

# Chiang Ching: Speech to Foreign Affairs Cadre (March, 1975)

*This article is a translation by a U.S. publication, Chinese Law and Government, in an issue titled "China and the World in the 1970s". Comrade Chiang Ching—along with Wang Hung-wen, Chiang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan—was purged from leading posts in the Communist Party of China and from the Party itself for upholding, defending and elaborating Mao's line by the revisionist Hua/Teng cliques soon after Mao died in late 1976. In this article Chiang Ching lays out a correct Marxist line. We thus think the article is genuine.*

Comrades:

A number of comrades have just discussed many things, all of which are important problems with implications for our diplomatic work in the future. I am an amateur with regard to diplomatic operations. I had to learn from scratch, like starting with the ABC's when learning English. There are many things which I must learn from you. As for socializing with foreigners, we had some experience before the liberation in Nanking, Chingking, and Shanghai as well as in Peking, but it was not as extensive as it is today. [Today] it has become an indispensable matter for our Party and something which must be placed on the daily agenda for emphasis and implementation. If this work is not done well, the whole will be affected. Therefore, we are obliged, in every single move, to consider whether or not our actions are in the interests of the vast [majority of the] people of the entire world. Concerning these, our comrades have much ex-

perience. I am merely transmitting the little bit of understanding that I have myself acquired in learning from the Chairman [Mao Tsetung]; since the Chairman is very busy with his duties, [I am] performing my responsibility as a member of the Party in conveying his message. **Even in transmitting the sentiments from the higher level downward, there are many questions which, because of my own limitations, I may understand incorrectly or even erroneously. Therefore, I ask you to criticize and help me.**

The situation has changed very greatly in the last year. The facts prove that the great foresight which the Chairman had at the beginning of the 1960s concerning [the idea that] **"we are in the middle of a monumental era of social change"** is absolutely correct. The Chairman clearly pointed out that **"the focal point of the world's contradiction is between the two continents of Asia and Africa."** He not only pointed out





**Comrade Chiang Ching, a defender and elaborator of Mao's line, greets literary and art workers during the Cultural Revolution.**

the future direction of the revolution, but he also at the same time pointed out the strategic problems of the revolution. Under the guidance of the Chairman's correct line, if only we dare to struggle, be unafraid of being surrounded, **blockaded**, blackmailed, or threatened, be unafraid of disturbances that come to us either openly or surreptitiously, of conspiracies and sabotage, then we will be competent in struggle and in maintaining flexibility, we will be able to talk as well as to fight. There are always two types of ideological preparation. We must clearly distinguish, on the basis of revolutionary principles, between our enemies, ourselves, and our friends in the midst of this great upheaval, great division, and great transformation. We must understand on whom we can rely, with whom we must unite, whom we must divide, whom we must break up, whom we must isolate, and whom we must attack. By employing maximum unity as well as maximum isolation and attack, we can uphold firmly and for a long time the principle of combining unity with struggle, and we will definitely be able to stand on the grounds of victory.

The soul and backbone of Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's Thought is the doctrine of upholding the class struggle and carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat. The final goal of the revolution is to realize communist society within the boundaries of the entire world. In order to make the ultimate goal of the revolution

materialize, the process of revolution must be divided into stages of implementation. Not only must the proletariat and its political party resolve to carry out continuous revolution, they must also formulate different policies and strategies corresponding to the different stages of revolution in every different historical period. The former constitutes the ends, and the latter, the means.

In the present historical period, according to the characteristics of this period, we suggest that the people's revolution is the focal point of the argument that **"countries want independence, nations want liberation, and people want revolution."** The political power of the proletariat can be established only under the leadership of the proletariat itself and its political party. The formation of the proletariat and the establishment and growth of [its] political party must be based on the tempestuous nationalistic and democratic mass revolutionary movement which strives for the independence of the state and the liberation of the nation. We support the movements for state independence and national liberation. We aid the poor and backward countries in shaking off the political control, economic plundering, and cultural aggression of the imperialists and the colonialists because this is a necessary measure for the development of a national economy, the establishment of the political party which must lead this great class in carrying on the revolution. This is the early stage of the revolution, a stage which must be experienced.



**“In the present historical period, according to the characteristics of this period, we suggest that the people’s revolution is the focal point of the argument that “countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution.”**”

The total collapse of colonialism and the disintegration of imperialism represent the herald and the dawn of the socialist revolution. The poor and backward countries can shake off the control of imperialism and colonialism and become independent. They cannot, however, shake off the internal polarization which comes from the unjust distribution in society and the resulting inequality between the rich and the poor. It is precisely this type of polarization which bears within itself the embryo, the spark of the proletarian revolution. The development of the national economy is the necessary condition for the establishment of the ranks of the proletariat and is also the source of the spark which can ignite this flame. We cannot imagine arriving at the ultimate victory of the socialist revolution without the development of state independence and a national economy. We are distinguished from opportunists precisely in this matter. We have consistently upheld the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution and the theory of the development of the revolution in stages. Understanding the three sentences (that is, *countries want independence, nations want liberation, and peoples want revolution*) from the perspective of this problem [has significant implications] for our present [policy of] actively improving our relations with the third world. We support them morally and aid them economically. Just as the Chairman told Prince Sihanouk and Li-pu-ning, “Need firearms? We don’t have any for sale, but we will give them to you. There is only one condition—[they should be used for the cause of] revolution.” We are not supporting the national liberation movements for any monetary reward. Because our social system has determined our country’s foreign policy, we are obliged to fervently carry out our internationalist duties and promote the victory of the socialist revolution around the world. We may say that aid has always worked with mutual effect. We have aided the countries that were in the midst of striving for national independence, and their struggles have also aided us. The anti-racist guerrilla warfare in South Africa, the anti-hegemony struggle in the Middle East, the struggle for national independence and democratic liberation in Latin America, the revolutionary struggle to shake off the control of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, and the liberation struggle

in Indochina, all of these are linked in one spirit. From east to west, from north to south, the noose around the necks of the imperialists and social-imperialists is being tightened. This makes it impossible for the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists to have a free hand in dealing with us. This not only enables us to have a peaceful environment for the rapid construction of our country’s industry, agriculture, and the production of our entire national economy, but also enables us to smoothly complete the socialist revolution on the political, ideological, and cultural fronts. [This also makes it possible for us] to drag out Liu Shao-ch’i, Lin Piao, and the small handful of agents of the bourgeoisie within our Party, to sweep aside all the demons and evil spirits in society, and to consolidate the political power of the proletariat and reinforce the strength of our national defense. At the same time, because of the rising tide of the national and democratic movements, we have placed the emphasis in our diplomacy on our “black friends,” “little friends,” and “poor friends.” Although we do not have any “white friends,” “big friends,” or “rich friends,” we are not isolated. When the United Nations took a vote on the issue of our admission, the big countries were loud and domineering. Our small friends, however, proved to be greater in number, and their voice was resonant. In the end, we still got into the United Nations, and since then, even the big nations have called on us.

For several decades, we have been studying the Chairman’s “On Contradiction” and “On Practice.” We all know that understanding and practice are mutually dependent and that the unity and struggle of contradiction always exist within a single entity. If there were no contradiction in the world, the world would not move forward. “Disorder” is the cataclysmic form of contradiction, and “order” is the temporary unity of opposites in contradiction. **“Order can only be created through disorder”**—if there were no disorder, it would be possible for the reactionary classes to maintain the status quo and to go on oppressing and exploiting the laboring people cruelly and avariciously. The proletariat would not be able to rise up, and the political party of the proletariat would either be silently divided, disintegrated, bribed, and exploited, or it would degenerate and even be



destroyed. This is what the reactionary classes hope for and what we do not wish to see happen.

When the Chairman met with Nixon during the latter's trip to China, he spent most of the time discussing problems of philosophy. Kissinger met with the premier several times, and in addition to talking about the major affairs of China and the world, they also talked about philosophical problems. It is not surprising that their points of view should differ from ours. In the talks, Kissinger hinted at the view that the United States has the intention of abandoning the Asian Pacific region. We should regard this problem by dividing one into two. We feel that Kissinger is unable, in the final analysis, to depart from the limitations of a bourgeois politician. His basic perspective is restricted by the class interests which it defends, and consequently, he can neither comprehend nor solve the various types of contradictions which are now emerging from the new and complex international situation. Kissinger, like the rest of the politicians of the reactionary classes in other periods of history, is just an adventurer and a defeatist. Nixon and Kissinger admitted that the policy previously pursued by the U.S., the policy of power domination which had been practiced since the end of World War II, was no longer workable today. [They admitted that] the U.S. should return to the real world and should not continue to dabble in interfering with the sovereignty and interests of other countries. Kissinger himself argued for the maintenance of the balance of power. In fact, this is [a policy] which, while admitting certain contradiction, does not proceed to actively search for forms of struggle which can solve the contradictions under the new conditions. On the contrary, this is adopting an escapist attitude in dealing with contradictions. In fact, this is still an ostrich's policy of covering up the existence of contradictions by evading and steering clear of them. Can we believe that contradictions today exist only in colonial or occupied territories? Is the U.S. itself capable of escaping from all contradiction? Yet, seen from another angle, the withdrawal of the U.S. and the collapse of the entire colonialist [camp], whether old or new, is an inevitable trend, and one cannot pin one's hopes on one or two politicians to reverse it. For this reason, the proletariat and its political party can grasp this opportunity to continually expose the old and new colonialisms and, at the same time, to maintain the united front, including the task of disrupting the enemy from within, uphold the armed struggle, and believe in the great truth that political power comes from the barrel of a gun. We firmly uphold the belief that through mass movements under the leadership of the political party of the proletariat, weak nations will undubitably triumph over strong nations and

small nations will defeat big nations. [The proletariat] will eventually seize political power and achieve the victory of the socialist revolution. We are all engaged in diplomatic work. We must propagate the doctrine of revolution among the people of the entire world, and at the same time, we must show our attitude clearly—as long as there is a revolution, we will support it to the very end. The Chinese mean what we say. We will not be like the imperialists of the U.S. or the Soviet revisionists who have abandoned friends who have come through thick and thin with them, and we definitely will not conduct behind-the-scenes dealings with superpowers for our own benefit or sell out our friends. Moreover, we will not deceive, extort, or conspire to use our friends or to make sacrificial lambs out of our friends in exchange for our own ignominious gains.

Chairman Mao perceives the situation in Indochina very clearly and also the situation in Vietnam following the victorious liberation of the southern half of that country. The Chairman said: **"Vietnam is now a temple with four chief monks; whoever supplies them with clothing and food will be considered their great benefactors."** The Chairman has asked the Vietnamese ambassador to convey to Tong Duc Thang, Le Duan, Pham Van Dong, and Vo Nguyen Giap and also to Nguyen Huu Tho and Huynh Tan Phat [Vietnamese leaders] the following message; **"If you oppose imperialism but do not oppose revisionism, eventually there will be a second revolution."** Will they be able to understand this? It is very difficult to say. When people spoke about Vietnam, they always believed that after Ho Chi Minh's death, the Vietnamese would not be able to make it. The Chairman has repeatedly made himself clear on this point. The Vietnamese comrades are revolutionaries. If they have internal difficulties, we should understand and not persist in accusing them of not carrying out the revolution. They have pitted themselves against American imperialism, reputedly the strongest in the world, and have made great sacrifices for their nation. Their spirit deserves respect. As for [what happens] after the victory, we should reserve judgment until we have observed the developments there.

The situation in Laos is very good. The situation in the whole of Indochina has become clear, and the light of dawn breaks upon our eyes. Yet, even after the solution has been reached in the countries of Indochina, it is only the first step in a 10,000-lilong march. The world is developing, the revolution is forging ahead, and there is still much to be done. Everybody must pitch in with his utmost effort. The most important thing to be done, if one wishes to work hard, is to enhance one's own





**Chairman Mao in the midst of friends from Asia, Africa and Latin America. When the United Nations took a vote on China's admission, the countries of the third world stood up to imperialist arrogance and dominance and saw China admitted.**



**“We cannot imagine arriving at the ultimate victory of the socialist revolution without the development of state independence and a national economy. We are distinguished from opportunists precisely in this matter.”**

self-awareness of carrying out the correct line in order to catch up with the needs and demands of the current situation. Therefore, today we will talk specifically about the “Criticize Lin [Piao] and Criticize Confucius” campaign on the foreign affairs front. The communique ratified by the Fourth National People’s Congress points out, **“The people of the entire nation must continue to carry out the ‘Criticize Lin and Criticize Confucius’ campaign on an extensive scale, in depth, and with perseverance and must utilize Marxism in occupying the entire realm of the superstructure.”**

Owing to the fact that the task assigned to the diplomatic front is different from that assigned to other fronts and that some personnel involved in diplomacy work abroad for relatively long periods of time, the demands and the work methods applied to the broad masses of the people at home should not be imposed equally. One simply cannot go to a big avenue in New York or Paris and put up big-character posters about the ambassadors or the ministers of foreign affairs; still less can one interfere with other people’s internal affairs by presenting his view to the presidents and ministers of foreign countries or bombarding them with heavy artillery. Therefore, it is only possible to analyze and handle [problems] in accordance with concrete [local] situations. Some time ago, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs attained very good results by adopting such policies as “returning to the homeland for the scripture and taking it abroad for dissemination,” “giving primary emphasis to self-study and also learning from one another,” “preaching nearby and teaching far away and roving around to propagate the scripture,” and “emphasizing proper centralization and promoting an extensive interchange.” From now on, we must improve on those [policies] that are not good and maintain those that are good.

Today, I only wish to present to all of you a general explanation of various important questions and propose certain requests. I hope you will consider whether or not these are appropriate.

1) Further strengthen the unified leadership of the Party. In ancient times in China, there was a saying that “a general conducting a battle at the front does not have to obey the prince’s orders.” There are no feudal rulers such as kings in a socialist country, and naturally such things as “a general conducting a battle at the front does not have to obey the prince’s orders” do not exist. Nevertheless, can diplomatic personnel, by virtue of their being abroad, weaken or depart from the track of the unified leadership of the party? Of course not! Moreover, [the situation] today is very different from [that of] a few centuries ago. [Today we have] the telegraph, telephone, television, and electronic space communications. If necessary, an airplane can bring anyone back here in a few hours. Since everything is so very convenient, why should we not utilize them? Yet among our comrades there are some who do not think this way and who are ideologically different. They emphasize the particularity of their jobs and deny their universality [with other jobs]. There are some embassies, consulates, and trade commission offices which send in cables every day and send in mail or telephone calls every other day. All they talk about is business. Some Party cadres are intoxicated by business, by diplomatic operations and commercial enterprise. They are even more enthusiastic about these things than bourgeois diplomats or monopoly capitalists. But when it comes to taking part in political study and promoting movements, they act as if those matters do not concern them and even set them aside, leaving them high and dry. This is particularly true of the consulates and embassies in some East African and Central African countries. Some have not



even conducted [political] study in six months and have not submitted a single memorandum on political study or any reports on the situation of the campaign. In the past, the Chairman has stressed "making frequent requests for instructions, making frequent reports, not being afraid of the bother, and if necessary, returning to Peking frequently." This refers not only to communications on official business; its main purpose is to enable our diplomatic personnel to maintain contact with the Center, to strengthen the unified leadership of the Party, and to make the vast number of diplomatic personnel catch up with pace of the whole nation. Thus, even when they are abroad, they may equally engage themselves in the campaign, enhance their own awareness, oppose imperialism, and guard against revisionism, thus becoming genuinely red diplomats.

Previously, we felt that the embassies in African countries had relatively long histories and comparatively strong foundations, so we emphasized giving guidance and education to embassy personnel for those European and American countries with whom we had only recently established diplomatic relations. Now it looks as if nothing short of firmly grasping the entire front will do; unless things are tightly grasped, they may as well not be grasped at all. Speaking of grasping, who should do the grasping? This calls for the Party to strengthen its unified leadership of the campaign. The International Liaison Department of the Party Central Committee and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must grasp the matter, and so must every ambassador and every secretary of the leading Party members' group of an embassy. The matter must be grasped at every level, thoroughly and right down to the bottom. The embassies must be like other units on the various fronts inside the country; the secretaries must take part in all matters, and persons with specific functions must be responsible [for the jobs to which they are assigned]. The four things—formulating plans, establishing leadership groups, strengthening study, and making frequent reports—must all be grasped well, flexibly and realistically. If the secretaries and heads of the leading Party members' groups continue to refuse to take hold of things and shirk their responsibilities, the International Liaison Department and the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee will then have to request the Party Center to assign some people to take over those duties. In any case, the phenomenon of "achieving results in diplomacy but regressing in the promotion of the campaign" must be immediately changed. This matter should be looked upon as the thing of foremost importance to be grasped on the diplomatic front this year.

2) Concerning the content of study and the methods of [promoting] the campaign. In February 1972, the Party Center had already made specific stipulations with respect to upholding the four "don'ts," the five "mays," and the six "musts." These are: don't drag people out for struggle, don't agitate for the dismissal of officials, don't put up big-character posters, and don't band together to promote factionalism organizationally. [We] may circulate small-character posters, may send letters of accusation to the home office, bypassing the immediate superior, may submit opinions and proposals face-to-face to the head of the unit, may exchange insights gained from study and jointly submit proposals or prepare joint reports over the head of the immediate superior, and on important matters, may request to be recalled home in order to make a report in person. However, in dealing with foreign relations, we must be united, must pay attention to careful investigation in dealing with matters, must obey directions, must protect the overall interests of the entire organization, must defend the dignity of our nation, and must defend the Party's unified leadership. We ought not be impulsive and act rashly; we should seek the greater harmony and allow minor differences to exist. At all costs, we must not do anything that would "make our dear ones grieve and our enemies glad." At the same time, under certain particular circumstances, we must try to understand the circumstances and position of various comrades. [For instance,] we cannot look upon the action of an ambassador who, in conducting united front work, attends a banquet given by the capitalists as the erosion or the corrupting influence of the bourgeoisie. You all stand on the front lines of the anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist struggle and will have to come into contact with all sorts of people. Therefore, you must enhance the level of your revolutionary vigilance and be alert against the sugarcoated bullets of the enemy and his conspiracy to win you over. Pai Hsiang-kuo, in his scores of years of participation in the revolution, did not fall before the bombing and shelling of the U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek. Yet, he was unable to resist the temptation of the venomous serpent which disguised itself as a beautiful woman. This is a lesson for us. Of course, this is not the only problem Pai Hsiang-kuo has, and we hope he will rectify himself and can continue to work. The key to the problem, however, lies in himself.

Most of the ambassadors and persons of responsibility whom we send abroad have scores of years of revolutionary experience behind them. They have very rich experience, and their task is very great. They represent the Chairman, the premier, and our venerable elder Chu [Teh] and also represent the Party Center and the people of our



entire country in struggling against imperialists, revisionists, and reactionaries abroad and in taking part in the promotion of revolution with the revolutionary peoples of the world. Their achievements are mainly positive. When shortcomings and mistakes are pointed out, they are capable of correcting them. Therefore, whenever we put forth our opinions, let us proceed in good faith and allow them a due process of understanding. This is a very important point. The ultimate goal of our campaign is to educate people, not to purge them to death. This point must be made clear.

You have all read the report by Ch'en Ch'u [ambassador to Japan]. From this report, we can see that the leading cadres are not at all weak in their revolutionary enthusiasm. The sentence which he proposed is very good: "Living in a busy metropolis and confronted by imperialists, revisionists, and reactionaries, I have the morning sun in my heart and will forever follow the Party."

Finally, a few words about the matter of running

study classes. The ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee jointly opened a study class for diplomatic personnel which has been very effective. Various embassies in Western Europe are also conducting study classes. The operation of study classes by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a good method through which the "Criticize Lin and Criticize Confucius" Campaign may be promoted further. It is also a method in which theory is combined with practice and in which consideration is given to both the movement and technical work. The embassy in France suggested that: "When we are busy, let us place primary emphasis on self-study; when we are in a slack period, let us concentrate and learn collectively. The leadership must sum up experience regularly and make counseling and self-study complementary to one another." This formula may be developed in the study groups. □



Eritrean youth on the march. People's revolution is the focal point of Chairman Mao's argument that "countries want independence, nations want liberation, and people want revolution."