李锐：耀邦去世前的谈话 Li Rui: A Talk with Hu Yaobang Before His Death

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FN 101 – Li Rui Talk with Hu Yaobang just before his death

一九八九年四月十五日，耀邦去世。我当天就得知噩耗，真如晴天霹雳，因前邻居秦川还告知，危险已经过去。第二天下午同秦川到耀邦家中，在灵堂行行礼，不禁泪水盈眶，将一首悼诗交德平。归途我们还到人大会堂习仲勋住处，了解丧事规格确定经过，有种担心，怕出乱子。晚上，为《新观察》草小文一篇，题为《活在人心便永生》，为悼诗末句。

就在十天的四月五日，我应邀到耀邦家中做过一次长谈，从下午两点半变到九点半，他精神很好，记忆清楚，毫无倦容。晚餐还特为我做了家乡菜，吃得很香，他一共谈了十个问题，其中涉及许多分歧。在这些分歧中，他并没有什么错误，执行的是改革开放的正确路线，在那个“生活会”上与却被逼得做检讨。他最后谈到，“如果中央重新给我做个符合实际的结论就好，不做也没有什么，去见马克思也是安然的。”

四月十九日，中纪委为悼念耀邦开支部会，我最先发言，讲了同耀邦的谈话，说这大概是他在世的最后一次如此长谈。我说，由于突然去世，他的要求重新结论便带有遗属的性质。因此，请中顾问将我的这个意见正式转告中央。我简要发言后，张光年发言为耀邦鸣不平，霍士廉等先赞同我的意见。陈丕显问我：你们谈话时旁边有人没有？我说，有一个干部子弟始终在场，后半截德平参加了。由于十点钟我还要赶去参加《新观察》和《世界经济导报》联合召开的悼念耀邦的讨论会，就提前退席了。

四月十五日夜写的那首悼诗，是这样四句：

天下奇冤一扫清，神州莫再有冤灵。

此情此景张家界，活在人心便永生。

第一句自然是写耀邦坚决平反一切冤假错案之举。第二句语带双关：既是耀邦的心愿与在位时的作为，又为耀邦诉屈；平反了大量冤案的他，自己竟是一个冤灵！

第三句写他一九八八年到湖南张家界时，成千游人济济于道，争相握手，要求留影；随后到南宁，只好足不出户了。第四句不言而喻。

“神州莫再有冤灵。”多年来，这七个字在我的脑中时常萦回着，他同我最后的长谈、他的遗愿，也总想将它公之于世。我觉得这是一份责任——不可推卸的责任。去年是他逝世十周年，我已开始整理谈话记录，由于种种原因没能完稿。现在特将他同我的三次长谈按时序整理出来，并将其间有关交往写出，希望可以告慰耀邦在天之灵。岁届耄耋，总有“汩余若将不及”的感觉，及至整理完毕，才像卸下了一副担子。

对耀邦的认识加深

我的老伴有两个很熟的干部子弟夫妇延滨和元元，他们的父母同耀邦夫妇关系密切，元元的母亲同耀邦夫人李昭是延安女大同学。在耀邦的追悼会上，我见到他们两人同家属站在一起。他们常来我家，于是元元有时就成为我同耀邦之间某种交流的 “中介”，既交流必要的信息，也从好的口中，多知道一些耀邦的思想观点和为人处世的特点。现在还零零碎碎记得一些： 耀邦否定“文革”最彻底，真理标准讨论最坚定。他认为党不能再受“左”的危害，于“左”祸的肆虐，可谓刻骨铭心。他重视自由、民主、人道原则，熟悉西方的发展历史，很愿意接受外来的新思想。他对毛泽东的认识是全面的，还在“文革”

时便不盲从，心中有数，常说绝对不能迷信任何人，要独立要思考。粉碎“四人帮”后，他有三个建议：停止批邓，平反冤假错案，抓生产。真理标准讨论时，阻力不仅来自华国锋、汪东兴，胡乔木就反对。平反冤假错案，汪东兴不交一、二、三专家辨档案，一些专案的甄别，如“六十一人案”，他就另起炉灶搞调查。在中纪委时，他力主党内生活正常化、民主化，应健康发展，一定要避免过去搞家长制、一人说了算的错误，并主持了《党内政治生活若干准则》的起草。耀邦是在这个最根本方面抓党的建设的。抓年轻人的选拔，他比谁都积极，紧抓不放（在选拔第三梯队工作中，我有亲身体会。有些人不过是口头讲讲而已，有些人只重视干部子弟或过分关心自己儿女，有些人还硬是“老中青三结合”、“扶上马走一程”）。当年赵紫阳、纪登奎被上面重视。一九六四年，耀邦曾推荐过紫阳到团中央接班。他没有任何拉帮结派思想，很反感“谁是谁的人”这种说法。他常说“我是党的人”。“毛泽东、朱德、叶剑英、贺龙、谭政……对我都帮助过；林彪对我很好，抗战胜利后，争取我同去前线。”林彪事件后，他更加深了对山头、宗派的认识，说：“这是脱离群众。”他一生好读书，重视知识，尤重视有知识的人，“思想敏锐，口若悬河”，在延安得到毛主席这样的赞赏。他常讲要爱护知识分子，并尽力保护他们中受过整的人。“文革”后，坚决反对过去整人的那一套，主张真正实行“双百方针”，不是停在口头上，而是认真贯彻于一切方面，要见诸行动。当然，他也不是没有缺点、弱点。虽然遇事总经过深思熟虑，但有时过于热心，讲话多了，难免有失。他同权力无缘，从不设防，遭人暗算而不觉。“文革”后，“多换思想少换人”的干部政策，对有些人的使用也是引起过意见的。

耀邦下台之后，听到他在“生活会”上受到那种攻击，大家愤愤不平，同时极其关心他的情况。我当即写了这样一首七绝送他，表示某种安慰：

文章翻案古而今，左右逢源仇又亲。

黑白纹枰输后手，是非公道在人心。

让元元带去一本钱钟书的《谈艺绿》，将末句写在扉页上，供他翻翻，移情养性。同时还将我的《龙胆紫集》和《论三峡工作》送上，请他一阅。后者是一九八五年出版的，该书

序言交《人民日报》后，清样送到书记处，有人说我的闲话，耀邦没让发表。原来我并不知道他也喜好旧诗词。不久以后，元元带来他写的三首诗让我修正：一首七律《再登泰山》，两首五言古风《赠李锐》、《戏题李锐同志不赞成修三峡水库论著》。看来他比较了解我这个人了，也知道三峡工程的详情与要害了。诗中借巫山神女之口，最后两句委婉道出莫立大石壁的切切之情：“乞君莫作断流想，断流永使妾哀伤”。三首诗词我作了些格律上修正，让元元回去时，顺便送了他十来本旧诗词和有关格律的书。

一九八七年七月三日元元来家，告诉我，耀邦叔叔明显瘦了。听家人说，那些检讨的、被指责的东西，其实很多是小平说过的。我们当时都奇怪，何必匆匆做这种检讨。

七月十九日，我的日记记道：（用楷书排的文字是耀邦本人的话；括弧内的话是笔者按语）：

元元夫妇来。元元昨天到胡家，同耀邦单独谈话。元元一开始向耀邦讲了我们大家对他关心，谈了我们对他的看法：党有史以来最民主的（领班人），选中了；要从全局考虑自己的问题。元元转述的耀邦谈话要点，有以下这些：

下来这几个月，不看电视，专心阅读马恩全集（《列宁全集》是“文革”时读的），

作了一些笔记；并将过去几年自己写过或讲过的，凡形成文件和付印过的记录，

好几百万字都看了一遍，就放心了，并没有什么错误。 关于小平全下，我半下[1]。

这是小平同我俩人私下谈话，当时很赞同。总书记的职务辞过几次。六中全会时向中央写过报告，一定要建立退休制度（后来，此事小平同紫阳也谈过，紫阳即表示不赞成小平下。因此有人说耀邦不聪明。耀邦曾因此大声说：我不能让人几十年后指着脊梁骨骂）。

没想到开“生活会”，竟采取如此手段，要把我搞臭。“十九号文件”是羞辱（一九八七年中央发的“十九号文件，”罗列了耀邦“在经济工作方面的一些严重错误”、一月二日给邓小平的信和一月十日和十五日在中央一级党的生活会上的《我的检讨》、《我的表态》）。其中许多话并不是我说的，有的是造谣。如请日本青年三千人来，是外交部申请的：到一九八九年末一万人，常委都圈阅过，大家同意的，我才批了三千人。总书记这点权力都没有？（此事在中纪委支部会上，我也听到过对耀邦的攻击。）

我还是谨慎的，领导人的退休制过去小平、紫阳都讲过，我就没讲过。那时考虑根本不可能，因此力主二线制。搞退休，伤老同志感情。

香港的东西，过去根本不看，免得受干扰。

今后四个字：安度晚年。是否能“安”？有两条：一是自己已经七十一岁多，自然规律不行了。二是希望党好起来，但是否可能？（元元说，耀邦叔叔有极度失望之感。

说过去一起斗争几十年、互相信得过的老朋友，如王鹤寿的揭发，当然伤心之至。）

马克思的一个重要观点：一种历史现象的发生，要寻找根原，发现隐藏在事物后面很深的东西。

“文革”当然不好，发生了之后，其结果好：不会再发生了。自己的事件亦作如是观。

（粉碎“四人帮”后，关于中国的前途，陈云曾找耀邦谈过三天，谈到的一系列问题，之后在《人民日报》的社论和评论员的文章中，都有过反映。元元说，耀邦叔叔对陈云一直很尊敬。）

在党校负责时，提出是按当时的中央文件[2]讲课，还是按马克思主义讲课？

关于“资产阶级自由化”问题，六中全会前在北戴河讨论时，陆定一就建议在文件中删掉，万里赞成。全会讨论时，他们两人仍坚持这个意见。我只说求其稳妥，现在还是保留为好，将来再考虑是否去掉。最后都归咎于我（全会中这一幕，我是亲身经历的，定一和万里的发言，引起全场热烈掌声，尤以右侧中纪委席掌声持久。最后邓小平讲了不多的话，要害是：“反对自由化，不仅这次要讲，还要讲十年二十年”）。

后来我被逼得做检讨。

元元说，她几次听耀邦谈到，在原则问题上他是没有错误的。元元感到最亲切的是你的人格高尚，你无愧于世，对得起历史；我十四岁参加共青团，经过那么多党同斗争和政治风波，依然保存了一片赤诚。这都是人最宝贵的东西。耀邦听后笑了，说：对的，马克思也讲赤子之心。

在组织部时的一次长谈

耀邦从总书记职务下来以前，我同他只有工作关系，没有历史渊源。在延安中央青委时，听说过胡耀邦其人，都是称赞的话。第一次碰面，是一九五八年三月，周总理带队查勘三峡坝址时，同坐在船上，有人在下围棋，我们都是旁观者。一九五九年庐山会议时，不在一个组，《简报》上似乎没有见到他有什么发言。一九七五年五月，我从秦城监狱释放，仍回到安徽磨子坛水电站过劳动生活。一九七七年十二月二四日清晨，我从广播中听到中央任命胡耀邦为中央组织部部长的消息后，连夜写好要求平反的长信，第二天发出。与此同时，我的二姐李英华（三八式）和女儿李南央，几次找到耀邦家。于是我得以先到合肥的医院治病，一九七九年一月六日我回到北京复职。这年写《怀念田家英》文时，田还没有平反开追掉会，文章寄《人民日报》担心难以发表，特先寄给耀邦审阅。他立即指示：没有什么不可以发表，还赞许有鲁迅文风。

一九八二年三月，我调到中央组织部，五月参加了十二大人事小组。耀邦是组长，副组长是余秋里、程子华，日常实际工作由秋里负责。组员有十多人，我负责办公室的工作。办公室人员由中组部办公厅主任等组成，同各系统和地方联系，编辑《简报》供中央参阅。工作地点在玉泉山，大家都住在那里。十二大政治报告的起草小组也由耀邦负责（胡乔木副），也住在玉泉山。耀邦来参加人事小组会的次数不多。人事小组的任务是准备十二大的三个名单：中央委员会、中央纪委检查委员会和中央顾问委员会。在玉泉山住了三四个月，工作当然是繁重复杂也很难的，有时进新退旧一个人，要作许久调查，反复研究，花很长时间才能定案。记得我向耀邦作过两次或三次系统汇报，他平易近人，交谈很是随便。印象最深的一件事，便是一个原十一大中央委员的去留问题，是煤炭系统的，在“文革”中欠了帐，当年颇有点名气的中青年。我们同耀邦来回争论了三次，各有各的理由，最后他服从了大家的意见，这个人不保留了。

一九八二年初我六十五岁，已决定在电力部退下来。这时陈云定要我到中央组织部组建青年干部局，将这个局的作用定得很崇高，成员入选特别严格。据说这件事中组部曾拖了一年没办，原因在部内地方、经济、宣教等局，都分工管各系统干部，当然也包括选拔青年干部，单独成立这样一个局，岂不像当年国家计委内有过的“小计委”。我知道这是一件极其艰巨的工作，自己有过当年在中央漩涡中翻滚过的经验，不愿意再卷入，想“安度晚年”。可是陈云的意见极其坚决，促我上任，还误会我“能上不能下”，只当个局长，而非部一级名义。于是我就只好服从了。中央定的“干部要四化”（革命化、年轻化、知识化、专业化）的方针，以及据此选拔接班人即培养后备干部队伍（当年称建立第三梯队），我是衷心拥护、坚决执行的，中组部青干局具体任务是选拔省部后备干部（最终考察了一千来人）。这个任务的第一仗，就是十二大的人事更替。自己当时似有这点感觉，从耀邦（他是总书记）这方面来看，我大概还是可以信任的吧（由于“我行我素”，后来我终于遭到“解玲还是系玲人”的一幕，这里就不谈了，因为文章是写耀邦）！在那个人事小组上，我也被推选并被批准进入中央委员名单，这是丝毫没有精神准备的，接着就开十二大，其历史意义大家都清楚的。我曾应《诗刊》之命，写过歌颂和期望的四首七律。

十二大有最后一幕，报纸没有作过报道，也没有留下一个镜头、一张照片。大会就要结束了，传来耀邦的话：新当选的中央委员中的中青年，要我选三四十人向政治局作介绍，先印出个简历。此事可说驾轻就熟，很快就办好了。大会开幕当天在人大会堂的一个厅，记

得叶帅、小平、陈云、先念、邓大姐、彭真等都到了（庐山下来后没见到过叶帅，老人还认得我），耀邦主持，让我一一介绍。老人们笑容满面，很是高兴。

十二之后到一九八四年岁末离职之前，由于工作关系有时列席书记处会议，亲眼目睹书记处开会情况，以及总书记如何主持会议并处理一些事务。一九五八、一九五九两年，我也列席过中央的一些大小会议，曾亲眼目睹过毛泽东执政时情景，使我感到我们确已进处一个新的时代，一言堂开始为群言堂了（不过书记处的会，两位老人是不参加的，新时期我无缘列席常委会）。总书记在人们面前是平等的一员，他个子矮，有时发言似乎比别人还矮一点。胡乔木总是挨着耀邦坐着，显出某种监护的样子，令人不快。有关人事处理记得两件事。一件是，讨论到有关问题，胡乔木发言，声色具厉地说道：周扬、夏衍、巴金是三个自由化头子（听说王震在中央党校也骂过“那个姓巴的……”）。当时大家都不答腔，也就过去了。耀邦能保护好巴金，却保护不了周扬。第二件事是有关《人民日报》的人事。自批判“两个凡是”，耀邦还在中央党校时，就同《不民日报》合作得很好，报纸真正起到了贯彻改革开放路线的喉舌作用。因此也最受胡乔木、邓力群的攻击，这是他们指挥范围内没能控制住的最后一个重要阵地。大家知道，自胡绩伟、王若水被整下去后，报社不听他们的指挥的剩下一个秦川。这件有关《人民日报》人事处理事，可能使耀邦加深了对我这个人的印象。

就在这个时候，耀邦同我作过一次推心置腹的长谈。一九八二年到中组部后，我没有断过写日记，所以许多事都可以如实写出。

一九八四年一月二十日，接到中央办公厅电话，廿一日下午三点，耀邦约我谈话。当时想到可能是听听我对人事等方面的意见。前几天参加书记处讨论广西、湖南等省班子的调整问题和“文革”遗留问题时，耀邦谈到柳宗元的文章《驳复仇议》。其中有句：“亲亲相仇，其乱谁救？”要向古人学习。回家后找到原文，觉得同当前广西形势并不相关，于是向耀邦写了封短信，说明此意。这之后的几天，就是十九日，书记处会议讨论《人民日报》人事问题。中宣部拟派王忍之等四人进入报社领导班子，将旧班子“一锅端”。中组部有的领导准备批准。这时听到王在二中全会上激昂慷慨地说：各条战线都已受到严重精神污染，似乎资本主义已全面复辟了，于是我同陈野苹（部长）商量，这个名单都是搞理论的人，恐怕不合适。一月七在习仲勋处谈到此事时，在座的乔石、宋任穷、陈野苹都不

赞成。我还为胡绩伟说了话，并说明胡乔木不能容人。于是我们回到部里开会，顶住了这个方案。十二日，中宣部的干部局长来催办此事；野苹还告诉，接到邓力群的电话，说我反对此事。十九日的书记处会议上，好几位同志到王忍之二中全会发言过左，决不能去管报纸，耀邦则谈到报纸不能办成理论刊物。我最后发言：这个名单不合适，报纸是对着现实情况的，重担压着，无日能卸。书生不能办报。耀邦加了一句：书生要打引号。邓力群在座，一言不发。这个名单就被否决了。

下面一月二十日和二十一日两天的日记中有关记录。

一月二十日，拟明日谈话提纲：

（一）望中央生活正常（回顾当年）。邓力群要干什么？清除精神污染事。《人民日报》事。

对乔木认识、看法：没有管过柴米油盐，没有单独挑过担子。总是一支笔。有时不认帐。不能容人。权威自居。

（二）认识人之不易，关键在用人。人各有局限与特点、缺点（毛的教训）。耀邦自己。中组部。两位老人。

（三）秘书与子弟问题。谨慎小心，注意传话。

（四）科学技术第一（专家治国问题）。科学包括马克思主义。好大喜功问题（三峡）。水利部“一水三核”（钱正英－美国，争取美国援助贷款建三峡工程和三个核电站）。

（五）“偏离社会主议”的担心问题。

（六）湖南问题（省部级机构改革后，湖南遗留的人事问题比较重，还有“文革”遗留的派性问题）。

（七）谈丁玲事（中组部拟为丁玲彻底平反）。

这天的日记中，最后有一句话：

大局在支持耀邦，黄老有同感（当年我常去看望黄克诚）。

一月二十一日，下午三点到耀邦中南海住室，谈到六点，整整三个小时，惜无录音也。我大体按准备的几个问题谈自己意见。下面是耀邦所谈：

关于八一年、八二年争论[3]：经济上讲得尖锐些，关键是速度问题。说不能把住老套套、老框框不放。于是引起陈云、紫阳误会。

生产目的的讨论[4]，并非批评什么人。

翻两番问题。一九八 0 年夏，在武汉讨论经济，到二 000 年翻两番。紫阳、姚依林心中都无数。小平问：怎样达到两番？我答年增百分之七点二，力争百分之七，不能少于百分之六。姚说只能定百分之六，一九八一年争五保四。我发急了，讲了难听的话，并非对谁过意不去。这时互相不能说服。于是每到地方时，我就在下面鼓气。准备十二大报告时，争论爆发。有人告状，说我在下面讲了要百分之十，向乔木反映，乔木向小平反映了。于是小平找我去问：（1）是否搞高指标？答未超过百分之七。（2）是否说不要搞重点建设？答无比此事。（3）不要整党？答要整，是文件看样写的问题，实际上报告中写了。

二中全会后，在中顾委讲：我吃几碗饭长大的，大家还不知道？（在特定历史条件下上来的，这种说法大家服气。）

胡启立是小平看中的，问过我两次，第三次又问，才讲定的。此事中央都知道。外面说法很多，说我用团中央干部。小平保了李雪峰。

小平看乔木，党的第一支笔，不是政治家。一九八三年一月，我关于《四化建设和改革问题》讲话，内中谈到要全面改革。乔木时在昆明，送给他看了，他说全文很好，略有增删。结果又向小平告状，说是刮改革风，等等。乔木认为邓力群并不会写文章。（我谈了对此人看法后）对邓力群现在摸不透。

自己准备一九八七年下来。乔木、力群等也下。三五年内要新上几十人。书记处还要进四十几岁的，下五个，换五个年轻的上。

要敢于实践。列宁一九二０年（？）讲的。这是首位问题，要打开新局面。拨乱反正，反“文革”，正到解放初。新局面是开创，无所谓拨乱反正。

自己就是坚守两条：毫不谋私，大事请示。各方面尤其地方要敢于创造，现在是创造性不足。否则，如老的都不在了，会惶惶无主。地方要分权，权不能过于集中。

秦始皇亡在转业干部，军人三十六郡分封，于是在地方闹事。

宋朝亡在高度集中，一切权力集中到朝廷。“将在外君命有所不受”。

现在只有四件事算是有了纲：

（一）外事方针、政策有了一套。

（二）党内生活、人事。有了《生活准则》。干部要“四化”，老同志安排好。

（三）农业，还在发展。责任制到专业分工，又一大发展。里程碑式。

（四）统一战线。台湾、港澳、民族、宗教（让郑必坚写宗教问题，三个月了，看了历史文件，有互相矛盾处。）

文化部长四平八稳，无新局面。

计委过稳，大家不满搞老框框。司局级换一批，交流一下，有的可以到省里去，合适的当副省长亦可。

这次谈话，有些是泛谈泛论，但也属于组织部业务范围的事。

约到家中长谈

一九八五年后，我虽然不在职了，仍然关心风云变化，耀邦的处境是大体知道的。每年一次的中央全会上我还发发言，有时还说得比较尖锐。后来在中顾委每周一次的支部会上，发言也不大有顾忌，该讲的还是讲，胡乔木的问题我就谈过。一九八六年北戴河会议后，关于十三大的人事安排也听到一些传闻。年尾的顾委支部会上，就有对耀邦说长道短乃至攻击的言辞了，如“搞青红帮”之类（用青年团干部和红卫兵）。一九八七年一月，“生活会”之变，我并不感到意外。

翻一九八七年一月份的日记，按时序，有以下可录之事：

元旦。于光远电话：被点名批评，批他的“大公有私”，“抬头向前看，低头向钱看”。拟申诉，怎能同“全盘西化”联得起来?

二日，有人告知，凌晨两点，长安大街由西向东，有几百人游行，高呼“自由万岁”，“严惩凶手，爱国无罪”。当是昨日天安门事余波。同黎澍、秦川通电话：必须疏导，不能“防民之口甚于防川”；“民为邦本，本固邦宁”。李普来，同去黎澍家，漫谈形势，不胜感叹：苏联文教科技一直未受大的干扰，知识分子待遇一直拉开，因此基础比我们好得多。

三日。项南来，再谈假药事经过。他已风进耀邦，耀邦说，他在福建工作已全面肯定，并说谁无过失，自己过失过多些，还谈到自己日子难过得多。

下午，顾委传达十二月三十日小平约胡耀邦、赵紫阳、万里、胡启立、李鹏、何东昌六人的谈话文件，颇似当年“夏季形势”：当前学生闹事乃几年反对自由化思潮旗帜不鲜明所至，否定“清污”过头。方励之、王若望、刘宾雁三人应予开除，过去软弱。关于王若望，上海有关开除和保护两说，中央也有保护层。波兰教训，专政必要。上天安门，有多少抓多少。巩固文艺宣传阵地。整肃要开个名单，但不急于处理。

四日。传言颇多：紫阳转总书记，耀邦到顾委等。陈云说赞成开放，但基建不能过大，要个笼子。计委很难改老一套作风。

五日。上午顾委支部会，调门都高，黄火青几乎点了耀邦的名。说小平是舵手。有人指责陆定一和于光远。倒是提出物价问题，关系千家万户也。下午到医院，向黄克诚遗体告别。

六日。高扬说：由来已久，几年矛盾；少开常委会，书记处专断；专职书记分开开会，不合党章。嘱我不要发表意见。

七日。黎澍电话：他的邻居自天津回，学生卧轨，要求中有物价问题。下午参加黄克诚追悼会，不见耀邦。

八日。秦川告知，王鹤寿通知钱李仁：方励之、刘宾雁开除党籍。钱问是否符合党章？答符合。

九日。到人大小礼堂，参加“华夏研究院”成立大会，颇为隆重，避免讲话。遇胡绩伟、于光远、苏绍智等。说点了一串名字，王震还点了巴金。

十二日。上午参加顾委一支部会，揭批耀邦了。多人发言讲具体人事。最激烈者说：要挤小平下台，有野心；要当军委主席；为资产阶级自由化总后台；同中曾根打得火热；擅自批三千日本青年访华，等等。上面定的，似乎要人人表态。

十四日。续开支部会。曾志大姐也说了一篇，但最后讲了公道话：还得全面看，三中全会后做了许多好事。大家最后意见是：小平决不能下。黎澍夫妇、李普、秦川来，都有忧虑，要注意国外反应。

十五日。得到电话：耀邦停职检查；检查好了，可保留政治局委员。

十六日。电视新闻，耀邦下台，保留常委。多日来的不安，告一段落。来日方长也。有人谈感受，匈牙利改革曾停滞十年，但原我们不步后尘。厂长制贯彻甚难；企业都有潜力；都知道作为生产力发展，私有制不可避免。

二十一日的日记中，有，《丁卯年初有感》一首七绝，是赠耀邦的。（此诗刊于一九八五年出版的《龙胆紫集》新编本中，题目为；《丁卯岁首赠人》）

一九八八年一月二日的日记：

晚上延滨、元元夫妇来，告耀邦最近一些言谈和他们听到的传说：

小平处打来几次电话，大概是十二月三十日才去了一次，只是打桥牌，什么也没谈。邓家后来又约去，以身体不好，谢绝了。自己也没想好今后做点什么（秦川曾劝他写回忆录）。现在就是参加政治局会议，读书学习，思考问题，情绪尚好。“陈云说我不懂经济。其实他们还是过去老一套。”总以善意看人、待人，不知人心之诈，去年初下台时才有醒悟。关于方励之、刘宾雁、王若望三人的问题，是很后悔的，小平问到时，没有讲清楚三人情况，没能正式进言，只说不理会好了（以到致后来挽回不了）。

看来耀邦对自己大小遭忌之处尚未沉思，也没有一个得力的左右做帮手。延滨听说，王震向人诉冤，他并没有想整耀邦。另一位有关老人表示，没有想到耀邦事惹得人们意见如此之多，说，“我也是被授意的”；于是要儿女们自己奋斗，不能靠老子。

延滨远告诉我，耀邦很想同我谈一次。

一月十日，元元来电话，耀邦约我星期四下午到他家去。

一九八八年一月十四日，延滨下午来，同我一起到耀邦家。这是我第一次去他家。刚一走进客厅，耀邦张开右手对我说：欢迎你，你是有独立人格的人，有正义感，犟脾气。从下午两点四十分谈到八点二十分。留我吃晚饭，是同家人分开单吃的。

我的一九八八年的日记本最后几页，记下了耀邦谈话的要点。原来心得较乱，是凭记忆记的，现在大体按内容作了调整（括弧中是笔者按语）。

（一九八七年一月这样的“生活会”）这是完全意外突然的。原以为辞职书送上去后，事情就结束了。（“生活会”上）薄一波的开场白是很一般化的，要大家各自谈谈，相互之间有什么意见，从耀邦开始。第一个放炮的是余秋里。邓力群讲了五六个小时。没有想到要这样批倒批臭。早知如此，就不写辞职呈了。

（就是这次“生活会”也是专门布置的。习仲勋先不知道，一进会场见到这个态势，就大发脾气：这样重要的会为什么预先不告知。一九八六年十月开始，中央有一个由薄一波、杨尚昆、宋任穷、姚依林、王震、伍修权、高扬等组成的七人小组，分头找有关人征求十三大中央人事如何安排，尤其征求对耀邦的意见。周惠同我谈过这个情况。此事耀邦全不知道。）他们远到各省收集资料，并没有收获。只有湖南一位同志讲了点过头话。生平不背后议论人，否则会更不得了。下来后，通看了自己在这七八年中的全部讲话、谈话和文章，都是已经印出来的，好几百万字。看了三个月，问心无愧（这同我们的看法一致，代表了三中会后的正确路线，都是关系党和国家的安危、如何健康发展、走什么道路的问题。因此我们这批同耀邦有交往和熟知其人的朋友，都谈到他不应当辞职，也不应当做这种检讨）。

检讨中自己大包大揽、上纲上线。下来后，尊重新的领导（没讲服从），维护党团结。我只要求安度晚年。

（由于这样一种心态，听说耀邦在会上被迫做了检查之后，离开会场即失声痛哭。一个人如不是因受大委屈伤心透了，是不会这样大哭的，尤其在这种场合。耀邦是红小鬼出身，经过苏区肃反、长征、战争烽火。十年“文革”，受尽磨难，历次运动从不整人。三中全会后，以无私无畏、大智有勇的精神，开辟社会主义初级阶段的新道路。他担任总书记时就说过：我尊重老人，又独立思考。他尽力在两位老人之间沟通协调，遇大事必请示，同时还要面对两个“左王”的明枪暗箭，各种阻绕，终于最后遭到两方面夹击，个人事小，全局甚尤，他怎能不放声大哭！）

常委会很少开。（谈话时我问到，有意见分歧，为什么不开常委会呢？）小平说：谈不拢，不要开了。我一年去一次陈家（感到耀邦有许多难言苦衷，也不便深问下去）。小平

耳朵软（指有时也听进去两个“左王”的一些话）。关于（全退、半退）下来事，是我同小平两个人私下谈的，交换意见的性质（据说邓后来问过万里：为什么让我下？万里：也许是失言。邓说不是，是要取而代之。由此可见，当年邓小平对胡耀邦误会之深。这太令人遗憾）！

大概是一九八 0 年，同赵紫阳、姚依林、房维中到武汉，向邓汇报，谈五年计划的盘子，年增长速度百分四点五（这是当时定的）。邓以为这样翻两番困难，问定多少才能做到。三人都没答。我答百分之七点之四。邓又问，五十年翻两番，是什么速度？只有我能答出百分之二点五。平时这些数字都注意并记牢了的（曾听到陈周围的人说过，陈对耀邦两条大意见：不懂经济，用人不当。后来大家对耀邦的责难之一是搞高速度）。

（国务院）三十几个部汇报，是想让书记处的人熟悉经济情况。（我在电力部时，参加过这种汇报。耀邦问过，我们的电何时能赶上美国？我说：如按人均，永远赶不上。耀邦想快的心情可以理解。攻击他要搞“大跟进”，就太过分了。）后来觉得赵有意见，就停止了。选为总书记是几位老人商量结果。只有叶帅提过让华国锋再过度一下，看看再说，后来也同意了（在延安时，叶就很了解耀邦。三中全会后，叶对耀邦说：副主席你当一个。耀邦答：那怎么可以）。十二大的政治局、书记处名单是由几老商定的。

（我到组织部以后，接触一些人事，我这个过来人当然敏感到，陈同耀邦之间是存在某些矛盾的，知道陈对耀邦有大不满处。）一九八三年初常委会，陈云批评了我（搞乱经济）九条（当年耀邦到各地调查研究时，常讲小平的“翻两番”，邓力群就向陈云讲经济过热是耀邦造成的。其实一九八二年工业增长百分之七点七，计划却是百分之四）。小平不以为然。当时就说：至此为止。并疾言厉色地说：中央工作会议不要开（借着陈云的批评，胡乔木当即建议开省市委书记会议。邓力群会后即在他管辖的两个宣传口干部会议上传达陈云的批评。一时上下沸沸扬扬，不知道中央出了什么大事）。小平后来将胡乔木、邓力群找去质问：你们要干什么？（一九八七年的“生活会”上邓力群在发言中就此事作了点轻描淡写的检讨。）

在组织部工作任上时，要撤换张平化中宣部部长，曾经让我推荐过胡乔木（据家人和我熟悉的人反映，耀邦是一直尊重乔木的）。小平不同意，说无行政能力，是一支笔（邓早就说过胡乔木骨头软，固执等，这是传开了的）。一星期后，又两次问到，只好毛遂自荐当宣传部长后，先念曾经说过，威信不如组织部长时高。为《人民日报》事，沉住了气，总会有磕碰的（这是胡乔木、邓力群未能控制住的一个部门，逼得胡绩伟辞职后，除掉王若水，后又撤换秦川。不知耀邦是否感觉到，两个“左王”从党校组织真理标准讨论开始，一直搞“清君侧”的活动）。

乔木这个人，“一日无君则惶惶然”（似乎是一句总的评语）。一天几个条子，老打电话，不堪其扰。胡启立刚宣布为常务书记后，就遇到这种情况，诉过苦。小平也不堪其扰。一九八三年有一天，乔木突然跑来，哭诉着说：你不当总书记，还可以干别的，我们友谊长存。我当时感到非常诧异；不解其故。乔木反应过来后，又破涕为笑，谈别的了。以前乔木对我说过这样的话：你只有小学文化程度，思想很开阔，以后文章交我改，可以改得更好。纪念毛泽东诞辰的文章，我憋了一个星期写出来了（没有交乔木改），乔木自却不写。乔木还说，邓力群不会写文章（耀邦随即谈到这样一件事）。书记处会上讨论乔木儿子事件[5]时，邓力群第一个发言，赞成法办。

改革开放、安定团结自是重要，但解放思想、实事求是更是重要。有右反右，有“左”反“左”（按：这是当年黄克诚建议的）；启立在山西讲话，这样两边都提到，这不能解决问题。（接着耀邦谈到三件事）将一个总书记如此不实事求是处理，置党规党法于何地？这样继续伤害知识分子（将不合已意的“眼中钉”，不实事求是，随意开除党籍），如何求得安定团结？学生总是比较激进的。从学生闹事的看法与处理方针的问题。这三件事实际是未了的。从历史责任，应当提出来，必须强调实事求是，这是根本之根本。还应当坚持这个方针：解放思想，实事求是，团结一致向前看（这三件事尤其后一件，耀邦是有预见性的，是预言家）。

生平对两个人有亏心：一是苏进，宁都暴动后，长期被怀疑，一九四二年才入党。“文革”时八次受逼，要我交待苏的问题，只说有思想意识毛病。二是项南，一九五九年后打成“右倾机会主义分子”。延安抢救运动时，在总政没打过一个特务。曾做过几次试验，找根本不会有问题的几个人，一审问一逼供，就都承认了。毛主席找去汇报时，讲出这个

情况和对抢救的看法（当时毛还听到其他人的反映）。才有一个不杀、大部不捉的几条方针。

在延安时，同陶铸、王鹤寿关系好，曾被称为是“桃园三结义”（耀邦曾对鹤寿讲过一些心里话，在“生活会”上被鹤寿揭发了，非常伤心）。

要重新思考做人的道理。很敬佩张治中。大革命和抗战胜利后国共两次分裂时，张两次向蒋介石上万言书，很不赞成。一九四九年以后，他不批蒋介石。大概是 “大跃进”时，有次上天安门城楼，在电梯见毛主席，张说：“主席呀，你走得太快了，跟不上。”张治中应当有部电视剧。

对总的形势很是忧虑。世风日下，人心涣散，物价指数居高不下，经济是最关紧要。党风不正，有些干部胡作非为，不讲真话，无维系中心，讲真话最重要。

下来后，小平多次让去打桥牌。十二月三十日去了，也没有谈什么。

（谈了谈自己一生）家乡成了红区。刘阳中学读了半年初中，同杨勇（表哥）同班。在湘赣边区，编儿童报，自刻蜡版。开始杀“AB 团”，被怀疑。中央苏区来人，冯文彬把我（救了）带走了。一次听到顾作霖（团中央书记）同冯文彬谈，说我不像反革命。于是要求留在团中央工作。延安时，最初在“抗大”一大队当支部书记。一次开会发言，谈改进工作，定要深入群众。受到毛主席赞赏。提拔我当“抗大”政治部总支部书记。有人不同意。毛就让再提一级，当副主任。 “抗大”办报，自己写文章。还请毛主席写，就是那篇著名的《反对自由主义》。一九五五年前，同毛主席有过七次谈话（于是谈到毛并其他一些人事，从略）。

江西时，任弼时并不赞成肃反，朱德也不赞成。毛多疑。延安写有十封信，说服弼时（关于清算“左”倾路线历史）。弼时善于独立思考，不盲从，曾不同意 “王明路线”的说法。

有许多重大人事决定都是邓定的，都误会到我的头上。如廖志高调离福建，马文瑞调离陕西，胡启立调中央，等等。我被派到沈阳去了解情况，只差二十亿斤粮，硬要三十亿斤，当时没有同意（按：黄火青在中顾委会上，对耀邦意见很大，讲的也多）。

去世前十天的长谈

一九八九年四月五日下午两点，元元来，同去耀邦家，谈到九点半。

一月九日至二月二十日，应美国哈佛大学费正清东亚研究中心邀请，我以访问学者身分在美国逗留了四十天；一半时间在哈佛，另一半在西里斯克、密歇根、芝加哥、伯克利、斯坦福五所大学的东亚研究中心。关于中国革命回顾和改革开放形势，作了多次讲演，并同这些中心研究中国的学者、专家和部分留学生座谈，交流看法，回答问题，尤其是关于毛泽东的功过是非谈了自己的观点。在美国遇到留在日本的学者杨中美，他将所著的《胡耀邦传》中文版赠我，回来后即让元元交与耀邦。

其时胡乔木应李政道邀请拟访问美国，知道我刚从美国回来，三月五日，特让郑惠来找我谈谈美国之行的观感。郑惠是乔木多年助手，时任中央党史研究室副主任，知道我同乔木的历史关系，个人之间并无恩怨，尤其清楚是乔木建议我写《庐山会议实录》并予帮助的，四月四日又见到了郑惠，乔木听到我的介绍和意见后，甚为感动。

于是同耀邦交谈开始，便提到乔木访美前发表了一篇文章：《中国为什么犯二十年的“左”倾错误》（令人不解的是用“中国”而不用“中共”），似乎想改变一下自己的形象，是否真有改变，还得察其言观其行。接着我就谈访美国之行的经过，谈到不仅许多留学生而且美国研究中国的学者，都关心他的情况。关于美国的情况和我的看法，谈得较多。如美国历史没有什么传统又有传统，移民国家的特点，两党轮流执政问题，对个人自由与平等的尊重，社会生活与社会保障情况，资本的社会化，税收政策，黑人问题等等。在哈佛时曾住在傅格尔（Vogel）教授（《日本第一》作者）家中，同也住在此处的刘宾

雁有过接触，刘到过四十所大学讲演，想办一份有别于《中国之春》的刊物，“小骂大帮忙”。我劝他还是同国内取得联系为好（这个刊物后来没有办成）。关于美国民主，也谈了自己的看法。还谈到参观许多博物馆，也见到马克思全身铜像，西方将马看做是一个经济学派的创始人。我谈完之后，耀邦谈了十个问题，记录如下：

我的四月五日日记中，有这样几句话：谈了十条分歧。“要树自己”。导火线在“同意全下”，“自己半下”（两下对话）。这肯定是我当时的观感。事实是否如此，当由历史评定。

（一）关于华国锋的问题。（一九六二年短期下放湖南时，耀邦曾任湘潭地委第一书记，同华国锋有过一段共事经历，在党校也合作过，比较了解其人。当年在党的高层议论华的问题时，邓小平认为华是坐直升机上来的，是造反派出身。耀邦认为。）主要问题在继续搞“两个凡是”个人崇拜，受了汪东兴身边那个秀才班子的影响；处理不要过急，要宽一点，保留在政治局好，不要搞丑化。而且粉碎“四人帮”，华和汪东兴还是起了重要作用的。（耀邦的看法得到大家赞同。他讲了很长一段话。彭真还特别称赞：讲得好。处理华国锋的决议，乔木起草，经他修改，措辞较和缓。华下台后，本人也一直没有说过什么过头话。）

（二）处理“四人帮”的问题。大家一致赞成公审。最初有个别人主张江青、张春桥应处死刑并即执行。叶帅和我、赵紫阳等都反对，徐帅坚决反对，陈云说，如只我一票反对，也要记录在案。主张杀头的最后也同意大家的意见了。

（三）清理“三种人”的问题。从宽还是从严，一直争论到一九八三年整党。有些省矛盾很尖锐，如山东、广西、江西、湖南、内蒙等。处理不好，又会发生内乱。我顶住了过急的一面，坚持冷处理，尤其是一些省的一把手，历史上有过功绩的人，更要慎重，从宽为好。（他谈到刘建勋、刘子厚、李雪峰、白如冰等人的情况）保与不保，在高层中是有争论的。有一次中央纪律检查委员会开会时，陈云谈到“文革”是特定历史条件下发生的。我很是赞同，抓住这一点大做文章。

（四）清除精神污染问题。胡乔木、邓力群二人一直反对周扬、夏衍和巴金，认为他们三人是搞“自由化”头头，影响太大。我一直顶住。认为三个人决不能整。（大家知道：这二位“左王”是怎样利用所谓“异化”问题整周扬和王若水的。邓后来被这二位说动了，于是十二届全会发难：清除精神污染。）我曾批评过王兆国不该发言：“你又不知道周扬的历史情况，发这个言干什么。”乔木还拟了个文件，全国发下去，要人人过关作检查。我于是给乔木打电话：不能这么搞了，并且将原件退了回去（这也说明，耀邦胸无城府，从无抓人家小辫子的习惯，并不把这样的文件留在手里）。当时邓力群气势汹汹，逼得《人民日报》、新华社都发表文章：《向精神污染作斗争》。由于我和紫阳联手抵制，其他书记处成员都不赞成，大家知道，这场类似“文革”的“清污”运动，只搞了二十八天，停止了下来。赵紫阳在人代会讲到，此事中央有责任。但是胡乔木、邓力群二人一直对此不满，耿耿于怀，于是接着搞“反对资产阶级自由化”。我访问日本时，日本记者故意提问“清污”问题，于是我回答：“日本军国主义是最大的精神污染”。耀邦说，“他们两位总是要在文艺界挑起争端。如批白桦的问题，《解放军报》的文章，幸亏乔木也不大赞成，否则我顶不住。”

（五）外事问题。一九八二年前，讲联美反苏，徐总不赞成。我作过两次系统发言，外交讲了十条，五项原则，独立自主等。“紫阳找我谈，说太大胆了，敢印出来。”东德昂纳克来时，请他传口信到苏联。（耀邦说：）我们两人各讲各的，但精神是一致的。（不谈东欧、中日关系等。一九八 0 年四月，意大利贝林格来时，耀邦谈）苏联出兵阿富汗，是侵略别的民族，五年中陷入泥潭，罪名洗脱不掉。赞成意大利的提法，战争不是可避免的（这个话讲得较早）。“我是老鼠上秤勾，自己称自己。”当年于是传来上面一句很厉害的话：“你要树立自己的形象。”

（六）一九八 0 年一月，职工思想政治工作会议的讲话，共讲了二十八条。一九八 0 年邓小平长篇讲话《党和国家领导制度的改革》，讲过党政要分开（但办不到）。这个说法，毛主席批评过：党政又分又不分。我的讲话中，党政职能要明确划分，全党都要懂经济。喜欢讲四人字：“藏富于民”。这二十八条，书记处都看过。乔木当时在云南，改了几个字寄回，是同意的。小平说：文件很好，没提不同意见。赵紫阳认为，现在不忙毛里毛糙搞全面改革、搞政体改革，向小平反映。乔木后来又说不知道个文件，没经过书记处。于

是只好向小平谈：文件经过书记处的，这样才没生气。于是定个协议：文件暂不发表。“（此事又关系到 “你要树立自己形象问题。”）

一九八四年开三中全会，开始没有题目。后来想到两个：还是谈改革；或者一年工作报告，讲七、八个问题。小平认为改革纲领存在困难，争取讲第一个问题。这就又一百八十度转弯过来。同时取得紫阳的支持，列出十二条，仔细交代，提纲也向紫阳讲得太多。我从来不同意“理顺物价”的说法。紫阳提出“物价是改革关键”，几经商量，定稿改为“物价是改革的成败关键”。这个报告大家都赞成，说成是中国版的“社会主义政治经济学”。

（上面这段话是耀邦的原话，可见他是一直坚决支持邓小平一九八 0 年讲话，搞经济政治全面改革的，两者要同步。问题就出在两位老人之间在这个根本问题上存在矛盾。同时两位“左王”实际上抱住老框框、死教条，如雇工七个即是搞资本主义，主要宣传共产主义理想等，并不赞成改革开放。他们一有机会就兴风作浪，在两位老人之间钻空子，谎报军情，藉以得逞。于是出现“清除精神污染”运动，大批“资产阶级自由化”。这段刚刚过去史事可说并未结束，根深蒂固的 “左”害也还时在发作，人们对之还没有一个统一的认识，因此对这些未了之事，应当彻底弄清实情，总结经验教训，以免重蹈覆辙。这就是列席十五大时，我为什么要写书面发言《关于防“左”的感想与意见》的原因。）

（七）经济工作中的问题。给我戴过一顶帽子：提倡高消费。我反对高消费，主张适当刺激消费，促进生产。马克思谈过生产与消费之间的辩证关系，有其同一性（“真理标准”问题讨论后，耀邦曾支持“社会主义生产目的”讨论，被胡乔木强行制止）。我一直强调农业、基础设施、原材料问题；要发展第三产业，引进处资和技术；同时要限制高消费商品进口。有人却想以进口高档商口回笼货币，一元换八元。头十年和后十年的问题。头十年定要有个速度。一九八 0 年八月二十六日武昌谈话，邓谈到翻两番的速度问题，只有我答出百分之七点二。当时陈定的百分之四，邓也同意。这就了翻不了一番。我说我们这些人顶多还搞十年（耀邦多次谈过，自己一九八七年下来），不能将麻烦留给后代。邓问过我：

“你说了这个话？不能将麻烦留给启立？”一九八一年，一九八二年刮下马风太冷，他们要负责。一九八０年底中央工作会议上，利用一个青年翁永曦的八句话（邓力群主持的书记处研究室印发的材料）：“抑需求，稳物价；舍发展，求安定；缓改革，重调整；大集中，小分散”，作为经济上的纲领，得到陈的认可（这就是要采取紧缩措施，压制当年“经济过热”现象，说否则财政赤字无法弥补，要爆发经济危机）。我会上发了脾气，引得陈很不满（一九八二年全国经济形势看好，农业总产值增长百分之十一点二，工业增长百分之七点七。）一九八三年那次会[6]本来准备换马的，是邓保护了我。历来不赞成大调整物价，不赞成提所谓理顺，没有充分有说服力的材料，物价必然有上有下。到一九八六年讨论五年计划报告，用“社会主义商品经济”的提法，胡乔木、邓力群都不赞成（据我所知，还有如此令人意外之事：一九八八年耀邦到湖南时，邓力群竟找他，要同他联手反对赵紫阳，被耀邦严辞拒绝）。

（八）精神文明建设问题。开始时不赞成这种提法。此事上上下下都有责任。加强政治思想工作是老提法，是上对下。“清除精神污染”只搞了二十八天，书记处都不赞成，不能不停下来（这个问题只提了一下，接着讲下面最要害的问题）。

（九）“资产阶级自由化”问题。在六中全会上陆定一发言，坚持取消“资产阶级自由化”提法，于是就闹大了。

这个最后导致耀邦下台的最大问题，谈话时他只说了这样一句，就没有再说下去了。这可能是他知道我们这些人对此事首尾很是清楚，也有可能是怕触动自己感情不愿多谈。为了读者便于理解，特就此导致耀邦下台的问题做一扼要说明。关键就在改革开放以后，胡乔木、邓力群二人仍坚持毛泽东“政治挂帅”的路线，实质上“以阶级斗争为纲”不过不明说罢了，理论务虚会乔木并不赞成，反而夸张当时形势“像一九五七年右派进攻”，还说“不要逼华主席反右派”。于是代邓小平起草《坚持四项基本原则》讲话，大讲专政、贬斥民主，使会议虎头蛇尾，草草收场。一九八０年八月，政治局刚通过邓小平的《党和国家领导制度的改革》的重要讲话，批判封建专制思想，强调国家政治、经济管理和社会生活的民主化。胡乔木立即利用当时发生的波兰事件，上书告诫，使这个讲话置之高阁。此后就不断以“不坚持四项原则”、“走资本主义道路”、“搞资产阶级自由化”等等罪名，大整坚持经济改革尤其坚持解放思想政治改革的人，党校事件[7]、特区事件、[8]周

扬事件、《人民日报》事件等等，接连不断，矛头指向耀邦：是这些人的总后台。事情发展到一九八六年，耀邦主持起草的将提交中央全会讨论的《精神文明建设指导方针的决议》。文件避开了“坚持四项基本原则”和反对“资产阶级自由化”的提法，提出了以经济建设为中心，坚定不移地进行经济体制改革、政治体制改革、加强精神文明建设，即“一个中心、三个坚定不移”。特别强调了精神文明建设的开放性，要学习国外先进的科学文化；突出了政治民主化，“民主和自由、平等、博爱的观念，是人类精神的一次大解放”。文件总结了“我们社会主义发展中的主要历史教训，一是没有集中力量发展经济，二是没有现代化”、“民主要制度化法律化”、“党必须在宪法和法律范围内活动”等，并且规定要“在全体人民中普及法律常识、增强公民意识”。“在法纪面前人人平等，绝不允许有任何超越法律和纪律的特殊人物”。“要遵守宪法的原则，实行学术自由，创作自由，讨论自由，批评和反批评自由”。最后反对这个文件的是胡乔木、邓力群，他们提出了一个修正稿送给邓小平与陈云，其中仍然是宣扬清楚精神污染和反对资产阶级自由化的老调。陈云批示赞成修正稿;

邓批示赞成原来的文件草稿，否定了修正稿。随后在北戴河政治局会议讨论时，胡乔木邓力群二人极力活动，引起激烈争论，耀邦作了妥协，在草稿中加了这样一段话：“搞资产阶级自由化，即否定社会主义制度，是根本违背人民利益和历史潮流、为广大人民所坚决反对的。”以这样的话来限制对“资产阶级自由化”的解释。但是这段话遭到陆定一的坚决反对。他三次发言，从历史角度论述“反自由化”这一提法的荒谬和危害。指出这是当年苏联反对我们“双百方针”时提出的；后来“文革”时“四人帮”也使用这一提法批判过陆定一、周扬和邓小平；笼统地提出“反对自由化”，不但在原则上同宪法规定的各项人民的自由权利相冲突，而且对繁荣我国的学术文化和政治生活的民主化都极为不利。这场争论最后一幕出现在九月二十八日六中全会闭幕会上，我亲身经历了这个场面。对《决议》进行表决前，陆定一又站起来发言，坚持他的意见，在《决议》中去掉这一段话，引起全场的掌声，我们中顾委这一边席位的掌声最热烈。万里发言支持陆定一的意见。余秋里、杨尚昆等发言反对陆的意见。胡耀邦采取调和立场，主张暂时仍保留这一段落。接着邓小平发表了措辞严厉的讲话，说反对资产阶级自由化他讲得最多，而且最坚持；最后说，反对自由化，还要讲十年二十年。耀邦会后布置传达时，说不要将这个争论传达下去，以便集中精力讨论《决议》本身。然而胡乔木、邓力群却借此机会来整倒胡耀邦。王震在中央党校带头发难，印发邓小平的讲话，在全校大会上责难耀邦，说道：有人故意不传达，想隐瞒。力群、乔木同志向小平同志作了汇报。小平说，在全会讲反自由化要反二

十年，现在再加五十年，反到下世纪。于是这件事和年底发生的学生上街，成为迫使耀邦辞职的一个导火线。

（十）政法问题。主张从理论上弄清楚。就是搞法治，依法治国。不要再像毛老人家一样，强调专政。依法打击刑事犯罪。不赞成搞什么“几大战役”，不要搞新的冤假错案。彭真说过我；“四个坚持”，你时而说，时而不说。留学生反映，再搞“四个坚持”，就回不去了。邓几次讲，“反右派”没错，只是扩大化了。

（最后，耀邦谈到自己的事情：）有苦恼，但不是个人问题，是历史不公平（改革开放以来，主持工作这七八年中的作为），应当还历史的本来面目。希望有个符合事实本来面目的新的结论。没有，也不能强求，去见马克思也是安然的。我已无所谓。当然，死了什么也不知道。

（耀邦还谈到，）当时作检讨，是为了照顾大局，为了保护一批干部（也为了保护这个家，是他同别人谈到的）。

（最后谈到：）再出来工作已不可能。老夫耄矣。再工作两三年，又能做些什么？老人政治不行。希望有个新的决定，中央有个正式说法。

以上整理的这个记录，是根据元元记录，我曾让她简要记个要点。耀邦如此正式谈自己的“十大分歧”问题时，我不能保证以上所记同耀邦讲的完全无误。其不合耀邦愿意之处，自然由笔者负责。

关于耀邦一生的评价，一九八九年四月二十日，赵紫阳代表中共中央在胡耀邦追悼大会上作的悼词，是经过邓小平和中央负责同志讨论过的，还是比较公正的。但由于一九八七年一月“生活会”上强加给他的那些不实之词，以及迫使他下台的做法，曾使得党内外广大党员和群众为之愤愤不平，以致一九八九年四月他辞世时，引发一场政治风波。对耀邦在

改革开放和总书记期间的作为，有一个全面公正符合实际的总结，这不仅是他个人的问题，也是关系到我们党在国内外公众中的形象问题。要知道不能正确认识昨天，也就掌握不好今天和明天!

结束语

一九八七年的十三大选举，“是非公道在人心”是言中了的。大会选举中央委员，耀邦得票一千八百多，只少几十票。随后一中全会选举政治局委员，中央委员一百七十三人，耀邦得一百六十六票，后来知道未投他的七票中，有他自己一票。

在中央委员的选举中，邓力群落选了，据说为了照顾，违反程序，临时将他放到中顾委候选名单中（无差额），以最少票入选。在中顾委选举常委时，又想让他进常委，气氛很是紧张（我是亲临其境的）。一共有一百八十七投票，邓力群只得八十五票，连零头都不够，又落选了。胡乔木只得了一百三十五票，是票最少的二人之一。选举完后照相，临时撤去邓力群的前排座（事先为当选常委准备的）。胡乔木最后走过来，一脸死色，无人同他打招呼。早在六七月间，就听说王震等极力活动让邓力群当总书记。后来有人向邓小平写信揭发此事，并检举邓力群之种种劣迹；小平批示，撤销其一切工作。

十五大召开时，我是列席代表，曾写了一个近万字的书面发言：《关于防“左”的感想与意见》。其中第三段：“应当开始总结这二十的（1978-1998）的经验教训”。谈到应当像总结前两个《历史决议》一样，作出我们党的第三个《历史决议》。“是自发进行，还是有组织领导；是内部动态参考，还是允许报刊讨论？其实许多事境外议论甚多，书刊出得不少。研究历史，不能设禁区。”“设想一下，如果没有第二个《历史决议》，这二十年能这样走过来吗？何况这二十年并非没有曲折，没有艰难，没有干扰。”随后就提出七个问题，不能回避讨论。其中第五个就是“一九八七扩胡耀邦辞职问题”。

多年来，有关耀邦的书出版甚少。最近收到的港版《怀念耀邦》一、二两集，共五十二篇文章，近六十万字，作者六十人，是耀邦在各个时期的战友、同事和部属。所有这些书刊文章，当然都是研究耀邦其人和党史资料，我写的这篇资料当然也可归入其中。

（二 000 年八月中旬）

注：

[1]一九八六年五月，邓小平约胡耀邦来家谈论十三大从事安排。耀邦说，我已过七十了，明年十三大一定要下来。邓说，我、陈云、先念都全下，你要下就半下，不再当总书记，再当一届军委主席或国家主席，到时候再说。

[2]指“两个凡是”那些东西。如说“四人帮”也是“正在走的走资本主义道路的当权派”。胡耀邦不同意这个判断，提出一个问题：“在思想政治或其他领域，到底应该反对资本主义，反对修正主义，还是反对建主义，反对流氓无产阶级？”

[3]一九八 0 年末中央政治局常委和书记处会义上关于一九八一扩国民经济发展速度的争论；一九八一年底又一次发生了争论。

[4]一九七九年十月，《人民日报》在耀邦的重视和支持下，开展了社会主义生产目的的讨论。但是有人误认为这是针对某人的，胡乔木说这样会造成紧张，“可能引起暴乱”，向耀邦施加压力，使这场讨论被迫中止。

[5]一九八四年，胡石英因诈骗罪被北京政法部门立案审理。因其是胡乔木之子，乃经中央书记处讨论，决定逮捕法办。后依法判刑一年半。但不久即以“保外就医”为名出狱。

[6]即胡乔木准备发动召开而被邓小平制止的中央工作会议。

[7]一九八一年，有人向陈云进言：中央党校校刊《理论动态》有篇文章是影射攻击你的。从而耀邦受到指责，陈云查询。耀邦答没有此事，可以调查。于是中央组织部派调查组进党校，审查校刊编辑负责人吴江、阮铭、孙长江。结果并无攻击陈云之事。但不久，王震接任中央党校校长，即宣布这三人调离党校，并且不久将铭开除出党。

[8]当时广东、福建的领导人挨批挨整。

据 2001 年 10 月香港亚太国际出版有限公司印行的《怀念耀邦》第四集中的文章校正

Li Rui: A Talk with Hu Yaobang Before His Death

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Topic: Hu Yaobang

● Li Rui

On April 15, 1989, Yaobang passed away. I was informed of the news on the same day, which was like a bolt from the blue, because my former neighbor Qin Chuan also told me that the danger had passed. The next afternoon, I went with Qin Chuan to Yaobang's home and performed the rituals at the funeral hall. I couldn't help but burst into tears and handed a poem to De Ping. Returning to the

way we also went to the Great Hall of Xi Zhongxun residence, to understand the funeral specifications to determine the process, there is a kind of worry, for fear of chaos. In the evening, for the "New Observatory" grass a small article entitled "live in the hearts of people will live forever", for the eulogy last line.

Just ten days on April 5, I was invited to Yaobang's home to do a long talk, from 2:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m., he was in good spirits, clear memory, no fatigue. He even made special hometown dishes for me for dinner and ate very well. He talked about a total of ten issues, which involved many differences. In these differences, he did not have any mistakes, the implementation of the correct line of reform and opening up, in that "life meeting" with but was forced to do a review. He finally said, "if the central government to make a realistic conclusion for me, it is good, do not do nothing, go to see Marx is also safe."

On April 19, the CCDI held a ministerial meeting in memory of Yaobang, and I was the first to speak, telling of my conversation with Yaobang and saying that it was probably the last time he had such a long talk while he was alive. I said that because of his sudden death, his request for a new conclusion took on a posthumous character. Therefore, I asked the Chinese adviser to formally convey this opinion of mine to the Central Committee. After my brief speech, Zhang Guangnian spoke in defense of Yaobang, and Huo Shilian and others first agreed with me. Chen Pi Xian asked me: Was there anyone beside you when you talked? I said that a cadre's son was always present, and that De Ping participated in the latter half of the conversation. At ten o'clock I had to go to a seminar jointly held by New Observations and World Economic Herald in memory of Yaobang, so I left the meeting early.

The eulogy I wrote on the night of April 15 was in four lines:

The strange injustice in the world is cleared away, and there will be no more unjust spirits in the divine state.

This is the scene of Zhangjiajie, and it will live forever in the hearts of the people.

The first line is naturally about Yaobang's determination to vindicate all wrongdoings. The second sentence with a pun: both the wish of Yaobang and the reign of the action, but also for Yaobang vindication; vindication of a large number of cases of injustice, he is actually a spirit of injustice!

The third sentence writes that when he went to Zhangjiajie in Hunan Province in 1988, thousands of tourists in the road, competing for handshakes, asking for a photo; then to Nanning, had to stay out of the house. The fourth sentence is self-explanatory.

"There is no more injustice in God's country." Over the years, these seven words have haunted me from time to time, and his last long talk with me, his last wish, and always his desire to make it known to the world. I felt it was a duty - an unshirkable duty. Last year was the tenth anniversary of his death, and I had already begun to organize the records of the conversations, but for various reasons I was unable to complete them. Now I would like to organize the three long talks he had with me in chronological order, and write out the relevant interactions in the hope of comforting Yaobang's spirit in heaven. At the age of eighty to ninety, there is always the feeling of "gurgling if I will not be as good as", and only when the finishing touches have been made, it is like a burden has been lifted.

A deepening understanding of Yaobang

My old companion has two very familiar cadres and children of couples Yanbin and Yuan Yuan, their parents and Yaobang couple close relationship, Yuan Yuan's mother and Yaobang Mrs. Li Zhao is Yan'an women's university classmates. At Yaobang's memorial service, I saw the two of them standing with the family. They often came to my house, so Yuan Yuan sometimes became the "intermediary" of some kind of communication between me and Yaobang, exchanging the necessary information, but also from the good mouth, to know more about Yaobang's ideological viewpoints

and the characteristics of the people in the world. Now I still remember some of them in bits and pieces: Yaobang was the most thorough in denying the Cultural Revolution and the most resolute in discussing the Standard of Truth. He believed that the Party could no longer be jeopardized by the "left", and that the ravages of the "left" could be deeply engraved in his mind. He emphasized the principles of freedom, democracy and humanity, was familiar with the history of Western development, and was willing to accept new ideas from outside. His understanding of Mao Zedong was comprehensive, and when he was still in the midst of the Cultural Revolution, he did not follow blindly, but had a clear understanding of what was going on in his mind, saying that he should never be superstitious about anyone, and that he had to be independent and to think. After the crushing of the Gang of Four, he had three suggestions: to stop criticizing Deng, to vindicate the unjust and false cases, and to grasp production. During the discussion of the truth standard, resistance came not only from Hua Guofeng and Wang Dongxing, but also from Hu Qiaomu. Vindication of wrongdoing, Wang Dongxing does not hand over one, two, three experts to identify the file, some of the screening of special cases, such as the "61 people case", he set up a separate stove to conduct investigations. In the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, he advocated the normalization and democratization of the party's internal life, should be a healthy development, we must avoid the error of the past to engage in paternalism, a person to say the wrong, and presided over the drafting of the "party's internal political life of a number of guidelines". Yaobang was grasping party building in this most fundamental aspect. He was more active than anyone else in grasping the selection of young people, and he held on tightly (I have first-hand experience of this in the work of selecting the third echelon. Some people are just verbalizing, some people only pay attention to cadres' children or overly concerned about their own children, some people are still hard "old, middle-aged and young three combined", "help the horse to walk a ride"). Back then, Zhao Ziyang and Ji Dengkui were emphasized by the top. In 1964, Yaobang recommended Ziyang to take over the Central Committee of the Youth League. He did not have any ideas of ganging up, and was very averse to the idea of "who is who's man". He used to say, "I am a member of the Party". "Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Ye Jianying, He Long, Tan Zheng ..... all helped me; Lin Biao was very kind to me and fought for me to go to the front with him after the victory in the war." After the Lin Biao incident, he deepened his understanding of mountains and sects, saying, "This is detached from the masses." He was well-read, valued knowledge, especially those with knowledge, "keen thinking, eloquent," in Yan'an by Chairman Mao such appreciation. He always talked about the need to love

intellectuals and tried his best to protect those who had been reformed among them. "After the Cultural Revolution, he firmly opposed the past set of rectification, and advocated the real implementation of the "Double Hundred Principles", not in words, but in all aspects of the implementation of the seriousness of the action to be put into action. Of course, he is not without shortcomings and weaknesses. Although he always thought things through, he was sometimes over-zealous, and when he spoke too much, he inevitably made mistakes. He had no connection with power, and was never on the defensive, so he was underhanded and didn't realize it. "After the Cultural Revolution, the cadre policy of "more change of mind, less change of person", the use of some people is also caused by the views.

After Yaobang stepped down, when we heard that he had been attacked in the "life meeting", we were indignant and at the same time extremely concerned about his situation. I immediately wrote this poem to send him off to express some kind of consolation:

The article overturned the case of the ancient and modern times, the left and right are in the same place and the enemy is close to the family.

The black-and-white scales are losing, and justice is in the hearts of the people.

I asked Yuan Yuan to bring a copy of Qian Zhongshu's "Talking about Art Green" and write the last sentence on the title page for him to turn over, so as to nurture his feelings. At the same time, I also sent him my Gentian Purple Collection and On the Work of the Three Gorges for his perusal. The latter is published in 1985, the book preface to the "People's Daily", the clear sample sent to the Secretariat, some people say I gossip, Yaobang did not let published. It turned out that I did not know that he also liked old poems. Soon after, Yuan Yuan brought three poems written by him for me to correct: a seven-line poem "Climbing Mount Tai again", two five-line poems "Gift to Li Rui", and "Comrade Li Rui's Disapproval of Fixing the Three Gorges Reservoir Thesis". It seems that he knows me better as a person, and also knows the details and key points of the Three Gorges Project. The poem borrowed from the mouth of the Wushan goddess, the last two lines euphemistically said

Mo Li Dashiwei's cutting feelings: "Begging you not to think of breaking the stream, breaking the stream will always make the concubine grieve". I made some metrical corrections to the three poems, and sent Yuan Yuan a dozen books of old poems and related metrical books when he returned.

On July 3, 1987, Yuan Yuan came home and told me that Uncle Yaobang had lost weight. I heard from my family that many of those things that were reviewed and blamed were actually things that Xiaoping had said. We all wondered at the time why there was a need to make such a review in a hurry.

On July 19, my diary entry reads: (The words typed in italics are Yaobang's own words; the words in parentheses are the author's notes):

Mr. and Mrs. Yuan Yuan come. Yuan Yuan went to Hu's house yesterday and talked with Yaobang alone. Yuan Yuan began by telling Yaobang about the concern we all have for him, about what we think of him: the most democratic (leader) the Party has ever had, chosen; to think of himself in terms of the whole picture. The talking points of Yaobang, as relayed by Yuan Yuan, are these:

In the past few months, I did not watch TV, but concentrated on reading the complete works of Marx and Engels (Lenin's Complete Works was read during the Cultural Revolution), and made some notes.

I made some notes; and I read through all the documents and printed records that I had written or spoken in the past few years.

I have read all the millions of words, and I am relieved to know that there are no mistakes. About Xiaoping's full down, I half down [1].

This was a private conversation between Xiaoping and me, and we were very much in favor of it at the time. The post of General Secretary was resigned several times. The Sixth Plenary Session wrote a report to the Central Committee, must establish a retirement system (later, this matter Xiaoping and Ziyang also talked about, Ziyang, that is, expressed disapproval of Xiaoping under. Therefore, some people say that Yaobang is not smart. Yaobang once said loudly: I can't let people point at my spine and scold me decades later).

I didn't expect that the "life meeting" would resort to such tactics to make me look bad. "Document No. 19" was humiliating (Document No. 19 issued by the Central Committee in 1987 listed Yaobang's "some serious mistakes in economic work," the letter to Deng Xiaoping dated January 2, and the letters to Deng Xiaoping dated January 10 and 15, and the letter to Deng Xiaoping dated January 15) (the letter to Deng Xiaoping of January 2, and "My Review" and "My Statement" at the Party Life Conference at the central level on January 10 and 15). Many of these statements were not made by me, and some of them were rumors. For example, the invitation of 3,000 Japanese youths was applied for by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: by the end of 1989 there were 10,000 people, and the Standing Committee had circled the issue and agreed on it before I approved 3,000 people. Doesn't the General Secretary have that kind of power? (I have also heard attacks on Yaobang at the branch meeting of the CCDI on this matter.)

I am still prudent. In the past, Xiaoping and Ziyang talked about the retirement system for leaders, but I did not. At that time, I thought it was impossible, so I advocated a second-tier system. Retirement would hurt the feelings of old comrades.

In the past, I simply did not look at the things in Hong Kong, so as not to be disturbed.

In the future, there are four words: to spend one's twilight years in peace. Whether "peace"? There are two things: First, I am already more than seventy-one years old, the laws of nature can not be. The second is that I hope the Party will get better, but is it possible? (Yuan Yuan said that Uncle Yaobang had a feeling of extreme disappointment.

It is certainly sad to say that old friends who have struggled together for decades in the past and trusted each other, such as Wang Heshou's revelations.)

One of Marx's important points is that when a historical phenomenon occurs, it is necessary to look for the root cause and discover what is hidden deep behind it.

"The Cultural Revolution, of course, was bad, but after it happened, the result was good: it won't happen again. The same is true of my own events.

（After crushing the Gang of Four, Chen Yun talked to Yaobang for three days about China's future, and the issues he discussed were reflected in editorials and commentators' articles in the People's Daily. (Yuan Yuan said that Uncle Yaobang had always had great respect for Chen Yun.)

While in charge of the Party School, the question was raised as to whether lectures should be given according to the Central Committee documents[2] of the time, or according to Marxism?

On the issue of "bourgeois liberalization," Lu Dingyi suggested that it be deleted from the document when it was discussed at Beidaihe before the Sixth Plenary Session, and Wanli was in favor of it. Wan Li was in favor of it. During the Plenary's discussion, both of them still insisted on this opinion. I only said that, for the sake of stability, it would be better to keep it for now, and then consider whether to remove it in the future. Finally blamed on me (this scene in the plenum, I personally experienced, Dingyi and Wanli's speech, causing the audience to applaud, especially the right side of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection seat applause lasting. At the end, Deng Xiaoping said not much, the key point was: "Oppose liberalization, not only this time, but also for ten or twenty years").

Later I was made to do a review.

Yuan Yuan said that she had heard Yaobang talk several times about how he was not wrong on matters of principle. Yuan Yuan felt most attached to your noble character, you are not ashamed of the world and can stand up to history; I joined the Communist Youth League at the age of fourteen, and after so many party struggles and political turmoils, I still preserved a piece of my sincerity. These are the most valuable things of people. Yaobang smiled after hearing this and said: right, Marx also talked about the heart of the naked.

In the Organization Department of a long talk

Before Yaobang came down from the post of General Secretary, I only had a working relationship with him, without any historical connection. When I was in the Central Youth Committee in Yan'an, I heard about Hu Yaobang, but only in praise. The first time we met, is March 1958, Premier Zhou led the team to investigate the Three Gorges Dam site, sitting on the same boat, some people are playing Go, we are onlookers. Lushan meeting in 1959, not in a group, "Briefing" does not seem to see what he had to say. In May 1975, I was released from Qincheng Prison, still back in Anhui Muzitan Hydropower Station to live a life of labor. Early in the morning of December 24, 1977, after hearing on the radio the news that the Central Committee had appointed Hu Yaobang as the head of the Central Organization Department, I wrote a long letter overnight asking for vindication and sent it out the next day. At the same time, my second sister, Li Yinghua (Sanhachi), and my daughter, Li Nanyang, found their way to Yaobang's house on several occasions. So I was able to go to the hospital in Hefei for treatment, and on January 6, 1979, I returned to Beijing to resume my duties. This year, when I wrote the article "Remembering Tian Jiaying", Tian has not been vindicated to open the memorial meeting, the article sent to the "People's Daily" for fear that it would be difficult to publish, especially first sent to Yaobang for review. He immediately instructed that there was nothing that could not be published, and praised the style of Lu Xun's writing.

In March 1982, I was transferred to the Central Organization Department, and in May I participated in the Personnel Group of the Twelfth National Congress. Yaobang was the leader of the group,

with Yu Qiuli and Cheng Zihua as his deputy leaders, and Qiuli was responsible for the day-to-day practical work. There were more than ten members in the group, and I was in charge of the office. I was in charge of the office, which consisted of the Director of the General Office of the Central Organization Department, etc. The office liaised with the various systems and localities, and edited the Bulletin for the reference of the Central Committee. The workplace was at Yuquan Mountain, where everyone lived. The drafting team for the political report of the Twelfth National Congress was also headed by Yaobang (Hu Qiaomu's deputy), and also lived at Mount Yuquan. Yaobang came to the personnel group meetings not very often. The task of the Personnel Group was to prepare the three lists for the Twelfth Congress: the Central Committee, the Inspection Committee of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection and the Central Advisory Committee. I stayed at Mount Yuquan for three or four months, and the work was of course heavy, complex and difficult. Sometimes it took a long time to investigate and study a person's entry or exit, and it took a long time to finalize a decision. I remember that I made two or three systematic reports to Yaobang, who was easygoing and casual in conversation. The most impressive thing is a former member of the 11th Central Committee of the problem of retention, is the coal system, in the "Cultural Revolution" owed the account, when quite a bit of fame in the youth. We argued back and forth with Yaobang three times, each with his own reasons, and finally he obeyed everyone's opinion that this person should not be retained.

At the beginning of 1982, I was sixty-five years old and had decided to retire from the Ministry of Electric Power. At this time, Chen Yun decided to ask me to set up a young cadres bureau in the Central Organization Department, and the role of this bureau was set very high, and the selection of its members was particularly strict. It is said that the Ministry of Organization had been delayed for a year did not do, the reason in the Ministry of local, economic, missionary and other bureaus, are divided into various systems of cadres, of course, including the selection of young cadres, the establishment of a separate bureau, is not like the State Planning Commission in the year there was a "small Planning Commission. I know that this is an extremely difficult work, I have had the experience of rolling in the vortex of the Central Committee, not willing to get involved again, and want to "spend their twilight years in peace". However, Chen Yun's opinion was extremely firm, urging me to take up the post, but also misunderstood that I "can go up but can not go down", only as a director, rather than the name of the Ministry. So I had to obey. The central government set the

"cadres should be four" (revolutionary, youthful, intellectual, professional) guidelines, as well as according to the selection of successors, that is, the training of reserve cadre team (then called the establishment of the third echelon), I am wholeheartedly support, resolute implementation, the Ministry of Youth and Stem Bureau of the specific task is to select the reserve cadres of the Ministry of the province (eventually examined a thousand people). The first battle of this task is the personnel turnover of the Twelfth Congress. I seemed to have this feeling at the time, from the point of view of Yaobang (he is the General Secretary), I probably still can be trusted (due to the "I do what I want", and then I was finally subjected to "Xie Ling or Department of Ling people" scene, not to talk about it here, because the article was I'm not going to talk about it here, because the article is about Yaobang)! At that personnel panel, I was also elected and approved to be on the list of Central Committee members, which was no mental preparation at all, and was followed by the Twelfth Congress, the historical significance of which was clear to all. I had been ordered by the Poetry Magazine to write four seven-song compositions in praise and expectation.

The Twelfth Congress had its final act, which the newspapers did not report, nor did they leave a single shot or photograph. The General Assembly is about to end, came the words of Yaobang: newly elected members of the Central Committee of the young and middle-aged people, I want to choose 30 or 40 people to the Politburo to make an introduction, first printed out a resume. This matter can be said to be familiar with, and soon done. The opening day of the General Assembly in the Great Hall of a hall, I remember Marshal Ye, Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Xiannian, Sister Deng, Peng Zhen, and so on were there (after Lushan down did not see Marshal Ye, the old man also recognized me), Yaobang presided over, let me one by one introduction. The old people are smiling, very happy.

After twelve to the end of 1984 before leaving, because of the work relationship sometimes attended the Secretariat meeting, witnessed the Secretariat meeting, and how the General Secretary presided over the meeting and deal with some matters. In 1958 and 1959, I also attended some of the major and minor meetings of the Central Committee, and witnessed with my own eyes the scenes of Mao Zedong's reign, which made me feel that we had indeed entered a new era, and that the "one-word hall" had begun to change into a "group-word hall" (however, the two old men did not participate in

the Registry's meetings, and in the new period, I did not have the opportunity to sit in on the Standing Committee). General Secretary in front of the people is an equal member, he is short, sometimes speak seems to be a little shorter than others. Hu Qiaomu always sat next to Yaobang, showing some kind of guardianship, which was unpleasant. I remember two things about personnel handling. One is, the discussion to the issue, Hu Qiaomu spoke, said sternly: Zhou Yang, Xia Yan, Ba Jin is the head of the three liberalization (I heard that Wang Zhen in the Central Party School also scolded "the Ba's ....."). At that time, no one answered, and it passed. Yaobang could protect Ba Jin, but not Zhou Yang. The second thing is about the personnel of People's Daily. Since the criticism of the "Two Fans", when Yaobang was still at the Central Party School, he had cooperated very well with the People's Daily, and the newspaper really played the role of a mouthpiece for the implementation of the reform and opening-up line. Therefore, it was also most attacked by Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun, which was the last important position within their command that they failed to control. As we all know, since Hu Jiwei and Wang Ruoshui were straightened out, the newspaper did not listen to their command left a Qin Chuan. This about "People's Daily" personnel office director, may make Yaobang deepen the impression of my person.

It was at this time that Yaobang had a long heart-to-heart talk with me. After arriving at the Central Organization Department in 1982, I did not stop writing in my diary, so I could write many things truthfully.

On January 20, 1984, I received a phone call from the Central Office, and at 3:00 p.m. on the 21st, Yaobang asked me to talk to him. At that time, I thought that I might want to hear my views on personnel matters. A few days ago, when I participated in a discussion in the Secretariat about the adjustment of the provincial teams in Guangxi and Hunan and the problems left over from the Cultural Revolution, Yaobang talked about Liu Zongyuan's article "Refuting the Revenge Discussion". One of the sentences in the article reads, "If relatives hate each other, who will save them from the chaos?" We should learn from the ancients. After returning home, I found the original text and thought that it was not relevant to the current situation in Guangxi, so I wrote a short letter to Yaobang, explaining this intention. A few days after this, that is, on the 19th, the Secretariat meeting to discuss personnel issues of the People's Daily. The Central Propaganda

Department proposed to send Wang Renzhi and other four people into the leadership team of the newspaper, the old team "a pot". Some leaders of the Central Organization Department were ready to approve it. At that time, I heard Wang say in the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee that all fronts had been seriously polluted by the spirit, and it seemed that capitalism had been fully restored, so I discussed with Chen Nopin (Minister) that this list was all theoretical, and I was afraid that it would not be appropriate. When I talked about this at Xi Zhongxun's place on January 7, Qiao Shi, Song Renxin and Chen Yuping, who were present, were not in favor of it. I also spoke up for Hu Jiwei and explained that Hu Qiaomu could not tolerate people. So we returned to the ministry for a meeting and topped the program. On the twelfth, the Director of Cadres of the Central Propaganda Department came to press the matter; and Nopin also told that he had received a telephone call from Deng Liqun, saying that I was against the matter. At the meeting of the Secretariat on the 19th, several comrades went to Wang Renzhi's speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), which was too leftist, and must not be allowed to manage the newspaper, while Yaobang talked about how the newspaper could not be run as a theoretical publication. I finally spoke: this list is not appropriate, the newspaper is to the reality of the situation, the burden of pressure, no day can be unloaded. A scholar cannot run a newspaper. Yaobang added: the scholar should be in quotation marks. Deng Liqun was present and said nothing. The list was then rejected.

The following two-day diary entry from January 20 and 21 about it.

January 20, drawing up an outline for tomorrow's talk:

(a) Looking to the Central Committee for normal life (recalling the year). What is Deng Liqun up to? Removing spiritual pollution. People's Daily.

Recognition and view of Qiaomu: no control over firewood, rice, oil and salt, no single burden. Always a pen. Sometimes does not recognize the account. Cannot tolerate others. Authoritative self-importance.

(ii) It is not easy to recognize people, the key is to use people. People have their own limitations and characteristics, shortcomings (Mao's lesson). Yaobang himself. The Central Organization Department. The two old men.

(iii) The problem of secretaries and their children. Be careful and watch out for the passing of messages.

(iv) Science and technology first (the problem of expert rule). Science includes Marxism. (v) The problem of "good and great" (Three Gorges). Ministry of Water Resources "one water, three nuclear" (Qian Zhengying - U.S., for U.S. aid and loans to build the Three Gorges Project and three nuclear power plants).

(v) The problem of "deviation from the main social agenda".

(vi) The Hunan issue (after the reform of provincial and ministerial organizations, the personnel problems left behind in Hunan are relatively heavy, and there is also the problem of factionalism left over from the "Cultural Revolution").

(vii) Ding Ling (the Central Organization Department intends to completely vindicate Ding Ling).

The diary entry for this day ends with the following sentence:

The general situation is in support of Yaobang, and Huang felt the same way (I used to visit Huang Kecheng back then).

January 21, 3:00 p.m. to Yaobang's room in Zhongnanhai, talked about 6:00 p.m., the whole three hours, but no recording. I generally according to the preparation of a few questions to talk about their own views. The following is what Yaobang said:

On the year 81, 82 years of controversy [3]: economic speak sharply, the key is the speed of the problem. Said can not put the old set, the old frame not let go. So caused Chen Yun, Ziyang misunderstanding.

The discussion of the purpose of production [4], not to criticize anyone.

The question of quadrupling. In the summer of 1980, the economy was discussed in Wuhan, and by the year 2000 it had quadrupled. Ziyang and Yao Yilin have countless in mind. Xiaoping asked: how to reach quadruple? I replied that the annual increase of 7.2 percent, and strive for seven percent, not less than six percent. Yao said he could only set six percent, 1981, five to four. I was anxious, spoke harsh words, not to be mean to anyone. At this time, we can not convince each other. So every time I went to the local area, I was at the bottom of the pep talk. When I was preparing the report for the Twelfth National Congress, the controversy broke out. Someone complained that I had spoken downstairs for 10 percent, and reflected this to Qiao Mu, who then reflected it to Xiaoping. So Xiaoping approached me and asked: (1) Did you set a high target? A did not exceed seven percent. (2) whether to say do not engage in key construction? A: No, it's not. (3) Do not rectify the party? A to rectify, is the document to see the kind of writing the problem, in fact, the report is written.

After the Second Plenary Session, in the CAC, said: I eat a few bowls of rice grew up, we still do not know? (In the specific historical conditions up, this argument we are convinced.)

Hu Qili is Xiaoping's favorite, asked me twice, and then asked again for the third time, before the finalization of the speech. The Central Committee knows all about this. There is a lot of talk outside,

saying that I use the cadres of the Central Committee of the Youth League. Xiaoping has guaranteed Li Xuefeng.

Xiaoping looked at Qiaomu, the first pen of the Party, not a politician. In January 1983, my speech on the "four construction and reform issues," which talked about the need for comprehensive reform. Qiao Mu was in Kunming, sent him to see, he said the full text is very good, slightly added or deleted. As a result, he complained to Xiaoping, saying that it was a wind of reform, etc. Qiaomu thought that Deng Liqun would not be able to do so. Qiao Mu thinks that Deng Liqun does not know how to write articles. (After I talked about my opinion of this person) I can't figure out Deng Liqun now.

He himself is ready to come down in 1987. Qiao Mu and Liqun will also come down. In three to five years, dozens of new people will be added. Registry also into the forty-something, down five, replaced by five young on.

Dare to practice. Lenin, 1920 (?). Lenin in 1920 (?) said. This is the first question, to open new horizons. The "Cultural Revolution" is the beginning of the liberation process. The new situation is to open up, not to uproot.

I have to adhere to two principles: no self-interest, and to ask for instructions on important matters. All aspects, especially the local to dare to create, now is not creative enough. Otherwise, such as the old are gone, will be afraid of no master. Local decentralization, power can not be too centralized.

Qin Shi Huang died in the transfer of cadres, military personnel thirty-six counties divided, so in the local trouble.

The Song Dynasty died in the highly centralized, all the power centralized to the court. "The general is not subject to the orders of the king."

Now there are only four things that are considered to be outlines:

(i) There is a set of foreign affairs guidelines and policies.

(ii) Party life and personnel. There is a Code of Life. Cadres should be "four", the old comrades arrangements.

(iii) Agriculture, still developing. The system of responsibility to specialization, another major development. A milestone.

(d) The united front. Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, nationalities, religion (let Zheng Bijian write about religion, three months, read the historical documents, there are contradictions.)

Minister of Culture four flat, no new situation.

Planning Commission is too stable, people are dissatisfied with the old framework. Secretary for a batch of exchanges, exchanges, some can go to the province, the appropriate when the vice governor can also.

This conversation, some of which is a general discussion, but also belongs to the Organization Department's scope of business.

About the home long talk

After 1985, although I was no longer in office, still concerned about the changes in the wind and clouds, Yaobang's situation is generally known. Once a year at the plenary session of the Central Committee, I made speeches, sometimes quite pointedly. Later, at the weekly branch meeting of the CCPR Committee, I was not too scrupulous in my speech, and I still talked about Hu Qiaomu's problems. After the 1986 Beidaihe Conference, I heard some rumors about the personnel arrangements for the 13th National Congress. At the end of the year, the branch of the Gu Committee meeting, there are on Yaobang said long and even attacked the rhetoric, such as "to engage in the green and red gang" and so on (with the cadres of the Youth League and the Red Guards). In January 1987, I was not surprised by the change in the "life meeting".

Looking back at the diary entries for January 1987, the following things can be recorded in chronological order:

New Year's Day. Yu Guangyuan's phone call: he was criticized by name for his "publicity and self-interest" and for "looking up to the future and down to the money". How can a complaint be linked to "total westernization"?

On the second day, someone told me that at two o'clock in the morning, from west to east on Chang'an Avenue, there were several hundred people marching, chanting "long live freedom" and "punish the murderers severely, patriotism is not guilty". When it was yesterday's Tiananmen incident aftermath. With Li Shu, Qin Chuan on the phone: must be channeled, can not "prevent the people's mouth is even more than preventing the Sichuan"; "the people for the state base, this solid state peace". Li Pu to come, went to Lishu's home, talk about the situation, sigh: the Soviet Union, culture, education, science and technology has not been subjected to major disruptions, the treatment of intellectuals has been open, so the foundation is much better than ours.

Three days. Xiang Nan came, and then talk about the fake medicine. He has wind into Yaobang, Yaobang said, his work in Fujian has been fully affirmed, and said who has no faults, their own faults more, but also talked about their own days are much more difficult.

In the afternoon, the Gu Committee conveyed December 30, Xiaoping about Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, Wanli, Hu Qili, Li Peng, He Dongchang six people talk about the document, quite similar to that year, "the summer situation": the current student unrest is a few years of opposition to the liberalization of the ideological trend of the flag is not clear to the denial of "clean up the dirt They denied the "clean-up". Fang Lizhi, Wang Ruowang and Liu Binyan should be expelled, but they were weak in the past. With regard to Wang Ruowang, Shanghai has said that he should be expelled and protected, and the central government also has a protective layer. Polish lessons, dictatorship necessary. Go to Tiananmen Square and arrest as many as you can. Consolidate literary and propaganda positions. Purge to open a list, but do not rush to deal with.

Four days. Rumors abound: Ziyang to General Secretary, Yaobang to Gu Committee. Chen Yun said he was in favor of opening up, but the infrastructure should not be too big, and he wanted a cage. It is difficult for the Planning Commission to change its old style.

Five days. Morning branch meeting of the Gu Committee, the tone is high, Huang Huoqing almost named Yaobang. Said Xiaoping was at the helm. Some blame Lu Dingyi and Yu Guangyuan. On the contrary, raised the issue of prices, the relationship between thousands of households also. In the afternoon, went to the hospital and said goodbye to Huang Kecheng's body.

Six days. Gao Yang said: by a long time, several years of conflict; fewer standing committees, the Registry arbitrary; full-time secretary separate meetings, not the party constitution. I was instructed not to express my opinion.

7th. Lishu telephone: his neighbor back from Tianjin, students lying on the tracks, demanded a price problem. afternoon to participate in Huang Kecheng memorial service, do not see Yaobang.

eighth. Qin Chuan informed that Wang Heshou informed Qian Liren: Fang Lizhi, Liu Binyan expelled from the Party. Qian asked whether it is in line with the party constitution? He replies that it is.

9th. to the National People's Congress auditorium, to participate in the "Huaxia Research Institute" inaugural meeting, quite grand, avoiding speech. Encountered Hu Jiwei, Yu Guangyuan, Su Shaozhi and so on. Said to point out a list of names, Wang Zhen also pointed out Bajin.

twelfth. morning to participate in a branch of the Gu Committee meeting, uncovered the criticism of Yaobang. Many people spoke about specific personnel. The most intense said: to squeeze xiao ping step down, have ambition; to be the chairman of the military commission; for the bourgeois liberalization of the total backstage; with Zhong Zeng Gen played hot; unauthorized approval of 3,000 Japanese young people to visit China, and so on. It seems that everyone has to take a stand on what is set above.

14th. Continuation of the Expenditure Department meeting. Sister Zeng Zhi also said a, but finally said fair: also have to look at the whole picture, after the Third Plenary Session did a lot of good things. Everyone's final opinion is: Xiaoping must not go down. Mr. and Mrs. Lai Shu, Li Pu, Qin Chuan came, there are worries, to pay attention to foreign reactions.

Fifteenth. Got a call: Yaobang suspended for inspection; after a good inspection, he can remain a member of the Politburo.

Sixteenth. TV news: Yaobang stepped down, but will remain a member of the Standing Committee. The uneasiness of the past few days has come to an end. There is a long way to go. Some people talk about their feelings. Hungary's reforms have been stalled for ten years, but we are not going to follow in their footsteps. It is very difficult to implement the system of factory managers; enterprises

have potential; we all know that as the development of productive forces, private ownership is inevitable.

In the diary of the twenty-first day, there is a poem entitled "Feelings at the Beginning of the Year Ding Mao", a poem of seven poems, which was given to Yaobang. (This poem was published in the new edition of the Gentian and Purple Collection published in 1985 under the title; "Gift to a Person at the Beginning of the Year Ding Mao")

Diary entry for January 2, 1988:

In the evening Yanbin and Yuan Yuan came and told Yaobang about some recent remarks and the legends they had heard:

Xiaoping's office called a few times, probably on December 30 before going there once, just playing bridge, nothing to talk about. Deng's family later asked to go again, to the health, declined. I have no idea what I will do in the future (Qin Chuan once advised him to write his memoirs). Now is to participate in Politburo meetings, reading and studying, thinking about the problem, the mood is still good. "Chen Yun says I don't understand economics. In fact, they are still the same old things from the past." Always looking at and treating people with goodwill, not knowing the deceitfulness of the human heart, I only woke up when I stepped down early last year. About Fang Lizhi, Liu Binyan, Wang Ruowang three people's problems, is very regrettable, Xiaoping asked, did not make clear the three people's situation, did not formally speak, only said to ignore good (to the later can not be undone).

It seems that Yaobang has not yet contemplated his own size of the taboo, but also do not have a competent left and right as a helper. Yanbin heard, Wang Zhen to people to complain, he did not want to fix Yaobang. Another old man said, did not think that Yaobang matter caused so many

people's opinions, said, "I was also authorized"; and asked his children to fight on their own, can not rely on the old man.

Yan Bin Yuan told me that Yaobang wanted to talk to me very much.

On January 10, Yuan Yuan called and Yaobang asked me to come to his house on Thursday afternoon.

On January 14, 1988, Yanbin came in the afternoon and went with me to Yaobang's house. This was the first time I went to his home. As soon as I walked into the living room, Yaobang opened his right hand and said to me, "Welcome, you are a man of independent character, with a sense of justice and tenacity. From 2:40 p.m. to 8:20 p.m.. I stayed for dinner, which was separate from my family.

The last few pages of my 1988 diary, I wrote down the main points of Yaobang's conversation. The original insights were messy and memorized from memory, but now they have been adjusted roughly according to their contents (in parentheses are the author's comments).

(January 1987 such a "life meeting") This is completely unexpected and sudden. I thought that after I sent in my resignation, that would be the end of the matter. （Bo Yibo's opening remarks (at the "life meeting") were very generalized, asking everyone to talk to each other about what they thought of each other, starting with Yaobang. The first to fire a shot was Yu Qiuli. Deng Liqun spoke for five or six hours. I didn't expect to be criticized and stigmatized in this way. If I had known, I would not have written my resignation.

(It is this "life meeting" is also a special arrangement. Xi Zhongxun first did not know, once in the meeting place to see this situation, he lost his temper: such an important meeting why not inform in advance. Since October 1986, the central government has a seven-member group consisting of Bo

Yibo, Yang Shangkun, Song Renxin, Yao Yilin, Wang Zhen, Wu Xiuquan, Gao Yang, etc., and they are looking for people to ask for advice on how to arrange the personnel of the central government in the 13th National Congress, especially on the opinions of Yaobang. Zhou Hui talked to me about this situation. (This was a matter of which Yaobang was completely unaware.) They traveled far and wide to collect information from all the provinces, but had no luck. Only one comrade in Hunan made a few overtures. I don't talk about people behind their backs, otherwise it would be even worse. After I came down, I read all of my speeches, conversations and articles in the past seven or eight years, all of which had been printed, several million words. After reading them for three months, I had a clear conscience (which was consistent with our views and represented the correct line after the Third Central Committee meeting, all of which had a bearing on the safety and security of the Party and the country, how to develop healthily, and what path to take. Therefore, our group of friends who had dealings with Yaobang and knew him well all said that he should not have resigned, nor should he have done this kind of review).

In the review, he himself made a big deal of it and went up the ladder. When I came down, I respected the new leadership (I didn't talk about obedience) and maintained party unity. I only asked for a peaceful old age.

(Because of such a mentality, I heard that after Yaobang was forced to make a check at the meeting, he left the venue and wept bitterly. A person would not cry like this, especially on such an occasion, if he was not deeply grieved by a great wrong," he said. Yaobang was born a red boy, after the Soviet purge, the Long March, the war beacon. Ten years of the "Cultural Revolution", suffered all the trials and tribulations, all the movements never rectify people. After the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), he opened up a new path for the primary stage of socialism with selflessness, fearlessness, wisdom and courage. He said when he was General Secretary: I respect the elderly and think independently. He tried his best to communicate and coordinate between the two old men, and had to seek advice on major issues, but at the same time, he also had to face the two "leftist kings" with all sorts of obstacles, and finally he was attacked from both sides, which was a small matter for him personally, but a big matter for the whole situation, so how could he not cry out loud!)

The Standing Committee seldom meets. (During the conversation, I asked why the Standing Committee was not convened when there was a difference of opinion.) Xiaoping said, "If we can't reach an agreement, don't open it. I went to Chen's house once a year (I felt that Yaobang had a lot of unspeakable grievances and was not in a position to ask further questions). Xiaoping's ears are soft (meaning that he sometimes listens to the words of the two "leftist kings"). On the (fully retired, half-retired) down thing, is that I and Xiaoping two people talk privately, the nature of the exchange of views (Deng is said to have later asked Wanli: Why let me down? Wanli: Maybe it was a slip of the tongue. Deng said no, is to replace. This shows that Deng Xiaoping misunderstood Hu Yaobang deeply. (This is too regrettable)!

About 1980, with Zhao Ziyang, Yao Yilin, Fang Weizhong to Wuhan, to report to Deng, talking about the five-year plan plate, the annual growth rate of 4.5 percent (which was set at the time). Deng thought it would be difficult to quadruple the growth rate, and asked how much could be set to achieve it. Three people did not answer. I answered seven point four percent. Deng also asked, fifty years to quadruple, what is the speed? Only I can answer 2.5 percent. Usually these figures are noted and memorized (I have heard people around Chen said, Chen on Yaobang two big opinions: do not understand the economy, improper use of personnel. (Later, one of the criticisms of Yaobang was that he was engaged in high speed).

(The State Council) reported on more than three dozen ministries in an attempt to familiarize the people in the Secretariat with the economic situation. (When I was in the Ministry of Electricity, I participated in such debriefings. Yaobang asked when our electricity would catch up with that of the United States. I said, "On a per capita basis, we will never catch up. It is understandable that Yaobang wants to go faster. It was too much to attack him for wanting a "big follow-up".) Later, I felt that Zhao had a problem with it, so I stopped it. The selection of Zhao as General Secretary was the result of discussions among several old men. Only Marshal Ye mentioned the idea of letting Hua Guofeng overdo it for a little while, and then agreed to it (Ye knew Yaobang very well when he was in Yan'an. After the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee, Ye said to Yaobang: "You

should be the vice-chairman. Yaobang replied: How can that be?) The list of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Twelfth National Congress was agreed upon by several elders.

(After I came to the Organization Department, I came into contact with some personnel, and as a person who had been there before, I was of course sensitive to the fact that there were certain contradictions between Chen and Yaobang, and I knew that Chen had a big dissatisfaction with Yaobang.) In the early 1983 Standing Committee, Chen Yun criticized me (for messing up the economy) on nine counts (when Yaobang went to various places to conduct surveys and researches, he used to talk about Xiaoping's "quadrupling", and Deng Liqun told Chen Yun that the overheating of the economy was caused by Yaobang. In fact, in 1982, the industrial growth rate was 7.7 percent, but the plan was 4 percent). Xiao Ping was not convinced. At that time, he said, "That's the end of it. And said sternly: the central work conference should not be opened (taking advantage of Chen Yun's criticism, Hu Qiaomu immediately suggested that a meeting of provincial and municipal party secretaries. Deng Liqun after the meeting that in his jurisdiction of the two propaganda mouth cadres meeting to convey Chen Yun's criticism. (At one time, the whole country was abuzz, not knowing what had happened to the central government). Xiaoping later called Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun to question them: What are you doing? (In 1987, Deng Liqun made a light review of the matter in his speech at the "life meeting".)

When I was working in the Ministry of Organization, I was asked to recommend Hu Qiaomu (according to my family and people familiar with me, Yaobang had always respected Qiaomu) to replace Zhang Ping as the Minister of the Central Propaganda Department. Xiaoping did not agree, said no administrative capacity, is a pen (Deng has long said Hu Qiaomu soft bones, stubbornness, etc., which is spread). A week later, and asked twice, had to grossly recommend when the propaganda minister, Xiannian once said, prestige is not as high as when the organization minister. For the "People's Daily" thing, calm down, there will always be bumps (this is Hu Qiaomu, Deng Liqun failed to control a department, forcing Hu Jiwei resigned, after getting rid of Wang Ruoshui, and then removed Qin Chuan. I do not know whether Yaobang feel, the two "left king" from the Party School to organize the discussion of the standard of truth, has been engaged in "clear the side of the king" activities).

Qiaomu this person, "a day without the king is terrified" (seems to be a general comment). A few notes a day, always calling, unbearable. Hu Qili, just after he was declared permanent secretary, encountered this situation, complained. Xiao Ping was also overwhelmed. One day in 1983, Qiaomu suddenly ran, crying: you do not become General Secretary, you can do something else, our friendship will survive. I was very surprised; I did not understand why. Qiaomu reacted, and then broke down in tears and talked about something else. Previously, Qiaomu said this to me: you only have an elementary school education, the mind is very open, the future article to me to change, can change better. Commemorating the birth of Mao Zedong's article, I held back for a week to write out (did not hand over to Qiao Mu to change), Qiao Mu since but not write. Qiaomu also said that Deng Liqun could not write an article (Yaobang then talked about such a thing). When discussing the incident of Qiaomu's son at the secretariat meeting, Deng Liqun was the first to speak in favor of bringing him to justice.

Reform and opening up, stability and unity are important, but emancipation and seeking truth from facts are even more important. There is a right against the right, there is a "left" against the "left" (according to: this is the year Huang Kecheng suggested); Qili spoke in Shanxi, so both sides are mentioned, this can not solve the problem. (Then Yaobang talked about three things) will be a general secretary so unrealistic treatment, put the party rules and regulations of the party law in place? This will continue to hurt the intellectuals (will not be a "thorn in the side", do not seek truth from facts, arbitrarily expelled from the Party), how to find stability and unity? Students are always more radical. From the viewpoints of the students and their handling of the incidents, we can see that the three incidents were actually unfinished business. These three things are actually unfinished business. From the historical responsibility, it should be put forward that we must emphasize seeking truth from facts, which is the fundamental of the fundamental. Should also adhere to this approach: emancipation of the mind, seeking truth from facts, unity and forward-looking (these three things, especially the latter, Yaobang is prescient, is a prophet).

In his life, there are two people: one is Su Jin, after the Ningdu riots, was long suspected, 1942 before joining the party. "During the Cultural Revolution, I was forced eight times to give an

account of Su's problems, but I only said that I had ideological problems. Secondly, Xiang Nan, after 1959, he was labeled as a "right-leaning opportunist". Yan'an rescue movement, in the General Administration did not hit a secret agent. There have been several experiments, looking for a few people will not have a problem, an interrogation and forced confessions, they all admitted. Chairman Mao to find to report, tell this situation and views on the rescue (at that time Mao also heard other people's reflections). Only then there is a do not kill, most do not capture a few guidelines.

In Yan'an, with Tao cast, Wang Heshou good relations, once known as the "Peach Orchard Three" (Yaobang had told Heshou some heartfelt words, in the "life meeting" by Heshou exposed, very sad).

I have to rethink the truth of being a human being. I admire Zhang Zhizhong very much. During the Revolution and after the victory in the war, when the Chinese Communist Party split, Zhang twice submitted a letter of 10,000 words to Chiang Kai-shek, which he strongly disapproved of. After 1949, he did not criticize Chiang Kai-shek. Around the time of the Great Leap Forward, he once went up to the Tiananmen Tower and met Chairman Mao in the elevator. Zhang said, "Chairman, you're moving too fast to keep up." Zhang Zhizhong should have a TV series.

The general situation is very worried. The world trend is deteriorating, people are disorganized, the price index remains high, the economy is the most critical. The party style is not correct, some cadres act arbitrarily, do not tell the truth, no maintenance of the center, tell the truth is the most important.

After coming down, Xiaoping repeatedly let go to play bridge. December 30th went, and did not talk about anything.

(Talked about his life) hometown became a red zone. I went to Liu Yang Middle School for half a year and was in the same class with Yang Yong (my cousin). In the Xianggan Border Region, he

made a children's newspaper and carved his own wax plates. Started to kill the "AB Group", but was suspected. Feng Wenbin took me away when he came from the Central Soviet Region and rescued me. Once I heard Gu Zuolin (the secretary of the Central Committee of the Youth League) talking with Feng Wenbin and said that I did not look like a counter-revolutionary. So I asked to stay and work in the Central Committee of the Youth League. When I was in Yan'an, I was initially the branch secretary of the first brigade of the "Resistance University". At a meeting, he spoke about improving his work and the need to reach out to the masses. He was appreciated by Chairman Mao. He promoted me to be the Secretary of the General Branch of the Political Department of the Resistance University. Some people disagreed. Chairman Mao let me be promoted one more level and become the deputy director. "The Resistance University ran a newspaper and wrote its own articles. Chairman Mao was also asked to write the famous article "Against Liberalism". Nineteen fifty-five years ago, with Chairman Mao had seven conversations (and then talked about Mao and some other personnel, from the omitted).

In Jiangxi, Ren Bishi was not in favor of the purge, nor was Zhu De. Mao was suspicious. In Yan'an, he wrote ten letters to convince Bishi (on the history of the purge of the "left" line). But Shi was good at independent thinking and did not follow blindly, and once disagreed with the "Wang Ming Line".

Many major personnel decisions were made by Deng, but they were all blamed on me. For example, Liao Zhigao was transferred out of Fujian, Ma Wenrui was transferred out of Shaanxi, and Hu Qili was transferred to the Central Committee. I was sent to Shenyang to understand the situation, only two billion pounds of grain, insisted on three billion pounds, did not agree (according to: Huang Huoqing in the meeting of the Central Advisory Committee, the views of Yaobang, and speak a lot).

A Long Talk Ten Days Before His Death

On April 5, 1989, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Yuan Yuan came and went to Yaobang's house with him and talked about nine-thirty.

From January 9 to February 20, at the invitation of the Fei Zhengqing Center for East Asian Studies at Harvard University, I stayed in the United States as a visiting scholar for forty days; half of the time was spent at Harvard, and the other half at the Centers for East Asian Studies at five universities, namely, Sirik, Michigan, Chicago, Berkeley, and Stanford. He gave a number of lectures on the review of the Chinese revolution and the situation of reform and opening-up, and had talks with scholars, experts and some international students studying China at these centers, exchanging views and answering questions, especially on the merits and demerits of Mao Zedong. In the U.S., I met Yang Zhongmei, a scholar who stayed in Japan, and he gave me the Chinese version of the biography of Hu Yaobang, which he had written, and upon his return, he asked Yuan Yuan to hand it over to Yaobang.

Hu Qiaomu was invited by Li Zhengdao to visit the United States, know that I just came back from the United States, March 5, specially let Zheng Hui to find me to talk about the views of the United States trip. Zheng Hui is Qiaomu years assistant, then deputy director of the Central Party History Research Office, know my historical relationship with Qiaomu, no personal grudges, especially clear is that Qiaomu suggested that I write the "Lushan meeting factual record" and help, April 4 and saw Zheng Hui, Qiaomu heard my introduction and comments, very moved.

So the beginning of the conversation with Yaobang, mentioned Qiaomu's visit to the United States before the publication of an article: "Why China committed twenty years of" left "leaning error" (puzzling is to use the "China" and not use the "Communist Party of China "It seems that China wants to change its image, but whether it has really changed or not remains to be seen in what it says and what it does. I then talked about my visit to the U.S. and how many international students and scholars studying China in the U.S. were concerned about his situation. I talked a lot about the situation in the United States and my views. For example, the history of the United States does not have any tradition and has a tradition, the characteristics of the immigrant country, the problem of two-party rule, respect for individual freedom and equality, social life and social security situation, the socialization of capital, tax policy, the black problem and so on. When I was at Harvard, I stayed at the home of Prof. Vogel (author of Japan First) and had contact with Liu Binyan, who also lived

there. Liu had given lectures at forty universities and wanted to set up a publication different from China Spring, which was "a small scolding and a big help". I advised him to get in touch with China (this publication was not organized later). He also talked about his views on American democracy. He also talked about visiting many museums and seeing a full-body bronze statue of Marx, who is regarded in the West as the founder of a school of economics. After my talk, Yaobang talked about ten issues, which are recorded below:

In my diary for April 5, there are these words: talked about ten differences. "To tree yourself". The fuse was on "agreeing to go all the way down" and "going halfway down on yourself" (a two-down conversation). That must have been my perception at the time. Whether this is true or not should be assessed by history.

(I) On the question of Hua Guofeng. (During his short-term decentralization to Hunan in 1962, Yaobang was the first secretary of the Xiangtan local committee, and he had worked with Hua Guofeng for a period of time, and also cooperated with him in the Party school, so he knew him better. When the issue of Hua was discussed at the top level of the Party, Deng Xiaoping thought that Hua had come up in a helicopter and was a rebel. Deng Xiaoping thought that Hua had come up by helicopter and was a rebel. (Yaobang thought so.) The main problem is that he continues to engage in the "Two Fans" personal worship, and is influenced by Wang Dongxing's team of showmen around him; he should not be dealt with too hastily, but should be more lenient, and should be retained in the Politburo, and should not be scandalized. And smash the "Gang of Four", Hua and Wang Dongxing still played an important role. (Yaobang's views were shared by everyone. He spoke for a long time. Peng Zhen even praised him in particular: He spoke well. The resolution to deal with Hua Guofeng was drafted by Qiao Mu and revised by him, with more moderate wording. (After Hua stepped down, he himself has never said anything too much.)

(ii) Dealing with the "Gang of Four". Everyone was unanimously in favor of a public trial. Initially, some people argued that Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao should be sentenced to death and executed immediately. Marshal Ye, I, Zhao Ziyang and others were against it. Marshal Xu was firmly

against it, and Chen Yun said that if I was the only one who voted against it, I would have to put it on record. The one who advocated killing the head finally agreed with everyone's opinion.

(C) clean up the problem of "three kinds of people". Whether to be lenient or strict was debated until 1983 when the Party was reorganized. Some provinces had very sharp contradictions, such as Shandong, Guangxi, Jiangxi, Hunan, Inner Mongolia and so on. If they were not handled well, civil unrest would occur again. I resisted the overly hasty side and insisted on cold treatment, especially for some provincial leaders, who had a history of merit, and were more cautious and lenient. (He talked about the cases of Liu Jianxun, Liu Zihou, Li Xuefeng, Bai Ruibing and others.) To protect or not to protect, there was a debate among the top brass. At a meeting of the Central Discipline Inspection Committee, Chen Yun said that the Cultural Revolution occurred under specific historical conditions. I very much agree, and have seized upon this point to make a big fuss about it.

(d) Removing spiritual pollution. Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun were always opposed to Zhou Yang, Xia Yan and Bajin, believing that they were the leaders of "liberalization" and had too much influence. I have always stood my ground. I believed that these three people should never be integrated. (We all know how these two "leftist kings" made use of the so-called "alienation" issue to straighten out Zhou Yang and Wang Ruoshui. Deng was later persuaded by these two, so the 12th Plenary Session made an issue of removing spiritual pollution.) I once criticized Wang Zhaoguo for not speaking: "You don't know Zhou Yang's history, so why are you making this statement?" Qiao Mu also drew up a document and sent it out to the whole country, asking everyone to pass the examination. I then called Qiaomu: can not be so engaged, and will return the original (which also shows that Yaobang chest, never have the habit of grasping people's pigtails, and do not leave such a document in the hands). At that time, Deng Liqun was so aggressive that he forced the People's Daily and Xinhua News Agency to publish an article: "Fighting against Spiritual Pollution". Because Ziyang and I joined hands to resist, other members of the Secretariat were not in favor of, as we all know, this "clean-up" campaign similar to the "Cultural Revolution", only 28 days, stopped. Zhao Ziyang told the People's Congress that the Central Committee was responsible for this. However, Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun were always dissatisfied with the campaign and held a grudge against it, so they went on to launch the "Opposition to Bourgeois Liberalization" campaign. When I visited

Japan, a Japanese reporter deliberately asked a question about "cleanliness", so I replied, "Japanese militarism is the greatest spiritual pollution". Yaobang said, "The two of them are always trying to stir up disputes in the literary and artistic circles. Such as the issue of criticizing the birch, the People's Liberation Army Daily article, fortunately, Qiaomu is not quite in favor, otherwise I can not stand."

(v) The question of foreign affairs. Before 1982, speaking of the United States against the Soviet Union, Xu was not in favor. I made two systematic speeches, diplomacy spoke of ten articles, five principles, independence, etc.. "Ziyang approached me to talk about it, saying it was too bold to print it." When East Germany's Honecker came, he was asked to pass a message to the Soviet Union. (Yaobang said:) The two of us each talk about our own things, but the spirit is the same. (No talk about Eastern Europe, Sino-Japanese relations, etc.) In April 1980, when Italy's Beringer came, Yaobang said: "The Soviet Union's sending troops to Afghanistan is an invasion of another nation, and the crime of being in a quagmire for five years will not be absolved. In favor of the Italian reference, war is not avoidable (this statement was made earlier). "I am a rat on a scale hook, weighing myself." That year then came the above powerful phrase: "You have to build up your own image."

(F) In January, 1980, the speech of the ideological and political work conference of the workers, a total of twenty-eight articles. Deng Xiaoping's long speech in 1980, "Reform of the Party and State Leadership System," talked about the need to separate the Party and the government (but couldn't do it). This statement was criticized by Chairman Mao: Party and government are divided and not divided. In my speech, the party and government functions should be clearly divided, and the whole party should understand the economy. I like to talk about the word "four": "Hide wealth in the people". These twenty-eight articles have all been read by the Secretariat. Qiaomu was in Yunnan, changed a few words to send back, is agreed. Xiaoping said: the document is very good, did not mention different opinions. Zhao Ziyang believes that now is not busy Maurice Maurice to engage in comprehensive reform, political reform, reflecting to Xiaoping. Qiao Mu later said he did not know a document, did not go through the Secretariat. So had to talk to Xiaoping: the document through the Registry, so that there is no anger. So an agreement was reached: the document would

not be published for the time being." (This matter was also related to the issue of the "political reforms". " (This matter is again related to the question of "You have to build up your own image.")

In 1984, the Third Plenary Session was held, and at first there was no topic. Then two came to mind: still talk about reform; or a one-year work report on seven or eight issues. Xiaoping thought that there were difficulties with the reform program and sought to talk about the first issue. This was another 180-degree turn. At the same time to obtain Ziyang's support, listed twelve articles, carefully accounted for, the outline also told Ziyang too much. I have never agreed with the phrase "rationalize prices". Ziyang proposed that "prices are the key to reform", and after several discussions, the final draft was changed to "prices are the key to the success or failure of the reform". This report was approved by everyone, and was said to be China's version of "socialist political economy".

(The above quote is Yaobang's original words, which show that he has always been a strong supporter of Deng Xiaoping's speech in 1980, to carry out comprehensive economic and political reforms, and that the two should be synchronized. The problem lies in the contradiction between the two old men on this fundamental issue. At the same time, the two "leftist kings" were actually holding on to old frameworks and dead dogmas, such as "seven employed workers" means capitalism, and the main propaganda of communist ideals, etc., and were not in favor of reform and opening up. Whenever they had the chance, they made waves, exploited the loopholes between the two old men, and misrepresented the military situation in order to have their way. As a result, there was a campaign to "remove spiritual pollution" and a large number of "bourgeois liberalization". It can be said that this period of history has not yet come to an end, and that the deep-rooted "leftist" evils are still occurring from time to time, and people do not yet have a unified understanding of them, so it is necessary to thoroughly clarify the facts of these unfinished matters and to summarize the lessons learned, so as to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past. This is why, when attending the Fifteenth National Congress, I wrote a written statement entitled "Thoughts and Opinions on the Prevention of "Leftism"" (关于防 "左 "的感想與意见).

(vii) Problems in Economic Work. I have been given a hat: advocating high consumption. I oppose high consumption and advocate appropriate stimulation of consumption to promote production. Marx talked about the dialectical relationship between production and consumption, and their homogeneity (after the discussion on the "standard of truth", Yaobang supported the discussion on the "purpose of socialist production", which was forcibly stopped by Hu Qiaomu). I have always emphasized the problems of agriculture, infrastructure and raw materials; the need to develop the tertiary sector and to bring in capital and technology; and the need to limit the importation of high-consumption goods. But some people want to import high-grade goods back to the currency, a dollar for eight dollars. The problem of the first ten years and the next ten years. The first ten years must have a speed. August 26, 1980 Wuchang talk, Deng talked about quadrupling the speed of the problem, only I answered seven point two percent. At that time, Chen set four percent, Deng also agreed. This is not a doubling. I said that we are still engaged in at most ten years (Yaobang repeatedly talked about his 1987 down), can not leave the trouble to future generations. Deng asked me:

"You said this? You can't leave trouble to Qili?" Nineteen eighty-one, nineteen eighty-two scrape down the horse wind is too cold, they are responsible. At the end of 1980, the Central Working Conference, the use of a young Weng Yongxi's eight sentences (Deng Liqun presided over the Secretariat Research Office issued materials): "suppress demand, stabilize prices; give up the development of stability; slow reforms, heavy adjustments; large centralized, small decentralized," as a platform for the economy, endorsed by Chen (which means that austerity measures to suppress the year's "austerity measures, to suppress the year's"). (This was to adopt austerity measures to suppress the "economic overheating" phenomenon of that year, saying that otherwise the fiscal deficit could not be made up and an economic crisis would break out). I lost my temper at the meeting, which caused Chen to be very upset (in 1982, the national economic situation was favorable, with the gross value of agricultural output increasing by 11.2 percent and that of industrial output increasing by 7.7 percent). At that meeting in 1983,[6] I was prepared to change horses, but Deng protected me. Traditionally do not favor a major price adjustment, do not favor mentioning the so-called rationalization, there is no sufficiently convincing material, prices are bound to have up and down. To 1986 to discuss the five-year plan report, with the "socialist commodity economy", Hu Qiaomu, Deng Liqun are not in favor of (as far as I know, there is such a surprising thing: in

1988 Yaobang to Hunan, Deng Liqun even look for him to join hands with him to oppose Zhao Ziyang, was Yaobang sternly rejected).

(viii) The question of the construction of spiritual civilization. At the beginning, I did not agree with this formulation. This matter is the responsibility of all at the top and at the bottom. Strengthening political and ideological work is an old expression; it is from the top to the bottom. After only twenty-eight days of the "removal of spiritual pollution", the Secretariat was not in favor of it, so it could not be left unchecked (this question was mentioned only for a moment, and we will move on to the most important questions below).

(ix) The problem of "bourgeois liberalization". At the Sixth Plenary Session, Lu Dingyi made a speech insisting on the abolition of the term "bourgeois liberalization", and a big fuss was made.

This was the biggest issue that eventually led to Yaobang's downfall, but he only said this during the talk and did not go on. This may be because he knew that we were very clear about the beginning and the end of the matter, or it may be that he did not want to talk about it for fear of touching his own feelings. In order to make it easier for readers to understand, I would like to make a brief explanation of the issues that led to Yaobang's stepping down. The key is in the reform and opening up, Hu Qiaomu, Deng Liqun two people still adhere to Mao Zedong's "political commander-in-chief" line, in essence, "class struggle as the platform" but not explicitly, theoretical retreat Qiaomu is not in favor of it, but instead of exaggerating the situation at that time "Instead, he exaggerated that the situation at that time was "like the rightist attack of 1957" and said, "Don't force Chairman Hua to oppose the rightists. Deng Xiaoping then drafted a speech entitled "Adherence to the Four Basic Principles", which emphasized dictatorship and denigrated democracy, thus bringing the meeting to a hasty end. In August 1980, the Politburo had just adopted Deng Xiaoping's important speech on "Reform of the Party and State Leadership System," which criticized feudal autocracy and emphasized the democratization of the country's political and economic management and social life. Hu Qiaomu immediately took advantage of the events in Poland at that time to write a letter of caution, thus putting the speech on the back burner. Since then, he continued to use the charges of "not adhering to the Four Principles", "taking the capitalist road", "engaging in bourgeois

liberalization", etc. to criticize those who adhered to the economic reforms, especially those who adhered to the emancipation of the mind, and to the political reforms. The Party School Incident,[7] the Special Administrative Region Incident,[8] the Zhou Yang Incident, the People's Daily Incident, and so on, one after another, were directed at Yaobang, who was the general backstage of these people. In 1986, Yaobang presided over the drafting of the Resolution on the Guidelines for the Construction of Spiritual Civilization, which was to be submitted to the plenary session of the Central Committee for discussion. The document avoided the references to "adherence to the four basic principles" and opposition to "bourgeois liberalization" and put forward economic construction as the center, unswervingly carrying out reform of the economic system, reform of the political system, and strengthening of the construction of spiritual civilization, that is, "one center, three firms, and three firms. "one center, three steadfastnesses". The openness of the construction of spiritual civilization was particularly emphasized, with the need to learn from advanced foreign science and culture; the democratization of politics was highlighted, and "democracy and the concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity are a great liberation of the human spirit." The document summarizes "the main lessons of history in our socialist development, one is that we have not concentrated on economic development, and the other is that we have not modernized", "democracy should be institutionalized and legalized", "the Party must act within the scope of the Constitution and the law", etc., and stipulates that the Party should be open to foreign advanced science and culture. activities", etc., and stipulates that it should "popularize legal knowledge and enhance civic awareness among all people". "All people are equal before the law and discipline, and no special person beyond the law and discipline is ever allowed." "The principles of the Constitution are to be observed, and academic freedom, freedom of creation, freedom of discussion, and freedom of criticism and counter-criticism are to be practiced." The last to oppose the document were Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun, who proposed an amended draft to Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun, which still preached the same old tune of clear mental pollution and opposition to bourgeois liberalization. Chen Yun approved the revised draft.

Deng approved the original draft document and rejected the revised draft. Subsequently, during the discussion at the Beidaihe Politburo meeting, Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun were extremely active, causing heated debates, and Yaobang compromised by adding this paragraph to the draft: "To engage in bourgeois liberalization, i.e., to negate the socialist system, is fundamentally contrary to the

interests of the people and the trend of history, and is resolutely opposed by the broad masses of the people." These words were used to restrict the interpretation of "bourgeois liberalization". But this statement was firmly opposed by Lu Dingyi. He spoke three times, discussing the absurdity and danger of the term "anti-liberalization" from a historical point of view. He pointed out that this was put forward by the Soviet Union when it opposed our "Double Hundred Principles"; that the "Gang of Four" had also used it to criticize Lu Dingyi, Zhou Yang and Deng Xiaoping during the Cultural Revolution; and that the generalization of the phrase "opposing liberalization" was also used to criticize Deng Xiaoping, Zhou Yang and Lu Dingyi. The generalization of "opposing liberalization" not only conflicts in principle with the people's rights to freedom as stipulated in the Constitution, but is also extremely detrimental to the prosperity of China's academic culture and the democratization of political life. The final scene of this controversy occurred at the closing session of the Sixth Plenary Session on September 28, which I personally experienced. Before the vote on the Resolution was taken, Lu Dingyi stood up again and spoke, insisting on his opinion that this paragraph should be removed from the Resolution, which aroused applause from the whole audience, and the applause on our side of the seat of the CAC was the most enthusiastic. Wan Li spoke in favor of Lu Dingyi's opinion. Yu Qiuli and Yang Shangkun spoke against Lu's views. Hu Yaobang took a conciliatory position, advocating that the paragraph be retained for the time being. Then Deng Xiaoping made a stern speech, saying that he had spoken the most against bourgeois liberalization and insisted on it the most; finally, he said that he would speak against liberalization for another ten or twenty years. When Yaobang arranged to convey this after the meeting, he said that he would not convey this argument, so that he could concentrate on the Resolution itself. However, Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun took this opportunity to straighten out Hu Yaobang. Wang Zhen led the charge at the Central Party School by issuing Deng Xiaoping's speech and chastising Yaobang at a general meeting of the whole school, saying, "Some people are deliberately not conveying it and are trying to hide it. Comrades Liqun and Qiaomu reported to Comrade Xiaoping. Xiaoping said that in the plenary session it was said that the anti-liberalization should be countered for twenty years, and now another fifty years are added to it, countering it into the next century. So this incident and the students' march on the street at the end of the year became a fuse that forced Yaobang to resign.

(x) Political and Legal Issues. It is advocated that it should be clarified theoretically. It is to engage in the rule of law and to rule the country according to law. Don't emphasize dictatorship like Mao the Elder. Fighting criminal offenses according to law. Not in favor of what "several major battles", do not engage in new cases of wrongdoing. Peng Zhen said to me: "The four adherences", you sometimes say, sometimes don't say. International students said that if the "four insistences" were repeated, they would not be able to go back to China. Deng said several times that the "Anti-Rightist Movement" was correct, but that it had been enlarged.

(In the end, Yaobang talked about his own affairs:) There is anguish, but it is not a personal problem, it is the unfairness of history (since the reform and opening up, presided over the work of these seven or eight years as), should return the original face of history. I hope there is a new conclusion that is in line with the original face of the facts. No, can not force, go to see Marx is also peaceful. I don't care anymore. Of course, I don't know anything when I die.

(Yaobang also talked about,) at that time to make a review, in order to take care of the overall situation, in order to protect a group of cadres (also in order to protect the family, is what he talked about with others).

(Finally, he said:) It is impossible to come out to work again. The old man is getting old. If I work for two or three more years, what can I do? The old man is not good at politics. I hope there will be a new decision and an official statement from the central government.

The record organized above is based on Yuan Yuan records, I had asked her to briefly note a point. When Yaobang formally talked about his "Ten Major Differences", I cannot guarantee that what I have recorded above is exactly the same as what Yaobang said. The author will naturally be responsible for any inconsistency with Yaobang's wishes.

Regarding the evaluation of Yaobang's life, the eulogy delivered by Zhao Ziyang on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China at Hu Yaobang's memorial meeting on April 20, 1989, was discussed by Deng Xiaoping and the responsible comrades of the Central Committee, and was still relatively fair. However, because of the untruths imposed on him at the "life meeting" in January 1987, as well as the practice of forcing him to step down, the majority of Party members and the masses both inside and outside the Party were so indignant that in April 1989, when he passed away, he triggered a political turmoil. To have a comprehensive and fair summary in line with reality of what Yaobang did during the period of reform and opening up and as General Secretary is not only a matter of his personal concern, but also a matter of our Party's image among the public at home and abroad. It is important to realize that if you cannot properly understand yesterday, you will not be able to grasp today and tomorrow!

Concluding Remarks

In the election of the 13th National Congress in 1987, the saying "justice lies in the hearts of the people" was true. In the election of members of the Central Committee, Yaobang received more than 1,800 votes, only a few dozen votes less. Subsequently, the First Plenary Session of the First Central Committee elected the members of the Politburo, and there were 173 members of the Central Committee, and Yaobang got 166 votes, and later it was known that among the seven votes that had not been cast for him, there was one vote for himself.

In the election of the Central Committee members, Deng Liqun lost the election. It was said that in order to take care of him and violate the procedures, he was temporarily put on the candidate list of the CCPAC (without a quota) and was elected with the least number of votes. When the CAC elected the Standing Committee, it tried to get him in again, and the atmosphere was very tense (I was there in person). A total of one hundred and eighty-seven votes were cast, and Deng Liqun got only eighty-five votes, not even enough for a fraction of a vote, and lost again. Hu Qiaomu only got 135 votes, one of the two with the fewest votes. After the election to take pictures, temporary removal of Deng Liqun's front row seat (prepared in advance for the election of the Standing Committee). Hu Qiaomu finally came over, a dead face, no one greeted him. As early as June and

July, we heard that Wang Zhen and others were vigorously campaigning for Deng Liqun to become General Secretary. Later, someone wrote a letter to Deng Xiaoping to expose this matter and report Deng Liqun's various misdeeds; Xiaoping instructed him to withdraw all his work.

When the Tenth National Congress was held, I was a delegate and wrote a written statement of nearly 10,000 words: "Thoughts and Opinions on Preventing the "Left"". The third paragraph of the statement reads, "We should begin to summarize the lessons of the past twenty years (1978-1998)." It talks about the fact that a third Historical Resolution of our Party should be made, just as the first two Historical Resolutions were summarized. "Should it be spontaneous, or should it be led by an organization; should it be referred to internally and dynamically, or should it be allowed to be discussed in the press? In fact, many things are much discussed outside the country, and many books and magazines have been published. To study history, you cannot set up a forbidden zone." "Imagine, without the second Historical Resolution, could these twenty years have gone by like this? What's more, these twenty years have not been without twists and turns, without hardships, without interruptions." Seven questions were then raised that could not be avoided for discussion. The fifth of them is "the issue of Hu Yaobang's resignation in 1987".

Over the years, very few books on Yaobang have been published. The Hong Kong edition of "In Memory of Yaobang", which I have recently received, consists of two collections, one and two, with a total of 52 articles, nearly 600 000 words, written by 60 authors, who were Yaobang's comrades-in-arms, colleagues and subordinates in various periods of time. All these books and articles are, of course, studies on Yaobang and his person and party history materials, and this piece of information I wrote can certainly be categorized as one of them.

(Mid-August 2000)

Notes:

[1] In May 1986, Deng Xiaoping asked Hu Yaobang to come to his home to talk about the arrangements for the 13th National Congress. Yaobang said, "I am over seventy, the 13th National Congress must come down next year. Deng said, I, Chen Yun, Xiannian are all down, you want to go down on the half down, no longer when the General Secretary, and then when the Chairman of the Military Commission or President, then say.

[2] refers to the "two Fans are" those things. Such as the "Gang of Four" is also "being walked on the road of capitalism in power". Hu Yaobang disagreed with this judgment and raised the question, "In the ideological and political or other fields, should we oppose capitalism and revisionism, or should we oppose constructivism and the hooligan proletariat?"

[3] At the end of 1980 the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Secretariat met to argue about the rate of development of the national economy in the 1981 expansion; at the end of 1981 the argument took place once again.

[4] In October, 1979, the People's Daily, with the attention and support of Yaobang, launched a discussion of the purpose of socialist production. But some people mistakenly thought it was directed at someone, and Hu Qiaomu, saying that it would cause tension and "might lead to riots," pressured Yaobang so that this discussion was forced to be suspended.

[5] In 1984, Hu Shiying was tried for fraud by the Beijing political and legal authorities. Because he was the son of Hu Qiaomu, the Central Committee Secretariat decided to arrest him and bring him to justice. He was later sentenced to one and a half years' imprisonment in accordance with the law. But soon to "medical parole" in the name of prison.

[6] That is, Hu Qiaomu was ready to launch the central work conference which was stopped by Deng Xiaoping.

[7] In 1981, someone told Chen Yun that an article in the Central Party School's journal, Theoretical Dynamics, was an insinuation attacking you. Thus Yaobang was accused, and Chen Yun inquired. Yaobang replied that there was no such thing and that he could investigate. So the central organization department sent investigation team into the party school, review the school magazine editor in charge of Wu Jiang, Ruan Ming, Sun Changjiang. It turned out that there was no attack on Chen Yun. However, soon after Wang Zhen took over the presidency of the Central Party School, he announced that the three were to be transferred out of the school, and soon afterward Ming was expelled from the Party.

[8] At that time, the leaders of Guangdong and Fujian were criticized and reorganized.

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