xuan*, pp.299-321.
- ²². The expression "Four Firsts" refers to: "First place must be given to man in handling the relationship between men and weapons; to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; to ideological work in relation to routine tasks in political work; and, in ideological work, to the living ideas in a person's mind as distinguished from ideas in books."
- ²³. The expression "Three Eight Working Style" refers to: "The three mottoes and eight characters representing the fine tradition of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The three mottoes are: Keep firmly to the the correct political orientation; maintain a style of hard work and plain living; and be flexible in strategy and tactics. The eight characters mean: Be united, alert, earnest and lively."
- ²⁴. The expression "Four Good Companies" refers to: "Companies which are good in political and ideological work, in the Three Eight Working Style, in military training and in arranging their everyday life."
- ²⁵. The expression "Five Good Fighters" refers to: "Fighters who excel in political and ideological work, in the Three Eight Working Style, in military technique, in fulfilling combat missions and in keeping fit."
- ²⁶. In 1947, the PLA's "Three Main Rules of Discipline" were: "Obey orders in all your actions; do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses; turn in everything captured." The "Eight Points for Attention" were: "Speak politely; pay fairly for what you buy; return everything you borrow; pay for anything you damage; do not hit or swear at people; do not damage crops; do not take liberties with women; and do not ill-treat captives." According to Cultural Revolutionary sources, the last two of the "Eight Points" had been

suggested to Mao by Lin, who had added them to what had initially only been six points for attention.

²⁷. Lin Biao, "Address to the Enlarged Session of the Politburo of the Central Committee" (18 May 1966). Cf. *The Lin Piao Affair*, p.337.

²⁸. Lin Biao, "Foreword to the Second Edition" of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, p.ii.

²⁹. "Constitution", p.36.

³⁰. This is a translation of "Lin Fuzhuxi Jiu Da Shang 4.14 Jianghua."