

## Appendix: The Sixty-One

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|-----------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1. An Ziwen     | 22. Liu Lantao     | 42. Wang Zhenlin     |
| 2. Bo Yibo      | 23. Liu Shangzhi   | 43. Wu Yunpu         |
| 3. Ding Xizhen  | 24. Liu Shenzhi    | 44. Xia Fuhai        |
| 4. Dong Tianzhi | 25. Liu Wenwei     | 45. Xian Weixun      |
| 5. Du Boyang    | 26. Liu Xiwu       | 46. Xu Zirong        |
| 6. Feng Leijin  | 27. Liu Youguang   | 47. Yang Xianzhen    |
| 7. Fu Ping      | 28. Liu Zhao       | 48. Yang Cai         |
| 8. Fu Yutian    | 29. Liu Zijiu      | 49. Yi Mingdao       |
| 9. Gao Tingkai  | 30. Ma Huizhi      | 50. Yin Daoli        |
| 10. Gao Yangyun | 31. Ma Yutang      | 51. Yin Jian         |
| 11. Han Jun     | 32. Peng De        | 52. Zhang Manping    |
| 12. Hao Jinbo   | 33. Qiao Jiansheng | 53. Zhang Xi         |
| 13. He Zhiping  | 34. Qiu Shaoshang  | 54. Zhang Youqing    |
| 14. Hou Zhenya  | 35. Tang Fanglei   | 55. Zhang Zhengsheng |
| 15. Hu Jingyi   | 36. Wang De        | 56. Zhao Bo          |
| 16. Hu Xikui    | 37. Wang Qimei     | 57. Zhao Lin         |
| 17. Li Chuli    | 38. Wang Hefeng    | 58. Zhao Mingxin     |
| 18. Li Jukui    | 39. Wang Xinbo     | 59. Zhou Yang        |
| 19. Li Liguo    | 40. Wang Yong      | 60. Zhou Zhongying   |
| 20. Liao Luyan  | 41. Wang Yutang    | 61. Zhu Zemin        |
| 21. Liu Kerang  |                    |                      |

Two others, Li Yunchang and Yin Guangshan, were not listed in the 1978 COD investigation report but were listed in other sources, such as Bo Yibo's *Qishi nian* (1996, pp. 195–6).

# Notes and References

## Introduction

1. *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1984), pp. 137–9.
2. Lyman P. Van Slyke, *Enemies and Friends: The United Front in Chinese Communist History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967), p. 68.
3. Wu Linquan and Peng Fei, *Caolan chunqiu* [Caolan Annals] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1988), p. 231.
4. The CCEG, which was accountable to the Politburo and Mao Zedong, ran three offices to investigate alleged crimes by high-level party cadres. See Michael Schoenhals, 'The Central Case Examination Group, 1966–79', *The China Quarterly*, no. 145 (March 1996), pp. 87–114. The members of the Cultural Revolution Group (CRG), established in May 1966, were Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Guan Feng and Wang Li.
5. CCP Central Committee document *Zhongfa* 96 (1967), 'Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu yinfa Bo Yibo, Liu Lantao, An Ziwen, Yang Xianzhen deng chuyu wenti cailiao de pishi' [Instruction of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Printing and Distribution of Materials on the Problem of the Release from Prison of Bo Yibo, Liu Lantao, An Ziwen, Yang Xianzhen *et al.*] (from a collection of Cultural Revolution documents [title page missing] on 'Cleansing the Class Ranks' at the Fairbank Center Library, Harvard University).
6. See for example Patricia Stranahan's comments in *Underground: The Shanghai Communist Party and the Politics of Survival, 1927–1937* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), pp. 2–3.
7. See for example Zhang Zhuhong, *Zhongguo xiandai geming shi shiliaoxue* [Historiography of China's Modern Revolutionary History] (Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi ziliao chubanshe, 1987) in Timothy Cheek and Tony Saich (eds), 'A Guide to Material on the Chinese Communist Movement', *Chinese Studies in History*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Spring 1991), pp. 76–7.
8. Liu Shaoqi, 'Lun gongkai gongzuo yu mimi gongzuo' [On Open and Secret Work] (20 October 1939), in *Liuda yilai dangnei mimi wenjian* [Since the Sixth Party Congress – Secret Inner-Party Documents], vol. 2 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1952, 1981), pp. 220–1.
9. Xie Xiaonai, 'On the Organization of Party Historiography' (speech at the National Work Conference on Collecting Party History Materials, 10 August 1981), *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 19, no. 3 (Autumn 1986), p. 109.
10. Stranahan, *Underground*, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–7.
11. See for example Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian fendou yu sikao* [Seventy Years of Struggle and Reflection], vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe, 1996), pp. 113–18.
12. U. T. Hsu, *The Invisible Conflict* (Hong Kong: China Viewpoints, 1958), pp. 51–4.

13. Lowell Dittmer, 'The Structural Evolution of "Criticism and Self-Criticism"', *The China Quarterly*, no. 56 (December 1973), p. 712.
14. Detailed in Chapter 2, pp. 58–60.
15. Tony Saich, 'Introduction: The Chinese Communist Party and the Anti-Japanese War Base Areas', *The China Quarterly*, no. 140 (December 1994), p. 1001.
16. Bonnie S. MacDougall, *Mao Zedong's 'Talks at Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art': A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1980), pp. 84–5.
17. David S. Nivison, 'Communist Ethics and Chinese Tradition', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 16, no. 1 (November 1956), p. 52.
18. See for example Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1968) and Mark Selden's *The Yanan Way in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972).
19. See for example Chen Yung-fa, 'The Blooming Poppy under the Red Sun: The Yan'an Way and the Opium Trade', in Tony Saich and Hans van de Ven (eds), *New Perspectives on the Chinese Communist Revolution* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995), pp. 263–98. See also David E. Apter and Tony Saich, *Revolutionary Discourse in Mao's Republic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994) and Selden's reassessment, 'Yan'an Communism Reconsidered', *Modern China*, vol. 21, no. 1 (January 1995), pp. 8–44, which acknowledges the 'repressive and elitist tendencies that were insufficiently recognized in the original study' (p. 40).
20. MacDougall, *Mao Zedong's 'Talks'*, op. cit., p. 84.
21. For example the eulogy for Zhou Zhongying of the sixty-one: 'He was open and above-board throughout his life.' See 'Deng and Other Leaders Mourn CCP Member's Death', *Xinhua*, 8 June 1991; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 10 June 1991, p. 35.
22. Gregor Benton indicates a similarly dichotomous perception in contemporary historiography of the Long March and the 1934–37 Three-Year War (in southern China): 'The march united the party and brought its different factions into one political line; the war required the creative adjustment of policy to varied circumstance, compromise, improvisation, flexibility and independent initiative.' See Benton, 'Under Arms and Umbrellas: Perspectives on Chinese Communism in Defeat', in Saich and van de Ven, *New Perspectives*, op. cit., p. 142.
23. Dittmer, 'The Structural Evolution', op. cit., p. 712.
24. 'Eliminate Closed-Doorism and Adventurism' (April 1936), in *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi*, op. cit., p. 40.
25. 'The Party and its Mass Work in the White Areas', in *ibid.*, p. 74 (report presented in May 1937 at the Yan'an conference of representatives of party organizations of the white areas).
26. See Joseph K. S. Yick, *Making Urban Revolution in China: The CCP–GMD Struggle for Beijing–Tianjin, 1945–1949* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995), pp. 40–5.
27. At peak periods of repression (such as under the Japanese occupation in the early 1940s) in areas where support for the communists was waning, people – including party members – were encouraged to cooperate with and even to work for the enemy's local administration and at the same time to

- provide aid, however minimal, to the local communist presence. This 'red heart, white skin' tactic was also referred to as the 'double-edged policy' or the 'tactic of two-faced power'. See Kathleen Hartford, 'Repression and Communist Success: The Case of Jin-Cha-Ji, 1938–1943', in Kathleen Hartford and Stephen M. Goldstein (eds), *Single Sparks: China's Rural Revolutions* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1989), pp. 113–18.
28. For a discussion of these two traditions within the Chinese communist movement, Maoist voluntarism and the Leninist rational–bureaucratic mode of operation, see Timothy Cheek and Carol Lee Hamrin's Introduction to Hamrin and Cheek (eds), *China's Establishment Intellectuals* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1986), pp. 3–20.
  29. Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., pp. 189–90.
  30. 'How to be a Good Communist' (July 1939), in *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi*, op. cit., pp. 137–45.
  31. 'On Inner-Party Struggle' (July 1941), in *ibid.*, p. 205.
  32. Ian McMorran, 'A Note on Loyalty in the Ming–Qing Transition', *Etudes Chinoises*, vol. 13, nos 1–2 (Spring–Autumn 1994), p. 48. See also Wei-chin Lee, 'Crimes of the Heart: Political Loyalty in Socialist China', *Studies in Comparative Communism*, vol. 25, no. 3 (September 1992), pp. 229–30.
  33. McMorran, 'A Note on Loyalty', op. cit., p. 64.
  34. Lucien W. Pye, *The Mandarin and The Cadre: China's Political Cultures* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1988), p. 50.
  35. Li Xiannian, 'Learn From Revolutionary Martyrs, Preserve Communist Purity – Cherishing the Memories of Martyrs Zhang Wenjin, Wu Zuyi, and Mao Chuxiong', *Hongqi*, no. 17 (1 September 1985); Joint Publication Research Service, 85-022 (19 November 1985), p. 4.
  36. Editorial departments of *Wenhui ribao*, *Jiefang ribao* and *Zhibu shenghuo*, 'Scheming to Betray the Party is Aimed to Usurp the Party', *Hongqi*, no. 13 (17 August 1967), in *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, 592 (11 September 1967), pp. 1–5.
  37. W. Allyn Rickett, 'Voluntary Surrender and Confession in Chinese Law: The Problem of Continuity', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 30, no. 4 (August 1971), p. 797. The term *zishou* denoted voluntary surrender or confession before an offence was committed. The terms *zibai* and *tanbai* were used to indicate a confession after the event. *Zishou* was the term the communists continued to use for confession to political inadequacies in their thought-reform and re-education programmes.
  38. *Ibid.*, pp. 797–814.
  39. CCP Central Committee document (7 July 1937): 'Zhongyang zuzhibu guanyu suowei zishou fenzi de jueiding' [Decision of the Central Committee Organization Department on how to treat (certain) so-called confessants], in *Liuda yilai*, vol. 1, pp. 145–6; 'Guanyu guoqu luxing chuyu shouxu zhe (tianxie huiguoshu shengming tuodang fangong) zanzing chuli banfa' [Provisional measures concerning those who in the past followed the release from prison procedures (filling in a statement of repentance, a statement of leaving the Party and opposing communism)] (22 July 1941), referred to in *Chen Yun Wenxuan* [Selected Works of Chen Yun, 1956–1985] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1986), p. 208, p. 364, n. 127.

40. These radical CRG leaders all had white area experiences prior to their Yan'an days. Between 1931 and 1933 Kang Sheng headed the Party's Special Work Committee in Shanghai, which ran the party's entire secret service operations. Chen Boda, who became Mao's political secretary in Yan'an, had been imprisoned along with the sixty-one but had been released several years earlier, succumbing, according to Bo Yibo, to pressure to recant; see Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., pp. 148–9.
41. Cultural Revolution sources include 'Selected Edition on Liu Shaoqi's Counter-Revolutionary Revisionist Crimes': pamphlet by the Liaison Station 'Pledging to Fight a Bloody Battle with Liu-Deng-Tao to the End' attached to August 18 Red Rebel regiment of Nankai University, April 1967, in *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, 653 (5 May 1969), pp. 1–9; 'Inside Story of the Traitorous Group of Liu Shaoqi, An Ziwen and Bo Yibo', edited by the Investigation Group of Weidong Red Guards for the '6 March Special Case', Nankai University, March 1967, in *Classified Chinese Communist Documents: A Selection* (Taipei: Institute of International Relations, 1978), pp. 136–47; 'Overthrow Liu Shaoqi – Boss of a Big Clique of Renegades', *Hongqi* Combat Team of Beijing Aeronautical Institute, 8 March 1967, *Selections from China Mainland Press*, supplement 182, 11 May 1967, pp. 25–38; 'Utterly Smash Liu Shaoqi's Renegade Clique', by the Joint Headquarters of the Revolutionary Rebels of Mao Zedong Thought, 1 August School of Beijing, in *Chunlei* [Spring Thunder], 13 April 1967, *Selections from China Mainland Press*, 3951 (2 June 1967), pp. 1–6. Post-1978 accounts include Chen Yeping and Han Jingcao (eds), *An Ziwen zhuanlue* [The Biography of An Ziwen] (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1985). Several chapters of this biography have been translated and published in Lawrence Sullivan (ed.), 'The Biography of An Ziwen and the History of the Organization Department', *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 21, no. 4 (Winter 1988–89); Wu and Peng, *Caolan chungiu*, op. cit., Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., Xiong Huaiji, *Tiandi you zhengqi: Caolanzi jianyu douzheng yu 'liushi yi ren an'* [Heaven and Earth have Upright Spirit: the Struggle in Caolanzi and the '61-Man Case'] (Beijing: Beijing dichu geming she, Beijing chubanshe, 1982); *Yang Xianzhen zhuan* [Biography of Yang Xianzhen] (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe, 1996); Yang Xianzhen and Guan Shan, 'Ru Caolanzi jianyu qianhou' [Before and After Entering Caolanzi], *Geming shi ziliao*, October 1980, pp. 6–22.
42. CCP Central Committee Document *Zhongfa* 75 (16 December 1978): 'Zhonggong zhongyang zhuanfa zhongyang zuzhibu guanyu – "liushiyi ren anjian" de diaocha baogao – de tongzhi' [Notice of the CCP CC to transmit the COD investigative report concerning the 'sixty-one man case']. See 'Guanyu "liushiyi ren anjian" de diaocha baogao', in *Sanzhongquanhui yilai: zhongyao wenxian huibian* [Since the Third Plenum: Collection of Important Documents] compiled by the Documentation Institute of the CCP CC (Renmin chubanshe, 1982), pp. 25–35.
43. Joseph W. Esherick, 'Ten Theses on the Chinese Revolution', *Modern China*, vol. 21, no. 1 (January 1995), p. 60.
44. Liu was also appointed alternate member to the Politburo in 1966 – a rather short-lived appointment.
45. Schoenhals, 'The Central Case', op. cit., pp. 110–11.

46. Hong Yung Lee, 'The Politics of Cadre Rehabilitation Since the Cultural Revolution', *Asian Survey*, vol. 18, no. 9 (September 1978), p. 935; see also Hong Yung Lee, *From Revolutionary Cadres to Party Technocrats in Socialist China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), p. 163; Lucien Pye, *The Dynamics of Chinese Politics* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1981), pp. 12, 205–6. For political rehabilitation in the Soviet Union, see for example Albert P. Van Goudoever, *The Limits of Destalinization in the Soviet Union* (London: Croom Helm, 1986); Alexander N. Yakovlev (ed.), *Rehabilitatsiia: Politicheskie Protsessy 30–50kh Godov* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury, 1991).
47. CCP Central Committee Document *Zhongfa* 25 (1980), 'Notice of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to Conscientiously Transmit the Resolution on the Rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i', *Issues and Studies*, vol. 16, no. 11 (November 1980), p. 89.

## 1 1936: On the Eve of War and Freedom

1. John King Fairbank, *Chinabound* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), p. 133.
2. 'Report on Experience Gained in Six Years of Work in North and Central China', *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1984), pp. 246, 248–9.
3. For background information on this period, in the first two chapters of this study I have drawn on Lyman P. Van Slyke, *Enemies and Friends, The United Front in Chinese Communist History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967); Lloyd E. Eastman, Jerome Ch'en, Lyman P. Van Slyke and Suzanne Pepper, *The Nationalist Era in China 1927–1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); James Pinckney Harrison, *The Long March to Power: A History of the Chinese Communist Party, 1921–1972* (New York: Praeger, 1972); Tony Saich (ed.), *The Rise to Power of the Chinese Communist Party* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1996); Shum Kui-Kwong, *The Chinese Communists' Road to Power: The Anti-Japanese National United Front, 1937–1945* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988).
4. Background information on the sixty-one is drawn from the biographical dictionaries cited in the Bibliography and from Wu Linquan and Peng Fei, *Caolan chunqiu* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1988); Xiong Huaiji, *Tiandi you zhengqi* (Beijing: Beijing dichu geming shi, Beijing chubanshe, 1982); Chen Yeping and Han Jincuo (eds), *An Ziwen zhuanlue* (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmi chubanshe, 1985); Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian fendou yu sikao* (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe, 1996); Yang Xianzhen and Guan Shan, 'Ru Caolanzi jianyou qianhou', *Geming shi ziliao*, October 1980, pp. 6–22.
5. For a detailed account of Japan's presence in China between 1931 and 1937, see Parks M. Coble, *Facing Japan: Chinese Politics and Japanese Imperialism, 1931–1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991). The Mukden Incident refers to the hostilities that broke out between Chinese and Japanese troops following the Japanese accusation that the Chinese had attacked the railway line near Mukden.
6. See for instance E. H. Carr's discussion of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, July 1935, in *Twilight of the Comintern, 1930–1935* (New York:

- Pantheon, 1982), pp. 403–27; John W. Garver, *Chinese–Soviet Relations, 1937–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 11–12.
7. John Garver, 'The Soviet Union and the Xi'an Incident', *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, no. 26 (July 1991), p. 149.
  8. John Israel and Donald W. Klein, *Rebels and Bureaucrats, China's December 9ers* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 87–95.
  9. Van Slyke, *Enemies and Friends*, op. cit., p. 66.
  10. Benjamin Yang, *From Revolution to Politics: Chinese Communists on the Long March* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990), p. 181.
  11. After the Wayaobao Conference of December 1935, attempts began to establish radio links with urban party organizations: 'a communication line was established between northern Shaanxi and Xi'an, Shanghai, Beiping and Tianjin through underground party organizations and various social connections. A secret radio station was set up to keep the CPC Central Committee in contact with the underground party organizations in Tianjin and Shanghai and to transmit the principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee promptly to the areas under KMT rule.' See Tong Xiaopeng, 'The First Model in the United Front Work – Reading Selected Works of Zhou Enlai on the United Front', *Guangmin ribao*, 24 April 1985; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 8 May 1985, K.12.
  12. See Shum Kui-Kwong, *The Chinese Communists' Road*, op. cit., p. 57, for an analysis of the united front as the 'best solution to the CCP's current predicament'.
  13. Lyman P Van Slyke, 'The Chinese Communist Movement during the Sino-Japanese War 1937–1945', in Eastman *et al.*, *The Nationalist Era*, op. cit., p. 185.
  14. 'On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism', *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1967), pp. 163–7. Mao delivered this report on 27 December 1935 at Wayaobao, following the Politburo conference there.
  15. 'Zhongguo gongchandang zhi Zhongguo guomindang shu' [Letter from the Chinese Communist Party to the Guomindang Government of China], 25 August 1936, *Liuda yilai dangnei mimi wenjian* [Since the Sixth Party Congress: Secret Inner Party Documents] vol. 1 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1952, 1981), pp. 773–7.
  16. For information on the fascinating character of Pan Hannian and his tragic fate, see Hu Hua, *Zhonggong dangshi renwu zhuan* [Biographies of Personalities in CCP History] (Shanxi: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1984), vol. 25, pp. 24–51, and Hu Yuzhi, 'Weida de bu pingfan de douzheng de yi sheng – yi Pan Hannian tongzhi' [The Struggle for Rehabilitation of a Great, Unusual Life – Remembering Comrade Pan Hannian], *Renmin ribao*, part 1, 14 July 1983, part 2, 15 July 1983. Chen Lifu (1900–93) and his older brother Chen Guofu (1892–1951) were known as the 'CC Clique' in the Guomindang leadership. See Chen Lifu's memoirs, *The Storm Clouds Clear Over China*, edited by Sidney H. Chang and Ramon H. Myers (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1994).
  17. See Li Xin, 'Preliminary Survey of the Xi'an Incident', *Lishi Yanjiu* [Historical Research], no. 11 (November 1979); Joint Publication Research Service, 7514-59 (15 February 1980), pp. 29–35.

18. John Garver, 'The Origins of the Second United Front', *The China Quarterly*, no. 113 (March 1988), p. 52.
19. Zhang Xueliang, 'Penitent Confession on the Xian Incident', *Mingbao*, vol. 3, no. 9 (1968), translated in *Chinese Studies in History*, vol. 22, no. 3 (Spring 1989), p. 71; Keiji Furuya, *Chiang Kai-shek: His Life and Times* (New York: St John's University, 1981), p. 510. Li Xin, in 'Preliminary Survey', op. cit., p. 42, states that political prisoners under the jurisdiction of Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng were not released until after the Xi'an incident, that is, until December 1936.
20. Yang and Guan, 'Ru Caolanzi', op. cit., pp. 20–1.
21. Zhou Tiandu, 'The National Salvation Society and the Seven Gentlemen Case', *Renmin ribao*, 25 February 1985; Joint Publication Research Service, 83259-410 (14 April 1983), pp. 173–4.
22. Van Slyke, *Enemies and Friends*, op. cit., p. 69.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
24. Report dispatched from Nanjing on 28 August and published in the *North China Herald*, 2 September 1936.
25. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, op. cit., pp. 281–2.
26. Joseph K. S. Yick, *Making Urban Revolution in China: The CCP–GMD Struggle for Beijing–Tianjin, 1945–1949* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995), pp. 4–5.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
28. U. T. Hsu, *The Invisible Conflict* (Hong Kong: China Viewpoints, 1958), p. 114.
29. 'Report on Experience', *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi*, op. cit., pp. 247–8.
30. Saich, *The Rise to Power*, op. cit., p. 281.
31. Patricia Stranahan, *Underground: The Shanghai Communist Party and the Politics of Survival, 1927–1937* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), pp. 104, 183–4 and ch. 5.
32. See Kathleen Hartford's comments in 'Fits and Starts: The Chinese Communist Party in Rural Hebei, 1921–1936', in Tony Saich and Hans van de Ven (eds), *New Perspectives on the Chinese Communist Revolution* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995), pp. 166–7.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
34. 'Shunzhi' (actually Hebei province) was a composite of the area's traditional names, Shundefu and Zhili.
35. 'Letter to the Shunzhi Provincial Committee and [Comrade Cai] Hesen' (25 December 1927) in Hyobom Pak (ed.), *Documents of the CCP 1927–1930* (Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1971), p. 341.
36. See, for instance, Harrison, *The Long March*, op. cit., pp. 120–3 for the Nanchang Uprising, pp. 129–34 for Autumn Harvest Uprisings, and pp. 137–40 for the Canton Commune.
37. Yick, *Making Urban Revolution*, op. cit., p. 6.
38. 'Political Tasks of the Shunzhi Provincial Committee during the War of the Fengdian and GMD Warlords' (The Resolution of the Shunzhi Provincial Committee) (11 April 1928), in Pak, *Documents*, op. cit., pp. 475–88.
39. 'The Question of Work Deployment in Shunzhi during the Fengdian–GMD War. Letter from the Central to the Shunzhi Provincial Committee', in *ibid.*, pp. 489–94.



40. See 'Peng Zhen: From Disgrace to Rehabilitation', *Issues and Studies*, vol. 15, no. 9 (September 1979), pp. 95–6.
41. Warren Kuo, *Analytical History of the Chinese Communist Party*, vol. 2 (Taipei: Institute of International Relations, 1968), pp. 53–4.
42. 'The Present Weakness of the Party Organization and of the Central Task of Organization', in Pak, *Documents*, op. cit., pp. 529–39.
43. See 'Peng Zhen: From Disgrace', op. cit., p. 96.
44. Hartford, 'Fits and Starts', op. cit., pp. 149, 152.
45. See Bo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., pp. 88–104, for details of his various arrests between 1927 and 1930.
46. Hartford, 'Fits and Starts', op. cit., p. 149.
47. Bo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., pp. 98–103.
48. Stranahan, *Underground*, op. cit., pp. 76–85.
49. Chen and Han, *An Ziwèn*, op. cit., pp. 11–13.
50. Thomas Kampen *Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and the Evolution of the Chinese Communist Leadership* (Copenhagen S: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2000) p. 35.
51. Kampen's detailed study *Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and the Evolution* (op. cit.), challenges much of the conventional academic wisdom regarding the 'twenty-eight Bolsheviks'.
52. Kuo, *Analytical History*, op. cit., pp. 148–9.
53. Stranahan, *Underground*, op. cit., p. 81.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
55. Bo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., pp. 105–12.
56. Kuo, *Analytical History*, op. cit., pp. 221–2.
57. Bo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., p. 110.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 117–19.
59. Wu and Peng, *Caolan chunqiu*, op. cit., pp. 5–11.
60. Chen and Han, *An Ziwèn*, op. cit., p. 14.
61. See Chang Kuo-t'ao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party 1928–1938*, vol. 2 (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1971), pp. 159–63, for Zhang's account of his visit to the new northern administration.
62. Chen and Han, *An Ziwèn*, op. cit., pp. 13–14.
63. Bo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., p. 118.
64. Wu and Peng, *Caolan chunqiu*, op. cit., p. 20.
65. Kuo, *Analytical History*, op. cit., p. 218.
66. Yang and Guan, 'Ru Caolanzi', op. cit., p. 7.
67. Stranahan, *Underground*, op. cit., pp. 105–9.
68. Yang and Guan, 'Ru Caolanzi', op. cit., pp. 7–8.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
72. Wu and Peng, *Caolan chunqiu*, op. cit., p. 22.
73. *Ibid.*
74. Bo Yibo, Liu Lantao, Cheng Zihua and Nie Zhen, 'In Deep Memory of Hu Xikui, Loyal Fighter of the Party', *Renmin ribao*, 3 April 1980; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 14 May 1980, L. 8–10.
75. Bo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., pp. 120–22.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

77. Chen and Han, *An Ziwen*, op. cit., pp. 14–15.
78. Kuo, *Analytical History*, op. cit., p. 326.
79. *North China Herald*, 2 September 1936; report from Nanjing, 28 August 1936.
80. Unless otherwise stated the information in this section is drawn from Coble, *Facing Japan*, op. cit., pp. 56–73, 90–119, 241–80, 297–309.
81. Zhang Xueliang went into temporary self-imposed exile in Europe, and on his return in 1934 was given the vice-command of anticommunist suppression forces in central China and in 1935 in north-west China.
82. Coble, *Facing Japan*, op. cit., p. 111.
83. Israel and Klein, *Rebels and Bureaucrats*, op. cit., p. 88.
84. Speech by Mao Zedong, 9 December 1939 at a rally to mark the fourth anniversary of the 9 December Movement (*Hongqi*, no. 23, 1 December 1985; Joint Publication Research Service, 86-002, 23 January 1986, p. 8). Mao preceded the fire-lighting analogy with the following comments: 'The CPC no doubt played a backbone role in the 9 December Movement. It would have been impossible for the 9 December Movement to take place if the CPC had not played that backbone role. First of all, the CPC's 1 August declaration had provided the youth and students with a clear and definite political principle. Next, the arrival of the Red Army in northern Sha'anxi had promoted the National Salvation movement in northern China. The third factor was the direct leadership of the CPC Northern Bureau and CPC organizations in Shanghai'. See also *History of the Chinese Communist Party, A Chronology of Events (1919–1990)* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1991): 'December 9: With the national crisis deteriorating every day, several thousand patriotic students, led and organized by the CPC Provisional Working Committee in Beijing ...' (p. 101).
85. 'On Tactics', *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, op. cit., p. 161.
86. Israel and Klein, *Rebels and Bureaucrats*, op. cit., p. 95.
87. Ting Wang, "'Twelve-nine" and "People's Vanguard" – Chinese Communist Student Movement (1935–1938)', paper presented at the Conference on the History of the Republic of China (Taipei, Taiwan, 23–28 August 1981) pp. 7–8.
88. Van Slyke, *Enemies and Friends*, op. cit., p. 67.
89. Israel and Klein, *Rebels and Bureaucrats*, op. cit., p. 103.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 98–102.
91. Nym Wales, *Notes on the Chinese Student Movement, 1935–1936* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution, 1959), p. 53.
92. Israel and Klein, *Rebels and Bureaucrats*, op. cit., p. 108. See also, Sun Sibai, 'White-haired Old Men on the December 9th Movement', *Hongqi*, no. 23 (1 December 1985); Joint Publication Research Service, 86-002 (23 January 1985), p. 56.
93. 'Report on Experience', in *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi*, op. cit., p. 251.
94. Israel and Klein, *Rebels and Bureaucrats*, op. cit., p. 115.
95. *Ibid.*, pp. 116–17.
96. Ting Wang, "'Twelve-nine" and "People's Vanguard"', op. cit., pp. 9, 16.
97. Bo Yibo, 'A Historic Contribution by Comrade Liu Shaoqi', *Renmin ribao*, 5 May 1980; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/6422/B11/4.
98. Israel and Klein, *Rebels and Bureaucrats*, op. cit., p. 115.

99. A. Titov, 'The December 9 Movement of 1935', *Far Eastern Affairs*, no. 4 (1976) and no. 1 (1977), pp. 103–4.
100. Wu and Peng, *Caolan chungiu*, op. cit., p. 207.
101. Coble, *Facing Japan*, op. cit., p. 300.
102. Lloyd E. Eastman, 'Nationalist China during the Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1945', in Eastman *et al.*, *The Nationalist Era*, op. cit., p. 118.

## 2 Release from the Guomindang Prison, 1936

1. This translation appears in Warren Kuo, *Analytical History of the Chinese Communist Party*, vol. 3 (Taipei: Institute of International Relations, 1970), p. 263.
2. Cultural Revolution sources include 'Selected Edition on Liu Shaoqi's Counter-Revolutionary Revisionist Crimes', *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, 651 (1969), pp. 1–9; 'Inside Story of the Traitorous Group of Liu Shaoqi, An Ziwen and Bo Yibo', *Classified Chinese Documents: A Selection* (Taipei: Institute of International Relations, 1978), pp. 136–47; 'Overthrow Liu Shaoqi – Boss of a Big Clique of Renegades', *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, 182 (1967), pp. 25–38; 'Utterly Smash Liu Shaoqi's Renegade Clique', *Survey of China Mainland Press*, 3951 (1967), pp. 1–6. Post-1978 accounts include: Chen Yeping and Han Jingcao (eds), *An Ziwen zhuanlue*, (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1985), pp. 14–23, and translated excerpts in Lawrence Sullivan (ed.), 'The Biography of An Ziwen and the History of the Organization Department' *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 21, no. 4, (Winter 1988–89), pp. 15–25; Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian fendou yu sikao*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe, 1996), pp. 129–96; Xiong Huaiji, *Tiandi you zhengqi: Caolanzi jianyou douzheng yu 'liushi yi ren an'* (Beijing: Beijing dichu geming shi, Beijing chubanshe, 1982), pp. 22–100; Wu Linquan and Peng Fei, *Caolan chungiu*, (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1988), pp. 53–192; Yang Xianzhen and Guan Shan, 'Ru Caolanzi jianyou qianhou', *Geming shi ziliao*, October 1990, pp. 15–23; Yan Jiaqi and Gao Gao, *Zhongguo wenhuadageming shinian shi* [Ten Year History of China's Cultural Revolution] (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1986, pp. 160–4, and the English version, translated and edited by D. W. Y. Kwok, *Turbulent Decade: A History of the Cultural Revolution* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), pp. 140–3.

Unless otherwise noted, biographical data on the sixty-one in this chapter and descriptions of their life in Caolanzi prison are drawn from these post-1978 accounts.

3. See 'Lifting the Black Curtain of the Puppet "Kiangsu Reformatory"', *Zhui qiongkou* [Pursue the Tottering Foe], 7 June 1967; *Survey of China Mainland Press*, 4030 (28 September 1967), p. 4; Wang Fanxi, *Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p. 164.
4. 'Lifting the Black Curtain', op. cit., p. 5.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
6. Bo Yibo, Preface to 'Collection of Works Commemorating Comrade Liu Yaxiong', *Renmin ribao*, 17 February 1989; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 24 February 1989, p. 28.
7. Yan and Gao, *Zhongguo wenhuadageming*, op. cit., p. 162.

8. Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., pp. 148–9. In his July 1932 statement, Chen is alleged to have said, 'I am a scholar who joined the GMD party and . . . I then joined the CCP. I studied communism. Personally I believe that communism is not suitable to China's conditions so I am willing to turn over a new leaf.'
9. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
10. 'Overthrow Liu Shaoqi', op. cit., p. 28. Liu, a Hui (Muslim) from Hebei, was active in minorities affairs in the post-1949 era. He was a member of the 8th and 9th Central Committees.
11. Yang and Guan, 'Ru Caolanzi', op. cit., p. 16.
12. 'The Biography of An Ziwen', op. cit., p. 23.
13. Liu's plight was brought to the attention of the Beijing liberal Wang Zhuoran, whose personal connections with the GMD helped bring about Liu's release. Despite this, during the Cultural Revolution Liu was accused of renegadism. See Harold Isaacs, *Re-Encounters in China: Notes of a Journey in a Time Capsule* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1985), pp. 95–100.
14. 'The Biography of An Ziwen', op. cit., p. 22.
15. Wang Fanxi, *Memoirs*, op. cit., p. 171.
16. Yang and Guan, 'Ru Caolanzi', op. cit., p. 18.
17. Wu and Peng, *Caolanzi chungju*, op. cit., p. 165.
18. See for example the chapter by Tony Saich, 'Writing or Rewriting History? The Construction of the Maoist Resolution on Party History', in Tony Saich and Hans van de Ven (eds), *New Perspectives on the Chinese Communist Revolution* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995), pp. 299–338.
19. Bo Yibo, 'Respect and Remembrance – Marking the 60th Anniversary of the Birth of the CCP', *Hongqi*, no. 13 (1 July 1981); Joint Publication Research Service, 78817 (24 August 1981), p. 100. The 28 January reference is to Japan's attack on Shanghai in 1932; the citizens of Shanghai, together with the 19th Route Army, managed to hold out for a month.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Chen and Han, *An Ziwen*, op. cit., p. 21; Yang and Guan, 'Ru Caolanzi', op. cit., p. 20.
22. Yang and Guan, 'Ru Caolanzi', op. cit., pp. 20–1.
23. See Liu's third Cultural Revolution confession, translated in *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Spring 1968), p. 76. Ke Qingshi had been engaged in underground work since the early 1920s. In his post-1949 career he held the prestigious post of mayor of Shanghai from 1958 until his death in 1965. Although he died before the onset of the Cultural Revolution, he was strongly identified with the radical elite.
24. Wu and Peng, *Caolan chungju*, op. cit., p. 184.
25. Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., p. 185.
26. 'Overthrow Liu Shao-ch'i', op. cit., pp. 35–6. Confirmed in post-1978 sources, for example Wu and Peng, *Caolan chungju*, op. cit., p. 183.
27. *Liu Shaoqi nianpu 1898–1969* [Chronicle of the Life of Liu Shaoqi, 1898–1969] (Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1996), pp. 154–5.
28. See for example, 'Inside Story', in *Classified Chinese Communist Documents: A Selection* (Taipei: Institute of International Relations, 1978), p. 138. Confirmed in post-1978 sources, for example Wu and Peng, *Caolan chungju*, op. cit., pp. 179–91, and Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., pp. 184–96.
29. *Liu Shaoqi nianpu*, op. cit., p. 154; Xiong Huaaji, *Tiandi*, op. cit., pp. 111–12.

30. Bo Yibo, 'Preface to Report on Zhang Wentian's Proposal on Opening Up the Market', *Renmin ribao*, 26 August 1995; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 20 October 1995, p. 30.
31. 'Overthrow Liu Shaoqi', op. cit., p. 36.
32. Yan and Gao, *Zhongguo wenhuadageming*, op. cit., p. 163.
33. Bo Yibo, 'Preface to Report on Zhang', op. cit., p. 30.
34. 'Inside Story', in *Classified*, op. cit., p. 138. In the early stages of the Cultural Revolution, when the so-called '61 Renegades case' was exposed, it was claimed that Liu Geping's career had suffered because of his refusal to obey the 1936 order. Certainly he initially benefited during the Cultural Revolution, being appointed chairman of the Revolutionary Committee for Shanxi Province, though he fell from grace in 1969.
35. 'Utterly Smash Liu Shaoqi', op. cit., p. 2.
36. Zhang Liangyun and two other prisoners whose sentences were anyway brief (and one of whom subsequently defected) refused to recant and were released when their term was up in the summer of 1937. Zhang died before 1949. See 'Liu Geping tongzhi dui beiping fanxingyuan de huiyi' [Comrade Liu Geping's Memoir of the Beiping Reformatory] in *Liu Geping zhengwei tong Liu-Deng hei silingbu de douzheng* [Political Commissar Liu Geping's Struggle against the Sinister Headquarters of Liu (Shaoqi) and Deng (Xiaoping)], published by Shanxi dongfeng hongse zaofan bingtuan [the Shanxi East Wind Red Rebel Corps]; Taiyuan shi yinshigongsi 1.19 wuchanjieji gemingpai [the January 19<sup>th</sup> Proletarian Revolutionary Forces of the Taiyuan Food and Drink Co.]; Shanxi dongfeng bingtuan taiyin fentuan [Shanxi East Wind Corps, Taiyin branch], September 1967, p. 19.
37. Wu and Peng, *Caolan chungiu*, op. cit., p. 190.
38. Appendices vii and viii to 'Overthrow Liu Shaoqi', op. cit., pp. 37–8.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 37; 'Utterly Smash Liu Shaoqi's Renegade Clique', op. cit., p. 3.
40. Kuo, *Analytical History*, op. cit., p. 263.
41. An Ziwen (Xu Ziwen), Yang Xianzhen (Yang Zhongren), Dong Tianzhi (Dong Xutou), Ma Huizhi (Feng Junchai), Xu Zirong (Xu Lirong), Liu Lantao (Liu Huaifu), Zhou Zhongying (Zhou Bin), Xian Weixun (Xia Weixun) and Bo Yibo (Zhang Congbu).
42. Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., pp. 198–204.
43. 'Inside Story', in *Classified*, op. cit., p. 140.
44. Kuo (using Red Guard tabloids) refers to 270 thus released (naming 169 who were still alive at the start of the Cultural Revolution) from the Shanxi GMD Reformatory, the Taiyuan Nationalist Army Prison, the Taiyuan Garrison Headquarters, the Jiangsu GMD Penitentiary and Caolanzi. See Kuo, *Analytical History*, op. cit., pp. 275–83.
45. 'What is Bo Yibo, Liu's Faithful Running Dog?', *Jinggangshan* [Jinggang Mountains], no. 46 (13 May 1967); Joint Publication Research Service, 41858 (17 July 1967), p. 181. Hu Hua, *Zhonggong dangshi renwu zhuan*, vol. 20 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1984, pp. 59–61) insists that Wang Ruofei's release was unconditional.
46. 'Utterly Smash Liu Shaoqi's Renegade Clique', op. cit., p. 3. For further details of the party's practice of maintaining such dossiers, see Chapter 3.
47. See respectively 'In Deep Memory of Hu Xikui', Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 21 May 1980, L.9, and Qiang Zhiguang, Xu Disin, Ping

- Jiesan, Xue Zizhang, Tong Xiaoping and Jin Cheng, 'In Memory of the Party's Loyal Fighter Comrade Xu Bing', *Renmin ribao*, 22 March 1980; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 21 May 1980, L.12.
48. 'The Third Confession of Liu Shao-ch'i', *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 76.
  49. *Ibid.*
  50. *Ibid.*
  51. *Ibid.*
  52. 'Overthrow Liu Shaoqi', *op. cit.*, p. 36.
  53. Liu Ying, *Zai lishi de jiliu zhong: Liu Ying huiyilu* [In the Turbulent Current of History: the Memoirs of Liu Ying] (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe, 1992), p. 165.
  54. 'Overthrow Liu Shaoqi', *op. cit.*, p. 26.
  55. 'Eliminate Closed-Doorism and Adventurism', *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1981), p. 39.
  56. See Chapter 1 for references to the CCP's demands for the release of political prisoners. During the CCP-GMD negotiations after the Xi'an Incident, the CCP, having demanded that the GMD unconditionally release all political prisoners, rejected the GMD's counterproposal that (1) the CCP provide lists of their party members in the GMD prisons, and (2) that these cadres would go through 'supporting the government' formalities prior to their release. That the CCP should simultaneously reject any notion of conditional release and at the same time secretly bid its members to do the exact opposite is one good explanation of its subsequent need to keep this matter under wraps.
  57. *Zhou Enlai zhuan 1898-1949* [Biography of Zhou Enlai, 1898-1949] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1989), p. 368, refers to Zhou Enlai and Ye Jianying's successful efforts in August 1937 in Nanjing, resulting in the release of CCP members, including Tao Zhu and Qian Ying. On the other hand, during the Cultural Revolution Tao Zhu (CCP Politburo member and first secretary of the Central South Bureau) was accused of recanting in order to be released from prison. He died in November 1969 and was posthumously rehabilitated in December 1978.
  58. Kuo, *Analytical History*, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
  59. Hu Hua, *Zhonggong*, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.
  60. Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1968), pp. 68-90.
  61. Neither Zhang nor Wang had yet arrived in Bao'an in the summer of 1936, but this does not mean that Mao was any the less preoccupied with the threat they posed to his leadership ambitions.
  62. Liu Ying, 'Mourning Comrade Zhang Wentian with Profound Grief', *Xinhua*, 26 August 1979; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 29 August 1979, L.11.
  63. Comment by Van Slyke on my doctoral thesis, *Political Rehabilitation in Chinese Communism* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1997).
  64. Wang Guangmei, 'He Showed his Integrity in a Difficult Time, the Spirit of Justice will be Preserved Eternally - In Memory of Comrade An Ziwen', *Gongren ribao*, 14 July 1980; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 5 August 1980, L.11.
  65. Bo Yibo, 'Respect and Remembrance', *op. cit.*, p. 100.

66. See Benjamin Yang, *From Revolution to Politics, Chinese Communists on the Long March* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press), p. 207.
67. Kuo, *Analytical History*, op. cit., p. 267.
68. *Into the Great Wide Open*, Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers (MCA Records, 1991).
69. See Donald G. Gillin, *Warlord Yen Hsi-shan in Shansi Province 1911–1949* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 218–56.
70. Bo Yibo, 'A Historic Contribution by Comrade Liu Shaoqi', *Renmin ribao*, 5 May 1980, L. 6; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/6422/BII/2-13 (17 May 1980).
71. 'Report to the Central Committee on North China Work', 18 September 1936, in *Liu Shaoqi Nianpu*, pp. 159–60.
72. Bo Yibo, 'A Historic Contribution', op. cit., L. 6.
73. Bo Yibo, 'Shanxi United Front in Flames of War of Resistance Against Japan – Preface to Book "Recalling Flames of War of Resistance"', *Renmin ribao*, 18 September 1995; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 31 October 1995, p. 13.
74. Bo describes his recruitment of the widowed Liu Yaxiong in late 1936: 'On her arrival in Taiyuan in late 1936, she took up the post of political instructor of the 11th Company of the Shanxi Military and Political Training Session. . . . At the end of 1937 she . . . organized a guerrilla detachment of 200 people under the leadership of the Dare-to-Die corps . . . in Southeast Shanxi, she on one occasion took up the post of commissioner . . . of the 3rd Administrative District'. Bo Yibo, 'Preface to Collection', op. cit., p. 28.
75. Bo Yibo, 'Shanxi United Front', op. cit., p. 14.
76. *Ibid.*
77. Ma Huizhi and Li Chuli, 'Huiyi Liu Shaoqi tongzhi zai beifangju' [Remembering Comrade Liu Shaoqi in the North Bureau], *Renmin ribao*, 14 May 1980. Liu Xiwu of the sixty-one also worked for the North Bureau immediately after his release.
78. Lyman P. Van Slyke, 'The Chinese Communist Movement during the Sino-Japanese War 1937–1945', in Lloyd Eastman, Jerome Ch'en, Suzanne Pepper and Lyman P. Van Slyke, *The Nationalist Era In China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 206.
79. Hu Hua, *Zhonggong*, op. cit., pp. 100–1.
80. Jack Belden, *China Shakes the World* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), pp. 51–2. Song Shaowen, recently released from the Jiangsu GMD Penitentiary, went on to become Chairman of the JCJ Border Region Government. Zhang Wenang had been released from a Shanxi GMD penitentiary. Kuo, *Analytical History*, op. cit., 3, p. 278.
81. Henry G. Schwarz, *Liu Shao-ch'i and "People's War:" A Report on the Creation of Base Areas in 1938* (Lawrence, KS: Center for East Asian Studies, University of Kansas, 1969), p. 16.
82. 'Six Years of Work in North and Central China', in *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi*, op. cit., p. 256.
83. Carol Lee Hamrin and Timothy Cheek (eds), *China's Establishment Intellectuals* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe), p. 56.
84. See Van Slyke, 'The Chinese', op. cit., pp. 206, 263–4.

85. Donald W. Klein and Anne B. Clark (eds), *Biographic Dictionary of Chinese Communism 1921–1965*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 30.
86. For example writer Chao Shuli, who joined the Sacrifice League in 1937, worked in the Taihang mountain area and joined the 8RA (see Belden, *China*, op. cit., pp. 87–96); Shi Yizhi worked for the party organization in Shanxi–Henan in 1940, was director of the Taiyue 4th Administration District and held the same post in the 1st District in 1943; Wu Guangtang, magistrate of Yulin in Shanxi in 1937, held the same post in Wuxiang in 1940 and was appointed special commissioner of the Taihang 3rd Administrative District in 1943; Yan Xiufeng worked for the Shanxi Provisional government under Yan Xishan as deputy director of the South Shanxi Administrative Office; Wang Zhuru was South Shandong District Party Committee secretary.
87. See for example, David Goodman's description of the Taiyue base, which although small was 'important in two crucial ways for the CCP cause. The first was its access to banking expertise and resources largely as a result of the League's activities. . . . The second major significance . . . was also in economic affairs. Taiyue . . . was the granary of JinJiLuYu to some considerable extent'. David S. G. Goodman, 'JinJiLuYu in the Sino-Japanese War: The Border Region and the Border Region Government', *The China Quarterly*, no. 140 (December 1994), p. 1016. Goodman also comments (p. 1022) on the JLY Border Region government's tax reform and currency stabilization programmes. See also Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China: The Political Struggle 1945–1949* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 250–1, 373.
88. Zhang Wentian, 'The Tasks of the Conference of CCP Delegates from the Soviet Regions' (2 May 1937), in Tony Saich (ed.), *The Rise to Power of the Chinese Communist Party: Documents and Analysis* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), p. 789.
89. On 4 March 1937 Liu's 'Letter to the Party Centre Concerning Past Work in the White Areas' began plaintively: 'I wrote three letters to you in the past week. You must have received them.' His letter analysed and castigated the party for its generally ultraleftist line over the previous decade and related specifically to blind activist or leftist mistakes in four spheres of white area work: the relationship between open and secret operations; the strategy for mass struggle; propaganda and agitation work; and inner-party struggle. See Saich, *The Rise to Power*, op. cit., pp. 773–87. The Conference of CCP delegates from the Soviet Regions was held from 2–14 May and Liu's opinions were discussed. The CCP leadership was prepared to admit that although mistakes had been made this did not constitute an overall incorrect and leftist line by the party over the previous decade and certainly not since the Jiangxi period from 1931. This was the message of Zhang Wentian's concluding report. Immediately after this conference, a second one opened on party work in the white areas. Liu delivered a report in person on May 17, reiterating his critical views, though muting his criticism of the Jiangxi leadership and emphasizing work methods for the future. His controversial views were discussed at work sessions held on



- 20–26 May. Participants felt that he was still exaggerating the ultraleftist issue. On 2 June Liu spoke before the Politburo. Those elements of his opinions which were deemed acceptable were incorporated into the concluding report to the conference, delivered by Zhang Wentian on 9–10 June. *Liu Shaoqi Nianpu*, op. cit., pp. 182–3.
90. 'Developing the Revolutionary Movement and Preventing Sabotage by Enemy Agents' (1 October, 1936), *Selected Works of Chen Yun (1926–1949)*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1981), p. 49.
  91. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
  92. *Ibid.*
  93. 'Zhongyang zuzhibu guanyu suowei zishou fenzi de jue ding', in *Liuda yilai dangnei mimi wenjian*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1952), pp. 145–6.
  94. Kuo, *Analytical History*, vol. 4, op. cit., p. 126. (The article on 'How to Handle the Cases of Arrested Communists and the Question of Morality' was by Yang Jing.)
  95. *Ibid.*, pp. 210–11.
  96. 'Reorganizing Party Organizations in the Great Rear Area and Expanding Outside Activities Out There' (December 1941), *Selected Works of Chen Yun*, op. cit., p. 158.
  97. Kuo, *Analytical History*, vol. 4, op. cit., pp. 76–7.
  98. For a discussion of the 100 Regiments Battle (in which Dong Tianzhi of the sixty-one was killed), see Van Slyke, 'The Chinese', op. cit., pp. 244–6.
  99. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
  100. Kathleen Hartford and Stephen M. Goldstein (eds), *Single Sparks: China's Rural Revolutions* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1989), pp. 113, 118.
  101. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
  102. Hu Hua, *Zhonggong*, pp. 106–7.
  103. Tetsuya Kataoka, *Resistance and Revolution in China: The Communists and the Second United Front* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 280–1.
  104. Kuo, *Analytical History*, vol. 4, op. cit., pp. 204–5. See also Van Slyke, 'The Chinese', op. cit., p. 266.
  105. 'Jianchi you cuo bi jiu de fangzen' [Uphold the Policy that Mistakes Must be Rectified] (November 1978) in *Chen Yun wenxuan, 1956–1985* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1986), pp. 208–9 and notes 124–7, pp. 363–4.
  106. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
  107. See Saich, *The Rise to Power*, op. cit., p. 667. See also pp. 1164–79 for a translation of the text of the resolution.
  108. Kuo, *Analytical History*, vol. 4, op. cit., p. 520.
  109. One of the sixty-one (who prefers to remain anonymous) informed me that their 1936 release experience was not raised for discussion during the campaign. While the sixty-one appear to have emerged unscathed from Kang Sheng's 'rescue' operation, in which 'spies' and 'agents' were sought out among the party cadres from the early summer of 1942, not all ex-Caolanzi cadres were as lucky. At least one of the 61ers' former colleagues, Liu Yaxiong, was severely victimized even though she had been amnestied out of Caolanzi: 'during the "rescue movement", she was groundlessly labelled as a traitor and was rehabilitated only two years later'. See Bo Yibo, 'Preface to Collection', op. cit., p. 28. One of the sixty-one, Liu Kerang, was

- executed by the party before 1949, but it is not clear exactly when this took place.
110. See Lowell Dittmer, *Liu Shao-ch'i and the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 20–4. See also Frederick C. Teiwes, *The Formation of the Maoist Leadership: From the Return of Wang Ming to the Seventh Party Congress* (London: Contemporary China Institute, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1994), pp. 34–40.
  111. See John Byron and Robert Pack, *The Claws of the Dragon: Kang Sheng* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), pp. 178–84; Peter Seybolt, 'Terror and Conformity: Counterespionage Campaigns, Rectification, and Mass Movements, 1942–1943', *Modern China*, vol. 12, no. 1 (January 1986), pp. 39–73.
  112. For a study of Yan'an as the 'moral centre of the revolution', 'a revolutionary simulacrum' and Mao as the self-anointed cosmocratic figure', see David E. Apter and Tony Saich, *Revolutionary Discourse in Mao's Republic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994).
  113. 'Looking Back at the Rectification Movement of the Central Party School in Yan'an', *Renmin ribao*, 27 July 1986, Joint Publication Research Service, 86070, pp. 46, 39.
  114. Seybolt, 'Terror and Conformity', op. cit., pp. 47–8.
  115. 'The Biography of An Ziwen', op. cit., pp. 27–8.
  116. *History of the Chinese Communist Party, A Chronology of Events (1919–1990)* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1991), pp. 154–5.
  117. See 'Decision of the CC Concerning the Investigation of Cadres', in Saich, *The Rise to Power*, op. cit., p. 1155.
  118. *Ibid.*, p. 1154.
  119. Mao apologized at least five times for the 'excesses of the "rescue" movement' and on the first such occasion on 12 April 1944 at a Yan'an higher Party cadres conference, Mao bowed three times 'until applause signified that the apology was accepted'. Teiwes, *The Formation*, op. cit., p. 57.
  120. Bo has referred to this meeting on a number of occasions. See for example, Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., pp. 358–61; 'Respect and Remembrance', op. cit., pp. 99–100; 'Preface to Report on Zhang', op. cit., p. 30. Liu Lantao arrived in the winter of 1944 and Zhou Zhongying in January 1945. Both claimed to have reported immediately and had their prison release history entered in their dossiers. An Ziwen had spoken of it to prominent party comrades, including Huang Jing after An's arrival in Beijing in late 1936, and to Zhu De, Yang Shangkun, and Peng Dehuai in south-east Shanxi in 1938. See Wu and Peng, *Caolan chungiu*, op. cit., pp. 231–2.
  121. *History of the Chinese Communist Party*, op. cit., p. 151.
  122. Xiong Huaiji, *Tiandi*, op. cit., pp. 125–6.
  123. Wu and Peng, *Caolan chungiu*, op. cit., p. 231.
  124. Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., p. 375.
  125. Klein and Clark, *Biographic Dictionary*, op. cit., pp. 113–16.
  126. See for example 'Inside Story', in *Classified Documents*, op. cit., p. 143, and 'Utterly Smash Liu Shaoqi', op. cit., p. 3.
  127. Byron and Pack, *The Claws of the Dragon*, op. cit., pp. 188–90.
  128. Liu Shaoqi, *On the Party* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1950), p. 70.

129. Hamrin and Cheek, *China's Establishment Intellectuals*, op. cit., pp. 58–9.
130. Hu Hua, *Zhonggong*, op. cit., pp. 112–13.
131. 'The Biography of An Ziwen', op. cit., p. 33.
132. History of the Chinese Communist Party, op. cit., p. 192.
133. See Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., pp. 380–460, for details of his role in land reform, taxation policies, and industrial and commercial reform during this period.
134. *Ibid.*, pp. 461–524. Bo describes the shift of focus in party work from rural to urban and the policies implemented for political and economic stabilization.
135. 'In Deep Memory of Hu Xikui', op. cit., L. 9.
136. The ten who 'sacrificed' themselves before 1949 were Dong Tianzhi, Xian Weixun, Yi Mingdao, Zhang Youqing, Zhang Manping, Zhao Bo, Wang Yong, Xia Fuhai, Ma Yutang and Wang Zhenlin. See Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian*, op. cit., pp. 195–6.

### 3 Levels of Power: Careers 1949–1966

1. 'Utterly Smash Liu Shaoqi's Renegade Clique', *Chunlei*, 13 April 1967; *Survey of China Mainland Press*, 3951 (2 June 1967), pp. 5–6.
2. A. Doak Barnett, *Cadres, Bureaucracy, and Political Power in Communist China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 6–9, and Table 1, p. 456.
3. Frederick C. Teiwes, 'Establishment and Consolidation of the New Regime', *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 57.
4. See Harry Harding, *Organizing China: The Problem of Bureaucracy 1949–1976* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1981), in which Harding analyses four PRC approaches to bureaucratization: rationalizing, external remedial, internal remedial, and radical.
5. See Hong Yung Lee, *From Revolutionary Cadres to Party Technocrats in Socialist China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), p. 334.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 331.
7. See, for instance, 'Inside Story', in *Classified Chinese Documents: A Selection* (Taipei: Institute of International Relations, 1978), pp. 142–3.
8. Unless stated otherwise, discussion on the Control Commission is drawn from Paul Cocks, 'The Role of the Party Control Committee in Communist China', *Papers on China*, vol. 22B (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 49–96; Graham Young, 'Control and Style: Discipline Inspection Commissions since the 11th Congress', *The China Quarterly*, no. 97 (1984), especially pp. 24–30; Franz Schurmann, *Ideology and Organization in Communist China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 145, 156–62, 339–64; Peter R. Moody, *The Politics of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China* (Hamden, CT: Shoestring Press, 1973), especially pp. 38–9.
9. *A Great Trial In Chinese History* (Beijing: New World Press, 1981), p. 157.
10. For a study of the Gao–Rao affair, see Frederick C. Teiwes, *Politics at Mao's Court: Gao Gang and Party Factionalism in the Early 1950s* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1990). In the early 1950s Gao Gang was the leading PRC

official in the north-east and Rao Shushi in the east. Not long after their transfer to central posts in Beijing (Gao as head of the State Planning Commission in late 1952 and Rao as director of the Central Organization Department in early 1953) they were accused of forming an antiparty clique and of building independent power bases ('kingdoms') in the north-east and east. They were denounced in 1954. Gao committed suicide and was posthumously expelled from the party in 1955. Rao, also expelled, spent the next twenty years in prison or detention till his death in 1975.

11. Schurmann, *Ideology and Organization*, op. cit., p. 158.
12. Derek J. Waller, *The Government and Politics of Communist China* (New York: Doubleday, 1971), p. 99.
13. Liu Xiwu and Liu Lantao were imprisoned in Caolanzi and Qian Ying in the Nanjing Gendarmeries between 1933 and 1937. Li Chuli and Liu Geping were in Caolanzi. Shuai Mengqi and Wang Weigang were imprisoned from 1932 to 1937. Ma Mingfang was imprisoned in Xinjiang between 1942 and 1946. Gong Zirong was a 1930s Shanxi prison cadre. The paucity of information on the lives of three members and one alternate member from the late 1920s to the mid 1930s is a likely indication that these were years spent in prison. (This also applies to deputy secretary Wang Congwu.) Only three members of the entire Commission appear to have had a clearly army and 'red' area past: Dong Biwu, Xiao Hua and Wang Weizhou.
14. Cocks, 'The Role of the Party', op. cit., p. 55. There is a certain irony to this quote, in that the sixty-one were later to be accused of doing exactly this, blindly obeying orders.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
17. Including some more prison cadres – Liu Yaxiong, Zhang Jiafu, Wu Defeng, Qiu Jin, Yang Zhihua and Zhang Zhiyi – and three of the sixty-one – Liu Shenzhi, Wang Hefeng, Zhou Zhongying.
18. Liu Lantao, 'The Communist Party of China is the Supreme Commander of the Chinese People in Building Socialism', in *Ten Glorious Years* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press: 1959).
19. Unless otherwise noted the information in this section is drawn from the following: Chen Yeping and Han Jingcao (eds), *An Ziwen Zhuanlue* (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1985); Lawrence Sullivan (ed.) 'The Biography of An Ziwen'; Frederick C. Teiwes, *Politics at Mao's Court: Gao Gang and Party Factionalism in the Early 1950s* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1990); Roberta Martin, *Party Recruitment in China: Patterns and Prospects*, Occasional Papers of the East Asian Institute (New York: Columbia University, 1981); Harold Hinton (ed.), *The People's Republic of China 1949–1979: A Documentary Survey*, vol. 1: 1949–1957 (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1980).
20. Michel Oksenberg, 'Getting Ahead and Along in Communist China: The Ladder of Success on the Eve of the Cultural Revolution', in John Wilson Lewis (ed.), *Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 315–16.
21. Section 20 of the Special Procuratorate's Indictment, *A Great Trial*, op. cit., pp. 168–9.
22. Teiwes, 'Establishment and Consolidation', op. cit., pp. 71–2.

23. An Ziwen, 'The Consolidation of Party Organizations', *People's China*, 1 July 1953, pp. 7–8.
24. See for example 'Chronology of Big Events Concerning the Counter-revolutionary Revisionist Line for Party-building Formulated and Pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i', *Ziliao zhuanji* [Special Collection of Materials], November 1968, *Survey of China Mainland Press*, supplement 246 (12 March 1969), p. 12.
25. Martin, *Party Recruitment*, op. cit., p. 9.
26. An Ziwen, 'The Consolidation of Party Organizations', op. cit., p. 6.
27. 'Chronology of Big Events', op. cit., p. 12.
28. Michael Y. M. Kau and John K. Leung, *The Writings of Mao Zedong 1949–1976*, vol. 1 (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1986), pp. 230–1.
29. Liu Shaoqi, 'Eight Requirements for CPC Membership', *Hongqi*, no. 24 (16 December 1985); Joint Publication Research Service, 86-003 (5 February 1986), p. 35.
30. Teiwes, *Politics at Mao's Court*, op. cit., pp. 96–9, 164.
31. See Bo Yibo, *Ruogan zhongda juece yu shijian de huigu* [Reminiscences on Several Important Decisions and Events], vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1991), p. 313.
32. Chen and Han, *An Ziwen*, op. cit., pp. 101–2; trans. in Teiwes, *Politics at Mao's Court*, op. cit., p. 215.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 102–3; trans. in Teiwes, *Politics at Mao's Court*, p. 216.
34. Harding, *Organizing China*, op. cit., pp. 73–5.
35. See for example 'Utterly Smash', op. cit., p. 4; 'Chronology of Big Events', op. cit., p. 13.
36. 'Utterly Smash', op. cit., p. 4; confirmed by Chen and Han in *An Ziwen*, op. cit., pp. 124–5.
37. COD report, 1 August 1955; see 'The Biography of An Ziwen', op. cit., pp. 62–4.
38. Chen and Han, *An Ziwen*, op. cit., pp. 125–8; 'Inside Story', in *Classified Documents*, op. cit., pp. 144–5.
39. 'The Biography of An Ziwen', op. cit., p. 69.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
41. Hua Zuping, 'Completely Discredit Big Renegade An Ziwen's Renegade Philosophy', *Wenhui renbao*, 1 June 1968; *Survey of China Mainland Press*, 4206 (26 June 1968), p. 3.
42. 'Inside Story', in *Classified Documents*, op. cit., pp. 143–4; see also *ibid.*, p. 5.
43. 'Utterly Smash', op. cit., p. 4.
44. Zhou Enlai, 'Report on the Question of Intellectuals', 29 January 1956, in Hinton, *The People's Republic*, op. cit., pp. 285, 294.
45. 'The Biography of An Ziwen', op. cit., p. 78.
46. The term 'readjusters' is taken from the post-Great Leap slogan 'Readjustment, consolidation and raising standards'. See Kenneth Lieberthal, 'The Great Leap Forward and the Split in the Yanan Leadership', in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 14, op. cit., p. 322.
47. *History of the Chinese Communist Party, A Chronology of Events (1919–1990)* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1991), pp. 295–6.
48. 'Chronology of Big Events', op. cit., p. 15.
49. 'The Biography of An Ziwen', op. cit., p. 95.

50. 'Crimes of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping in Opposing Chairman Mao Concerning the Cadre Line and Organizational Line,' *Liu Shaoqi zui xinglu* [A Record of Liu Shao-ch'i's Crimes], September 1967, in *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, supplement 26 (27 June 1968), p. 20. Confirmed by An Ziwen in 'Build Up Our Party Successfully – In Memory of Comrade Liu Shaoqi', *Renmin ribao*, 8 May 1980; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 30 May 1980, L.16.
51. In June 1961 Mao had suggested this at the Central Committee Work Conference in Beijing; the Central Committee accordingly issued a directive in September 1961.
52. For example 'Cultivate and Train Millions of Successors Who Will Carry on the Cause of Proletarian Revolution', *Renmin ribao*, 3 August 1964, in Hinton, *The People's Republic*, op. cit., pp. 212–13; 'Revolution Must be Passed on from One Generation to Another', *Zhongguo qingnian* [China Youth], no. 15 (1 August 1964; *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, 436 (28 September 1964), pp. 22–7.
53. 'To Cultivate and Train Successors is a Major, Thousand-year Project in the Cause of Revolution', *Hongqi*, no. 14 (31 July 1964); *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, 433 (8 September 1964), pp. 1–6; An Ziwen, 'Cultivating and Training Revolutionary Successors is a Strategic Task of the Party', *Hongqi*, nos 17–18 (23 September 1964); *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, 438 (12 October 1964), pp. 1–12.
54. 'To Cultivate and Train', op. cit., p. 6.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
56. An Ziwen, 'Cultivating and Training', op. cit., pp. 8–9.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
58. 'Chronology of Big Events', op. cit., p. 17.
59. The information in this section is drawn from 'Yang Xianzhen's Philosophic Criminal Case', edited by Carol Lee Hamrin, *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 24, nos 1–2 (Spring–summer 1991), hereafter cited as Hamrin, *CLG*. The issue contains a translation of Yang Xianzhen's *Wode zhexue 'zui'an'* [My Philosophic 'Criminal Case', a collection of Yang's writings], published in 1981, and an introduction by Hamrin that complements her earlier essay, 'Yang Xianzhen: Upholding Orthodox Leninist Theory', in Carol Lee Hamrin and Timothy Cheek (eds), *China's Establishment Intellectuals* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1986), pp. 51–91; *Yang Xianzhen zhuan* [Biography of Yang Xianzhen] (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe, 1996); Michael Schoenhals, 'Yang Xianzhen's Critique of the Great Leap Forward', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 26, no. 3 (1992), pp. 591–608.
60. See previous note. Donald J. Munro, 'The Yang Hsien-chen Affair', *The China Quarterly*, no. 22 (April–June 1965), pp. 75–82; Merle Goldman, *China's Intellectuals* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 95–101; Yang Xianzhen, 'One Who Inspired and Guided the Party School – In Memory of Comrade Liu Shaoqi', *Hongqi*, no. 7 (1 April 1980); Joint Publication Research Service, 75739 (21 May 1980), pp. 35–43; 'The Socialist Economy Should be Planned Diversified and Flexible', *Guangming ribao*, 23 May 1980, excerpts in *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), *FE/6431/B11*, pp. 3–4; Yang Xianzhen, 'A Sinister Conspirator who Butchered and Persecuted the Loyal and Innocent – Exposing Kang Sheng's

- Features of a Counter-revolutionary Double-dealer', *Hongqi*, no. 1 (1 January 1981); Joint Publication Research Service, 77587 (13 March 1981), pp. 53–9.
61. See Hamrin, *CLG*, op. cit., pp. 29–30, for translations of Yang's essays (1953, 1955) on this issue.
  62. Hamrin and Cheek, *China's Establishment Intellectuals*, op. cit., p. 65.
  63. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
  64. Schoenhals, 'Yang Xianzhen's Critique', op. cit., p. 595.
  65. 'Talks at the Wuchang Conference' (21–3 November 1958), in *The Secret Speeches of Chairman Mao*, edited by Roderick MacFarquhar, Timothy Cheek and Eugene Wu (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 481.
  66. Schoenhals, 'Yang Xianzhen's Critique', op. cit., p. 601.
  67. *Ibid.*, pp. 603–4.
  68. Hamrin, *CLG*, op. cit., p. 22, note 18.
  69. Schoenhals, 'Yang Xianzhen's Critique', op. cit., p. 607.
  70. Yang Xianzhen, 'A Sinister Conspirator', op. cit., p. 57.
  71. Hamrin and Cheek, *China's Establishment Intellectuals*, op. cit., p. 76.
  72. *History of the Chinese Communist Party*, op. cit., p. 304.
  73. Merle Goldman, 'The Party and the Intellectuals: Phase Two', *The Cambridge History of China*, op. cit., p. 469.
  74. The article, by Ai Hengwu and Lin Qingshan, appeared in *Guangming ribao*, 29 May 1964.
  75. Hamrin, *CLG*, op. cit., p. 15.
  76. *Mao Zedong sixiang wansui* [Long Live Mao Zedong Thought, 1949–1968], Joint Publication Research Service, 61269-1.
  77. See for example Yang's 'One Who Inspired', op. cit., p. 41, and 'Selected Edition on Liu Shaoqi's Counter-Revolutionary Revisionist Crimes', pamphlet by the Liaison Station . . . attached to the August 18 Red Rebel Regiment of Nankai University, April 1967; *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, 651 (22 April 1969), p. 29.
  78. Yang Xianzhen, 'One Who Inspired', op. cit., p. 37.
  79. Sources for this section include Bo Yibo, *Ruogan*, op. cit.; David M. Bachman, *Chen Yun and the Chinese Political System* (Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1985); Parris H. Chang, *Power and Policy in China* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 1978); Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution*, vols. 1–3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974, 1983, 1997); Audrey Donnithorne, *China's Economic System* (New York: Praeger, 1967); Frederick C. Teiwes with Warren Sun, *China's Road to Disaster* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1999); Teiwes, *Politics at Mao's Court*, op. cit.; Nicholas R. Lardy, 'Economic Recovery and the 1st Five-Year Plan' and 'The Chinese Economy under Stress 1958–1965', in *The Cambridge History of China*, op. cit., pp. 144–84, 360–97.
  80. Bachman, *Chen Yun*, op. cit., p. 107.
  81. Bachman's views on economic policy making in the 1950s – especially those expressed in his book *Bureaucracy, Economy, and Leadership in China: The Institutional Origins of the Great Leap Forward* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) – have provoked sharp critical comment. See for example Frederick C. Teiwes, 'Leaders, Institutions, and the Origins of the Great Leap Forward', *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 66, no. 2 (Summer 1993), pp. 244–53; Alfred L. Chan, 'Leaders, Coalition Politics, and Policy-Formulation

- in China: The Great Leap Forward Revisited', *Journal of Contemporary China*, no. 8 (Winter–Spring 1995), pp. 57–78. Both scholars criticize Bachman for de-emphasizing Mao's and Chen Yun's roles and stature in economic policy making, and for overemphasizing the role of institutional interests and oversimplifying the relationship between the 'financial coalition' and the 'planning and heavy industry coalition' (as defined by Bachman).
82. See 'Down with Three-Anti Element and Big Renegade Bo Yibo, Sinister Despot on the Industrial and Communications Front', *Dongfang hong* [The East is Red], 15 February 1967; 'Forty Charges against Bo Yibo', *Hongweibing bao* [Red Guard Journal], 22 February 1967, in *Current Background*, 878 (28 April 1969), pp. 1–15, 16–19, respectively.
  83. For a discussion on broad and narrow, deep and shallow power bases, see Lowell Dittmer, 'Bases of Power in Chinese Politics: A Theory and Analysis of the Fall of the Gang of Four', *World Politics*, vol. 31, no. 1 (October 1978), p. 41.
  84. Former prison cadres and Bo associates appointed to institutions under Bo's auspices include Liu Zijiu, Li Yu, Song Shaowen and Yang Fangzhi (to the Finance and Economic Committee in 1949); Kong Xiangzhen, Gu Mu, Wang Heshou, Liu Xiufeng, Liu Yumin, Fu Yutian and Li Yu (to the State Construction Commission in 1954); Gu Mu, Song Shaowen, Sun Zhiyuan, Liu Daifeng, Guo Hongtao and Zhou Zhongying (to the State Economic Commission in 1956); Ma Huizhi, Peng De, Kong Xiangzhen and Liang Yingyong (to the State Council Third Office in 1961).
  85. Donald W. Klein and Anne B. Clark (eds), *Biographic Dictionary of Chinese Communism 1921–1965*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 740.
  86. Teiwes, *Politics at Mao's Court*, op. cit., p. 64.
  87. Kau and Leung, *The Writings of Mao Zedong*, op. cit., pp. 363–71. Mao spoke on 12 August 1953.
  88. Teiwes, *Politics at Mao's Court*, op. cit., p. 66.
  89. *Ibid.*, pp. 199–200.
  90. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
  91. Kau and Leung, *The Writings of Mao*, op. cit., p. 365.
  92. Xiong Huaiji refers to a report written by Bo in 1953 which details his prison release experience. If so, this was likely to have been in the framework of a self-criticism. Xiong Huaiji, *Tiandi you zhengqi: Caolanzi jianyu douzheng yu 'liushi yi ren an'* (Beijing: Beijing dichu geming shi, Beijing chubanshe, 1982), p. 127.
  93. Bo Yibo attributes these words to Mao at a secretariat meeting to which Bo, Liu and An Ziwen were invited. See Bo's 'Comrade Chen Yun's Achievements and Style Live Forever – Written to Mark the First Anniversary of the Death of Comrade Chen Yun', *Renmin ribao*, 10 April 1996; *Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, 24 April 1996, p. 28.
  94. Lardy, 'Economic Recovery', op. cit., p. 158.
  95. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
  96. Teiwes, 'Establishment and Consolidation', op. cit., p. 124.
  97. Bachman, *Chen Yun*, op. cit., p. 66.
  98. Bo Yibo, 'Respect and Remembrance – Marking the 60th Anniversary of the Birth of the CCP', *Hongqi*, no. 13 (1 July 1981) in *Joint Publication Research Service*, 78817 (24 August 1981), pp. 97–108.



99. Jerome Ch'en (ed.), *Mao* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. 66–8.
100. Mao Zedong, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1967), p. 165.
101. MacFarquhar, *The Origins*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 297.
102. Teiwes and Sun, *China's Road to Disaster*, op. cit., p. 61.
103. Donnithorne, *China's Economic System*, op. cit., p. 462.
104. Teiwes and Sun, *China's Road to Disaster*, op. cit., pp. 73–6.
105. See Frederick C. Teiwes, 'Mao Texts and the Mao of the 1950s', *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, no. 33 (January 1995), p. 146; Chan, 'Leaders', op. cit., p. 75.
106. Chang, *Power and Policy*, op. cit., p. 106.
107. 'Down with Three-Anti Element', op. cit., p. 16.
108. Bo may have felt something of a personal vendetta against Peng Dehuai, who had apparently supported Gao Gang's position on red military cadres versus white area cadres, and had particular antipathy towards Liu Shaoqi, Bo Yibo and An Ziwen. See Teiwes, *Politics at Mao's Court*, op. cit., pp. 105–6.
109. Lardy, 'Economic Recovery', op. cit., p. 367.
110. Kjeld Erik Brodsgaard, 'Paradigmatic Change: Readjustment and Reform in the Chinese Economy, 1953–1981', Part 1, *Modern China*, vol. 9, no. 1 (January 1983), pp. 49–53.
111. Bo Yibo, 'Strive to Carry Out the Great Task of the Technical Transformation of Agriculture More Swiftly', in *Ten Glorious Years*, (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1959), pp. 268–9.
112. Chang, *Power and Policy*, op. cit., p. 128.
113. MacFarquhar, *The Origins*, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 86–9.
114. Chang, *Power and Policy*, op. cit., pp. 135–6.
115. Lardy, 'Economic Recovery', op. cit., p. 392.
116. 'Down with Three-Anti Element', op. cit., p. 2.
117. Brodsgaard, 'Paradigmatic Change', op. cit., pp. 48–53, 58, 72–3.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
119. Lucien Pye, *The Dynamics of Chinese Politics* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1981), pp. 146–8, 197–219.

#### 4 Prison Again – the CCP Version

1. 'Celestial Troops Pound at the Liu Shao-ch'i Clique of Traitors', *Shanghai hongweibing zhanbao* [Shanghai Red Guards Combat Bulletin], 15 August 1968, part 2; *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, supplement 30 (30 October 1968) pp. 9–17. This is a reprint of a report by the '18 August' Nankai University Red Guards, part 3 of which appears in *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, supplement 31 (18 November 1968), pp. 23–30. See also Michael Schoenhals (ed.), *China's Cultural Revolution 1966–1969: Not a Dinner Party* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), pp. 95–101.
2. 'Erecting a Monument in Bringing Order out of Chaos – A Posthumous Account of How Comrade Hu Yaobang Led in Rehabilitating Those in the "61-People Case"', *Renmin ribao*, 1 June 1989; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 8 June 1989, p. 22.

3. Unless noted otherwise, the data on and discussions of the Cultural Revolution are drawn mainly from Harry Harding, 'The Chinese State in Crisis', in Roderick MacFarquhar and John King Fairbank (eds), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 15 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 107–217; Stuart R. Schram, 'Mao Tse-tung's Thought from 1949–1976', in *The Cambridge History of China*, op. cit., pp. 1–104; John Byron and Robert Pack, *The Claws of the Dragon: Kang Sheng* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992); Lowell Dittmer, *Liu Shao-ch'i and the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1974); William A. Joseph, Christin P. W. Wong and David Zweig (eds), *New Perspectives on the Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); Yan Jiaqi and Gao Gao, *Turbulent Decade: A History of the Cultural Revolution* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996).
4. Information and comment on the Central Case Examination Groups (CCEG) are drawn from Schoenhals, 'The Central Case Examination Group 1966–79', *The China Quarterly*, no. 145 (March 1996), pp. 87–111. The CCEG started out in May 1966 as the Central Examination Committee (CEC) and included among its personnel Liu Shaoqi and An Ziwen. Initially the CEC designated five separate case groups to investigate the cases of Peng Zhen, Lu Dingyi, Luo Ruiqing, Yang Shangkun and Tian Jiaying (Mao's secretary). Tian's group was dissolved after his suicide. The Luo Ruiqing Group 'was subordinate to the Central Military Commission'. The CEC became the CCEG, accountable not only to the Politburo but also directly to Mao. The personnel had rapidly changed, some of them, such as Liu and An, becoming objects of investigation. The CCEG became a radical elite stronghold. Subordinate to it were the first, second and third offices, each heading a number of case groups.
5. See, for example, Yan and Gao, *Turbulent Decade*, op. cit., pp. 140–3.
6. Schoenhals ('The Central Case Examination Group', op. cit., pp. 110–11) raises the point that Cultural Revolution violence has until recently been perceived chiefly as the domain of mass Red Guard activity, whereas in fact state violence towards party cadres appears to have been no less serious and possibly more so. The latter was simply less public, and details of it have taken longer to emerge.
7. Dittmer, *Liu Shao-ch'i*, op. cit., p. 63.
8. 'Bombard the Headquarters – My Big-Character Poster', which without actually naming Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, criticized them for their work team efforts. See Jerome Ch'en, *Mao Papers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 47.
9. Harding, 'The Chinese State in Crisis', op. cit., p. 111.
10. See Dittmer, *Liu Shao-ch'i*, op. cit., p. 95; Ch'en, *Mao Papers*, op. cit., p. 123.
11. Lawrence Sullivan (ed.), 'The Biography of An Ziwen', p. 97.
12. Byron and Pack, *The Claws of the Dragon*, op. cit., p. 344.
13. See 'The Biography of An Ziwen', op. cit., p. 97.
14. Byron and Pack, *The Claws of the Dragon*, op. cit., p. 345. Liu Shaoqi's widow, Wang Guangmei, later confirmed that 'a report on the case about the formalities of the discharge of 61 persons from prison was suddenly circulated in August and September 1966' (Wang Guangmei, 'He Showed his Integrity', *Gongren ribao*, 14 July 1980; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 5 August 1980).

15. See Kenneth Lieberthal, *Central Documents and Politburo Politics in China* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1978), p. 159.
16. See Schoenhals, *China's Cultural Revolution*, op. cit., pp. 97–8.
17. 'Celestial Troops', op. cit., part 2, p. 10.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid. In December Xu Bing, who had been so instrumental in the 1936 release arrangements, wrote to Kang Sheng and Vice-Premier Li Fuchun reminding them of the Central Committee's role at the time. But 'His letter was like a rock tossed into the ocean' (Yan and Gao, *Turbulent Decade*, op. cit., p. 140).
20. 'Celestial Troops', op. cit., part 2, p. 11.
21. Bo Yibo, 'Cherish the Deep Memory of Esteemed and Beloved Comrade Zhou Enlai', *Renmin ribao*, 8 January 1979; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/6014/B11 (12 January 1979), pp. 2–5.
22. See Stuart Schram (ed.), *Mao Tse-tung Unrehearsed* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), pp. 268, 274; Huang Zheng, 'The Beginning and End of the "Liu Shaoqi Case Group"', in Michael Schoenhals (ed.), 'Mao's Great Inquisition: The Central Case Examination Group, 1966–1979', *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 29, no. 3 (May–June, 1996), pp. 7–9.
23. 'Celestial Troops', op. cit., part 2, p. 13.
24. Ibid. According to the NURGs, Zhou Rongxin and others had 'suppressed' the materials. Zhou had worked closely in the Northern Bureau and GAC-FEC with Bo Yibo.
25. In the chapter entitled 'Annihilate Every Renegade' (Schoenhals, *China's Cultural Revolution*, op. cit., p. 99), 12 November is the date given for the first *dazibao* unmasking of the 61, and 19 November as the date when the NURGs' investigative report on the 61 was submitted.
26. *Selected Works of Zhou Enlai*, vol. 2 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1989), pp. 472–3.
27. Ibid.
28. See Dittmer, *Liu Shao-ch'i*, op. cit., pp. 145–6.
29. 'Former Jilin CCP Leader Zhao Lin Rehabilitated', *Changchun, Jilin Provincial Service*, 7 February 1979; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/6039/BII (10 February 1979), p. 4.
30. Yan and Gao, *Turbulent Decade*, op. cit., p. 140.
31. See 'A Document of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party *Zhongfa* (1980) No. 25', *Issues and Studies*, vol. 16, no. 11 (November 1980), editor's note, p. 70; Huang Zheng, 'The Beginning and End', *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 29, no. 3 (May–June 1996), p. 12.
32. See for example Liu Ying, 'Mourning Comrade Zhang Wentian with Profound Grief', *Xinhua*, 26 August 1979; *Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, 29 August 1979, L. 8.
33. The January Power Seizure refers to the ousting of the Shanghai Municipal Committee by radical groups, heralding the exit of other local party authorities and their eventual replacement by three-in-one 'Revolutionary Committees' (composed of military, party/state and mass representatives).
34. 'Celestial Troops', op. cit., part 2, p. 16; part 3, pp. 27–8.
35. *Hongqi* Combat Group of the Ministry of Agriculture, 'Thoroughly Reckon with Big Renegade Liao Lu-yen's Towering Crimes in the Ministry of

- Agriculture', *Survey of China Mainland Press*, 4001 (15 August 1967), pp. 9–15.
36. 'Selected Edition on Liu Shaoqi's Counter-Revolutionary Revisionist Crimes', *Selection from China Mainland Magazines*, 651 (22 April 1964), p. 13.
  37. Yan and Gao, *Turbulent Decade*, op. cit., pp. 140–1.
  38. According to the NURGs' account in 'Celestial Troops', op. cit., part 3, p. 26, their own 'theoretical' articles, such as 'Angrily Denouncing the Traitors' Philosophy' and 'Down With the Traitors' Philosophy', were published in the *Renmin ribao*, *Guangming ribao* and *Wenhui ribao* (no dates given).
  39. Harding, 'The Chinese State in Crisis', op. cit., pp. 175–6.
  40. Speech at a reception of representatives of the Jiangsu Revolutionary Rebel Committee for Seizure of Power, 8 February 1967, *Survey of China Mainland Press*, supplement 238 (8 November 1968), p. 28.
  41. See for example 'A Great Struggle to Defend Party Principles – Revealing the True Nature of a Major Political Incident, the February Countercurrent Concocted by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four', *Renmin ribao*, 26 February 1979; *Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, 28 February 1979, E.7–20.
  42. In earlier drafts of this chapter, Zhou was viewed in a somewhat more, but not totally, sympathetic light as having tried to steer the Cultural Revolution away from chaos. Michael Schoenhals' comments and interpretation (especially in his article 'The Central Case Examination Group, 1966–1979', op. cit., pp. 87–111) of Zhou's behaviour have done much to disabuse me of such a viewpoint. The US-based Chinese scholar, Song Yongyi, who on a recent visit to China was arrested and then deported for meddling with so-called 'state secrets', was researching the Cultural Revolution with specific interest in Zhou Enlai's role. See Jonathan Mirsky, 'Research on China's Cultural Revolution is not Espionage', *International Herald Tribune*, 7 January 2000.
  43. Harding ('The Chinese State in Crisis', op. cit., pp. 177–9) compares this to the Lushan conference of 1959 in that it had a similar political effect – the mass campaign, instead of being wound down as intended, was 'reradicalized' because of Mao's pique at being criticized for his intent and handling of the campaign in question.
  44. 'Some Decisions of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council on Ensuring Security of Confidential Documents and Files', *Current Background*, vol. 852 (6 May 1968).
  45. In early January, Qinghua University students 'brought' Bo Yibo back to Beijing.
  46. The report, 'Initial Investigation into the Problem of the Voluntary Surrender [Recantation] and Betrayal by Bo Yibo, Liu Lantao, An Ziwen, Yang Xianzhen *et al.*', was subsequently (and officially) attached as an appendix to *Zhongfa* 96 (1967), 'Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu yinfa Bo Yibo, Liu Lantao, An Ziwen, Yang Xianzhen deng chuyu wenti cailiao de pishi' [Instruction of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Printing and Distribution of Materials on the Problem of the Release from Prison of Bo Yibo, Liu Lantao, An Ziwen, Yang Xianzhen *et al.*]. Other appendices included a photocopy of the *Huabei ribao* announcement of 31 August 1936 with pseudonym signatures; the signatories of the 22 September issue; and

- descriptions given by Liu Shenzhi and Liu Xiwu of the ignominious release procedure (see this volume, Chapter 2).
47. 'Overthrow Liu Shaoqi – Boss of a Big Clique of Renegades', *Hongqi*, 8 March 1967; *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, 182 (11 May 1967), p. 36.
  48. Bo Yibo, 'Preface to "Report on Zhang Wentian's Proposal for Opening up the Market"', *Renmin ribao*, 26 August 1995, in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, p. 31.
  49. Zhang and his wife were placed in 'protective custody' on 16 May 1968, separately but in the same building. In October the following year they were transferred together to Zhaoqing, Guangdong. Zhang was permitted to continue writing and studying. In May 1975 they were transferred to Wuxi. Zhang died in 1976.
  50. Until May 1968 the CCEG continued to exert pressure on Zhang Wentian to retract his statement that the Central Committee was involved and that the matter was entirely Liu's responsibility; see Xiong Huaiji, *Tiandi you zhengqi: Caolanzi jianyu douzheng yu 'liushi yi ren an'* (Beijing: Beijing dichu geming shi, Beijing chubanshe, 1982), p. 132.
  51. *History of the Chinese Communist Party, A Chronology of Events (1919–1990)*, (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1991), p. 336.
  52. Huang Zheng, 'The Injustice Done to Liu Shaoqi', *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 32, no. 3 (May–June, 1999), pp. 49–51.
  53. 'Chairman Mao and other Central Authorities' Criticism of Liu Shaoqi's Evil Book on "Self-cultivation"', *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, 582 (3 July 1967), pp. 20–31.
  54. Qi Benyu, 'Patriotism or National Betrayal – Comment on the Reactionary Film *Inside Story of the Qing Court*', *Hongqi*, 31 March 1967; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/2430/B (4 April 1967), pp. 37–52.
  55. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
  56. Harold C. Hinton (ed.), *The People's Republic of China 1949–1979: A Documentary Survey*, vol. 3 (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources), pp. 1703–4, 1707.
  57. Wang Hsueh-wen, 'The Nature and Development of the Great Cultural Revolution', *Issues and Studies*, vol. 5, no. 12 (September 1968), pp. 11–12. Wang Li later commented that there was no planned strategy to the Cultural Revolution and that 'the Chairman made no strategic deployment at all . . . it was a process of groping ahead step by step' ('An Insider's Account of the Cultural Revolution: Wang Li's Memoirs', in Michael Schoenhals (ed.), *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 27, no. 6 (November–December 1994), p. 56.
  58. 'Thoroughly Eradicate the Big Poisonous Weed "Self-Cultivation"', Beijing Home Service, 5 April 1967; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/2434, p. 10. For further examples of official attacks on Liu. See 'Bury the Slave Mentality Advocated by the Khrushchev of China', *Renmin ribao*, 6 April 1967; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/2435/B, pp. 1–6; 'Condemnation of "Traitor's Philosophy"', *New China News Agency*, 10 April 1967; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/2436/B, pp. 20–21.
  59. 'Betrayal of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the Essential Element in the Book on "Self-Cultivation"', *Hongqi* and *Renmin ribao*, 7 May 1967; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/2460/B, pp. 12–19.

60. 'CCP Organization Department Director An Ziwen Tortured', *Sankei*, 8 May 1967 (Beijing, 7 May 1967), *Daily Summary of the Japanese Press*, 9 May 1967, p. 4.
61. 'Exposure of Traitor's Clique', Ceskoslovenska tiskova kancelar (Czechoslovak News Agency), 15 May 1967; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/2467/C, pp. 1-2.
62. *History of the Chinese Communist Party*, op. cit., pp. 336-7.
63. See Yan and Gao, *Turbulent Decade*, op. cit., pp. 145-7; Wang Li, 'The First Year of the "Cultural Revolution"', in Richard Siao (ed.), *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 32, no. 4 (July-August 1999), pp. 89, 94.
64. 'Lifting the Black Curtain of the Puppet "Kiangsu Reformatory"', *Zhui qiongkou*, 7 June 1967; *Survey of China Mainland Press*, 4030 (28 September 1967), pp. 4-9.
65. 'Down With Peng Chen! Smash the Renegade Clique of the Former Peking Municipal Committee!', *Zhui qiongkou* [Pursue the Tottering Foe], 7 June 1967; *Survey of China Mainland Press*, 4030 (28 September 1967), pp. 1-3.
66. 'Strike Down Big Renegade Gu Mu', *Youidian zhanbao* [Post & Telecommunications Combat Bulletin], 28 June 1967; *Survey of China Mainland Press*, supplement 210, pp. 20-21.
67. 'Dig out the Economic Black Line of the '30s and its Backstage Boss - Liu Shaoqi, China's Khrushchev', Tianjin, *Weidong*, 15 June 1967; *Survey of China Mainland Press*, supplement 206, pp. 20-36. The article lists a number of people in the economic policy sphere who were imprisoned in Zhejiang in the 1930s, including Xue Muqiao and Sun Yefang.
68. Zhou Enlai had been directly involved in the release negotiations between the CCP and Zhang Zhichun, the GMD Xinjiang governor.
69. *A Great Trial in Chinese History* (Beijing: New World Press, 1981), p. 176.
70. *Zhongfa* 200 (67), 'Notification on Catching Traitors', *Current Background*, 864 (16 October 1968), p. 6.
71. Liu's third self-criticism in *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Spring 1968), pp. 75-80.
72. 'Scheming to Betray the Party is Aiming to Usurp the Party,' in *Selections from China Mainland Magazines* 592 (11 September 1967) p. 3.
73. *Zhongfa* 251 (67); *Survey of China Mainland Press*, 4057 (11 October 1967), pp. 6-7.
74. CRG officials who had been sent to Wuhan to convey central support for radical organizations in conflict with local military forces were kidnapped by local 'conservative' groups with the support of the local PLA garrison. Zhou Enlai engineered their release. PLA forces intervened. Hundreds were killed, thousands wounded and violent radicalism escalated and spread to other provinces, and Beijing.
75. *Classified Chinese Communist Documents: A Selection* (Taipei: Institute of International Relations, 1978), pp. 34-40. See also Li Tien-min, 'Examination Report on Liu Shao-ch'i's Crimes', *Issues and Studies*, vol. 5, no. 7 (April 1969), pp. 11-17.
76. *Classified*, op. cit., p. 39.
77. Wu Linqun and Peng Fei, *Caolan chungiu* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1988), pp. 270-94.

78. Carol Lee Hamrin (ed.), 'Yang Xianzhen's Philosophic Criminal Case', *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 24, nos 1–2 (Spring–Summer 1991), p. 119.
79. 'The Biography of An Ziwen', op. cit., pp. 97–101.
80. Schoenhals, 'The Central Case Examination Group', op. cit., p. 95.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
82. Wu and Peng, *Caolan chungju*, op. cit., pp. 234–58.
83. Wu and Peng's account of Bo Yibo's horrendous experience (*ibid.*, pp. 248–56) is translated as 'Bo Yibo has an Attitude Problem', in Schoenhals, *China's Cultural Revolution*, op. cit., pp. 122–35.
84. 'Summary of the Major Unjust, False and Wrong Verdicts Reversed Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCPCC', *Dangshi yanjiu ziliao: neibu cankao ziliao* [Party History Research Materials: For Internal Reference], vol. 4 (Chengdu: Party History Research Centre, Museum of the Chinese Revolution, 1983), trans. in *Issues and Studies*, vol. 21, no. 6 (June 1985), p. 156.
85. 'The Biography of An Ziwen', op. cit., p. 98; Richard Siao (ed.), 'Deng Xiaoping (I)', *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 28, no. 2 (March–April 1995), p. 78.
86. Xiong Huaiji, *Tiandi*, op. cit., p. 143, quoting from Bo Yibo's 28000-character appeal.

## 5 Rehabilitating the Sixty-One

1. Hong Yung Lee, *From Revolutionary Cadres to Party Technocrats in Socialist China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), p. 92. This chapter draws on Lee's book and on the following for rehabilitation policy during and after the Cultural Revolution: *History of the Chinese Communist Party, A Chronology of Events (1919–1990)* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1991); Victor Falkenheim (ed.), *Chinese Politics From Mao To Deng* (New York: Paragon House, 1989); Avery Goldstein, *From Bandwagon to Balance-of-Power Politics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991); Harry Harding, *Organizing China: The Problem of Bureaucracy 1949–1976* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1981); Hsi-sheng Ch'i, *Politics of Disillusionment: The Chinese Communist Party under Deng Xiaoping, 1978–1989* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1991), pp. 11–13; Roderick MacFarquhar, 'The Succession to Mao and the End of Maoism', in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 15 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 305–401.
2. Lee, *From Revolutionary Cadres*, op. cit., p. 93, fig. 1.
3. See for example 'Have Faith in the Majority', *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, vol. 5 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1977), pp. 505–6.
4. Roderick MacFarquhar, Timothy Cheek and Eugene Wu (eds), *The Secret Speeches of Chairman Mao* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 140.
5. 'Rectify the Party's Style of Work', *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, vol. 3, op. cit., p. 50.
6. See for example Lee, *From Revolutionary Cadres*, op. cit., pp. 87–8; MacFarquhar, 'The Succession to Mao', op. cit., pp. 336–8. Harding,

- Organizing China*, op. cit., p. 297, uses 'leftist' rather than 'radical' and 'moderates' for survivors and rehabilitated.
7. See MacFarquhar, 'The Succession to Mao', op. cit., pp. 305–401; Harding, *Organizing China*, op. cit., ch. 10.
  8. Lee, *From Revolutionary Cadres*, op. cit., p. 133.
  9. *Resolution on CPC History 1949–1981* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1981), pp. 32–47.
  10. Lee, *From Revolutionary Cadres*, op. cit., pp. 130–1. The *Renmin ribao* editorial of 24 April 1972 was entitled 'Punish for Future Use, and Cure the Disease to Save the Patient'.
  11. Harding, *Organizing China*, op. cit., p. 306.
  12. MacFarquhar, 'The Succession to Mao', op. cit., pp. 354–5.
  13. 'Comrade Wang Hongwen's Report at the Central Study Class', *Issues and Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2 (February 1975), p. 101.
  14. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
  15. See Wang Dongxing's report to a Special Case Work Conference in 'Taiwan Paper Publishes Mainland Rehabilitation Criteria', *Central Daily News* (Taipei), 13 March 1974; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 24 March 1975, E. 5–6.
  16. See for example *History of the Chinese Communist Party*, op. cit., p. 364.
  17. MacFarquhar, 'The Succession to Mao', op. cit., pp. 351–2.
  18. "'Liushi yi ren an" pingfan zhaoxue de qianhou' [Before and After the Rehabilitation of the Sixty-One Man Case], in *Dangshi xinxi bao* [Information on Party History], 1 March 1996, p. 2; see also Tan Zongji, 'The Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee is a Major Turning Point in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China', in 'Deng Xiaoping (II)', edited by Richard Siao, *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 28, no. 3 (May–June 1995), pp. 21, 68.
  19. See, respectively, Lawrence Sullivan (ed.), 'The Biography of An Ziwen', p. 99; Carol Lee Hamrin (ed.), 'Yang Xianzhen's Philosophic Criminal Case', *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 24, nos 1–2 (Spring–Summer 1991), p. 159; 'Erecting a Monument in Bringing Order out of Chaos – a Posthumous Account of How Comrade Hu Yaobang Led in Rehabilitating Those in the "61-People Case"', *Renmin ribao*, 'June 1989; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 8 June 1989, p. 25.
  20. See Wu Linquan and Peng Fei, *Caolan chunqiu* (Beijing Renmin chubanshe, 1988), pp. 258–9.
  21. Xiong Huaiji, *Tiandi you zhengqi: Caolanzi jianyou douzheng yu 'liushi yi ren an'* (Beijing: Beijing dichu geming shi, Beijing chubanshe, 1982), pp. 143–4.
  22. *Ibid.*
  23. *Ibid.* See also 'Summary of the Major Unjust, False and Wrong Verdicts Reversed Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCPC', *Issues and Studies*, vol. 21, no. 6 (June 1985), pp. 151, 154.
  24. Michael Schoenhals, 'The Central Case Examination Group, 1966–1979', *The China Quarterly*, no. 145 (March 1966), pp. 108–9. Other prominent Cultural Revolution victims whose verdicts were similarly reaffirmed included Yang Shangkun in November 1975 and Lu Dingyi the following month.



25. *History of the Chinese Communist Party*, op. cit., p. 371.
26. Lee, *From Revolutionary Cadres*, op. cit., p. 146.
27. 'Heroic and Combat-Worthy, Adamant and Unyielding – In Memory of Comrade Ye Ting', *Renmin ribao*, 3 August 1977; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 4 August 1977, E. 2–7. Ye Ting (commander of the New Fourth Army), Qin Bangxian, Deng Fa and Wang Ruofei were killed in a plane crash in April 1946 en route from Chongqing to Yan'an.
28. See for example 'Mao's Role in Chungking Negotiations Described', New China News Agency, 18 September 1977; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 19 September 1977, E. 13–15.
29. 'Loyal and Indomitable Fighter', New China News Agency, 6 August 1977; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 10 August 1977, E. 9–11.
30. 'Chairman Hua's Political Report to the 11th National Congress of the CPC', New China News Agency, 22 August 1977; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 22 August 1977, D. 21.
31. 'The Biography of An Ziwen', op. cit., p. 100.
32. *Renmin ribao*, 28 September 1977; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 30 September 1977, E. 2–11.
33. 'Correct the Question of Right and Wrong in the Line on Cadres Upset By the Gang of Four', *Renmin ribao*, 7 October 1977; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/5637/B (11 October 1977), pp. 10–11.
34. *History of the Chinese Communist Party*, op. cit., p. 385.
35. 'Correct the Question', op. cit., p. 7.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
37. See 'Erecting a Monument', op. cit., p. 23.
38. Nanchang, Jiangxi Provincial Service, 24 November 1977; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 29 November 1977, G. 6–7.
39. 'Chairman Mao's Cadre Policy Must Be Seriously Implemented', *Renmin ribao*, 27 November 1977; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 28 November 1977, E. 2.
40. See for example 'Criticize the Counter-revolutionary Double-dealer Yao Wen-yuan', *Renmin ribao*, 31 March 1977; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 4 April 1977, E. 18–19; 'A Sinister Gang Formed by New and Old-line Counter-revolutionaries', *Renmin ribao*, *Hongqi*, New China News Agency, 26 April 1977; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 27 April 1977, E. 3–7.
41. "Liushiyi ren an" pingfan zhaoxue de qianhou', op. cit., p. 2.
42. 'Erecting a Monument', op. cit., p. 24.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
45. "Liushiyi ren an" pingfan zhaoxue de qianhou', op. cit., p. 2.
46. See 'Guanyu "liushiyi ren anjian" de diaocha baogao' [Investigation Report on the Case of the Sixty-one], in *Sanzhongquanhui yilai: zhongyao wenxian huibian* [Since the Third Plenum: Collection of Important Documents], compiled by Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiu shibian [Documentation Institute of the CCP CC] (Renmin chubanshe, 1982), pp. 25–35.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 31–3.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 34–5.
50. *Ibid.*
51. 'Jianchi you cuo bi jiu de fangzen' [Uphold the Policy that Mistakes Must be Rectified] (November 1978) in *Chen Yun wenxuan, 1956–1985* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1986), pp. 208–10.
52. Lee, *From Revolutionary Cadres*, op. cit., p. 157.
53. *Beijing Review*, no. 52 (29 December 1978). The original text of the 22 December communiqué appeared in the *Renmin ribao*, 24 December 1978. Hua Guofeng, who had tried so hard to avoid dealing with the 'renegades' case, apparently met Bo, Liu, An and Yang and tried to convince them that their rehabilitation was all his own doing. Bo Yibo is said to have remarked sceptically that 'Hua was trying to claim even Heaven's credits for his own'. See Tan Zongji, 'The Third Plenum', *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 28, no. 3 (May–June 1995), p. 22.
54. Text of Deng's speech at the 25 August 1979 memorial meeting, *Xinhua*, 25 August 1979; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 27 August 1979, L. 2–4.
55. Yang Shangkun, 'Holding Firmly to the Truth. He devoted his Loyalty and Mental Resources to the Fullest – Reminiscences of Comrade Zhang Wentian', *Renmin ribao*, 9 August 1985; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 20 August 1985, K. 5. See also Deng Liqun, 'Be Persistently Loyal and Profoundly Affectionate Toward Communism – Marking the 85th Anniversary of the Birth of My Teacher, Comrade Wentian', *Hongqi*, no. 16 (16 August 1985); Joint Publication Research Service, 85-021 (15 October 1985), pp. 30–42.
56. Liu Ying, 'Mourning Comrade Zhang', *Xinhua*, 26 August 1979; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 29 August 1979, L. 7–15.
57. *Zhongfa* 25 (1980), in *Issues and Studies*, vol. 16, no. 11 (November 1980), pp. 70–93.
58. Lowell Dittmer, 'Death and Transfiguration: Liu Shaoqi's Rehabilitation and Contemporary Chinese Politics', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 40, no. 3 (May 1981), p. 471. See also *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/6381 (27 March 1980), B. 3–18, for a collection of NCNA reports on Liu's activities in 1925–29, refuting the renegade charges.
59. Dittmer, 'Death and Transfiguration', op. cit., p. 467.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 468. 'Restore the True Qualities of Mao Zedong Thought', *Renmin ribao*, 16 May 1980; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/6423/B11 (19 May 1980), pp. 1–7. See also an earlier speech by Deng (16 September 1979) to the CCP CC Administrative Office, *Issues and Studies*, vol. 16, no. 10 (October 1980), p. 82: 'Of course, like everybody else Comrade Shaoqi was a human being and not a god. Therefore, it was unavoidable that he made mistakes and had defects.'
61. 'Restore the True Qualities', op. cit., p. 3.
62. See for example 'Inside Story', in *Classified Chinese Documents: A Selection* (Taipei: Institute of International Relations, 1978), p. 136.
63. See for example 'An Extremely Treacherous Man Assumed a Loyal Look – Ripping Off Kang Sheng's Mask', *Xinhua*, 21 December 1980; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 24 December 1980, L. 16; 'Xie Fuzhi Cannot Escape Trial By History', *Xinhua*, 22 December 1980; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 29 December 1980, L. 18. The Central Committee

- posthumously expelled Kang and Xie in October 1980 and annulled their funeral eulogies.
64. 'Beijing Memorial Service held for Public Security Minister', *New China News Agency*, 2 December 1978; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 4 December 1978, E. 11–12.
  65. 'Leaders at Memorial Service for Peng Dehuai and Tao Zhu', *Beijing Home Service*, 24 December 1978; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/6004/B11 (30 December 1978), p. 3.
  66. 'Yang Xianzhen Talks about Marxist Theory', *Liaowang* [Outlook], no. 44 (4 November 1985); Joint Publication Research Service, 86-009 (20 January 1986), p. 34.
  67. See 'Former Jilin CCP Leader Zhao Lin Rehabilitated', *Changchun, Jilin Provincial Service*, 7 February 1979; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/6039/B11 (10 February 1979), pp. 3–5.
  68. Schoenhals, 'The Central Case Examination Group', *op. cit.*, p. 109.
  69. Graham Young, 'Control and Style: Discipline Inspection Commissions since the 11th Congress', *The China Quarterly*, no. 97 (1984), p. 30.
  70. Hung-mao Tien, 'The Communist Party of China: Party Powers and Group Politics from the Third Plenum to the Twelfth Party Congress', 'Occasional Papers/Reprint Series in Contemporary Asian Studies, 1984.
  71. Lucien Pye, 'An Introductory Profile: Deng Xiaoping and China's Political Culture', *The China Quarterly*, no. 135 (September 1993), p. 419.
  72. Tony Saich, 'The Fourteenth Party Congress: A Programme for Authoritarian Rule', *The China Quarterly*, no. 132 (December 1992), p. 1155.
  73. In July 1979 Bo was reinstated as vice-premier on the State Council and member of its Financial–Economic Committee under the chairmanship of Chen Yun. He also served as chairman of the 5th NPC Budget Committee. Bo was minister of the State Machine Building Ministry Commission from February 1980 until 1982, and from then until 1988 he was vice-minister at the State Commission for Restructuring the Economic System.
  74. Bo Yibo, *Ruogan zhongda juece yu shijian de huigu*, vols 1 and 2 (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1993); *Bo Yibo wenxuan (1937–1992)* [Selected Works of Bo Yibo, 1937–1992] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1992); Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian fendou yu sikao*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe, 1996).
  75. Interview in *Liaowang*, 20 October 1983; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 25 October 1983, K. 3.
  76. *Ibid.*
  77. Su Shaozhi, 'A Decade of Crises at the Institute of Marxism–Leninism–Mao Zedong Thought, 1979–1989', *The China Quarterly*, no. 134 (June 1993), pp. 335–51.
  78. Alan P. Liu, 'Politics at the Party Center: From Autocracy to Oligarchy', *Issues and Studies*, vol. 23, no. 12 (December 1987), p. 110.
  79. Su, 'A Decade of Crises', *op. cit.*, p. 345.
  80. *Ibid.*, p. 346.
  81. Bo Yibo, 'A Basic Summary of Party Rectification and Further Strengthening of Party Building', *Xinhua*, 31 May 1987; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 2 June 1987, K. 11.
  82. *Ibid.*, K. 14.

83. *Ibid.*, K. 16.
84. Suisheng Zhao, 'Deng Xiaoping's Southern Tour: Elite Politics in Post-Tiananmen China', *Asian Survey*, vol. 33, no. 8 (August 1993), p. 754.
85. Saich, 'The Fourteenth Party Congress', *op. cit.*, p. 1141, refers to a 24 August 1992 session of the CAC in which Chen Yun delivered a critique of Deng's economic programme, which Chen only *conditionally* endorsed – with very many reservations or suggestions for amendments.
86. *South China Morning Post*, 4 March 1993; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 4 March 1993, p. 10.
87. See for example Bo quoting Deng's speech of 24 December 1990: 'Both a planned and a market economy are necessary', in 'Preface to "Report on Zhang Wentian's Proposal on Opening up the Market"', *Renmin ribao*, 26 August 1995; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 20 October 1995, p. 32; and Bo's comments in 'Beijing Political Situation', *Xinhua*, 30 September 1994; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 30 September 1994, pp. 26–7.
88. 'CPC Sounds Alarm of its Doom', *Zhengming*, 1 November 1994; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 18 November 1994, pp. 14–16. See also 'Bo Yibo Discusses Party Building Questions', *Xinhua*, 10 November 1994; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 28 November 1994, pp. 26–34.
89. 'Li Xiannian Attends Memorial Meeting for Rehabilitated Officials', New China News Agency, 25 January 1979; *Summary of World Broadcasts* (BBC), FE/6033/B11 (3 February 1979), pp. 6–8.
90. See for instance 'Memorial Service for Former Trade Union Leader Liu Wenwei Held in Xi'an', *Gongren ribao*, 13 July 1979; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 25 July 1979.
91. Lowell Dittmer, 'Death and Transfiguration', *op. cit.*, p. 477.
92. Bo Yibo, Liu Lantao, Cheng Zihua and Nie Zhen 'In Deep Memory of Hu Xikui, Loyal Fighter of the Party', *Renmin ribao*, 3 April 1980; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 14 May 1980, L. 8–10.
93. 'The Boat Sails in the Midst of Spring Breeze and Triumphant Music – Learn From Comrade Xu Zirong', *Renmin ribao*, 5 April 1979; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 1 May 1979, L. 14.
94. *Ibid.*, L. 16.
95. *Ibid.*, L. 17.
96. Bo Yibo *et al.*, 'In Deep Memory of Hu Xikui', *op. cit.*, L. 9.
97. 'Cherishing the Memory of Comrade An Ziwen', *Renmin ribao*, 15 June 1985; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 21 June 1985, K. 9–10.
98. 'Li Xiannian Attends Memorial Meeting', *op. cit.*, pp. 6–8.
99. 'Be Good at Summing Up Experiences, Be Bold in Opening Up the Future', speech by Bo Yibo at a national conference of party history research officials, 3 April 1993, *Qiushi*, no. 17 (1 September 1993); Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 4 November 1993, p. 29.

## 6 A Prejudiced Conclusion

1. Bo Yibo, *Qishi nian fendou yu sikao*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe, 1996), p. 137.

2. 'Scheming to Betray the Party is Aiming to Usurp the Party', *Hongqi*, no. 13 (17 August 1967); *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, 592 (11 September 1967), p. 2.
3. 'Speech to the Seventh Party Congress' (24 April 1945), in Tony Saich (ed.), *The Rise to Power of the Chinese Communist Party: Documents and Analysis* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), p. 1241.
4. Frederick C. Teiwes, *Politics at Mao's Court: Gao Gang and Party Factionalism in the Early 1950s* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1990), p. 6.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 263: 'Report on the Gao Gang, Rao Shushi Anti-Party Alliance' (21 March 1955).
6. 'How Should One Understand "Recruiting Deserters and Accepting Mutineers"', *Gongren ribao*, 1 November 1979; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 20 November 1979, L. 3-4.
7. 'The Twelfth CPC National Congress will Lead Construction to Victory – on Understanding and Mastery of the Laws', *Hongqi*, no. 20 (16 October 1982); Joint Publication Research Service, 82391 (6 December 1982), p. 3.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

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# Index

*Note:* the notes and references have not been indexed.

## *Time-frames:*

**–1936:** historical background – the Japanese threat; the united front negotiations; the state of the CCP in northern China; the arrest, imprisonment and eventual release of the sixty-one from the GMD Caolanzi prison and the roles of Liu Shaoqi and Zhang Wentian in their release.

**1936–49:** from the release of the first batch of the sixty-one until the establishment of the People's Republic of China; Party work by the sixty-one in northern China following their release from Caolanzi; the rectification campaign in Yan'an; the nomination of delegates to the CCP 7th Party Congress in 1945.

**1949–66:** from the establishment of the People's Republic of China in October 1949 until the beginning of the Cultural Revolution; overall survey of careers of the sixty-one; dossier access; events and issues in the careers of Liu Lantao, An Ziwen, Yang Xianzhen and Bo Yibo.

**1966–78:** the Cultural Revolution experiences of the sixty-one until and including their rehabilitation in December 1978; official and unofficial investigations into the 1936 release; official condemnation and public repudiation of the sixty-one; their arrest and imprisonment by the CCP; release into internal exile in May 1975; Hu Yaobang, the Central Organization Department and changes in rehabilitation policy.

**1979–:** the post-Cultural Revolution era; survivors among the sixty-one and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and the Central Advisory Commission; Bo Yibo; eulogies for the deceased sixty-oners and the posthumous rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi.

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