

李逊：王洪文的升沉 Li Xun: The Rise and Fall of Wang Hongwen

发布时间：2015-10-12 19:40 作者：李逊

New url: <http://w.hybsl.cn/article/13/54739>, accessed October 11, 2023

FN 107 – On Wang Hongwen's Shortcomings as Vice Chairman

毛泽东对王洪文的了解最初得之张春桥。张春桥、姚文元 1967 年初回上海工作时，每隔几天就要向毛泽东和中央文革写书面报告，汇报上海情况。据徐景贤回忆，毛泽东当时“给了张春桥一个任务，要他物色新的上海市委领导的人选”。这样，从张春桥一系列书面汇报中，毛泽东陆续了解了工总司及王洪文的情况。

1967 年一月夺权后，上海市革命委员会成立，王洪文成为市革会的七名主要负责人之一。而从当时市革会传阅文件的顺序看，王洪文排在最后第七名：张春桥、姚文元、马天水、王少庸、徐景贤、王承龙、王洪文。

王洪文当了市革会领导后，一直比较谨慎，对中央各项恢复秩序的措施积极相应，也要求自己手下的工人造反派们紧跟中央部署。他对工人造反派有着很大影响，对他们容易逾越规范的草根行动有着很大约束力。上海除了 1967 年 6、7、8 月联司和支联站时期比较乱，其它时期一般都比外地平稳。尤其 1967 年初，王洪文坚决主张吸收保守派入造反队，还有 1967 年下半年，王洪文坚决要求工总司下面的各联络站实行大联合，哪怕“和稀泥”也要实行联合。这些都是上海局势稳定的重要原因，王洪文起了至关重要的作用。

王洪文在工总司中有威信。他处事比一般造反派谨慎，行事正派，为人随和。工总司总部的一些老造反，相互之间会有所不服气，但对王洪文，除了早期的少数几个人，大家基本都是服贴的。

1967 年 7 月 21 日至国情前夕，毛泽东一直住在上海。砸联司那天晚上还和张春桥乘着防弹轿车去外滩。看到工人造反派戴着藤编安全帽，手持长矛，守卫在市革会门前，毛泽东

很高兴，说上海工人造反派能够掌控局势。后来，毛泽东在一场批斗会的电视实况转播中，看到了王洪文的形象。当时王洪文正在批斗会上作总结发言，毛泽东仔细听着王洪文的讲话，张春桥在一边向他介绍王洪文的情况。据徐景贤后来的回忆，王洪文在电视中的形象给毛泽东留下深刻印象。

毛泽东与王洪文第一次见面，是在 1968 年的 10 月 1 日国庆节。王洪文是上海赴北京参加国庆观礼代表团的领队，和上海的许多代表们一起住进了中南海。10 月 1 日那天，检阅游行队伍之后，马天水在天安门城楼上见到毛泽东时，说王洪文希望见主席，毛泽东同意了。[1]张春桥将王洪文带到屏风隔着的贵宾会见厅，随即离开，单独留下王洪文。林彪也在场。这次个别谈话，王洪文给毛泽东留下了很好的印象。徐景贤后来认为，毛泽东中央会议上当众推荐王洪文，表扬上海工人，肯定上海局势，显示了毛泽东想从工人中提拔新生力量的念头，从 1968 年那次在天安门城楼上接见王洪文时便已开始。

王洪文“种过地、当过兵、做过工”是张春桥当初向毛泽东介绍王洪文时总结的，这样的条件很合毛泽东的心意。毛泽东后来一再对人说王洪文“种过田、当过兵、做过工，工、农、兵都齐了，后来又当过干部，经历比较全面”。毛泽东还十分关心王洪文的文化程度，再三向张春桥打听王洪文会不会写文章。不过张春桥此时似乎没有体会出毛泽东的更深意图，只是将此看作是毛泽东对上海工人造反派的关注：主席去年问过我一次，王洪文同志会不会写文章，今年又问过一次。为什么老是问，一方面是主席对王洪文同志很关心，更重要的是关心你们成长的问题。[2]

国庆观礼后，上海观礼团的其他代表都于 10 月 12 日集体离开北京，王洪文却没一起回沪，他被留下列席中共八届十二中全会。这个会从 10 月 13 日开到 10 月 30 日，会上将刘少奇定为“叛徒、内奸、工贼”，永远开除出党；还批判了 1967 年的“二月逆流”。这是王洪文第一次参加党内高级会议。在 10 月 13 日的全体会议上，毛泽东赞扬了上海，说：“我觉得上海比北京强，120 万工人掌握了形势”。10 月 31 日的闭幕会议上，毛泽东对参加会议的全体人员说：“介绍一个人，此人叫王洪文，站起来看一看”。

因为毛泽东对王洪文的关注，张春桥回上海后，将王洪文在市革会中的位置调整，排到徐景贤之前，紧挨在马天水、王少庸之后。徐景贤后来在回忆中说：“本来上海的红卫兵给我起的外号叫‘徐老三’，现在王洪文才成了真正意义上的‘王老三’”。在市革会，王洪文原来主要负责群众组织，以及工宣队、文攻武卫，这以后开始协助马天水全面负责上海的工作，还负责“清队”的专案。1968年下半年，被停止了近三年的中共党组织活动重又开始，中共第九次代表大会也在筹备中。王洪文担任上海“九大”筹备小组负责人之一。

1969年4月1日至24日，中国共产党第九次全国代表大会在北京召开，在张春桥和姚文元起草、林彪宣读的政治报告中，特地提到上海工人对文革的作用：“具有革命传统的上海工人阶级，在毛主席和以毛主席为首的无产阶级司令部的领导和支持下，挺身而出，同广大革命群众、革命干部联合起来，于一九六七年一月自下而上地夺了旧市委、旧市人委中走资派的权力。”王洪文被作为上海工人阶级的代表，担任上海参加“九大”代表团的负责人；还被指定为华东大组的组长之一，多次参加了毛泽东亲自主持的小型会议。中央还决定由王洪文代表全国工人阶级在第二天的大会上作发言。这是一种象征：过去，这样一类全国性的大会往往安排劳动模范、先进人物作为工人阶级发言，作为全国工人的表率。而这次，毛泽东和中央文革派却选择了工人中的造反派，树为全国工人的代表和表率。

安排王洪文发言，直到4月13日才由毛泽东最后拍板决定。王洪文特地向同参加“九大”的徐景贤借了十五元钱，去大会小卖部买了一条黑色的确良长裤，上身穿着文革中流行的军装。既显示工人阶级的形象，也符合王洪文转业军人身份。4月14日，在周恩来、陈伯达、康生发言后，毛泽东亲自宣布“王洪文同志讲话”。王洪文的这篇由徐景贤起草，张春桥、姚文元审阅修改的发言稿，内容不长，完全是表态性的对九大各项决议的拥护以及贯彻的决心；发言的意义在于这是被精心安排的政治亮相。王洪文的名字通过这次发言，被媒体报道传播，全国乃至全世界知道了这个正在上升的新名字。在这次中共第九次代表大会上，王洪文和上海的徐景贤、王秀珍、杨富珍，都当上了中共中央委员，马天水、金祖敏、陈敢峰、王维国，当上中共中央候补委员。

1970年8月23日至9月6日，中共九届二中全会在庐山召开。这次会上，以林彪为首的军队干部，向以江青为首的文革派发起攻势，张春桥受到与会代表不点名围攻。江青又一次抢在事主前面，与张春桥一起向毛泽东告状并求救。毛泽东当然明白，对张春桥的围攻其实就是对自己发动文革的强烈不满，他又一次选择了江青和张春桥。虽然紧接着受到公开批判的是陈伯达，但是毛泽东与林彪的亲密关系已经出现裂痕。庐山会议结束后，江青在住处秘密接见了赴庐山参加会议的王洪文和徐景贤。江青对王洪文说：“知道吧，对你的希望是很大的！”王洪文应该听懂了江青的话，这句话传递了毛泽东对王洪文的期望。

[3]

奉调北京学习

1972年9月，王洪文奉调北京学习。这是张春桥从北京打电话通知王洪文的，要他移交上海的工作，并带好衣服和生活用品，可以带个秘书，因为要在北京待上一段时间。据徐景贤后来回忆，王洪文不知中央调自己去学习什么，也不敢问张春桥，放下电话，就赶紧去和马天水、徐景贤、王秀珍商量。大家都认为，林彪事件后，中央需要增补干部，王洪文去中央学习，肯定是被进一步重用，而且很可能会进中共中央政治局。9月6日晚上，马、徐、王在锦江饭店小礼堂为王洪文饯行。第二天，王洪文带着秘书廖祖康，在虹桥机场登上飞往北京的飞机，上海市委的常委们赴机场为王洪文送行。

王洪文赴北京后，和张春桥姚文元住在一起。中央对他的安排是一面跟着周恩来参加中央工作，一面学习。中央办公厅给王洪文送去马、恩、列、斯、毛著作，供他学习。这是对王洪文的培养和考察。尤其毛泽东，更是密切关注着王洪文。毛泽东等王洪文安顿下来以后，连续找他谈了几次话。详细地询问他的历史，并且在交谈中提出各种问题，听取他的看法和观点，既对王洪文进行考察和面试，又对他进行开导和帮助。毛泽东还关照周恩来亲自帮带王洪文，凡是周恩来主持的会议，周都通知王洪文参加，中央政治局的小型会议，中央处理七机部问题的会议，解决河南两派的会议，甚至连绝密的讨论运载火箭把人造卫星送上天的专案会议，都要王洪文参加并让他发表意见，这也是周恩来对王洪文的帮教和考察。[4]

王洪文小心谨慎，努力按照中央要求去做。中央说调他去北京是为了加强学习，他也就努力学习，还向上海市委徐景贤提出，将萧木调去北京继续做他的学习辅导员。[5]徐景贤十分不情愿放萧木离开上海，因为萧木是上海市委写作组主力，工作努力，笔头也好，此时正在与陈冀德筹办《朝霞》杂志；但既然王洪文点名，他只好放人。王洪文还要求徐景贤帮他物色一个英语老师，他要学英语，因为毛主席也在学英语。徐景贤后来从复旦大学外语系调去一个英语教师，从 ABCD 开始教王洪文。

此时的王洪文踌躇满志。他整天不是学习就是开会，毛泽东还派他去新疆、浙江等地区，处理因群众组织派别对立而长期遗留的矛盾。王洪文自己本来就是群众组织的头头，后来又作为上海市革会负责人，专门处理上海群众组织之间的纠纷，在这方面有经验。虽然对于群众组织的两派尤其对于上海邻居浙江的两派，他心底有倾向，但首次作为中央代表，他基本按中央要求处理矛盾，毛泽东和周恩来都很满意。据说，毛泽东对张春桥说：王洪文做过工人，当过兵，当过农民，他的条件比你、我两个都优越，我们要了解工农兵，还要搞调查研究，他自己做过工，当过兵了，已经具备这种条件了。

不久，张春桥告诉上海市委的徐景贤等：看样子，洪文回不来了；经他和姚文元、王洪文商量，上海的日常工作由马天水主持。这是王洪文将留在中央工作的信号，毛泽东欣赏王洪文。接班人问题一直是林彪事件后毛泽东的一个心病，现在毛泽东认为这个问题可以得到解决了。

但王洪文毕竟从政时间很短，没有资历。没有资历不仅是经验不足，也使人无法从资历中了解其真实能力和品德，所以毛泽东似乎对自己又一次选的这个接班人还是有些不放心。中共十次代表大会筹备召开之前，毛泽东要王洪文看《刘盆子传》。王洪文没有听清毛泽东要他看的究竟是什么，也不敢多问，他趁回上海调查研究时，找写作组的朱永嘉等，说要读刘什么子。朱永嘉猜出是“刘盆子”。刘盆子是《二十四史》中《后汉书》里的一个人物，原本是个放牛娃，赤眉起义时被立为皇帝，但根本胜任不了皇帝的职务。对中国历史非常熟悉的朱永嘉，听说毛泽东要王洪文看这篇文章，马上领会到毛泽东的意思，是希望王洪文不要像刘盆子那样，不成大器扶不起。但朱永嘉不便明说。朱永嘉去和徐景贤商量，徐景贤出主意：只按文章的字面意思，将古文翻译成现代白话文，不作任何其他解释

和议论。朱永嘉照此办理，逐字逐句翻译了一遍。王洪文听着，不动声色，没有任何表示。徐景贤和朱永嘉都认为王洪文是个明白人，他应该明白毛泽东的弦外之音。[6]

王洪文去中央后，很不习惯中央的行事规则。他给马天水打电话说自己非常寂寞，有时一整天就是开会。[7]

当上中共中央副主席

1973年5月间，中共中央召开由周恩来主持的中央工作会议，讨论第十次代表大会筹备事宜。周恩来宣布，根据毛泽东提议，政治局决定将王洪文调到中央，列席政治局并参加工作；根据毛泽东意见，王洪文负责党章修改小组，起草修改党章的说明并提出新的党章草案。由于中共第九次代表大会只选出一个主席即毛泽东，一个副主席即林彪。林彪事件后，中共中央主席便只剩毛泽东一人，政治局内，三分之一被认为是亲林彪者，或死亡如叶群，或被审查如陈伯达、黄永胜等，补充副主席和政治局委员成为当务之急；而且那个将林彪立为接班人的“九大”党章也急需修改。

最初王洪文负责的班子，写出的是《关于党章修改的说明》，只是个事务性的报告。报告送上去后，在“十大”召开的前三天左右，被送了回来。上面是毛泽东的笔迹：“说明”二字被划去，改为“报告”二字，再下面写着“王洪文”三字。[8]毛泽东决定由王洪文在“十大”作修改党章的报告。中共前几次党代会上的党章修改报告，一般都由即将升任为毛泽东副手者作：“七大”是刘少奇，“八大”是邓小平，“九大”没有这个内容。

“十大”由王洪文作这个报告，这表明，毛泽东要重用王洪文。

8月20日，中共“十大”选举准备委员会会议召开，虽然毛泽东没有到会，但他让周恩来宣布了一个更具震撼性的决定：由王洪文担任选举准备委员会主任，而周恩来、康生、江青、张春桥等排在王洪文名后，都任副主任。周恩来宣布了毛的这个决定后，立即谦恭地从主持人的席位上退让，请王洪文接着主持会议。一百多个参加会议者立即明白了毛泽东要让王洪文当他的接班人的意图。

毛泽东的这个意图遭到抵制。“十大”召开前，在周恩来主持的九届中央政治局委员会议上，当周恩来传达了毛泽东让王洪文担任中共中央副主席的提议后，李先念等政治局委员们都不表态；张春桥和姚文元因为大家都不吭声，也不便表态，场面十分尴尬。南京军区司令员许世友提出：副主席一个就可以了，他的意思很清楚：周恩来担任副主席，不赞成将王洪文放上去。为了“打通思想”，“统一认识”，8月23日晚，由周恩来主持，召开中央党政军直属机关和各省、市、自治区负责人会议。周恩来在会上传达和解释毛泽东选调王洪文到中央工作的思想，说服大家不要看不起“儿童团”。尽管如此，许世友仍然不服气，多次插话陈述自己的意见。张春桥指责许世友“反对毛主席的意见”，许世友当众大声呵斥：“你有什么了不起”。周恩来讲完话后，到会的老干部们用掌声表达对周恩来的敬意。但轮到王洪文讲话，讲话结束时一片沉默，没有人鼓掌。讨论由谁作修改党章报告时，提议王洪文的人寥寥无几。这些迹象都表明中央高层干部对王洪文不认可，使王洪文从一开始感觉到老干部们对自己的抵制。王洪文以后对徐景贤提及当时情景仍不能释然。

马天水也出席了这次会议。面对沉默的集体抵制，马天水以自己老干部的身份为王洪文说话：“我打头阵表了态，表示支持和拥护王洪文为党中央副主席候选人。我当时说：我同王洪文相处一段时间，觉得王洪文看问题还比较全面，不是一个冲冲杀杀的人，他在上海主持过一段时期的工作，我感到他比我强”。[9]

1973年8月24日下午，中共第十次全国代表大会开幕。毛泽东出席并主持大会。毛泽东坐在主席台中央，左右是王洪文与周恩来。毛泽东宣布，由周恩来作政治报告，王洪文作修改党章的报告。周恩来念完政治报告后，由穿着崭新军装戴着领章帽徽的王洪文念张春桥、姚文元起草的修改党章的报告。8月28日，“十大”闭幕会，毛泽东没有出席。但在投票选举中央委员时，周恩来宣布：“今天的大会，毛主席请假；毛主席委托王洪文同志代表他投票选举十届中央委员和候补委员”。王洪文站起，走到毛泽东座位前，拿起桌上放着的毛泽东的选票，走向投票箱将选票投了进去。毛泽东的这一系列安排，使王洪文闪亮登场，一下站到了中国政治的前沿。接着，8月31日，全国报刊统一刊登了前一天举行的十届中央委员会第一次全体会议的新闻公报，其中，最具新闻意义的就是王洪文当上中共中央副主席，排在毛泽东、周恩来之后。

这是毛泽东第三次为自己挑选的接班人，前两次是刘少奇与林彪。[10]

受命王维国专案

1970 年的庐山会议之后，王洪文负责上海的“批陈整风”，即批判陈伯达。第二年 9 月 13 日林彪外逃死亡事件发生。中共中央成立了由周恩来负责的林彪专案组，华东地区的林彪案件，由许世友和王洪文负责，上海设材料组。王洪文推荐，经许世友同意，由戴立清具体负责专案工作；将王知常调去负责文字工作。另外，还调去驻市总工会的军代表康宁一，空军和警备区的一些军人，共八九人，组成专案组。最初的材料都直接报周恩来，同时也报许世友和张春桥，但不经上海市委和警备区的其他领导。

在对王维国专案的一些处理上，王洪文和许世友经常争论，意见不一。矛盾具体体现在对“林彪反革命集团”的清查上。林彪案件在上海和江浙一带，对象主要是驻上海的空四军和驻杭州的空五军。毛泽东派许世友和王洪文一起去浙江处理空五军问题。王洪文认为对空五军的干部应以教育为主，不主张都处理。许世友的观点不同。对上海的空四军干部也是这样，“王维国专案组”前后共审查 56 人，其中除 4 人上报中央“林彪专案组”审查外，其余人员经过一段时间审查后，都没有正式结论，也即没有硬给他们做出“林彪反革命集团成员”的结论。以后都移交空四军处理。[11]王洪文这样做，可能是想为这些军队干部留有些余地。王维国的妻子杜贵珍，被认为“参与了王维国一系列反党活动”，但王洪文认为不能因为丈夫的事情株连妻子，在审查了一段时间后将她释放。还有其他许多人，例如李伟信的弟弟李伟隼，空四军政治秘书处韩洪奎，等等，王洪文认为他们不了解真相，只是执行者，责任不应由他们负，对他们从宽处理。文革结束后，这成为王洪文的罪名之一，说他包庇这些人，企图拉拢他们从而把他们控制在自己手里，这些人也都被重新处理。

此外，许世友在处理驻上海空四军干部问题时，将所有原来空四军的高级干部都换班，另外派人。王洪文认为不妥。张春桥也认为不能怪下面干部，主要是上面的责任。王洪文主张原来的班子能保留的尽量保留，不要另外再派人，打击面不要太宽，包括在杭州的空五

军。原空四军军长郑长华，是五十年代初期的空军战斗英雄。据说周恩来在林彪事件后，曾说过：对那些战斗英雄要保。[12]在王洪文上报的关于郑长华的材料中，只说郑曾经吹捧过林彪父子，至于是否参与过林彪的活动，认为查无实据。王洪文希望保留郑长华的空四军军长职务；许世友决定调郑长华去南京军区审查，王洪文拒不肯放，说“在空四军保留这么一个人有好处”。他让郑长华继续主持空四军工作，并对他说：“我还是信任你的”，“你大胆工作”。但南京军区方面执意要对郑长华进行审查，1972年郑长华被送中央专案组审查。王洪文叹道：“这样一来，我想保留郑长华当军长又不成了。”[13]王洪文的一些主张和做法，许多都与许世友发生矛盾。王洪文还试图放宽对浙江空五军陈励耘等人的处理，也都被许世友坚决拒绝。[14]

王洪文终被抛弃

中共“十大”以后，王洪文跟着周恩来工作，周恩来给毛泽东的重要报告，都由周恩来起草，与王洪文共同署名。1974年6月，周恩来病重住院。毛泽东委托王洪文主持中央日常工作。这一时期，也正是四届人大酝酿名单的最后阶段，江青希望能掌控以后的国务院，一次又一次地要王洪文向毛泽东进言。身为副主席的王洪文，虽然在党内地位排名比江青和张春桥高，但却跟着江青等的指挥亦步亦趋。毛泽东多次批评江青、张春桥、王洪文加上姚文元是“四人帮”、“上海帮”。1974年10月18日，王洪文遵从江青之意，赴长沙见毛泽东，反对邓小平出任国务院第一副总理。毛泽东此时对政治欲望强烈却又到处树敌的江青不满，他更对身为副主席，却总是跟在江青等屁股后面转的王洪文失望。毛泽东对王洪文说：不要和江青搞在一起，不要跟在江青后面批东西；“‘四人帮’不要搞了，中央就这么多人要团结”。但王洪文没有悟出毛泽东不满的严重性；或者，他无力也无意摆脱江青和张春桥的控制。他本来个人意志就不强大，在上海工总司时就被认为“耳朵软”。到中央工作，没有政治和人脉资源，更无政治经验尤其是高层政治生活的经验，只能听命于江青和张春桥。何况他是张春桥一手提拔的，过去他与张春桥是教诲和被教诲的关系；现在尽管领导关系变了，张春桥不会再像过去那样直接教导他；但张春桥的判断和主张，在双方关系中的影响矢量没变。以他的能力，根本不能和张春桥相比，无法抗衡张春桥。加上对文革的共同观点和利益，他根本无法如毛泽东所希望，跳出“四人帮”圈子，成为各方都能接受的人。

12月23日，王洪文又赴长沙见毛泽东，这次是和周恩来一起去的，在长沙住了三天，27日回北京。毛泽东再一次要王洪文不要搞“四人帮”。王洪文在长沙期间，向毛泽东写了份检查：

主席：

这次来长沙向主席汇报工作，又一次聆听了主席的教导，受到了深刻的教育。特别是主席对我的批评“你不要搞四人帮”。主席的批评是完(全)正确的，我诚肯(恳)的接受主席的批评教育。这次主席批准在这里住三天，我应借这个机会来回忆，总结自己犯错误的经验和教训。

两天来我认真的回忆了自己所犯的主要错误。

主席发现以后曾多次指示，“你们不要几个人搞在一起”，“你们不要搞上海帮”。我没有坚决的按主席的指示办事。当工作中遇有问题时不是和政治局多数同志商量，研究解决问题，而是只找少数几个同志。虽经主席多次指示，我仍然不觉悟，脱离不开小圈子。主席在离京前的政治局会议上又指示“你们不要(搞)上海帮”。以后有同志来找议事我仍然顶不住。因此就继续犯错误。10月17日来长沙向主席汇报关于江青同志和小平同志为“风雷(庆)号”批示发生争吵一事我是犯了严重错误的。因为当时在提名总参谋长人选问题上小平同志有不同意见，这本是党内生活中允许的。但我不是依靠政治局多数同志正确的解决决定问题，而是只听了少数同志意见。错误的把提总参谋长人选问题和江青同志批示“风庆轮”问题同小平同志争吵联系在一起，并且乱加猜测，因而就得出结论说可能有别的什么问题。因此我就提意(议)向主席报告。

在这个问题上的是(事)实是：小平同志并不错，而是我犯了严重错误，因为总理身体不好要我主持工作，而我不是全面的听取各方不同意见，而是只听少数同志意见，又不加分析就错误的向主席报告。干扰了主席。我的错误是严重的。[15]

1975年5月3日，毛泽东召集十几名政治局委员在住处开会。毛泽东长达两小时的讲话，主要内容是批评以江青为首的“四人帮”，要求加强党内团结，提出“要搞马克思主义，不要搞修正主义；要团结，不要分裂；要光明正大，不要搞阴谋诡计。不要搞‘四人帮’”；毛泽东还对江青、张春桥、姚文元前一时期的“批经验主义”进行批评。从可以见到的材料来看，毛泽东似乎从来没有公开批评过张春桥，这是唯一的一次。但是，即使可能是唯一的批评，毛泽东也是以批评自己的形式作的：“我也犯了错误……我没有看出来，只听了一遍”。[16]另一方面，毛泽东也无坚决清除江青之意，对江青充其量只是告诫和批评，这也应该是王洪文无力摆脱江青的最重要原因。但周恩来抓住了毛泽东的批评，布置在政治局范围内，学习讨论毛泽东的讲话。周恩来因病不能主持会议，决定由王洪文召集。王洪文一再推托，拖着不召开会议。5月27日，经毛泽东批准，由邓小平主持召开中共中央政治局会议，批评以江青为首的“四人帮”。[17]

王洪文担任中共中央副主席后，毛泽东始终在一边观察。毛泽东对王洪文的政治能力失望。王洪文自己在许多方面也不思进取：一次接待一个国家总统，他本应事先准备，了解对方国家情况。可他对外交部送给他的资料连看也不看。第二天接待时，什么也谈不出，只好翻来覆去地问那个总统：你到中国饭吃得惯吧，住得惯吧。外交部工作人员存心如实记下王洪文的这些话，写成简报，报送毛泽东，据说毛泽东看了很生气。[18]王洪文的文化知识也让毛泽东无法与之交流。毛泽东对反文革势力总是忧心忡忡，担心“复辟”。一次他对王洪文讲起张勋复辟的事，王洪文不知张勋是谁，问毛泽东辫子兵是怎么回事，毛只好说“你自己去查”。[19]

对王洪文直升飞机式的提拔，使得王洪文既无法在各个台阶积累工作和政治经验，也无法在各个领域和地区积累人脉资源。更重要的是，毛泽东选拔文革造反派作为自己的副手，却不能被文革的反对者尤其广大的老干部接受。毛泽东再一次抛弃自己选拔的接班人。毛泽东向周恩来和邓小平表示：王洪文政治上不强，“威望不高”。根据毛泽东的意见，1975年6月下旬，王洪文回上海和浙江“帮助工作”。7月1日，叶剑英写信给毛泽东，建议由邓小平主持工作，毛泽东批示“同意”。从7月初开始，中共中央日常工作由邓小平主持。从此，王洪文再也没有主持过中央工作。[20]

对于王洪文的工作能力，在他身边工作过的萧木有着评价：

比起一般工人，王洪文无论是在考虑和处理事情的能力上，还是在政治上，要强一些。他如果是一步一步地上去，在各种位置上受到锻炼，也许有可能会锻炼出工作经验和能力。但他却是一下子被提拔上去的，这使他的经验能力与责任严重不对称。而且王洪文实际是奉命造反，没有独立判断政治是非的能力。他对政治是非的判断标准就是“最高指示”，毛泽东的话。[21]

1975年7月，失意的王洪文回了上海。同行的廖祖康通知市委办公室，给王洪文准备一间办公用房间。不过人们没有听出言外之音：王洪文打算长住上海了。马天水、徐景贤、王秀珍等，不知道北京发生的事情，不知道王洪文已经失宠于毛泽东。王洪文向他们透露了中央的斗争，说：“当前中央斗争很复杂，要有上山打游击的准备”；8月19日，王洪文去上棉三十厂，临走时说：“只要我不被打倒，不死，下次还要来的。右派上台，我就来不了了”。[22]回康办的路上，同行的王秀珍觉得他刚才的话不妥，说：你这句话讲得太露骨了，能这样吗？王洪文答：“要有这个思想准备。文化大革命谁胜、谁负的问题，远没有解决，有些人根本不承认我这个副主席，不承认文化大革命，不承认新干部，好多地方新干部都被打下去。还要围绕文化大革命再斗。你看邓小平的讲话，不就清楚了吗？”[23]另一次，在锦江饭店小礼堂楼上，王洪文边喝酒边埋怨：“什么主持工作，还不是让我往火坑里跳！”“现在我有什么权？党中央和国务院是他（指邓小平）的，军队也是他的，我只有一个办工农兵读书班的权！这是毛主席定的呀！”[24]

王洪文在上海无所事事，除了视察工作，很多时间放在吃喝、打猎、钓鱼、看电影。后来他对人说：“去年我回上海，实际上是半休息状态，太气了”。[25]而此时，“王洪文犯错误了”的消息悄悄在干部间流传。马天水、徐景贤、王秀珍很着急。马天水说：洪文在上海没事干，邓小平这个人很能抓权，我们要劝他赶快回北京。他老不回北京，慢慢权没有了，在群众中影响也没有了。徐景贤说：洪文回北京一见报，政治谣言也就会没有了。要他赶快回北京抓工作。王秀珍说：我们劝他回北京好，他在上海也没事做，情绪不高。大寨会议他没参加不要紧，计划会议他要参加，代表工人在会上讲话。[26]

马天水、徐景贤、王秀珍三次劝王洪文回去。11月15日王洪文终于回北京。但回北京后，吃喝打猎钓鱼依旧。请王洪文吃饭喝酒最多的是叶剑英，有时半夜三更也会打电话将王洪文叫去。王洪文大概认为中央高干都是这样，吃吃喝喝是一种干部待遇；或者他觉得自己已经被高层政治遗弃，不再被信任，所以也不再愿意收紧骨头谨慎行事。他的秘书看不下去，说：“王洪文这个人完蛋了，照这种样子，肯定完蛋”。这个秘书打报告，执意离开王洪文，后来在文革结束前的半年，终于如愿。[27]金祖敏曾经劝过王洪文珍惜机会，好好学习，王洪文听了很不高兴。[28]萧木也曾经劝过王洪文。一次王洪文又被叶剑英叫去喝酒，酒席散后，萧木与王洪文整整谈了三小时。萧木以老师的身份，劝王洪文不要沉湎于吃喝打兔子。王洪文听着，最后表示：

我有我的难处，我难以开展工作，许多人根本不承认“十大”的路线。我的中共中央副主席身份更是不被承认。只有叶帅还是支持我的。所以叶帅叫我来，我也不好推辞。[29]

整个邓小平主政时期，王洪文情绪都十分低落。直到1975年底，名为“反击右倾翻案风”，实为批判邓小平的运动开展，王洪文才又重新活跃起来。不久，因北京群众悼念周恩来，引发1976年丙辰清明天安门事件，邓小平被革职。但王洪文也没有因此重新复权。接替邓小平的是华国锋，毛泽东再次挑选的接班人。毛泽东不会想到，这个接班人，将结束他视为自己一生所作两件大事中的一件——文革。华国锋将永远结束王洪文的政治生涯。

[1].司马东去《浩劫上海滩——一个中央工作组成员的耳闻目睹》，中共中央党校出版社1999年出版。

[2].《张春桥1970年5月1日下午在康平路小礼堂接见工总司委员时的谈话》，工总司1967年5月2日。原件藏上海市总工会。

[3].这一节的资料，除注明出处的之外，全部引自徐景贤《十年一梦》。

[4].徐景贤《十年一梦》。

[5].王洪文在北京有两个秘书，一个工作秘书小沈，另一个生活秘书廖祖康，国棉十七厂造反时就一直跟着王洪文的原厂技校学生。两个秘书已经属多;张春桥和姚文元在北京都只有一个秘书。萧木作为王洪文的政治辅导员调去王洪文身边，文革后有人说萧木是徐景贤的上海市委写作组安排插在王洪文身边的钉子，显然与事实不符。萧木是王洪文自己点名要求调到北京的。

[6].以上资料均主要引自徐景贤《十年一梦》。

[7].转引自张春桥 1972 年 11 月 2 日下午在接见市工代会部分委员时的讲话。上海市工代会会议记录。原件为上海市总工会文书档案。

[8].这是萧木对笔者回忆的，他参加了《关于党章修改说明》的起草。

[9].马天水 1976 年 11 月 21 日《我的补充揭发交代》，上海市区、县。局党员负责干部会议秘书组 1976 年 11 月 25 日印发，引自宋永毅主编《中国文化大革命资料库》。

[10].本节内容除注明的外，其余皆引自逢先知、金冲及主编 2003 年出版《毛泽东传》，以及徐景贤《十年一梦》。

[11].《上海文革史话》第 641 页。

[12].这是参加过王维国专案审查的王知常告诉笔者的。

[13].《上海文革史话》第 642 页。

[14].《上海文革史话》第 643 页。

[15].转引自薛庆超著《中国现代史论：中国外交重大突破毛泽东的南方决策》，四川人民出版社 2010 年出版。

[16].转引自逢先知、金冲及主编 2003 年出版《毛泽东传》第 1731 页。

[17].此小节资料引自逢先知、金冲及主编 2003 年出版《毛泽东传》第 1734 页。

[18].笔者 1989 年 8 月对金祖敏的访谈。

[19].这是萧木告诉笔者的。

[20].毛泽东对王洪文的态度转引自逢先知、金冲及主编 2003 年出版《毛泽东传》第 1739 页。

[21].这是 2007 年间，一次笔者向萧木问起王洪文的工作能力时，萧木对笔者说的。

[22].转引自中共上海市委清查“四人帮”专案小组办公室 1977 年 3 月《反党分子王洪文的罪行年表》。

[23].王秀珍 1978 年 3 月 29 日《补充交代与王洪文的反革命罪行》。

[24].徐景贤 1976 年 11 月 5 日《徐景贤的初步揭发交待》，引自宋永毅主编《中国文化大革命资料库》。

[25].转引自中共上海市委清查“四人帮”专案小组办公室 1977 年 3 月《反党分子王洪文的罪行年表》。

[26].王秀珍 1978 年 12 月 24 日。

[27].笔者 1989 年 8 月对金祖敏的访谈。

[28].同上。

[29].这是萧木对笔者说的。

(本文为《革命造反年代——上海文革运动史稿》中的一节)

DeepL translation

Li Xun: the rise and fall of Wang Hongwen

Published: 2015-10-12 19:40 Author: Li Xun

Mao Zedong's understanding of Wang Hongwen initially came from Zhang Chunqiao. When Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wen Yuan returned to work in Shanghai in early 1967, they had to write written reports to Mao Zedong and the Central Cultural Revolution every few days to report on the situation in Shanghai. According to Xu Jingxian's recollection, Mao Zedong "gave Zhang Chunqiao the task of identifying candidates for the leadership of the Shanghai Municipal Committee". In this

way, from Zhang Chunqiao's series of written reports, Mao Zedong successively learned about the situation of the General Department of Labor and Wang Hongwen.

After seizing power in January 1967, the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee was established, and Wang Hongwen became one of the seven main leaders of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee. And judging from the order in which the Municipal Revolutionary Committee circulated documents at that time, Wang Hongwen was in the seventh last place: Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Ma Tianshui, Wang Shaoyong, Xu Jingxian, Wang Chenglong, and Wang Hongwen.

After becoming the leader of the Municipal Reform Committee, Wang Hongwen had been relatively cautious, responding positively to the central government's measures to restore order, and asking the workers' rebels under him to follow the central government's deployment closely. He had a great influence on the workers' rebels, and was very binding on their grassroots actions, which tended to transgress the norms. With the exception of June, July, and August 1967, when Shanghai was more chaotic during the period of the Joint Division and the Branch Union Station, the rest of the year was generally smoother than the rest of the country. In particular, at the beginning of 1967, Wang Hongwen firmly advocated the absorption of conservatives into the rebel team, and in the second half of 1967, Wang Hongwen firmly demanded that the liaison stations under the General Department of Public Works carry out a great union, even if it meant "making peace". All these were important reasons for the stabilization of the situation in Shanghai, and Wang Hongwen played a crucial role.

Wang Hongwen had prestige in the General Department of Labor. He was more cautious than the general rebels, decent and easy-going. Some of the old rebels at the headquarters of the General Department of Industry would be displeased with each other, but with Wang Hongwen, except for a few in the early days, everyone was basically submissive.

From July 21, 1967, to the eve of the State of the Union, Mao Zedong had been living in Shanghai. He even went to the Bund with Zhang Chunqiao in a bulletproof sedan on the night of the Lianshi smash. Seeing the workers' rebels wearing rattan helmets and holding spears, guarding in front of the Municipal Reform Committee, Mao was delighted, saying that the Shanghai workers' rebels were able to take control of the situation. Later, Mao saw an image of Wang Hongwen in a live television broadcast of a criticism session. At the time, Wang Hongwen was making a concluding speech at the criticism meeting, and Mao listened carefully to Wang Hongwen's speech while Zhang Chunqiao briefed him on Wang Hongwen. According to Xu Jingxian's later recollection, Mao was impressed by Wang Hongwen's image on TV.

Mao first met Wang Hongwen on October 1, 1968, the National Day. Wang Hongwen was the leader of the Shanghai delegation to Beijing to observe the National Day and stayed at Zhongnanhai with many of Shanghai's delegates. On that day, October 1, after reviewing the parade, when Ma Tianshui met Mao on the Tiananmen Tower, he said that Wang Hongwen wished to see the Chairman, and Mao agreed. [1] Zhang Chunqiao took Wang Hongwen to the screen-separated VIP meeting room and then left, leaving Wang Hongwen alone. Lin Biao was also present. During this individual conversation, Wang Hongwen left a favorable impression on Mao. Xu Jingxian later argued that Mao Zedong's public recommendation of Wang Hongwen at the central committee meeting, his praise for the Shanghai workers, and his recognition of the situation in Shanghai demonstrated that Mao's desire to promote the new force from among the workers had already begun in 1968 when he met with Wang Hongwen on the Tiananmen Square Citadel.

Wang Hongwen's qualifications of "having farmed, served in the army, and worked as a laborer," as summarized by Zhang Chunqiao when he first introduced him to Mao, were very much to Mao's liking. Later, Mao Zedong repeatedly told people that Wang Hongwen had "farmed, served as a soldier, worked as a laborer, and had been a worker, farmer, and soldier all together, and later became a cadre, so his experience is more comprehensive". Mao Zedong was also very concerned about Wang Hongwen's cultural level, and repeatedly asked Zhang Chunqiao whether Wang Hongwen could write articles. However, Zhang Chunqiao did not seem to realize Mao's deeper intention at this time, and only saw this as Mao's concern for the Shanghai workers' rebels:

"Chairman asked me once last year whether Comrade Wang Hongwen could write articles, and again this year. Why do you keep asking? On the one hand, the Chairman is concerned about Comrade Wang Hongwen, and more importantly, he is concerned about your growth. [2]

After the National Day ceremony, the other representatives of the Shanghai Observation Group are on October 12, collectively left Beijing, Wang Hongwen did not return to Shanghai, he was left to attend the 12th plenary session of the 8th CPC Central Committee. The meeting was held from October 13 to October 30, at which Liu Shaoqi was designated as a "traitor, traitor, worker thief" and expelled from the party forever; he also criticized the 1967 "February Countercurrent". This was Wang Hongwen's first participation in a high-level party meeting. At the plenary meeting on October 13, Mao praised Shanghai, saying, "I think Shanghai is better than Beijing, with 1.2 million workers in control of the situation." At the closing meeting on October 31, Mao told all participants, "Introduce a person called Wang Hongwen, stand up! Take a look."

Because of Mao's concern for Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, after returning to Shanghai, adjusted Wang Hongwen's position in the Municipal Reform Committee, placing him ahead of Xu Jingxian and immediately after Ma Tianshui and Wang Shaoyong. Xu Jingxian later said in his recollections, "Originally, the Red Guards in Shanghai nicknamed me 'Xu Laosan', but now Wang Hongwen has become 'Wang Laosan' in the true sense of the word." In the Municipal Reform Committee, Wang Hongwen was mainly in charge of mass organizations, as well as the propaganda team and the cultural and military guards, but later he began to assist Ma Tianshui in taking charge of the overall work in Shanghai, and was also in charge of the special case of the "clean team". 1968, in the second half of the year, the activities of the CPC organization, which had been halted for nearly three years, began again, and the Ninth CPC Congress was also under preparation. Wang Hongwen was one of the leaders of the preparatory group for the Ninth Congress in Shanghai.

From April 1 to 24, 1969, the Ninth National Congress of the CPC was held in Beijing. In the political report drafted by Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan and read out by Lin Biao, the role of the Shanghai workers in the Cultural Revolution was specifically mentioned: "The working class of Shanghai, with its revolutionary traditions, has, under the leadership and support of Chairman Mao

and the proletarian command led by Chairman Mao, stepped forward and joined forces with the vast revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres. United with the vast revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, it seized the power of the capitalist-roaders in the old Municipal Party Committee and the old Municipal People's Committee from the bottom up in January 1967." As a representative of the Shanghai working class, Wang Hongwen headed the Shanghai delegation to the Ninth National Congress; he was also designated as one of the leaders of the East China Group, and participated in a number of small meetings chaired by Mao Zedong. The central government also decided that Wang Hongwen would speak on behalf of the working class at the next day's congress. This was symbolic: in the past, national congresses of such a type often arranged for model workers and advanced figures to speak as the working class, as an example for the nation's workers. This time, however, Mao and the Central Cultural Revolutionaries chose the rebels among the workers to represent and exemplify the nation's workers.

Arranging for Wang Hongwen to speak was not finalized by Mao until April 13th. Wang Hongwen borrowed 15 yuan from Xu Jingxian, who was also attending the Ninth National Congress, and bought a pair of black Indefinitely Long Pants from the Congress Commissary, wearing the military uniform that was popular during the Cultural Revolution. Both to show the image of the working class, but also in line with Wang Hongwen's status as a retired soldier. April 14, after Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng speech, Mao Zedong personally announced "Comrade Wang Hongwen speech". Wang Hongwen's speech, drafted by Xu Jingxian and reviewed by Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan, was not very long, but was a statement of support for the resolutions of the Ninth National Congress and a determination to carry them out; the significance of the speech lay in the fact that it was a political appearance that had been carefully orchestrated. Through this speech, Wang Hongwen's name was spread by the media, and the whole country and even the world became aware of this new name on the rise. At the Ninth Congress of the CPC, Wang Hongwen, along with Shanghai's Xu Jingxian, Wang Xiuzhen, and Yang Fuzhen, became members of the Central Committee of the CPC, and Ma Tianshui, Jin Zumin, Chen Dangfeng, and Wang Weiguo became alternate members of the Central Committee of the CPC.

From August 23 to September 6, 1970, the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee was held in Lushan. At this meeting, the army cadres led by Lin Biao, to Jiang Qing, led by the Cultural Revolution faction launched an offensive, Zhang Chunqiao by the delegates unnamed siege. Once again, Jiang Qing jumped ahead of the main event, and together with Zhang Chunqiao, complained to Mao Zedong and begged for help. Mao, of course, understood that the siege on Zhang Chunqiao was in fact a strong resentment of his own launching of the Cultural Revolution, and he once again chose Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao. Although Chen Boda was the next to be publicly criticized, Mao's close relationship with Lin Biao was already fractured. After the Lushan meeting, Jiang Qing secretly received Wang Hongwen and Xu Jingxian, who had gone to Lushan to attend the meeting, at his residence. Jiang Qing said to Wang Hongwen, "You know, there are great hopes for you!" Wang Hongwen should have understood Jiang Qing's words, which conveyed Mao's expectations of Wang Hongwen. [3]

Transferred to Beijing to study

In September 1972, Wang Hongwen was transferred to Beijing to study. It was Zhang Chunqiao who called Wang Hongwen from Beijing to inform him, asking him to hand over his work in Shanghai and to bring his clothes and necessities, and possibly a secretary, as he would be staying in Beijing for some time. According to Xu Jingxian's later recollection, Wang Hongwen did not know what the central government was transferring him to study, and did not dare to ask Zhang Chunqiao, so when he put down the phone, he rushed to discuss the matter with Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen. We all believe that, after the Lin Biao incident, the Central Committee needs to add cadres, Wang Hongwen went to the Central Committee to study, certainly be further reuse, and is likely to enter the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. the evening of September 6, Ma, Xu, Wang in the small auditorium of the Jinjiang Hotel for Wang Hongwen farewell. The next day, Wang Hongwen took his secretary, Liao Zukang, to board a plane to Beijing at Hongqiao Airport, and the standing committee of Shanghai Municipal Committee went to the airport to see Wang Hongwen off.

Wang Hongwen went to Beijing and lived with Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan. The central government's arrangement for him was to follow Zhou Enlai to participate in the work of the central government and to study at the same time. The General Office of the Central Committee sent Wang Hongwen the works of Ma, En, Len, Si and Mao for his study. This was to cultivate and examine Wang Hongwen. Mao Zedong, in particular, paid close attention to Wang Hongwen. After Mao waited for Wang Hongwen to settle down, he talked to him several times in a row. He asked him detailed questions about his history, and in the course of the conversations, he asked various questions and listened to his views and opinions, both examining and interviewing Wang Hongwen as well as enlightening and helping him. Mao Zedong also took care of Zhou Enlai to personally help Wang Hongwen, where Zhou Enlai presided over the meeting, Zhou notified Wang Hongwen to participate in the small meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the meeting of the Central Committee to deal with the problem of the Ministry of the Seven Mechanical Departments, to solve the meeting of the two factions in Henan, and even the top-secret discussion on the launch vehicle to send the Sputnik to the sky of the ad hoc meeting, all to participate in the meeting of Wang Hongwen and let him express his views, which is Zhou Enlai's help to teach and examine Wang Hongwen. [4]

Wang Hongwen was careful and endeavored to follow the requirements of the Central Committee. When the central government said that he was transferred to Beijing to strengthen his studies, he tried to study carefully and also proposed to Xu Jingxian of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee that Xiao Mu be transferred to Beijing to continue to be his study counselor. [5] Xu Jingxian very reluctant to let Xiao Mu left Shanghai, because Xiao Mu is the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee writing group, hard work, penmanship is also good, at this time is with Chen Jide to organize the "Morning Glory" magazine; but since Wang Hongwen named, he had to let go. Wang Hongwen also asked Xu Jingxian to help him find an English teacher, he wants to learn English, because Chairman Mao is also learning English. Xu Jingxian later transferred an English teacher from the Foreign Language Department of Fudan University to teach Wang Hongwen from ABCD.

At this time, Wang Hongwen was full of complacency. He spent his days either studying or in meetings, and Mao sent him to Xinjiang, Zhejiang and other areas to deal with the long-standing conflicts left over from opposing factions of mass organizations. Wang Hongwen himself was originally the head of a mass organization, and later, as the head of the Shanghai Municipal Reform Committee, he specialized in dealing with disputes between mass organizations in Shanghai, so he had experience in this area. Although he had a tendency in his heart for the two factions of the mass organizations, especially for the two factions of Shanghai's neighbor, Zhejiang, for the first time as a representative of the Central Committee, he basically dealt with the contradictions according to the requirements of the Central Committee, to the satisfaction of both Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai. Mao Zedong is said to have told Zhang Chunqiao: Wang Hongwen has been a worker, a soldier and a farmer, and his conditions are better than yours and mine. We need to understand the workers, peasants and soldiers, and we need to carry out investigations and research, and he himself has been a worker and a soldier, and he has the conditions to do so.

Soon, Zhang Chunqiao told the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Xu Jingxian and so on: it looks like, Hongwen can not come back; after he and Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen discussed, Shanghai's daily work by Ma Tianshui presided over. This is a signal that Wang Hongwen will stay in the central work, Mao Zedong appreciated Wang Hongwen. The issue of successor had been a heartbreak for Mao after the Lin Biao incident, and now Mao thought that the problem could be solved.

But Wang Hongwen, after all, had been in politics for a very short time and had no seniority. The lack of seniority was not only a lack of experience, but also made it impossible to understand his true ability and character from his seniority, so Mao seemed to be a little uneasy about the successor he had chosen yet again. Before the preparations for the 10th CPC Congress, Mao asked Wang Hongwen to read the biography of Liu Bangzi. Wang Hongwen didn't hear what Mao wanted him to read, and didn't dare to ask. He took advantage of his return to Shanghai to conduct research to find Zhu Yongjia of the writing team, saying that he wanted to read the biography of Liu Whatzi. Zhu Yongjia guessed that it was "Liu Bunzi". Liu Banzi is a character in the Twenty-Four Histories, the Book of the Later Han Dynasty. Originally a cowherd boy, he was made emperor during the Red

Eyebrows Uprising, but he was simply not qualified for the position of emperor. Zhu Yongjia, who is very familiar with Chinese history, heard that Mao Zedong wanted Wang Hongwen to read this article, and immediately realized that Mao Zedong's meaning was that he hoped that Wang Hongwen would not be like Liu Benshi, who could not be helped by his failure to become a great man. However, Zhu Yongjia was not in a position to say so explicitly. Zhu Yongjia went to discuss with Xu Jingxian, who came up with the idea of translating the ancient text into modern vernacular according to the literal meaning of the article, without any other interpretation or discussion. Zhu Yongjia accordingly, translated word by word and sentence by sentence. Wang Hongwen listened, unmoving, without any indication. Both Xu Jingxian and Zhu Yongjia thought that Wang Hongwen was a man of understanding, and that he should have understood Mao's meaning of the words. [6]

When Wang Hongwen went to the Central Committee, he was very uncomfortable with the rules of conduct of the Central Committee. He called Ma Tianshui and said that he was very lonely, and sometimes the whole day was just meetings. [7]

Becoming Vice Chairman of the CCP Central Committee

In May 1973, the CCP Central Committee held a working meeting of the Central Committee chaired by Zhou Enlai to discuss preparations for the Tenth Congress. Zhou Enlai announced that, on Mao Zedong's proposal, the Politburo had decided to transfer Wang Hongwen to the Central Committee to sit on the Politburo and take part in the work; according to Mao Zedong's opinion, Wang was in charge of the Party Constitution Revision Group, which would draw up instructions for revising the Party Constitution and propose a new draft of the Party Constitution. Since the Ninth Congress of the CPC elected only one chairman, Mao Zedong, and one vice-chairman, Lin Biao. After the Lin Biao incident, only Mao Zedong was left as the Chairman of the CPC Central Committee, and one-third of the Politburo members who were considered to be pro-Lin Biao died, such as Ye Qun, or were censored, such as Chen Boda and Huang Yongsheng, etc., replacing the Vice-Chairman and members of the Politburo became an urgent task; moreover, the Party Constitution of the Ninth National Congress, which made Lin Biao his successor, also needed to be revised urgently.

Initially Wang Hongwen in charge of the team, wrote "on the revision of the party constitution of the note", just a transactional report. The report was sent up and returned about three days before the 10th National Congress. On it was Mao Zedong's handwriting: the word "Explanation" had been crossed out and replaced by the word "Report", and underneath it was written the words "Wang Hongwen. [8] Mao decided that Wang Hongwen would present a report on the revision of the Party's constitution at the "Top Ten". In the previous congresses of the CCP, the report on the revision of the Party Constitution was usually made by the person who was going to be promoted to be Mao Zedong's deputy: Liu Shaoqi in the Seventh Congress, Deng Xiaoping in the Eighth Congress, and no such report in the Ninth Congress. The "Ninth Congress" did not have this content. The fact that Wang Hongwen was the deputy of Liu Shaoqi in the "Seventh National Congress" and Deng Xiaoping in the "Eighth National Congress", but not in the "Ninth National Congress", indicates that Mao wanted to reuse Wang Hongwen.

On August 20, a meeting of the Election Preparatory Committee for the "10th National Congress" was held. Although Mao Zedong was not present at the meeting, he asked Zhou Enlai to announce an even more shocking decision: Wang Hongwen was to be the head of the Election Preparatory Committee, and Zhou Enlai, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing, and Zhang Chunqiao, who were ranked after Wang, were to be the deputy heads of the committee. After announcing Mao's decision, Zhou Enlai humbly stepped down from the chair and asked Wang Hongwen to preside over the meeting. The more than 100 participants in the meeting immediately understood Mao's intention to make Wang Hongwen his successor.

Mao's intention was resisted. Before the "10th National Congress", at the meeting of the members of the 9th Central Committee Political Bureau chaired by Zhou Enlai, when Zhou Enlai conveyed Mao's proposal to make Wang Hongwen vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), Li Xiannian and the other members of the Political Bureau did not take a stance; Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan could not take a stance because everyone was silent, so the scene was very awkward. Nanjing military region commander Xu Shiyu proposed: vice chairman of a can, his meaning is very clear: Zhou Enlai as vice chairman, not in favor of Wang

Hongwen put up. In order to "get through the mind", "unified understanding", the evening of August 23, presided over by Zhou Enlai, held a meeting of the central party, government and military organs directly under the Central Government and the provinces, cities and autonomous regions in charge. At the meeting, Zhou Enlai conveyed and explained Mao Zedong's idea of selecting Wang Hongwen to work for the Central Committee, and persuaded everyone not to look down on the "Children's Corps". Nevertheless, Xu Shiyu remained unconvinced and interjected several times to state his opinion. Zhang Chunqiao accused Xu Shiyu of "opposing Chairman Mao's opinion", and Xu Shiyu shouted out in public: "What's so great about you? After Zhou Enlai's speech, the veteran cadres present at the meeting expressed their respect for Zhou Enlai with applause. But when it was Wang Hongwen's turn to speak, there was silence at the end of his speech and no one applauded. When discussing who should make a report on the revision of the Party Constitution, very few people suggested Wang Hongwen. All these signs showed that the top cadres of the Central Committee did not recognize Wang Hongwen, which made Wang Hongwen feel the resistance of the veteran cadres to him from the very beginning. Wang Hongwen later mentioned the scene to Xu Jingxian and still could not get over it.

Ma Tianshui was also present at the meeting. In the face of the silent collective boycott, Ma Tianshui spoke for Wang Hongwen in his capacity as a veteran cadre: "I took the lead and expressed my support and advocacy for Wang Hongwen as a candidate for Vice Chairman of the Party Central Committee. I said at the time: I have been with Wang Hongwen for some time, and I think Wang Hongwen is more comprehensive in his view of the problem, and is not a person who rushes to kill, he has presided over the work in Shanghai for a period of time, and I feel that he is better than I am". [9]

On the afternoon of August 24, 1973, the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China opened. Mao Zedong attended and presided over the congress. Mao sat at the center of the podium, with Wang Hongwen and Zhou Enlai to his left and right. Mao announced that Zhou Enlai would give a political report and Wang Hongwen would give a report on amending the Party Constitution. After Zhou Enlai finished reading the political report, Wang Hongwen, wearing a brand new uniform and collar and cap badge, read the report on the revision of the Party

Constitution drafted by Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, and on August 28th, Mao Zedong was not present at the closing meeting of the 10th National Congress. However, when voting for the Central Committee members, Zhou Enlai announced: "Chairman Mao is on leave of absence for today's meeting; Chairman Mao has entrusted Comrade Wang Hongwen to vote on his behalf for the 10th Central Committee members and alternate members". Wang Hongwen stood up, walked over to Mao's seat, picked up Mao's ballot paper sitting on the table, and walked toward the ballot box to cast his ballot. This series of arrangements by Mao Zedong brought Wang Hongwen to the forefront of Chinese politics. Then, on August 31, the national press uniformly published the press release of the first plenary session of the 10th Central Committee held the day before, in which the most newsworthy part was that Wang Hongwen had become the vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), after Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai.

This was the third time Mao had chosen a successor for himself, the first two being Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao. [10]

Appointed to Wang Weiguo's special case

After the Lushan Conference in 1970, Wang Hongwen was in charge of the "Criticizing Chen Rectification" in Shanghai, i.e., criticizing Chen Boda. On September 13 of the following year, the death of Lin Biao fled the country. The CPC Central Committee set up a special task force on Lin Biao under the charge of Zhou Enlai, and the case of Lin Biao in East China was handled by Xu Shiyou and Wang Hongwen, with a materials team in Shanghai. Wang Hongwen recommended, with Xu Shiyou's consent, that Dai Liqing be specifically in charge of the task force; Wang Zhichang was transferred to be in charge of the written work. In addition, also transferred to the city Federation of Trade Unions in the military representative Kang Ningyi, the Air Force and the Police District of some military personnel, a total of eight or nine people, composed of the task force. Initial materials were reported directly to Zhou Enlai, but also to Xu Shiyou and Zhang Chunqiao, but not through the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and other leaders of the police reserve.

In some of the handling of Wang Weiguo special case, Wang Hongwen and Xu Shiyou often argued and disagreed. Conflicts are specifically reflected in the "Lin Biao counter-revolutionary group" on the investigation. Lin Biao's case was in Shanghai, Jiangsu and Zhejiang, and the targets were mainly the Air Force 4 in Shanghai and Air Force 5 in Hangzhou. Mao Zedong sent Xu Shiyou and Wang Hongwen to Zhejiang to deal with the issue of the Fifth Air Force. Wang Hongwen believed that the cadres of the Fifth Air Force should be educated, and did not advocate that they should all be dealt with. Xu Shiyou held a different view. Shanghai's Air Force cadres are also the same, "Wang Weiguo task force" before and after the review of a total of 56 people, of which in addition to four people reported to the Central Committee "Lin Biao task force" review, the rest of the personnel after a period of review, there is no formal conclusion, that is, not hard to give them a "Lin Biao counter-revolutionary". In other words, they were not given the conclusion that they were members of the "Lin Biao Counter-Revolutionary Group". They were later handed over to the Air Force to be dealt with. [Wang Hongwen probably wanted to leave some room for these military cadres to maneuver. Wang Weiguo's wife, Du Guizhen, was believed to have "participated in a series of anti-Party activities", but Wang Hongwen believed that he could not implicate her in his husband's affairs and released her after a period of scrutiny. There were many others, such as Li Weijun, the younger brother of Li Weixin, and Han Hongkui, the political secretariat of the Fourth Air Force, who were not aware of the truth, but were only executives, and the responsibility should not fall on them, so Wang Hongwen treated them leniently. After the end of the Cultural Revolution, this became one of Wang Hongwen's charges, saying that he had harbored these people in an attempt to co-opt them and thus control them in his own hands, and all of these people were reprocessed.

In addition, when Xu Shiyou dealt with the issue of the cadres of the Air Force 4 in Shanghai, he switched all the original senior cadres of the Air Force 4 and sent them separately. Wang Hongwen thought it was not proper. Zhang Chunqiao also thought that the cadres below could not be blamed, and that it was mainly the responsibility of the above. Wang Hongwen advocated that the original team should be retained as much as possible, not to send another person, and that the crackdown should not be too broad, including the Fifth Air Force in Hangzhou. Zheng Changhua, the former commander of the Fourth Air Force, was an air force combat hero in the early 1950s. Zhou Enlai is said to have said, after the Lin Biao incident, that those combat heroes should be preserved. [12] In the materials on Zheng Changhua reported by Wang Hongwen, it was only said that Zheng had

once touted Lin Biao and his father, and it was thought that there was no solid evidence as to whether or not he had been involved in Lin Biao's activities. Wang Hongwen wanted to retain Zheng Changhua's position as commander of the Fourth Air Force; Xu Shiyou decided to transfer Zheng Changhua to the Nanjing Military Region for review, Wang Hongwen refused to let go, saying that "there is a benefit to retaining such a person in the Fourth Air Force". He let Zheng Changhua continue to preside over the work of the Air Force, and told him: "I still trust you", "you work boldly". However, the Nanjing Military Region side insisted on reviewing Zheng Changhua, and in 1972 Zheng Changhua was sent to the Central Task Force for review. Wang Hongwen sighed: "In this way, it's not possible for me to keep Zheng Changhua as a military commander again." [13] Many of Wang Hongwen's claims and practices contradicted Xu Shiyou. Wang Hongwen also tried to relax the treatment of Chen Liwei and others in the Zhejiang Air Force V, all of which were also firmly rejected by Xu Shiyou. [14]

Wang Hongwen was finally abandoned

After the 10th CPC Central Committee meeting, Wang Hongwen worked with Zhou Enlai, who drafted and co-signed all his important reports to Mao Zedong.[15] In June 1974, Zhou Enlai was seriously ill and hospitalized, and Mao entrusted Wang to preside over the Central Committee. Mao entrusted Wang Hongwen to preside over the daily work of the Central Committee. During this period, which was also the final stage of the brewing list for the Fourth National People's Congress (NPC), Jiang Qing, hoping to take control of the future State Council, asked Wang Hongwen again and again to speak to Mao Zedong. As Vice Chairman, Wang Hongwen, although ranked higher than Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao in the Party, followed Jiang Qing's and other commanders' lead. Mao repeatedly criticized Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen, and Yao Wenyuan as the "Gang of Four" and the "Shanghai Gang", and on October 18, 1974, Wang Hongwen complied with Jiang Qing and went to Changsha to meet with Mao Zedong to oppose Deng Xiaoping's appointment as the First Vice Premier of the State Council. Mao Zedong was dissatisfied with Jiang Qing, who had strong political aspirations but had made enemies everywhere, and he was even more disappointed with Wang Hongwen, who was a vice-chairman but was always following Jiang Qing's ass. Mao Zedong said to Wang Hongwen: do not get together with Jiang Qing, do not follow Jiang

Qing behind the approval of things; "'Gang of Four' do not engage in, the central government is so many people to be united". But Wang Hongwen did not realize the seriousness of Mao Zedong's dissatisfaction; or, he was unable and had no intention to get rid of Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao's control. His personal will was not strong, and he was considered to have a "soft ear" when he was in the Shanghai General Department of Labor. When he came to work for the Central Committee, he had no political and personal resources, and even less political experience, especially experience in high-level political life, so he could only follow the orders of Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao. What's more, he was promoted by Zhang Chunqiao, in the past, he and Zhang Chunqiao were teaching and being taught; now, although the leadership relationship has changed, Zhang Chunqiao will no longer teach him directly like in the past; but Zhang Chunqiao's judgment and advocacy, the vector of influence in the relationship between the two sides has not changed. With his ability, he simply could not compare himself to Zhang Chunqiao and could not stand up to him. In addition to his common views and interests on the Cultural Revolution, he simply could not, as Mao hoped, break out of the circle of the Gang of Four and become acceptable to all parties.

On December 23rd, Wang Hongwen went to Changsha to see Mao again, this time with Zhou Enlai, and stayed there for three days before returning to Beijing on the 27th. Mao once again asked Wang Hongwen not to engage in the "Gang of Four". During his stay in Changsha, Wang Hongwen wrote a check to Mao Zedong:

Chairman:

This time I came to Changsha to report to the Chairman, and once again listened to the Chairman's teachings and received a profound education. In particular, the Chairman's criticism of me, "You should not engage in the Gang of Four". The Chairman's criticism is completely correct, and I sincerely accept the Chairman's criticism and education. This time, the Chairman approved to stay here for three days, I should take this opportunity to recall, summarize the experience and lessons of their own mistakes.

Over the past two days I have seriously recalled the main mistakes I made.

After the Chairman found out, he had instructed me many times, "You should not get together with several people" and "You should not get together with the Shanghai Gang". I did not follow the Chairman's instructions resolutely. When problems arose in the course of my work, I did not discuss them with the majority of the Politburo comrades to solve the problems; instead, I approached only a few comrades. Despite the Chairman's repeated instructions, I still did not realize that I could not get away from the small circle. At the Politburo meeting before he left Beijing, the Chairman instructed me again, "You should not (engage in) the Shanghai Gang. Later, some comrades came to me to discuss the matter, but I still could not stand it. Therefore, I continued to make mistakes. On October 17, I came to Changsha to report to the Chairman about the quarrel between Comrade Jiang Qing and Comrade Xiaoping over the instructions for the "Feng Lei (Qing) No." I had made a serious mistake. I made a serious mistake because Comrade Xiaoping had a difference of opinion on the nomination of the Chief of General Staff, which was permitted in the internal life of the Party. But instead of relying on the majority of Comrades in the Politburo to solve the problem correctly, I listened only to the views of a few Comrades. I wrongly linked the question of the selection of the Chief of the General Staff and the issue of Comrade Jiang Qing's approval of the "Fengqing Wheel" with Comrade Xiaoping's quarrel, and speculated wildly, thus concluding that there might be some other problem. I therefore proposed to report this to the Chairman.

The truth of the matter is that Comrade Xiaoping was not good, but I made a serious mistake because the Premier was in poor health and asked me to preside over the work, and instead of listening to the different views of all sides in a comprehensive manner, I listened to the views of only a few comrades, and without analyzing them, I made the mistake of reporting it to the Chairman. I interfered with the Chairman. My mistake was serious. [15]

On May 3, 1975, Mao Zedong called a meeting of a dozen Politburo members at his residence. Mao's two-hour speech focused on criticizing the Gang of Four, led by Jiang Qing, and called for greater unity within the Party, suggesting that "we should engage in Marxism, not revisionism; we should be united, not divided; we should be open and aboveboard, not engage in conspiracies and

plots. Do not engage in the 'Gang of Four'; Mao Zedong also criticized Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan in the previous period of "criticism of empiricism". From the materials available, it seems that Mao never publicly criticized Zhang Chunqiao, and this is the only time he did so. However, even if it may have been the only criticism, Mao made it in the form of criticizing himself: "I also made mistakes. I didn't see them, I only heard them once." [16] On the other hand, Mao criticized Zhang Chunqiao for his "criticism of empiricism" in the previous period. [16] On the other hand, Mao Zedong had no intention of resolutely removing Jiang Qing, and at best cautioned and criticized him, which should also be the most important reason for Wang Hongwen's inability to get rid of Jiang Qing. However, Zhou Enlai seized on Mao's criticism and arranged to study and discuss Mao's speech within the Politburo. Zhou Enlai was unable to preside over the meeting due to illness and decided that Wang Hongwen should convene it. On May 27, with Mao's approval, Deng Xiaoping presided over a meeting of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee to criticize the Gang of Four led by Jiang Qing. [17] Zhou Enlai, who was ill, was unable to preside over the meeting, and it was decided that Wang should convene it. [17]

Mao Zedong was always watching from the sidelines after Wang Hongwen became vice-chairman of the CCP Central Committee. Mao was disappointed in Wang Hongwen's political abilities. Wang Hongwen himself was uninspired in many ways: once he received the Chairman of a country, he should have prepared in advance to understand the situation of the other country. But he did not even read the information sent to him by the Foreign Ministry. The next day when the reception, nothing can not talk about, had to flip around and ask the Chairman: you to China to eat meals customary it, live customary it. The staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs wrote down Wang Hongwen's remarks and reported them to Mao Zedong, who was said to be very angry when he read them. [18] Wang Hongwen's cultural knowledge also made it impossible for Mao to communicate with him. Mao was always worried about the anti-Cultural Revolution forces, fearing a "restoration". Once he told Wang Hongwen about Zhang Xun's restoration, Wang Hongwen did not know who Zhang Xun was and asked Mao what happened to the pigtailed soldiers, to which Mao had to say, "Go and find out for yourself." [19] Wang Hongwen's cultural knowledge also made it impossible for Mao to communicate with him. [19]

The helicopter-like promotion of Wang Hongwen made it impossible for him to accumulate work and political experience at all levels, as well as human resources in various fields and regions. More importantly, Mao's selection of the Cultural Revolution rebels as his deputies could not be accepted by the opponents of the Cultural Revolution, especially the vast number of veteran cadres. Once again, Mao abandoned his chosen successors. Mao told Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping that Wang Hongwen was not politically strong and had "low prestige". According to Mao's advice, Wang returned to Shanghai and Zhejiang in late June 1975 to "help with his work", and on July 1, Ye Jianying wrote to Mao suggesting that Deng Xiaoping should preside over the work, which Mao approved. From the beginning of July, the daily work of the CPC Central Committee was presided over by Deng Xiaoping. Since then, Wang Hongwen never presided over the work of the Central Committee. [20]

Xiao Mu, who worked beside Wang Hongwen, had this to say about his working ability:

Compared to the average worker, Wang Hongwen was stronger both in his ability to consider and deal with things, and politically. If he had gone up step by step, and had been tempered in various positions, it might have been possible for him to work out his working experience and ability. But he was promoted all at once, which made his experience and ability seriously asymmetrical to his responsibilities. Moreover, Wang Hongwen was actually ordered to rebel and did not have the ability to independently judge political right and wrong. His criterion for judging what was right and wrong in politics was the "supreme instructions," the words of Mao Zedong. [21]

In July 1975, the disillusioned Wang Hongwen returned to Shanghai. Liao Zukang, who was traveling with him, informed the municipal party committee office to prepare an office room for Wang Hongwen. However, people did not hear what was said: Wang Hongwen intended to live in Shanghai for a long time. Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen did not know what was happening in Beijing and that Wang Hongwen had fallen out of favor with Mao. Wang Hongwen revealed to them the struggle of the Central Committee, saying: "The current struggle of the Central Committee is very complicated, be prepared to go up to the mountains to fight guerrilla"; on August 19, Wang Hongwen went to the 30th Factory of Shanghai Cotton, and on his way out, he said: "As

long as I'm not knocked down and don't die, I'll be back next time. When the rightists come to power, I won't be able to come." [22] On the way back to the Kang Office, fellow traveler Wang Xiuzhen felt that his words just now is not good, said: you say this sentence is too revealing, can this? Wang Hongwen replied: "Be prepared for this. The question of who won and who lost in the Cultural Revolution is far from being resolved, and some people simply do not recognize me as Vice Chairman, do not recognize the Cultural Revolution, do not recognize the new cadres, and in many places the new cadres have been beaten down. There will have to be another fight around the Cultural Revolution. Look at Deng Xiaoping's speech, isn't it clear?" [23] On another occasion, upstairs in the small auditorium of the Jinjiang Hotel, Wang Hongwen grumbled as he drank, "What presiding over the work, it's still not letting me jump into the fire pit!" "What power do I have now? The Party Central Committee and the State Council are his (referring to Deng Xiaoping), the army is also his, I only have the right to run a reading class for workers, peasants and soldiers! This is Chairman Mao's decision!" [24]

Wang Hongwen had nothing to do in Shanghai, except for inspections, and spent much of his time eating, drinking, hunting, fishing, and watching movies. He later told people, "Last year when I returned to Shanghai, I was actually in a state of semi-rest, too angry." [25] At this time, the news that "Wang Hongwen had made a mistake" was quietly circulating among the cadres. Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian, and Wang Xiuzhen were anxious. Ma Tianshui said: Hongwen has nothing to do in Shanghai, Deng Xiaoping this person is very able to seize power, we have to persuade him to return to Beijing quickly. If he doesn't go back to Beijing, he will lose his power and influence among the masses. Xu Jingxian said: Hongwen back to Beijing once the newspaper, political rumors will also be gone. We want him to hurry back to Beijing to catch up with his work. Wang Xiuzhen said: We advise him to go back to Beijing, he has nothing to do in Shanghai, the mood is not high. It does not matter that he did not participate in the Dazhai meeting, he will participate in the planning meeting, on behalf of the workers to speak at the meeting. [26]

Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian, Wang Xiuzhen three times to persuade Wang Hongwen to go back. November 15 Wang Hongwen finally returned to Beijing. On November 15, Wang finally returned to Beijing, but after returning to Beijing, he continued to eat, drink, hunt and fish. The person who

invited Wang Hongwen to eat and drink the most was Ye Jianying, who sometimes called Wang Hongwen in the middle of the night. Wang Hongwen probably thinks that the central high cadres are like this, eating and drinking is a kind of cadre treatment; or he feels that he has been abandoned by the high-level politics, no longer trusted, so no longer willing to tighten the bones of caution. His secretary could not stand to watch and said, "Wang Hongwen, this person is finished, according to this kind of situation, surely finished." This secretary made a report and insisted on leaving Wang Hongwen, and later, six months before the end of the Cultural Revolution, finally got his wish. [27] Jin Zumin once advised Wang Hongwen to cherish the opportunity to study hard, Wang Hongwen was very unhappy to hear. [28] Xiao Mu had also advised Wang Hongwen. Once Wang Hongwen was again called by Ye Jianying for a drink, and after the drink was dispersed, Xiao Mu talked with Wang Hongwen for three whole hours. In his capacity as a teacher, Xiao Wood advised Wang Hongwen not to indulge in eating, drinking and hunting rabbits. Wang Hongwen listened and finally said:

I have my own difficulties. It's hard for me to carry out my work, and many people don't recognize the "Top Ten" line at all. My status as Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee is not even recognized. Only Marshal Ye still supported me. So when Marshal Ye asked me to come, I couldn't refuse. [29]

Throughout the whole period of Deng Xiaoping's rule, Wang Hongwen was in a very low mood. It was not until the end of 1975, when the campaign called "Counteracting the Right-Departing Reversal Wind", which was in fact a critique of Deng Xiaoping, was launched, that Wang Hongwen became active again. Soon after, Deng Xiaoping was dismissed because of the Tiananmen Square Incident of 1976, which was triggered by the mourning of Zhou Enlai by the Beijing masses. However, Wang Hongwen did not regain power as a result. Deng was replaced by Hua Guofeng, Mao's chosen successor once again. Mao would never have imagined that this successor would end one of the two great things he saw as his life's work - the Cultural Revolution. Hua Guofeng would end Wang Hongwen's political career forever.

[1]. Sima Dong went to The Shoah Shanghai Bund - What a Member of the Central Working Group Heard and Witnessed, published by the Press of the Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1999.

[2]. Zhang Chunqiao (张春桥), Talks of Zhang Chunqiao when Receiving Members of the General Department of Labor at the Small Auditorium on Kangping Road on the Afternoon of May 1, 1970, May 2, 1967, General Department of Labor. Original in Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions.

[3]. All of the information in this section, except where noted, is quoted from Xu Jingxian, Ten Years and a Dream.

[4]. Xu Jingxian, Ten Years and a Dream.

[5]. Wang Hongwen had two secretaries in Beijing, a working secretary, Xiao Shen, and a living secretary, Liao Zukang, a former factory technical school student who had been following Wang Hongwen since the rebellion at the 17th National Cotton Factory. The two secretaries were already too many; Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan both had only one secretary in Beijing. Xiao Mu as Wang Hongwen's political counselor transferred to Wang Hongwen's side, after the Cultural Revolution, some people say Xiao Mu is Xu Jingxian's Shanghai Municipal Party Committee writing group arranged to insert in Wang Hongwen's side of the nail, obviously inconsistent with the facts. Xiao Mu was transferred to Beijing at Wang Hongwen's own request.

[6]. All the above information is mainly quoted from Xu Jingxian, Ten Years of a Dream.

[7]. Quoted from Zhang Chunqiao's speech on the afternoon of November 2, 1972, when he received some members of the Municipal Labor Congress. Minutes of the Shanghai Municipal Labor Congress. Originally filed as Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions paperwork.

[8]. This was recalled to the author by Xiao Mu, who participated in the drafting of the Notes on the Revision of the Party Constitution.

[9]. Ma Tianshui, November 21, 1976, "My Supplementary Exposé Account," Shanghai Municipal Districts and Counties. Bureau Secretarial Group of the Conference of Party Members in Charge of Cadres issued on November 25, 1976, quoted in *The Database of China's Cultural Revolution*, edited by Song Yongyi.

[10]. The contents of this section are quoted, except where noted, from Mao Zedong's Biography, published in 2003 by Pang Xianzhi and Jin Chonghe, eds. and from Xu Jingxian, *Ten Years and a Dream*.

[11]. *Shanghai Cultural Revolution*, p. 641.

[12]. This was told to the author by Wang Zhichang, who participated in the Wang Weiguo ad hoc review.

[13]. *Shanghai Cultural Revolution*, p. 642.

[14]. *Shanghai Cultural Revolution*, p. 643.

[15]. Cited in Xue Qingchao, *Modern Chinese History: China's Diplomatic Major Breakthrough Mao's Southern Decision*, Sichuan People's Publishing House, 2010.

[16]. Cited in Mao Zedong (毛泽东傳传), p. 1731, edited by PANG Xianzhi and JIN Chongzhi (逢先知、金冲及主編), published in 2003.

[17]. Information in this subsection is quoted from p. 1734 of Mao Zedong, published by Pang Xianzhi, Jin Chong and eds. in 2003.

[18]. Author's August 1989 interview with Jin Zumin.

[19]. This was told to the author by Xiao Mu.

[20]. Mao's attitude toward Wang Hongwen is quoted from p. 1739 of Mao Zedong's Biography published in 2003 by Pang Xianzhi, Jin Chong and eds.

[21]. This is what Xiao Mu told the author when he asked him about Wang Hongwen's ability to do his job on one occasion during 2007.

[22]. Cited in CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee's Office of the Special Task Force for the Purge of the Gang of Four, March 1977, "Chronology of the Crimes of the Anti-Party Element Wang Hongwen", p. 23].

[23]. Wang Xiuzhen, March 29, 1978, "Supplementary Account of the Counterrevolutionary Crimes of Wang Hongwen.

[24]. Xu Jingxian, November 5, 1976, "Xu Jingxian's Preliminary Exposé of Accounting," cited in Song Yongyi, ed. Chinese Cultural Revolution Database.

[25]. Cited in CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee Office of the Special Group for the Investigation of the Gang of Four, March 1977, "Chronology of the Crimes of the Anti-Party Element Wang Hongwen" (反党分子王洪文的罪行年表), ed.

[26]. Wang Xiuzhen, 1978, December 24th.

[27]. Author's August 1989 interview with Jin Zumin.

[28]. Ibid.

[29]. This is what Xiao Mu told the author.

(This article is a section from 'The Age of Revolutionary Rebellion - A Historical Sketch of the Cultural Revolution Movement in Shanghai.)