

告訴你一個真實的文革

文革五十周年(1966-2016)反思圖片展

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——文革五十周年(1966-2016)反思圖片展
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50 th Anniversary Exhibition
Reflections On
The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (Wenge)
(May 13 - 24, 2016)



主辦: 天問聯合學會
協辦: 紐約當代中國藝術家協會、中國戰略分析智庫

Sponsor
Tianwen United Institute (TUI)

Co-Sponsor
Association for World Chinese Contemporary Artist

(02) 前言

文革五十年反思图片展，由天问联合学会主办，纽约当代中国艺术家协会和中国战略分析智库协办，于2016年5月13日在纽约第一银行画廊开幕，为期11天。图片展将用近400幅历史图片全景式再现文革的历史过程，并用中英文对照的解说词进行反思式的解说，力求年长者能够通过展览重新认识和彻底反思那场人类浩劫，年轻人能够了解五十年前的中国到底发生了什么和为什么会发生那样的历史悲剧，以给今日之中国一个特殊历史视角的警示，使这样的历史悲剧不再重演。

图片展由张博树、荣伟、李伟东联合总策划，由李伟东撰写解说词和图片制作。由王桂兰、程映红、赵光宇等负责英文翻译。天问团队及朋友罗慰年、王书君、吴称谋、孟浪、笑蜀、西诺等集体参与了展览的创意过程。

图片展期间还将举行学术讨论会和每日问题解答会，深入反思文革。同时将举行由罗慰年主编的文革纪实文集《红墙》和吴称谋主编的文革反思文集《红祸》两本书的新书发布会。

(02) Preface

This Exhibition will be held in New York First Bank between May 13 and May 24, 2016. More than 400 photos and pictures will bring us to revisit the history of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China 50 year ago. For those who experienced or lived through Wenge, the Exhibition will not only refresh their memories, but also help them to deepen their understanding of that unprecedented tragedy in Chinese and perhaps entire human history. For the young generations, the exhibition is especially a historical lesson about exactly what happened in China 50 years ago and why it happened. We hope that the reflections on Wenge, both inside and outside China, will help to prevent such national tragedy from happening again in any country.

Zhang Boshu, Rong Wei, Li Weidong are the general planners of the Exhibition.

Descriptions for each parts of the Exhibition were written by Li Weidong.

The TUI team (Luo Weinian, Wang Shujun, Wu Chengmou, Meng Lang, Xiao Shu, Xi Nuo, 笑蜀, 西诺, etc.) initiated the Exhibition idea. During the Exhibition, there will be forums and daily Questions and Answers to promote the reflection. In addition, there will be an event of book release. Books include Red Walls, a collection of memories about Wenge and Edited by Luo Weinian; and Red Disaster, Edited by Wu Chengmou.

(03) 序言

所谓无产阶级文化大革命（1966年5月——1976年10月），是由毛泽东为巩固他的当代皇权式统治和选择可靠接班人而在中共内部主动挑起的以清洗政敌为目的的高层内斗，并以“文化大革命”（将全民的文化思想彻底马列化、革命化和愚忠化）的名义，动员政权专政力量和裹挟所有所谓“无产阶级”（工人农民）及学生军人知识分子一起协助毛整肃自己的假想敌人、并使全体国民在“谁反对毛主席就砸烂谁的狗头”的口号下，彼此互相猜疑指控和厮杀了十年的浩劫式群众运动。造成了数以百万计的生命损失、文化文物的彻底毁灭和极度贫穷。

文革不是任何意义上的文化进步运动和所谓大民主，它恰恰是一次对人类文明的彻底反动。

本展览将沿着毛泽东自己总结的“秦始皇加马克思”的内在逻辑，揭示文革发生发展直至被迫终结的历史轨迹。

(03) Foreword

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (May 1966 - Oct. 1976) was launched by Mao Zedong to strengthen his emperor-like control over the party-state and to select his successor by purging his rivals and opponents in the party. The word "Proletarian" referred to the masses mobilized by his calls. Mao's another ambition in Wenge was to brainwash the whole nation with his thoughts and destroy China's cultural tradition as well as to erase foreign cultural influence. To achieve these goals, the Chinese people were divided into various segments in different stages of the Wenge and engaged with each in confrontational and even violent and brutal fights that led to the loss of lives of millions and destruction of the culture and economy.

Wenge was not, in any sense, an advancement in culture as its name so claims or a progress in popular democracy as many in the West and even in today's China would believe. To the contrary, it was a crime against humanity. The Exhibition uses rich visual materials to trace the entire history of Wenge in vivid details of the atrocity, through which the audience will find a Mao who was "half Marx and half Qin Shi Huang [the first absolute and tyrannical emperor of China]," as he so claimed for himself.

(04) 第一部分 (A)

当代秦始皇为选择“可靠接班人”而发动的十年内斗

the “Contemporary Qin Shi Huang” Selects His “Dependable Successor”

本节导读：由于苏共20大赫鲁晓夫对斯大林的有限清算和中共党内毛刘经济路线的日益分歧，使毛逐渐怀疑刘少奇就是隐藏在他身边的赫鲁晓夫，因此动用他的近乎皇权加神权的无上权力发动群众跟随他一起“清除埋在身边的定时炸弹”，并启用林彪、江青文武两大集团协助他一起清算和打倒“刘邓集团”及所有“走资派”，并先后将林彪和王洪文确立为符合他共产主义乌托邦路线和“绝对忠诚”的接班人。但由于他的猜忌和内斗惯性，毛最后还是逼死了与他发生路线分歧且个性强硬的林彪，废黜了庸碌的王洪文，确定了一个近乎家臣的集团（华国锋叶剑英汪东兴辅佐江青毛远新）来接班。但最终还是被华叶汪以“宫廷政变”的方式推翻了他的接班计划和启用邓小平推翻了他的乌托邦文革路线，开始了改革开放。毛不惜发动文革来选择可靠接班人继承他的乌托邦理想，最终却以“立储”和文革双失败而告终。

Mao's failed Great Leap Forward in the late 1950s claimed more than 30 million lives of the Chinese people and led to criticism and skepticism of his leadership within the party. Mao was suspicious of an emerging alliance against him led by Liu Shaoqi, the head of the state, and including a larger number high ranking party-state elites. Believing Liu a "China's Khrushchev," [Khrushchev was one of Joseph Stalin's lieutenants but led a campaign to discredit him after he died], Mao, in 1966, mobilized party officials loyal to him such as Marshal Lin Biao and a group of party intellectuals to launch a campaign to purge those suspected as anti-Mao elements. As Liu and his followers were purged, Mao promoted firstly Lin and secondly Wang Hongwen to be his successors. Immediately after Mao died, however, senior party-state leaders and generals who survived Wenge united under a plan to arrest Mao's supporters in October 1976. They also gradually adopted a set of socialist reformist policies to replace Mao's utopian socialism.

(06) 文革肇始

Inchoation of the Cultural Revolution



1966年7月，北大聂元梓等贴出反对北大党委和刘少奇派来的工作组的大字报，得到毛泽东的支持，8月5日毛在中南海食堂贴出《炮打司令部-我的一张大字报》，将运动的矛头指向刘少奇。随后发出关于文革的决定（十六条）并八次接见红卫兵，文革风暴从此席卷全国。

In July 1966, Nie Yuanxin and other students in Peking University posted a big-character poster attacking leaders of Peking University Party Committee and the work groups dispatched by Liu Shaoqi, and gained the support from Mao Zedong. On August 5th, Mao posted "Bombarding the Headquarters - My own big-character poster" in the canteen of Zhongnanhai and pointed the finger at Liu Shaoqi. Later on, Mao decided to launch the Cultural Revolution (Sixteen Articles) and came out 8 times to meet the Red Guards. The Cultural Revolution swept across the whole nation from then on.

(07) “中国的赫鲁晓夫” 刘少奇 “China's Khrushchev” - Liu Shaoqi



刘少奇本是毛的忠实信徒和追随者，1962年前毛所有的阶级斗争和乌托邦政策，刘都积极执行了，因此被毛指定为接班人并接替毛出任了国家主席。但自毛“退居二线”后，刘与毛的经济路线逐渐出现分歧，毛也开始怀疑刘是中国的赫鲁晓夫并萌生更换接班人的念头，终于为了“清除埋在身边的定时炸弹”而发动了文革。

Liu Shaoqi used to be the true believer and loyal follower of Mao. All the class struggles activities and Utopian policies issued by Mao before 1962 were put into active effect by Liu. Hence, Liu was appointed to be the next president of the People's Republic of China by Mao. However, since Mao retired from the leading position, Liu became divergent from Mao in terms of economic roads. Mao began to doubt if Liu was the China's Khrushchev and consider changing the successor. Finally, the Cultural Revolution was launched in order to "rid the emperor of 'evil' ministers".

(08) 打倒刘少奇 Overthrow Liu Shaoqi



清除刘少奇和清洗改组整个官僚系统是毛发动文革的主要目的之一。1966年8月初，刘被下调党内地位并被不指名批判，1967年7月刘夫妇被公开批斗羞辱，1968年10月底毛中央通过了周恩来领衔起草的《关于叛徒、内奸、工贼刘少奇罪行的审查报告》，刘被永远开除出党并被流放开封，1969年11月12日凄惨病故并被匿名火化，终年71岁。

Overthrowing Liu Shaoqi and reorganizing the whole bureaucratic system are the main aims of the Cultural Revolution. In early August of 1966, Liu was demoted in the CCP and was attacked without mentioning his name. In July 1967, Liu Shaoqi and his wife were brutally treated by the mass organizations. In October 1968, Mao passed the "An investigative Report on the Crimes of the Traitor, Spy, and Renegade Liu Shaoqi" drafted by Zhou Enlai, and Liu was expelled from the Chinese Communist Party and exiled to Kaifeng. On November 12, 1969, Liu died of an illness and cremated anonymously. He was 71.

(09) 打倒“走资派”

Overthrow the Capitalist roaders



刘少奇被批判后，毛就势将整个官僚体系与刘捆绑在一起全面清算，发动红卫兵在全国到处揪斗“刘邓资产阶级反动路线的代理人”即“走资派”，八届中央委员的71%被打倒，数以百万计的各级官员被批斗和游街示众。

After the criticism of Liu Shaoqi, Mao reorganized the whole bureaucratic system and mobilized the Red Guards to arrest "Liu, Deng, Tao and other bourgeois reactionary line representatives", the so-called "Capitalist roaders". 71 percent of the members of the central committee were overthrown and hundreds of millions of officials at all levels were criticized and paraded through the streets to be exposed before the public.

(10) 林彪和协助毛发动文革的军人集团

Lin Biao and the military junta supporting Mao's Cultural Revolution

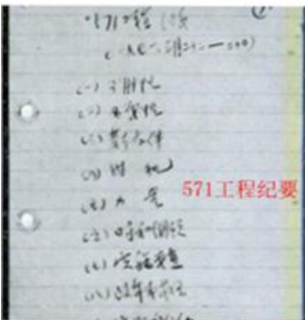
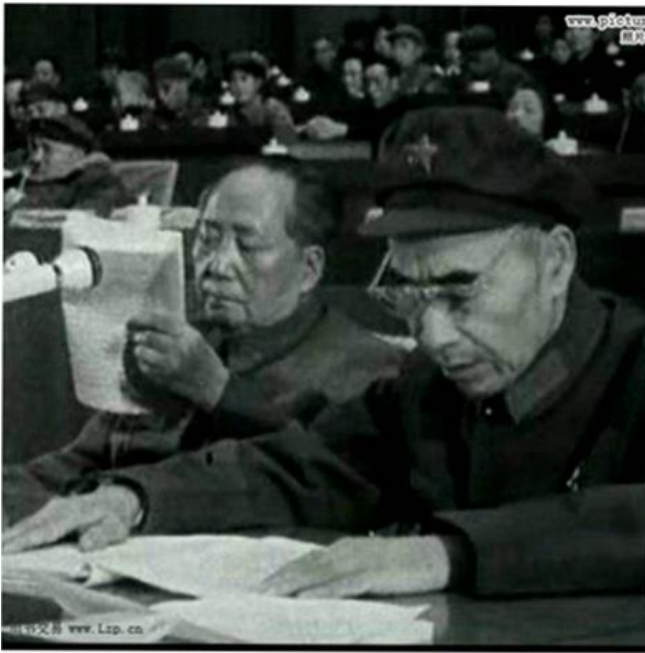


1959年庐山会议期间，林彪协助毛整掉了彭德怀并替代彭出任国防部长，形成了强势辅毛的军人集团，从此在全军掀起对毛的狂热崇拜并逐渐扩散到全社会，红宝书、顶峰论、四个伟大等都是林彪的创造，为毛重返一线发动文革做足了舆论铺垫并为毛推出了以江青为首的文人辅政集团。林彪也因此成为替代刘少奇的副统帅和新接班人。

During the Lushan Conference in 1959, Lin Biao assisted Mao to dismiss Peng Dehuai and replaced Peng to be the minister of defense, resulting in the strong military junta of Mao. From then on, Mao was zealously worshiped from the entire army to the whole society. Red book of treasures, Peak theory, Four Greats and so on were all the creations made by Lin Biao. He paved the way for Mao's Cultural Revolution and supported the Jiang Qing group. Lin Biao himself replaced Liu Shaoqi and became the Vice Premier of the People's Republic of China and the new successor of Mao.

(11) 副统帅的陨落——九一三事件

The fall of the Vice Premier - "September 13 Incident"



林彪在取得党内法定接班人地位后，与毛逐渐发生路线分歧，林主张恢复生产，结束文革，而毛要继续革命并开始怀疑林想尽快取代自己从而萌生了要搞掉林的念头。林的儿子林立果起草了“571工程纪要”（武装起义计划）并开始实施，同时林家也陷入要被毛搞掉的极度恐慌之中，林携妻儿于1971年9月13日乘机逃亡苏联，不幸在蒙古坠机身亡。913事件意味着文革的破产，毛也从此进入生命倒计时。

After becoming the legitimized successor, Lin Biao became divergent from Mao. Lin advocated the restoration of the production and the end of the Cultural Revolution, while Mao wanted to continue the Cultural Revolution and began to consider dismissing Lin. Therefore, Lin Liguo, Lin Biao's son, drafted the "517 Project Summary" (a plan for an armed coup) and put it into effect. Meanwhile, the Lin family got into the panic because of the Mao's discontent. Finally, Lin, his wife and his son fled to the Soviet Union and died in a plane crash in Mongolia in September 13, 1971. The "September 13 Incident" implied the bankruptcy of the Cultural Revolution and Mao's days had been numbered.

(12) “旗手”江青 “Flag-bearer” Jiang Qing



毛为了发动文革，忽然将自己的妻子推向了前台，封为文化革命的旗手和前线总指挥（中央文革小组的实际负责人）。这个演员出身的第二夫人马上将整个国家变成了她的大舞台，导演了无数人问闹剧和悲剧，从官报私仇整治她的三十年代故人到号召文攻武卫挑起全国武斗，恶行累累，文革后成为毛的替罪羊，最后自杀。

In order to launch the Cultural Revolution, Mao pushed his wife to the proscenium and promoted her as “the Great Flag-bearer of the Proletarian Revolution” and the “frontline commander-in-chief” (The real head of the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group). The first lady, who was originally an actress, transformed the whole nation to her private performing stage and directed countless farces and tragedies. From the revenges of personal grievances in the name of the public to the appeal for being offensive by the pen and defensive by the sword, Jiang Qing committed countless evil crimes, but became scapegoat and ended up with suicided in prison.

(13) “五人帮”：毛泽东倚重的文人集团

“Five Person Group” – the literati group Mao relied on



毛发动文革，左有林彪的军人集团相助，右有江青为首的文人集团辅佐。江的文人帮不止是“四人帮”（江青、王洪文、张春桥、姚文元），还有一个干将，即康生。康一直是党内特务头子，整人专家。康作为文革小组顾问，不仅亲自指挥了很多整人行动，还指挥捣毁了孔庙。毛曾想把这个集团中的王洪文树为林彪之后他的第三任接班人，后来又觉其不成器而废弃了。

Mao launched the Cultural Revolution with the support of Lin Biao's military junta and Jiang Qing's literati group. Jiang's literati group included not only the "Gang of Four" (Jiang Qing, Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan) but also Kang Sheng. Kang was a mediating agent in the CCP and good at persecuting others. Kang, as the consultant of the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group, not only directed many persecution activities but also destroyed the Confucian temple. Mao once considered appointing Wang Hongwen to be the successor of Lin Biao but finally gave him up.

(14) 复杂多面的周恩来

The complex and multi-faceted Zhou Enlai



文革中的周恩来表面上给人鞠躬尽瘁独撑危局保护同僚的忠诚大管家形象，实际上他一直是毛的文革帮凶，很多人的文革专案都是他领衔负责的，对江青他也始终维护推崇，很多老战友乃至亲人都被他送进了监狱，任由迫害至死。在与毛的多年周旋中，他始终能将毛的斗争矛头转移到别人身上，自己全身而退，全身而死并获得良好的口碑。周实际是极权体制中的内斗大师。

During the Cultural Revolution, Zhou Enlai created a supportive and loyal image of himself. He was entirely worn out in performing one's duties and spared no efforts to protect his colleagues. However, Zhou was *de facto* the accessory of Mao in the Cultural Revolution. He took charge of many special cases of the Cultural Revolution, and supported and protected Jiang Qing. Many of his comrades in arms were sent to prison and even prosecuted to death by himself. He was really good at self-protection and fall-back although facing severe situations. Zhou was, in fact, the master of power struggle inside the totalitarian regime.

(15) 文革中的邓小平

Deng Xiaoping in the Cultural Revolution



邓小平虽然被定性为党内第二号走资派，但由于他在反右和反苏过程中忠实执行了毛路线，只在经济路线上倾向于刘，因此毛对他网开一面，只是撤职流放江西，并未批斗。后来文革使经济陷入危局，毛又于1973年重新启用邓，让他回来整顿经济并希望他与江青集团合作。但邓回来后极力改变文革路线、恢复生产并与江青严重不和，毛终于无法忍耐，于1976年清明节将邓二次打倒。

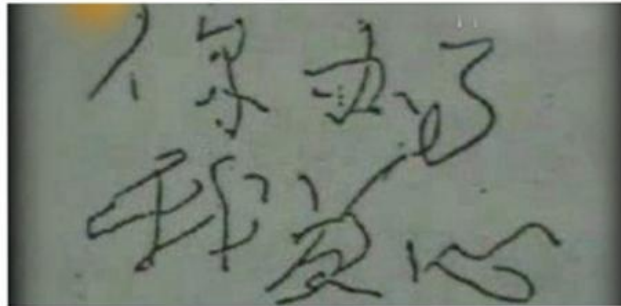
Description: Deng Xiaoping was branded by the party as the number 2 capitalist roader, but given the fact that he staunchly toed Mao's line during "anti-rightist" and "anti-Soviet Union" campaigns, and only leaned toward Liu Shaoqi in the economic policy, thus, to show leniency, Mao exiled him to Jiangxi instead of purging him. Mao rehabilitated and reappointed Deng in 1973 when the economy was on the verge of collapse as the result of the Cultural Revolution, in the hope that he would revive the economy and cooperate with Jiang Qing's group. However, upon his return, Deng pulled out all stops to change the direction of the Cultural Revolution and revive the production, and finding himself at odds with Jiang Qing. In the end, Mao could no longer put up with him, purged him again on the tomb-sweeping festival in 1976.

(16) 四五运动与钦定华国锋

April 5 movement and personally appointing Hua Guofeng as his successor



欲悲泪乱流
我笑豺狼心
洒血祭雄狮
扬眉剑指天



文革已经十年，无数家庭妻离子散，数百万人伤亡，高层斗争不断，经济凋敝，人心思变。大家虽然对毛无可奈何，但对江青集团已经天怨人怒。民众借悼念周恩来之际，聚集在天安门广场，形成了中共建政以来最大规模的抗议浪潮，史称四五运动。毛下令对广场群众进行了血腥镇压，并宣布打倒邓小平，由华国锋任中共中央第一副主席和国务院总理。华成为毛在行将就木之际无奈选择的“托孤（妻女侄儿和乌托邦事业）亲王”。

Description: 10 years into the Cultural Revolution, countless families were destroyed, tens of millions were either died or injured, high-level power struggle still showed no sign of stopping, economy was in tatters, and people's enthusiasm for revolution had waned. People were powerless against the tyranny of Mao, and the resentment and outrage against Jiang Qing's group were beyond control. By commemorating Zhou Enlai's death as a pretext, a large number of people congregated in Tiananmen Square protesting against the Cultural Revolution, known as 45 Movement. Mao issued the order to crush the protest, announcing "down with Deng Xiaoping", replacing him with Hua Guofeng as the No 1 vice chairman of the country and premier. On his deathbed, without finding an ideal heir apparent, Mao reluctantly picked Hua Guofeng as his successor for continuing his utopian cause.

(17) 红色帝国的血色黄昏

In the bloody twilight of the Red Empire



1976年5月27日毛最后一次会见外宾：巴基斯坦总理布托



1974/9/27



1976/7/12



唐山大地震



1976/9/9



经历了十年所谓大革命，三度更换接班人也没有找到完全放心的继承人，所有“忠臣良将”都已离他而去，经济崩溃，满目疮痍，唐山大地震刚刚夺去了28万人的生命，寄予一生理想的文革又饱受争议，1976年9月9日，毛，终于在身心疲惫和神思困顿中撒手人寰了。后世史家评说：死，是他一生做的最正确的事。

Description: After experiencing 10 years of so-called Great Revolution, Mao failed to find a suitable successor after dismissed three heirs apparent respectively, all of his loyal warriors and subordinates had left him, the economy was collapsing, the nation was destroyed beyond recognition, Tang Shan earthquake had just taken 280,000 lives, and the Cultural Revolution he launched was perceived by many as highly controversial. In September 9, 1976, Mao, finally left this world in a state of confusion and mental exhaustion. Later historians remarked: to die was the only right thing he did in his life

(18) 血缘和家臣接班集团

Succession Group: Blood Relations and Henchmen



站在毛遗体前宣誓的这一排人就是毛临终前安排的接班集团，华国锋、江青、毛远新和四人帮其他成员都在其中。虽然历史档案还没有解密，没有直接证据证明毛最后安排了家天下的结局，但这个接班集团已经近乎于血缘和家臣集团，也为再次内斗留下了隐患。毛在临终前终于从一个改天换地的乌托邦领袖回归了他的本质：当代秦始皇。

Note: Those taking an oath in front of Chairman Mao's body were the successors Mao picked before his death, among them Hua Guofeng, Jiang Qing, Mao Yuanxin and the other members of the Gang of Four. Though historical archives remain sealed and there is no direct evidence of Mao's ultimate plan for a family dynasty, these successors nearly completed a family succession group by blood and political cronyism, sowing the seed for further internal infighting. Before his death, Mao finally completed his reversion from an earth-shattering Utopia leader back to his true nature: a Modern Emperor Qin Shihuang

(19) 十月政变

October Change



给毛办完丧事后，华国锋和江青的矛盾立刻凸显出来。江青认为华不过是毛安排的一个过渡性傀儡，她和她的文人集团才是毛属意的文革功臣和理所当然的接班人，因此在党内散布了她要接位的舆论（据说还定制了女皇服装），还让上海帮做了武力抢班准备。不料华联合叶剑英和汪东兴突然发动政变，抓捕了“四人帮”，开始了为期两年的后文革过渡期。

After arranging Mao's funeral, the conflict between Hua Guofeng and Jiang Qing came to the forefront. Jiang Qing considered Hua Guofeng no more than a transitional puppet appointed by Mao; rather, she and her inner circle of "scholars" were the true Cultural Revolution heroes and Mao's heir apparent. As a result, Jiang Qing spread word within the Communist Party about her plans to succeed Mao (she rumored to have ordered Express clothing for herself) and had the Shanghai Gang prepare to seize power by force. However, Hua Guofeng unexpectedly allied with Ye Jianying and Wang Dongxing and staged a surprise coup, placing the Gang of Four under arrest, thus beginning the two-year post-Cultural Revolution transition period.

(20) 审判林江两集团和历史决议

The Trials of the Lin Bio and Jiang Qing factions and Their Historical Verdicts



在人民中的威信正在日益提高。
毛泽东同志的历史地位和毛泽东思想
毛泽东同志是伟大的马克思主义者，是伟大的革命家、战略家和理论家。他虽然在“文革”中犯了严重错误，但是就他的一生来看，他对中国革命事业的贡献远远大于他的过失。他的功绩是第一位的，他的错误是第二位的。他为我们党和中国人民解放军的彻底胜利，为中国人民和各民族解放事业的胜利，为中华人民共和国的社会主义事业的发展，建立了不可磨灭的功勋。

关于党的若干历史问题的决议
中国共产党第十一届中央委员会第六次全体会议一致通过



“粉碎四人帮”后，新中央为了显示中国开始了法治进程，决定对林彪江青两个集团进行司法审判，于1980年10月起进行了为期三个月的审判，最后江青等以反革命集团罪被判判处死缓等不同刑罚。中共于1981年6月又做出若干历史问题决议，将文革说成是毛晚年的失误并被林江两个反革命集团利用了。审判和决议都为毛开脱了罪责，推卸给了两个替罪集团，歪曲了历史真实，为权贵资本形成和文革重演留下了伏笔。

After “the smashing of the Gang of Four”, the new Party Central Committee wanted to demonstrate that China has embarked on the path to rule of law and decided to put members of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing factions on public trial. The trials began in October 1980 and lasted three months. In the end, Jiang Qing and others were convicted on anti-revolutionary charges and the Cultural Revolution were sentenced to suspended death sentence and other punishments. In June 1981, the Communist Party also issued its resolutions on several historical issues, pronouncing the Cultural Revolution as a mistake Mao made in his later years and manipulations by the anti-revolutionary fractions of Lin and Jiang. The trials and the resolution both shifted blame for the Cultural Revolution away from Mao by scapegoating these two factions, setting the tone for future crony capitalism and the potential for repeating the Cultural Revolution.

第二部分 无产阶级专政和文革大屠杀

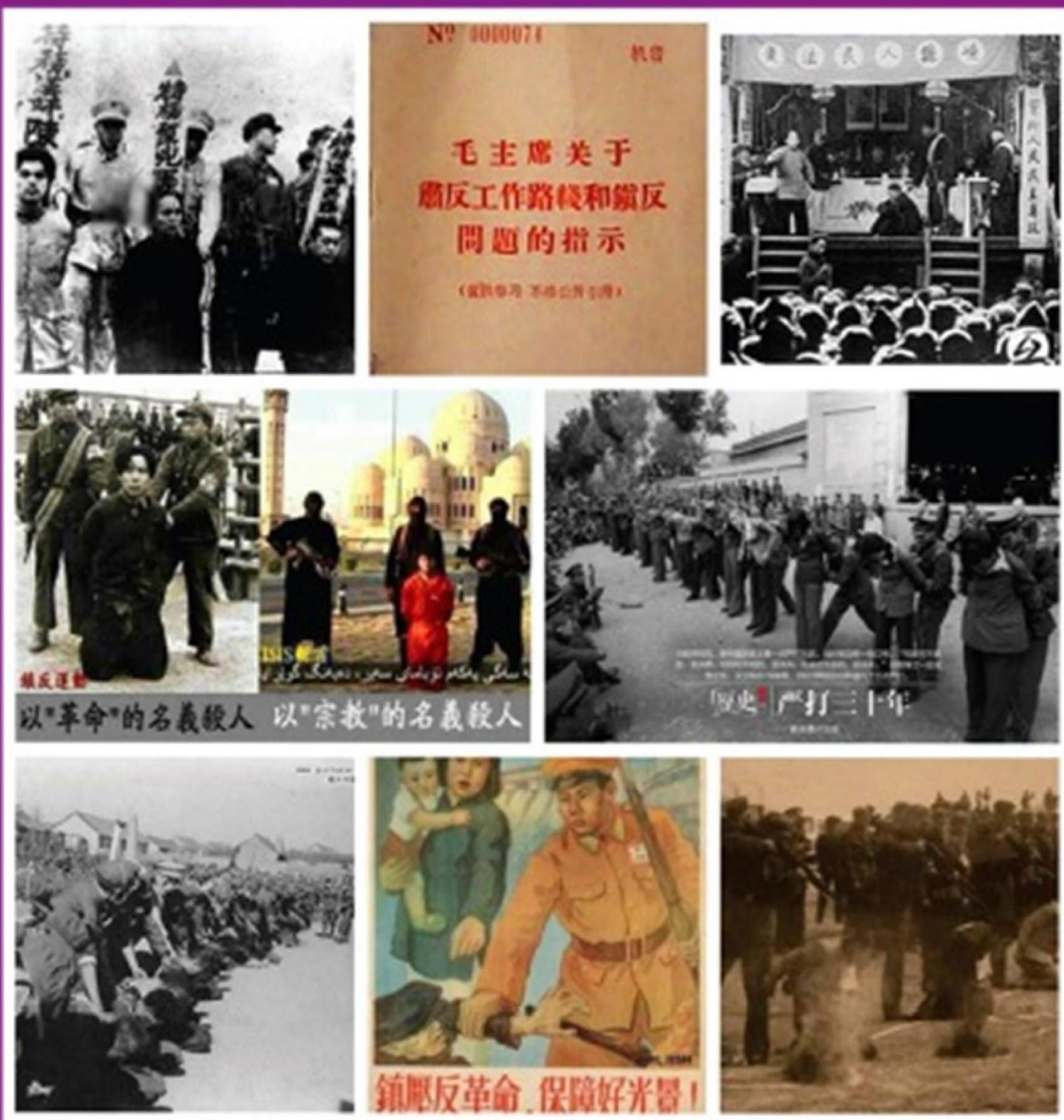
B: A Crime against Humanity

本节导读：文革虽然以高层“立储”内斗为主线，但对全社会的后果之一却是一场堪比纳粹大屠杀的世界级的大屠杀，所不同的是，纳粹大屠杀是以种族的名义，而文革大屠杀则是以消灭阶级敌人的名义。中共建政之初就以消灭阶级敌人的名义屠杀了数百万国民党政权的军政人员和富裕农民，但毛仍然时刻怀疑上述残留人员和他们的后代要翻共产党的天，因此借着发动文革的契机，再次掀起了对所谓地富反坏右的大屠杀，而且间歇性地借口不同地屠杀了十年，并且将屠杀的权力胡乱下放给所谓群众专政组织和怀疑对立派系是阶级敌人的武斗组织，党的各级组织也以清理阶级队伍或抓特务及抓异议分子的名义经常实施大屠杀。文革十年至少造成了130—300万（不同的统计来源）的人命损失和数以千万计的人员伤残。纳粹大屠杀早就被清算和反思了，而文革大屠杀却被湮没至今。这真是悲剧中的悲剧。

Wenge was also a crime against humanity in world history, no less horrible than the holocaust under the Third Reich. While race was used in Nazi Germany to identify and eliminate enemies, class was the doctrine under which people were labeled and purged, beaten and murdered, in Wenge. In Nazi Germany, concentration camps and gas chambers were instrumental in the holocaust, to which records have been kept; but in China, executions and mass killings aside, the number of victims who died of torture, physical abuses or of suicide remain unknown, although some statistics suggested that a number between 1,300,000 - 3,000,000 could be possible.

(22) 杀人立国和持续专政屠杀

Newly Established State Based on the Massacre and the Continuous Dictatorship



中共是以杀人立国和立威的，建政之初就用镇反名义屠杀了300万前政权的军政人员（绝大多数都已投诚自首）和200万无辜的富裕农民（用消灭地主阶级的名义），后来一直用无产阶级专政的名义持续批量屠杀人民（用对人口5%的阶级敌人专政的名义），文革更是一个屠杀高潮，直到1983年那场荒唐的“严打”之后，批量屠杀才减少。

The Chinese Communist Party established the New China with great reputation on the basis of massacre. During the early period of the People's Republic of China, in the name of "Suppress Counterrevolutionaries", 3,000,000 KMT military and administrative personnels (most of them had already surrendered to the CCP) and 2,000,000 innocent rich peasants (in the name of destroying the landlord class) were executed. Later on, more Chinese people were killed in the name of "dictatorship of the proletariat". The Cultural Revolution was the climax of the massacre. The mass murder did not decline until 1983 when the ridiculous "strike-hard" movement ended.

(23) 从“无产阶级专政”到“群众专政”

From "dictatorship of the proletariat" to "dictatorship of the mass"



用无产阶级专政名义进行镇压和屠杀，是官方的一贯做法，在文革中更是如此。官方先公布了“公安六条”，然后据此镇压了大批所谓恶毒攻毛的罪犯，制造了无数冤案（如枪毙误将带毛头像的报纸坐在臀下的民众）。而文革与以往最大的不同是把杀人权下放给了所谓“群众专政”组织，造成到处随意酷刑和屠杀的局面。

From "dictatorship of the proletariat" to "dictatorship of the mass" "Dictatorship of the proletariat"

legitimized the suppression and massacre in the official discourse. It was also the case during the Cultural Revolution. After the issue of "Gongan liutiao" (The six articles of Chinese Police), the CCP persecuted a large number of criminals who were accused of offending Mao, resulting in countless unjust cases. (For example, the people who sit on the newspapers with the photos of Mao would be executed by shooting.) However, what makes the Cultural Revolution different from the previous mass movements was that the rights of execution was given to the so-called "dictatorship of the mass" organizations, which led to indiscriminate tortures and mindless massacres.

(24) 红卫兵与红色恐怖

The "Red Guards" and "Red Terror"



毛支持的红卫兵本质上就是一些红色恐怖组织，他们从出世那天起，就一路打杀砸烂。1966年所谓“红八月”期间，红卫兵高喊着“红色恐怖万岁”口号，在北京全城对所谓地富反坏右抄家批斗殴打杀人，一千多人被打死，数万人被扫地出门赶往农村。红卫兵的愚忠和暴虐都符合毛的期待，但他们只杀阶级敌人而不去造党内官僚的反，甚至还“保皇”，因此逐渐失去毛的支持，一群新的普通法西斯——“造反派”开始登上历史舞台。

The Red Guards supported by Mao were in essence terrorist organizations. The Red Guards were "born with" beating, smashing, looting and killing. In August 1966 (the so-called "Red August"), the Red Guards shouted "Live long the Red Terror" loudly. They also criticized and denounced, beat up, killed, and confiscated the property of "Landlords, Rich peasants, Counter-revolutionists, Burgers, and Rightists" (Di fu fan huai you). During this process, more than 1,000 people were beaten to death and tens of thousands of people were exiled to the rural areas. The blind loyalty and brutality of the Red Guards met Mao's expectations, but they lost Mao's support gradually because they only persecuted the "Enemy of the people" rather than the bureaucrats in the CCP and even became Reactionists. Therefore, a new "ordinary fascist" group took the stage - the "Rebels".

(25) 造反派 (残暴的“革命群众”) The Rebels (The Brutal “masses”)



红卫兵只在文革初期起到了掀起运动、搞乱全国的作用（当然也有后期参与），毛要想达到掀翻全国官僚系统、用自己中意的人取而代之的目的，还需要动员全国产业工人参与夺权。在毛的支持下，从1966年秋季开始，到处涌现出工人造反大军（战斗兵团）之类的造反派组织，开始砸烂地方党委政府夺取权力。制造了上海一月夺权风暴的工总司王洪文就是典型代表。夺权过程中同时伴随着无数批斗和打杀。

The Red Guards merely started the movements and messed up the nation at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. In order to overthrow the whole bureaucrat system and replace it with the people Mao himself trusted, Mao needed to mobilize all the workers in China to participate in seizing power. With the support from Mao, different kinds of rebel groups (such as) emerged since the autumn of 1966 and seized the power of the local committee of the Chinese Communist Party and local government via beating, smashing and looting. Wang Hongwen, who led the 1967 January Storm (yiyue fengbao) in Shanghai, was a typical representation of the Rebels. The process of seizing power was accompanied by countless criticizing, denouncing, beating and killing.

(26) 群众专政大屠杀 (大兴、道县、广西)

The "dictatorship of the mass" massacre (in Daxing, Daoxian and Guangxi)

湖南道县杀人事件 历史照片尚未解密

姓名	性别	年龄	籍贯	被杀地点	备注
陈佩	男	24	湖南	湖南道县大屠杀纪念馆	
王德	男	21	湖南	湖南道县大屠杀纪念馆	
王德	男	21	湖南	湖南道县大屠杀纪念馆	
王德	男	21	湖南	湖南道县大屠杀纪念馆	
王德	男	21	湖南	湖南道县大屠杀纪念馆	
王德	男	21	湖南	湖南道县大屠杀纪念馆	
王德	男	21	湖南	湖南道县大屠杀纪念馆	
王德	男	21	湖南	湖南道县大屠杀纪念馆	
王德	男	21	湖南	湖南道县大屠杀纪念馆	
王德	男	21	湖南	湖南道县大屠杀纪念馆	

1967年湖南道县文革大屠杀纪实

北京大兴杀人事件 历史照片尚未解密

1967年10月，北京大兴县发生群众专政大屠杀事件。据《北京日报》1967年10月10日报道，大兴县在“斗、私、修、反”的口号下，掀起了群众专政运动。在10月10日至15日的短短几天内，全县共发生群众专政大屠杀事件100多起，死亡人数达1000多人。其中，大兴县在10月10日至15日的短短几天内，全县共发生群众专政大屠杀事件100多起，死亡人数达1000多人。其中，大兴县在10月10日至15日的短短几天内，全县共发生群众专政大屠杀事件100多起，死亡人数达1000多人。

在疯狂的文革氛围中，各级专政机关和遍地开花的群众专政组织每天在寻找敌人和制造阶级敌人要反攻倒算的紧张气氛，他们凭空想象敌情并据此开始先下手为强，制造了多起惨绝人寰的大屠杀，在北京大兴，湖南道县和广西若干县，他们用原始的野蛮手段屠杀了成千上万的无辜百姓，广西甚至杀人吃肉。

During the crazy Cultural Revolution, the organs of dictatorship at various levels and the "dictatorship of the mass" organizations searched for enemies and created the tense atmosphere that the "Enemy of the people" would launch a vindictive counterattack. They imagined this tension and took the advantage of striking first, resulting in many implacable massacres. In Beijing Daxing, Hunan Dao county, and several counties in Guangxi, they murdered thousands of innocent people in savage methods. In Guangxi, some people were even murdered and eaten.

(27) 专政机关用多种名义大屠杀

The organs of dictatorship massacred in various names



1967—1970年前后，毛接连号召清理阶级队伍、斗批改和一打三反，给了全国各省市再次实施大屠杀的理由，他们用五花八门的罪名在全社会制造了广泛的杀戮（三千万人被斗，近七十七万人被杀），大街上隔三差五就会看到执行枪决的车队和贴满墙壁的杀人布告。在内蒙，他们用抓捕“内人党”的名义屠杀了4万多人，并造成14万人伤残和70万人家破人亡。

From 1967 to 1970, Mao appealed to "Clean class movement", "Corrects bucket" and the "One Strike, Three Anti Campaign", which rationalized the next nationwide massacre. The organs of dictatorship launched large-scale massacres in various names, during which 30,000,000 people were criticized and denounced at public meetings, and around 700,000 people were executed. There were notorious for execution and notices of murdering on street. Moreover, in Inner Mongolia, more than 40,000 people were massacred, 140,000 people were crippled, and 700,000 people's families were broken in the name of arresting "Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party" (nei ren dang).

(28) 对异议者的屠杀

The Massacres of the Dissidents



在文革的疯狂气氛中，也有少数清醒的反抗者对毛的思想路线提出质疑，但他们都为此遭受了严酷的刑罚和丧失了生命。如反对出身论的遇罗克、质疑毛路线的张志新、还有林昭、李九莲、张春元、刘文辉、刘凤翔、杜映华、王佩英、史云峰等六十多人。

In the Cultural Revolution, some dissidents stayed clear-minded and doubted the Mao's ideological line. But all of them were tortured and even lost their lives, such as Yu Luo (the author of "Origin of Family background theory"), Zhang Zhixin (who doubted Mao's ideology), Lin Zhao, Li Jiulian, Zhang Chunyuan, Liu Wenhui, Liu Fengxiang, Du Yinghua, etc.

第三部分 “砸烂一个旧世界”

C: “Smash the Old World”

本节导读：文革不是任何意义上的文化进步运动，而是人类文明的毁灭。为了创造一个以毛为唯一神祇的“红彤彤的新世界”，中央文革小组公开号召红卫兵开展“破四旧”运动，在短短半年的时间里，红卫兵几乎毁掉了包括孔庙在内的所有文物古迹、历史名人墓葬（很多被爆尸）和寺庙教堂及书画遗存，抄没和烧毁了大批图书，修改了无数街路名称，批斗和摧残致死大批文化名人和宗教人士，打杀了数以千计的所谓地富反坏右分子并抄没了他们的财产，全国各大中小学校都在批斗殴打羞辱老师，并疯狂地攻击外国使馆，制造了震惊世界的“红色恐怖”。

Wenue was not a cultural advancement in any sense, but a destruction of culture and civilization. Responding to Mao's call to create a Maoist "red world," the Red Guards pioneered the campaign of "Destroy the Four Olds" (old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits) which vandalized an unknown volume of cultural relics and artistic pieces nationwide. The Confucius Temple was smashed along with many other temples; books and pictures were burned; tombs of famous historical figures were shoveled (bones were exhumed in many cases). They also renamed countless streets and institutions. In addition, students in many colleges, universities, secondary and elementary schools attacked and humiliated their teachers and school staff members. Foreign embassies and consulates were also attacked, thus creating a world of "red terror."

(31) “破四旧”，毁灭一切传统文化

The campaign to Destroy the Four Olds, Destruction of Chinese Traditional Culture



1966年8月18日，毛在天安门接见百万红卫兵。林彪在主旨讲话中号召全国红卫兵掀起“破四旧”（旧思想、旧文化、旧风俗、旧习惯）运动，全国随之掀起破四旧行动，无数书籍书画文物庙宇教堂被毁灭，无数与“四旧”有关联的人士被批斗、抄家、殴打致死或被逼自杀。三个月共抄没现金428亿元，黄金119万两，古董千万件，挖出1.66万“敌人”，从城区赶走3900万人。

On August 18, 1966, Mao Zedong greeted millions of Red Guards at Tiananmen. At a mass rally, Lin Biao officially endorsed the campaign of destroying Four Olds (Old Customs, Old Culture, Old Habits, and Old Ideas) which expanded rapidly around whole China. Countless books, cultural relics, churches and monasteries were destroyed, and numerous people related to "The Old Fours" were criticised, beaten to death or forced to commit suicide. Their property was confiscated. Within 3 months, 4.28 hundred million Yuan, 1.19 million taels of gold, and millions of traditional artworks were confiscated. 16.6 thousand people were convicted and defined as "enemies", 39 millions of city residents were expelled from urban areas.

(32) 文物的毁灭

Destruction of Cultural Relics



19. 1966年8月，北京红卫兵在天安门广场举行“破四旧”大会，烧毁“四旧”牌匾。
20. 北京红卫兵在天安门广场举行“破四旧”大会，烧毁“四旧”牌匾。
21. 北京红卫兵在天安门广场举行“破四旧”大会，烧毁“四旧”牌匾。
22. 北京红卫兵在天安门广场举行“破四旧”大会，烧毁“四旧”牌匾。
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26. 北京红卫兵在天安门广场举行“破四旧”大会，烧毁“四旧”牌匾。
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33. 北京红卫兵在天安门广场举行“破四旧”大会，烧毁“四旧”牌匾。



期间公社动员了30多人
掉的牌坊。王德恩摄



破四旧毁灭文物无数，全国如同遭遇一场浩劫，光北京市原先列入文物保护的6000多处遗址就有4000多处被毁，孔庙孔林也被捣毁，炎帝陵大禹庙均被捣毁，无数名人墓葬被毁，有尸骨遗存的甚至被鞭尸示众（如明朝万历皇帝及后妃，作家蒲松龄等）。全国有上千万户被抄家，无数个人珍藏的文物悉数被毁。

The campaign to Destroy the Four Olds was a catastrophe of cultural relics. In Beijing, more than 4000 preserved cultural heritages were damaged. Temples and Cemetery of Confucius, Emperor Yandi Mausoleum, Dayu Temple and numerous tombs of historical celebrities were destroyed. The corpses of Emperor Wanli and writer Pu Songling were even exhumed and whipped. More than ten millions of family's property was confiscated and their collected cultural relics were destroyed.

(33) 宗教的毁灭 Destruction of Religions



破四旧过程中，全国所有的宗教场所都不同程度地遭到严重破坏，和尚道士神父修女都遭到了批斗和羞辱并被迫还俗，连班禅喇嘛都被批斗，藏传佛教也遭到了严重破坏。全国只剩一种宗教：“拜毛教”（比喻）。

During the campaign to Destroy the Four Olds, all religious institutions, to some extent, were damaged. Monks, Taoist priests, priests and nuns were criticized, humiliated and forced to resume secular life. Even Panchan and Dalai Lama were criticized and Tibetan Buddhism was significantly damaged. There was one religion remaining "the worship of Maoism".

(34) 大规模迫害知识分子 Destruction of Religions



从破四旧开始，所有知识分子一夜间成了旧思想旧文化的代表，对老师的批斗羞辱遍及全国城乡。大学教授基本上都成了反动学术权威，批斗游街检查抄家烧书成了无人可以逃脱的劫难，很多著名人士（如老舍）不堪羞辱自杀身亡，据官方不完全统计，文革中被逼自杀的各类知识分子有二十万。

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(35) 对民间所有道德文明基础的毁灭

Persecution of the Basis of Chinese Moral and Civilization among the People



文革以来，中华民族所有道德文明基础都被毁灭了。夫妻揭发、父子反目、亲朋同事邻里互为仇敌的现象遍及天下。林彪的“不说假话办不成大事”成了行为准则，比赛谁更恶成了民间时尚。

The Cultural Revolution destroyed the basis of Chinese moral and civilization. Husbands and wives denounce each other; fathers were criticized by sons; Close friends and neighbors became enemies. Lin Biao's "No lying, no achievements" became a principle of people's behaviors and people strived to be callous for others.

(36) 大批判和大字报

Big Criticism and Big Posters



文革伊始，整个中国就陷入一场全民性的无休止的大批判大辩论和大字报的海洋之中，但这并不意味着有什么人民民主或言论自由，因为这些辩论和大字报无非四类内容：1、向毛表忠心，2、按自己的理解阐释毛思想并与其他人争辩，3、揭发别人或其他组织对毛不忠或反毛，4、揭批走资派。任何一点儿批毛批共的言论都会遭到残酷镇压。

At the beginning of Cultural Revolution, China became an ocean of criticism posters.

However, it does not mean that there existed democracy and freedom of speech, because these posters were merely made for four purposes: 1. To demonstrate loyalty to Mao; 2. To explain the writer's understanding of Maoism and debate with other writers; 3. To disclose other people or groups disloyal to Mao or against Mao.

(37) 造反有理

It is Right to Rebel



毛把马克思主义归结为一句话：造反有理。并以此号召红卫兵和民众造反。但造谁的反必须按毛的旨意办，必须去造毛讨厌的走资派的反，替毛清除敌人。而造毛的反是要被杀头的。所以，文革的所谓造反不过是奉旨跪着造反。

Mao concluded Marxism in one sentence: it is right to rebel. He mobilized Red Guards and masses to rebel. People followed Mao's orders to attack "capitalist roaders" and "clean Mao's sides" (remove Mao's political opponents), while doubting Mao's authority would be fatal. Therefore, the so-called "rebel" was under the command of Mao.

第四部分 毛式“理想国”：斗私批修做新人

D:Be “Mao’ s Good Soldiers”

本节导读：所谓“文化大革命”即迫使所有人自我改造成“革命

新人”的“灵魂再造运动”，它要求人们“狠斗私字一闪念”，对毛要“三忠于四无限（热爱）”，要“早请示晚汇报”。毛要把全国人民都变成雷锋式的只忠于毛又完全无私且对阶级敌人无比仇恨的“好战士”，并通过“斗私批修”来约束干部的蜕变腐败。这已经近乎于一场迫害人类精神的邪教运动。尽管如此洗脑，仍不能改变因共产极权体制所带来的天然腐败趋势。以当时的生产能力和财富水平作对应分析看，文革时代的中国同样是个相当腐败的社会（各种利用特权对私利的攫取遍布全国）。而毛自己就是那个带头腐败的领袖。

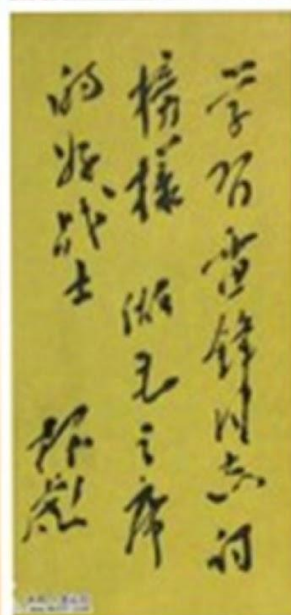
The Cultural Revolution forced everyone to go through a process of the “revolutionary new men’ s movement of ideological remolding.” People were forced to expose and denounce their selfish thinking and take vows to forever remain loyal to Mao. Mao elevated Lei Feng, a soldier who worshiped Mao, to be the national role model. A campaign of “Learn from Lei Feng” engulfed the whole nation in which people had to engage themselves in all kinds of acts and behaviors that were believed to denounce self-interest and benefit others. Mao also called people to fight against “revisionism”, as an effort to stop communist cadres’ corruption.

(39) 从学雷锋到疯狂的领袖（教主）崇拜

From Learn from Lei Feng to promoting Mao's Cult of Personality



向雷锋
同志学习



雷锋是林彪为毛竖立起来的一个全军全民的学习榜样，雷锋的第一特质不是艰苦朴素乐于助人而是无限崇拜毛，读毛著，听毛话，做毛的好战士，“对阶级敌人像严冬一样残酷无情”。这样的人物才是毛式理想国里的合格居民。毛就要把全民都改造成雷锋，这是他发动文革的根本目的。上有此好，后面才有三忠于四无限早请示晚汇报和万万岁。

Lei Feng was created by Lin Biao as a role model for study by the entire military and the masses to learn from. Lei Feng's main characteristic was not so much his selflessness and modest willingness to help others, but his unlimited worship of Mao—reading Mao's books, listening to his speeches, and being Mao's good little warrior, once writing "to class enemies, I am cruel and ruthless like harsh winter." This type of figure is the ideal citizen in Mao's "ideal nation." Mao intended to turn everyone into Lei Feng, and this was his fundamental goal in launching the Cultural Revolution. As a result, the campaign of the "three loyals and four unlimiteds" soon followed, where people were encouraged to "receive daily instructions and give nightly reports" while reciting incantations to Chairman Mao.

(40) 老三篇语录歌，狠斗私字，塑造社会主义新人

Reciting three of Mao's old writings, Calling for a ruthless struggle against private interests, and Promoting a Socialist New Man



文革初期领袖崇拜达到极点（这是毛需要的发动文革的前提条件），全国上下都在背诵毛的三篇文章（《为人民服务》、《纪念白求恩》、《愚公移山》）和林彪采集的毛语录，并传唱这些语录歌，民众每天要对着毛像早请示晚汇报唱语录歌跳忠字舞喊万岁狠斗私字一闪念（这已经是一套宗教仪式）。为数不多的铝锭被打造成几亿个毛像章供全民佩戴，绿军装军帽和红袖标成为一个时代的标志。（请想想今日朝鲜）

In the early phase of the Cultural Revolution the leader cult reached frenzy (the pre-condition for Mao to launch the Cultural Revolution), and the entire nation had to recite the articles "serve the people," "commemorate Dr. Bethune" and "persistence moves mountains," as well as other Mao quotations collected by Lin Biao. Everyone had to make confessions and repentance in front of Mao's image, and demonstrate their devotion and loyalty to him by chanting "Long Live Chairman Mao!" while denouncing all that is private in what had become by then a religious ritual. Countless aluminum ingots were made into Mao badges that everyone had to wear, and green military "Mao" suits and caps became the symbol of that era.

(42) 工农兵占领上层建筑

Workers, peasants and soldiers had the highest status



毛对知识分子有一种近乎偏执的蔑视，他公开说知识分子的思想是最肮脏的，只有工农大众，脚上虽然有牛屎，但思想最高贵。文革使他有了实践这种认识的条件，他突发奇想，让工农兵掌管大学，一时间，各大学都被工宣队（工人阶级毛泽东思想宣传队）、农宣队、军宣队占领了。

Mao held a certain bias bordering on contempt for intellectuals. He publicly remarked that the thoughts of intellectuals are the filthiest. Only the worker and peasant masses, with cow manure under their feet, possessed virtuous thoughts. The Cultural Revolution provided Mao with the conditions to put his argument in practice. He came up with the bizarre idea of putting workers, peasants and soldiers in charge of the universities, and in a short time all universities were occupied by workers' propaganda teams (Working-class, Mao Zedong-thought Propaganda Units), as well as peasant and soldier propaganda teams.

(43) 六二六运动和赤脚医生

The June 26 Movement and Bare-foot Doctors

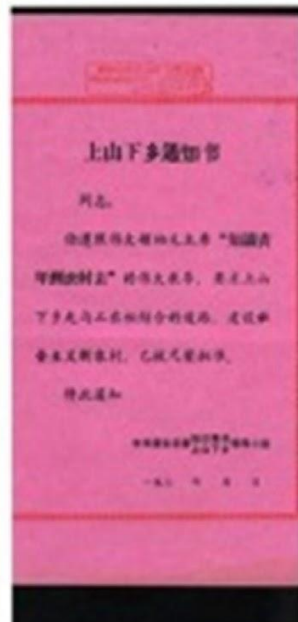


农村缺医少药一直是中共建政以来的头痛问题，但毛从未想过要解放农民让他们致富，一直固守城乡身份壁垒，将农民锁定在土地和公社中，也不曾加大对农村的医疗投入，只是在1965年6月26日突发奇想发出指示：把城里医生打发到农村去，让他们在赤脚插秧种田改造思想的同时，近距离给农民看病。这就是626运动的由来。可能暂时缓解了农村的医疗紧张，但却无法强制那些把此举看成流放劳改的医生长期留下来，药品资源也仍旧匮乏。

The lack of doctors and medicine in the villages had always been a headache for the CCP since the founding of the Peoples Republic of China. But Mao never thought of emancipating the peasants or letting them accumulate wealth. He imposed the household registration system, institutionalizing the distinct identities of urban and rural households, locking the peasants in the villages and communes without investing in rural medical care. One day, he came up with an idea on the spur of the moment: send doctors from the cities to the villages, and let them treat peasants while working in the paddy fields in their bare feet. This is the genesis of the June 26 Movement. Such an idea temporarily abated the shortage of medical care, but it was unable to force the exiled doctors to stay put, and medical supplies remained scarce.

(44) 知青运动

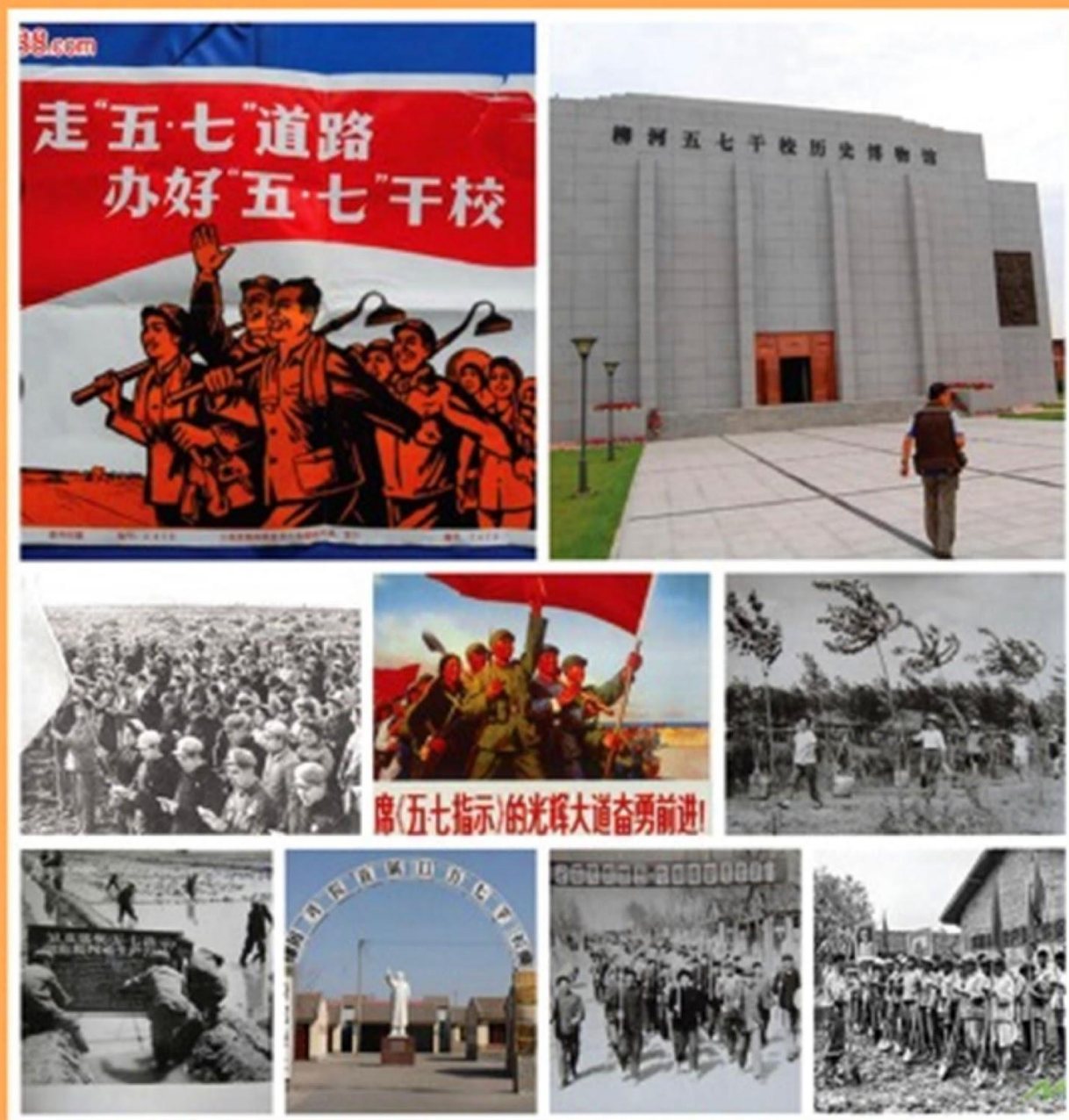
“Intellectual Youth” Movement



2000万躁动的红卫兵，被毛调动起来停课闹革命，中华大地如同刮过了一场红毛风。到1968年，全国山河一片红了，符合毛意愿的新政权已经建立了，但这群毛孩子还浑身散发着无法停歇的革命激情，怎么办？把他们留在城里继续作乱吗？不行。毛一挥手：广阔天地大有作为。统统下乡去！一代人，从此开始了苦难人生。

When 20 million exuberant Red Guards were mobilized by Mao to halt school classes in order to agitate for revolution, a Maoist red wind began sweeping through every corner of China, and by 1968 the whole nation had turned red. Mao's ideal regime had been established, but these young Red Guards still exuded unquenchable passion for revolution. What is to be done with them? Should they be allowed to continue roaming around the cities disrupting the social order? No, we can't have that. So Mao waved his hand and the answer came down from the Heavens: send them all off to the villages! For an entire generation of youth a life of hardship had begun.

(45) 五七道路 The road of May 7



1966年5月7日，毛在林彪的一份报告上做的批语被称为五七指示，毛的这个批语被后世史家认为是毛的乌托邦思想的集中体现。他希望社会各种基层组织都是亦工亦农亦兵的综合体同时还是搞大批判的学习班。社会上立刻予以响应，办起了数不清的五七学校医院商店等。但这个指示的最直接受害者是那些被打倒或有问题的各级干部，共有120万人被安排在全国1600多个五七干校中，度过了数年流放劳改生活。

Some comments Mao made on Lin Biao's report of May 7, 1966 were referred to as "the May 7 instructions," and later historians consider them to be the collective embodiment of Mao's utopian ideas. He hoped that every kind of grassroots worker, peasant and soldier organization would hold criticism/self-criticism study sessions. This sparked an immediate reaction throughout society, as countless May 7 study groups were set up in schools, hospitals and shops. The direct victims of these instructions were cadres of all levels who were implicated or purged. In all, 1.2 million cadres were assigned to over 1600 May 7 schools throughout the country, and subjected to a long

(46) 批林批孔评法批儒

Criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius-- Evaluating the Legalist School and Criticizing Confucianism



913事件披露后举世震惊，把林这样的“野心家阴谋家”选为接班人无疑是伟大领袖的败笔。为了给毛圆场，林应该是个特别难以识破的高人，把他塑造成如此高人的导师一定具有历史和哲学的超人高度，于是两千多年前的孔子忽然成了替罪羊，原来林彪是继承了孔老二的衣钵！于是开始批林批孔，顺便树法家，批当代大儒周恩来。

After the "September 13 Incident" was revealed to the public, the whole nation was in shock. Appointing Lin Biao, an ambitious schemer and a conspirator, as his successor was undoubtedly a failure of the great helmsman. In order to save Mao's face, Lin was painted as a highly skilled conspirator who was very hard to detect. The person who had transformed Lin into such a Machiavellian person must have been a superhuman who was well-versed in history and philosophy. As a result, Confucius, who had lived over 2 thousand years before, became a fellow scapegoat alongside his modern incarnation! The campaign of criticizing both Lin and Confucius began, with the promotion of the teachings of the Legalist school and criticism of the biggest contemporary Confucian, Zhou Enlai.

(47) 全民皆兵和备战备荒

The People must all be Soldiers and Prepare for War and Disaster Relief



代。一家七口几乎人人有枪，政府咋就放心呢？再日子过得怎么样？
这也是“经济崩溃”的体现！
weibo.com/2121222



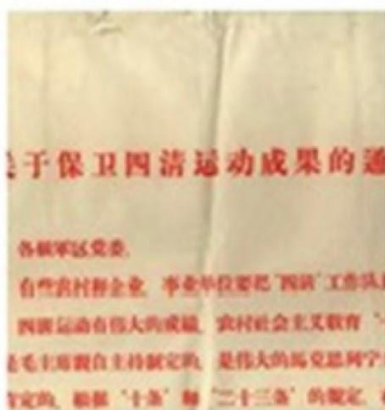
中共建政以来，一直实行战时体制，始终处在准备打仗和高调挑衅的状态中，六十年代初与苏联彻底闹翻，形成中国与美苏两个超级大国同时对抗的局面，所以对国内一直实行全民皆兵和备战备荒的体制，像朝鲜现在的先军政治。军人集团一直对社会有巨大的影响力，毛也号召全国学习解放军，因此才会出现林彪集团的崛起和军队支左造成的混乱。

The CCP maintained itself on a war footing since it had seized power.

After the Sino-Soviet split in the early 60s, China was now confronting the US and the Soviet Union at the same time, and enforced the policy that "everyone must be a soldier and prepare for war and disaster relief," similar to the military-first policy in North Korea today. As the armed forces held significant sway over society, Mao called on the whole nation to learn from the Peoples Liberation Army, thereby contributing to the rise of the Lin Biao faction and the disorder resulting from the leftist military policy.

(48) 斗私批修反腐败蜕变的失败

The failure of the struggle against private interests and revisionism, anti-corruption and degeneration



跳出权力腐败、人亡政息的历史周期律一直是毛“进京赶考”的严峻课题，但他折腾一生都未能交出满意的答卷。无论他处决贪腐官员、搞三反五反四清运动，还是竖立廉洁的正面典型给大家学习，都无法阻挡极权体制下官员官僚化腐败化的趋势，他发动文革清洗官僚灵魂仍不奏效。文革下的中国仍是个腐败社会，因为连毛自己都无法抑制居皇宫、在各地建行宫，好菜好烟专列美女侍奉，夫人放纵腐败，自己给朋友走后门的权力诱惑。

Mao's comrades had always been overcoming the historical trend of ruling regimes to degenerate as a result of corruption. Despite his life-long attempts to stamp out corruption, his efforts proved to be futile. None of his measures prevented the cadres from bureaucratization and degeneration, including the prosecution of corrupted officials, the launching of the campaigns of the "three antis", "five antis" and "four purgings," and trying to set up an incorruptible example for all to study. His launching of the Cultural Revolution to cleanse the bureaucratic spirit also ended up in vain. China under the Cultural Revolution remained a corrupt society because even Mao himself couldn't stop himself from living like an emperor, building palaces all over the country, accompanied by exquisite delicacies, fine tobacco, exclusive trains and beautiful women to serve him. His wife also indulged in corruption, lured by the temptations of power to get her friends into high government positions.

第五部分 毛式“理想国”：经济乌托邦

E: Mao's Economic Utopia

本节导读：文革是继“大跃进”后又一场裹挟全民挑战人类基本经济规律的失败试验。为了争夺斯大林死后国际共运的头把交椅（领导权），毛号召中国“跑步进入共产主义”，在全国掀起大炼钢铁和人民公社（包括虚假的高产竞赛、粮食高征购和“放开肚皮使劲吃”的公共大食堂等一系列荒诞政策），最终导致连续三年的经济崩溃和大饥荒（至少饿死3000万农民）。毛在遭到党内轻微批评后，对他的经济路线的失败仍不服气，不惜以发动文革的手段全面清洗打倒批评者，同时再次发起向高级“社会主义”（限制资产阶级法权和在无产阶级专政下继续革命的社会主义）的冲锋，将整个经济再次拖向崩溃，也使中共在中国的血腥社会主义实践归于彻底失败。

Wenge, following the ill-fortuned Great Leap Forward in 1958, was a failed experiment on challenging the basic human economic order. In 1958 Mao dreamed to enter communism in steps to surpass the Soviet Union and lead the world communism. For that purpose he set off a nationwide campaign for unrealistically high output of iron and steel as well as grains. The Great Leap Forward failed and took lives of millions by 1961. Wenge was, in a way, just another attempt to achieve communism in short time. For that goal Mao almost completely prohibited free market and individual incentives, so much so that a slogan "Wild weeds of socialism are yet better than shoots of capitalist grains." Mao also dismantled institutional management and administrative systems in industry and civil service, punished and removed bureaucrats and administrators in all institutions in the name of mass democracy and revolutionary continuation. All of these Maoist utopian policies led to economic disaster and an extreme shortage of consumer goods.

(50) 赶超苏联，争夺国际共运领导权

Surpassing the Soviet Union and Fighting for International Leadership Role in the Communist Block



斯大林1953年去世后，毛对斯大林的接班人特别是赫鲁晓夫完全看不起，认为自己才是国际共运领袖的合格继承人，为此与苏联经历了各种摩擦终至闹翻。毛为此还放弃了建政之前承诺的新民主主义，要对苏联在制度上进行赶超，提出跑步进入共产主义，终于造成了巨大灾难。

Following Stalin's death in 1953, Mao was full of contempt for Stalin's successors in the Soviet Union, especially Khrushchev, and thought of himself as the most qualified next leader for the Communist Block. Because of this, there was much friction between him and the new Soviet regime, resulting in their ultimate breakup. In doing so, Mao also gave up on his promise made when the People's Republic was first formed on adopting the New Democracy [model]; instead, he wanted China to quickly catch up to and surpass the Soviet system and pronounced that China would "leap into Communism", leading to disaster results for the nation.

(51) 跑步进入共产主义 Leaping into Communism



为了在制度上赶超苏联，在经济上超英赶美，毛提出高举三面红旗：总路线、大跃进和人民公社。大跃进主要是钢产量和粮食产量要大跃进，同时在农村建立公社一级核算制度（遭遇挫折后才改为“三级所有，队为基础”）和公共大食堂。从1958年到60年，在经历了两年大炼钢铁和三年粮食高征购及半年大食堂之后，全国经济一片凋敝，饿死了至少3000万农民。

In order to catch up to and eventually surpass the Soviet political system and the economic prosperity of Britain and the U.S., Mao pronounced his "upholding of three red flags": upholding the Party line, upholding the "Great Leap Forward", and upholding the People's Communes. The "Great Leap Forward" was mostly implemented so steel and grain production would increase by leaps and bounds. At the same time, it is for creating a rural economic accounting system at commune level (which was abandoned after setbacks and changed to "three levels of ownership, with production teams as the basic accounting units") and people's commune large cafeterias. From 1958 to 1960, after two years of mass steelmaking and three years of high requisition quotas for grains, and 6 months of commune large cafeterias, the nation's economy was in shambles, leaving at least 30 millions peasants starved to death.

(52) 精神变物质和社会主义的草

Spirit transformed into material and the weeds of socialism



毛一直钟情于战争年代的供给制，与苏联论战时就批判利润挂帅，文革开始后提出“抓革命”才能“促生产”。主张限制“资产阶级法权”，“割资本主义尾巴”，有人把此形象地概括为“宁要社会主义草，不要资本主义苗”。

Mao was always obsessed with the supply system of wartime era, criticizing the profit motives during debate with the Soviet Union. In the early phase of the Cultural Revolution, he proposed that "to accelerate production by relentless revolution," insisting on limiting "the capitalist rights," "cutting off the tail of capitalism", his doctrine was vividly summarized by someone as "would rather have socialist weeds than planting capitalist seedlings."

(53) 向基本经济规律挑战的后果：短缺时代

The result of challenging the nature of the laws of economics: the period of shortage



毛完全无视经济法则，试图挑战利益驱动这一市场经济铁律，实际是在挑战基本人性，不能不以彻底失败告终。中国变成了一个闭关锁国、八方树敌、经济极度短缺的国家。由于物质极度匮乏，不得不全面采用凭票供给制，社会上流通的各种票证多如牛毛，百姓苦不堪言。

Mao completely ignored the laws of economics, attempting to challenge the iron law of market economy—that self-interest is the driving force of the economy. Under the autarky, China was closed off from the outside world, putting itself in a world of hostility, resulting in dire economic shortage. Due to the scarcity in material supply, it resorted to economic rationing, society was replete with varieties of tickets, coupons and stamps, the misery of the people were beyond description.

第六部分：毛式“理想国”：“创造一个新世界”

F:Mao' s “Global Revolution”

本节导读：中国的文革从一开始就有向全世界扩散的趋势，因为毛要把自己打造成“全世界人民心中最红最红的红太阳”。文革这种输出革命的极端形式（包括向全世界大量发放各种文字的毛的“红宝书”和给予柬埔寨、日本、法国、越南等国共产党和香港地下党大量的资金和武器支援），确实给相关国家带来了动乱和灾难。特别是柬埔寨红色高棉这个中共始终支持的红色恐怖组织，在柬埔寨制造了惨绝人寰的大屠杀，并得到了毛的称赞，成为中国文革外部化的极品国际试验。中国的文革是国际共产主义乌托邦运动的悲剧性高潮，从此这一“通向奴役之路”遭到人类的普遍质疑并在全球开始退潮。但时至今日，毛和文革所造成的国际灾难无人负责、道歉和反思。

Mao' s another dream was to become the uncontested leader of the world revolution, and Wenge was an attempt to export Maoism globally to create a new world. Mao worshipers portrayed him as “the red sun in the people' s hearts of the world.” During Wenge, China exported numerous copies of Mao' s works especially the “Little Red Book,” supported foreign Maoists with money, training, and weapons. The most extremist Maoists were the Khmer Rouge who committed a genocide in Cambodia in the mid-1970s in theirs efforts to establish a Maoist state.

(55) 输出革命，做世界人民心中的红太阳

Exporting revolution, Mao intended to be the Red Sun in the heart of whole mankind



全世界人民热爱毛主席



毛既要争当国际共产主义运动的领袖，还要当世界革命的旗手。文革年代，在中国经济极度短缺的情况下，毛和周等仍拿出大笔资金和物资支持亚非拉很多国家的反对派武装，在北京供养他们的流亡领袖和子女，支持欧洲小国阿尔巴尼亚，支持越南战争，终于给毛争得一个第三世界领袖的虚名。

Mao strove to become both the leader of the international communist movement, and the standard-bearer of the world revolution. During the Cultural Revolution, in the case of a Chinese domestic severe economic shortage, Mao and Zhou continued to spend large sums of money and material. They did so by subsidizing the armed opposition in many Asian, African, and Latin American countries, sheltering the exiled leaders and their children in Beijing, supporting Albania - a small European country, and supporting the Vietnam War. All of these finally won Mao a "third world leader" in name.

(56) 冲击外国领事机构 Raid on Foreign consular offices



文革犹如义和团重演，疯狂的红卫兵强行要求外国驻华机构人员阅读毛著和语录，会谈时要先读语录，要跟着中方一起喊毛万岁。英国在香港镇压红卫兵暴动，北京红卫兵就冲击英国领馆。因为强烈反苏，红卫兵包围苏联使馆抗议，东欧国家领事也被殃及，东德、匈牙利、捷克外交人员被殴打。法国大使也被殴打。一时间，全世界都觉得中国疯了。

Similar to during the Boxer Rebellion, crazy Red Guards forced foreign institution personnels to read Mao's books and quotations and to exclaim "Long live Chairman Mao". When the UK government suppressed the Red Guard riot in Hong Kong, the Red Guard led an attack on the British consulate in Beijing in revenge. Because of the strong anti-Soviet atmosphere, the Soviet embassy was surrounded by protesting Red Guards as well. Eastern European countries consulars were also affected. East Germany, Hungary, Czech diplomats were beaten. The French ambassador was also beaten. For a time, the whole world thought that China had gone insane

(57) 文革在香港

Cultural Revolution in Hong Kong



中共民兵越境殺五警

百多名中共民兵衝過邊界，喊哨遊行，暴徒彈及催淚彈，數分鐘後，離崗警不遠之鄉公擊，三名警員當場斃命。至下午一時，文錦界而來，至下午四時十分，沙頭角方面受傷兵開到支援，警方隨即宣佈宵禁，文錦渡、衝突，華界亦有群眾示威。角始恢復平靜，共有五名警員死，十二人重時的左報報導有一死八傷。



馮基平 汪承機 穆罕默德馬加 赫爾



文革期间，中共地下党在香港一手策划了“六七暴动”，造成很大破坏，遭到港英政府镇压，中共在香港的地下组织悉数被捣毁，民众也失去了对中共的同情。

During the Cultural Revolution, the underground Communist Party members in Hong Kong orchestrated the "riots of 1967", causing a great destruction. The British Hong Kong government crushed them and underground Communist organizations in Hong Kong were all destroyed. At that point, the people of Hong Kong no longer held any sympathetic feelings towards the Chinese Communist Party.

(58) 文革在日本

Cultural Revolution in Japan



日本左翼和受中共支持的赤军，也在东京闹了一段文革，占领东京大学，抢邮局，抢警察枪支。后来赤军躲入山中，因内讧杀人而暴露，最后被警方围捕。

Left-wing Japanese and the Red Army (supported by the Communist Party) also tried to launch a Cultural Revolution in Japan. They occupied the University of Tokyo, robbed post offices, and grabbed police firearms. Later, the Red Army hid secretly in a mountain, however, infighting murder exposed them. Eventually, they were rounded up by the police.

(59) 文革与法国五月风暴

Cultural Revolution and the French May Storm



1968年，中国的文革与法国的青年学生运动发生互动，戴高乐的第五共和国与学生关系紧张，法国学生即模仿中国的红卫兵运动上街抗议，中国方面也给予大规模声援。终于导致戴高乐政府在次年的公投中被迫下台。

In 1968, the French youth student movement colluded with China's Cultural Revolution. The relationship between the Fifth Republic under the leadership of de Gaulle and students intensified.

French

students imitated the Chinese Red Guards, protesting on the streets, and China gave a large-scale vocal support. The French May Storm resulted in the de Gaulle government stepping down in the next year's referendum.

(60) 文革的极品版：惨绝人寰的柬埔寨 Cultural Revolution Extreme: tragic Cambodia



文革对外冲击后果最严重的是柬埔寨。红色高棉一直是毛支持的柬埔寨红色恐怖组织（犹如阿富汗塔利班）。他们夺得政权后，对柬埔寨人民实施了惨绝人寰的大屠杀，100多万柬埔寨知识分子和稍有文化者都被枪杀（占人口的1/7）。他们放弃城市，放弃货币，回归农村，对百姓实行军事化管理。最后被越南解放。

The most severe consequences of exporting the Cultural Revolution fell in Cambodia. Cambodia's Khmer Rouge has always been the terrorist organization supported by Mao (like the Taliban in Afghanistan). After the Khmer Rouge seized power, they implemented a horrifying massacre towards the people of Cambodia - over 1 million Cambodian intellectuals and educated people were shot to death (almost 1/7 of Cambodian population). They gave up the city, gave up currency, returned back to the countryside, and militarized common people. Eventually, Cambodia was liberated by Vietnam.

(61) 中苏冲突背景下被迫调整中美关系

Under the Sino-Soviet confrontation, China had no choice but to adjust the Sino-US relationship



在与苏联长期对抗、特别是1969年珍宝岛冲突之后，中苏大战一触即发，苏联甚至准备对中国实施核打击。为了解脱“两线作战”的外交困境，毛主动向美国示好，终于促成了尼克松1972年的访华。中国也在1971年夺得了联合国席位。中国重返国际社会为后来的改革开放打下了了基础，这大概是毛完全没有想到的。

In the long term confrontation with the Soviet Union, especially after the 1969 Treasure Island conflict, a war between the Soviet Union and China was at trigger. The Soviet Union even got ready to use nuclear weapons against China.

In order to get rid of the "two fronts" diplomatic dilemma, Mao took the initiative to hand over an olive branch to the United States, which resulted in the 1972 Nixon's visit to China. China also restored the lawful seat in the United Nations in 1971. China's return back to the international community laid a foundation for the later Reform and Opening Up, which is probably beyond Mao's expectation.

(62) 结论 (供参考) Conclusion

一、文革是马克思列宁斯大林的无产阶级专政理论和共产主义乌托邦梦想与中国秦朝以来帝制轮回周期相结合的一次历史悲剧，它由自称“马克思加秦始皇”的毛泽东（当代无冕秦始皇和马克思乌托邦的狂热信徒）所发动，直到他去世才得以结束，造成了无数的人间惨剧。由于毛身上混合着秦始皇、朱元璋、洪秀全的诸多特质和中国古代乌托邦的幻想，使这场所谓革命充满了帝王阴谋、小农幻想、痞子张狂、无政府主义和操纵群众的混合破坏力，将中国的文化传统破坏殆尽

Culture Revolution is a combined tragedy of proletarian dictatorship theory and communist Utopian dream that came from Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, which also contains and shares the historical cothurnus such as feudalism system cycle since Qin dynasty; It had been started by Mao, who has listed himself as Marx and Qin Shihuang (he is a super fans of Qin Shihuang and Marx Utopianism), and it ended along with Mao's death, also created uncountable human tragedy. Mao's personality has been recognized as a combination of Qin Shihuang, Zhu Yuanzhang, and Hong Xiuquan's characters. Also Mao's idea is stick with ancient China's Utopianism, which caused this movement full with King's conspiracy, poor farmer's illusion, anarchism and manipulate citizens; and finally destroyed China's traditional culture

二、文革是一场堪比纳粹大屠杀的世界级的阶级大屠杀（包括柬埔寨的悲剧在内）。

Culture Revolution is a world-class massacre that target at different social class, it's also comparable to Nazi Holocaust (Included Kampuchea tragedy).

三、文革中并不存在所谓林彪江青两个反革命集团，只有毛的左膀右臂文武两个帮凶集团（江青集团和林彪集团），他们在毛的领导下形成一个完整的反人类集团，是文革的罪魁祸首。中共1981年通过的《关于若干历史问题的决议》，虽然全面否定了文革，但其历史结论文过饰非，为毛开脱罪责，不符合真实的历史逻辑。

During the Culture Revolution, the so called Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique was not exist, both of them were acted as Mao's loyalest partner and helper; they also to be recognized as military force representative and culture representative. They formed a complete antihuman group, which was the arch criminal of the entire movement. In the year of 1981, CPC passed a document called "on certain questions in the history of the party since the founding of the resolution" that completely deny the Culture Revolution, but its history conclusion was cover up CPC's major problems, which was also not live up to the real historical logic.

四、对林、江两个集团的刑事审判并没有体现历史正义（虽然他们罪有应得），而且颠倒了历史正义，给毛推卸了责任。至今没有公布整个文革浩劫的生命和财产损失，没有向人民道歉和赔偿，没有对无辜死难者的祭奠和纪念，没有对作恶者（包括那些民间的普通法西斯）的普遍清算。对两个替罪羊团伙的审判，只是被打倒的官僚集团卷土重来之后的一种狭隘的只站在本集团利益上的复仇而已。

4. The criminal justice against Lin and Jiang group was not reflect the real historical justice (still consider to be what they deserved consequence), and turn over it, which aimed to let Mao get ride of the responsibility of culture revolution. Up until today, there is no official record on lost of life and property, no official apology, no official memory, and no even up blood debts with malefactors (the civil fascists). The final judgement for these two scapegoat group has been consider as the revenge from the bureaucratic group that was been persecuted, and there was no justice to express, just stand for another political group interest.

(64)

五、文革中不存在什么“人民文革”的插曲，也没有什么“大民主”运动。只有领袖运动群众，群众奉旨造反而已。

5. During the Culture Revolution, the People's Culture Revolution and democratic movement were not existed. Only have the national wild rebel that leaded by the dictator

六、文革初期的以扩大阶级斗争、更加疯狂地屠杀所谓地富反坏右、同时保护老干部为特征的所谓老红卫兵运动（即所谓另类文革，后来被毛改变方向，“纠正”为打到党内走资派为主），与今日中国的极权主义和文革回潮有着天然的历史传承。

6. In the beginning of Culture Revolution, the movement has aimed at expansion of class conflict, madly massacre so called rich, bad and right wing people. At the same time, a small group of interest select old cadre has been protected (another type of Culture Revolution, Mao re-define the movement target as internal party capitalism). All of these characteristic phenomenon shares the same historical inherent with today's totalitarianism and back to Culture revolution trend in China

summarize

Wenge's ideological sources lay in a combination of Maoist Marxism and autocratic tradition of Chinese history. Mao preferred to call himself "half Marx and half Qin Shi Huang." Mao also had a utopian vision for his

country and the world. In terms of consequences, Wenge, led by Mao and operated by Lin Biao, Madam Mao, and other fanatical as well as opportunistic Maoists, cost Chinese society historically unprecedented in areas of human life and dignity, as well as culture and economy.

It is important to be aware that, although the Chinese party-state has declared to abandon political campaigns of Wenge style and even put Mao's closest followers on trial some 40 years ago, Wenge's legacy is still shadowy in today's Chinese politics, as the leadership not only has rejected to break up with Maoism once for all but also has every now and then attempted to appeal to some policies of Wenge style for their own agenda. It is for sure that as long as the party-state maintains its autocratic rule, the legacy of Wenge will always haunt the Chinese people.

(65) 历史将审判 (一)
History will judge (1)



他们要为文革灾难负责：毛泽东、林彪、江青、周恩来、康生、张春桥、姚文元、王洪文、谢富治

They are responsible for the disaster of the Cultural Revolution: Mao zedong/Lin biao/Jiang qing/Zhou enlai/Kang sheng/Zhang chun qiao/Yao wenyuan/Wang hongwen/Xie fuzhi

(66) 历史将审判 (二)

History will judge (2)



他们要为文革灾难负责：叶群、陈伯达、聂元梓、毛远新、迟群、谢静宜、王力、关峰、戚本禹、蒯大富、韩爱晶、谭厚兰、王大宾、张铁生、宋要武、..... 待续

They are responsible for the disaster of the Cultural Revolution: Ye qun/Chen boda/Nie yuanzi/Mao yuanxin/Chi qun/Xie jingyi/Wang li/Guan feng/Qi benyu/Kuai dafu/Han aijing/Tan houlan/Wang dabin/Zhang tiesheng/Song yaowu/.....To be continued

我们为什么要反思文革

——李伟东(冬眠熊)在纽约文革五十年反思图片展开幕式上的演讲

我和张博树、荣伟是这个图片展的主要策划人和执行人，经过一年多的努力，今天终于揭幕了。这是我们的荣幸、我们的机缘，也是历史的必然。说是历史的必然，是因为我们三个人年龄都差不多，我们都经历了那场惊天动地的、至今都难以忘怀的浩劫。之后我们又经历了几十年的思索，这是我们一生都挥不去的梦魇，长久长久地困扰着我们，这是我们民族深处的一个伤疤和伤痛。说伤疤是不对的，因为它从来没有结疤，一直都在流血，一直在流出各种各样的毒素。文革虽然过去了40年，但是文革并没有真正结束，文革这件事还没有画句号。我们至今没有像德国人民那样，可以幸运地告别纳粹时代。他们通过自己深刻的反思，深刻的自我忏悔，一个伟大的民族在欧洲重新站立起来了。

中国仍然背负着文革的包袱，至今不能真正地站起来。我说的站起来不止经济上，也不止国家的外貌形象，而是指整个民族人格和心灵的升华。中国人仍然被深深地锁在文革的牢笼之中。

所以，在今天文革50周年之际，我们要把这个牢笼的门打开，我带领大家，我们整个机构带领大家，重新走进去，像浮士德一样重来一遍炼狱之旅，重新感悟一次极权专制和人性的普遍之恶。希望我们从这个牢笼里面走出来的时候，我们已经是一个完完全全吐尽了狼奶的、解除了文革毒素的真正自由的中国人。

这是我对于文革图片展这件事的真正的期待，也是做这个展览的最本质的初衷。

文革结束40年之后，大家都觉得毛泽东当年说的“七八年再来一次文革”，以及刘晓庆主演的《芙蓉镇》里王秋赦最后敲着破锣喊：“文革了，运动了！”是一个远去了的声音，一个遥远的魔鬼时代，一个永远不会再来的灾难。但是不幸的是，近两三年以来，我们看到的是，那个魔鬼又重新乔装打扮，穿上了某种更加华丽的衣服，悄然重返历史舞台。而且还有很多人在为它欢呼、替它叫好。他们不是忘记了那场灾难，他们是认为那场灾难很值得，甚至认为那场灾难是中华民族的一种荣幸，或者是他们的幸福。所以才有若干知青说：“我们青春无悔”，还有若干人说：“如果没有前30年毛主席带领我们取得的伟大成就，我们就没有今天”云云。这样一些模糊的认识在中国人的族群当中、在新闻媒体的宣传当中，仍然是天天都可以见到。

今年三月份的两会之前的10天，就发生了被海外的史学界、政论界评论为“10天文革”的事情。报纸、电台等媒体对任志强和蔡霞教授连篇累牍的攻击，让我们仿佛回到了50年前，回到了1966年的文革。虽然那10天文革戛然而止，但其中的精神元素却仍在延续。

所以，在适逢文革50周年之际，我们有了文革卷土重来的感觉。这也是我们文革图片展创意中最初想到的。不仅要吐尽狼奶，我们还要想方设法避免文革卷土重来。

要想避免文革重来，我们就一定要文革把这件事情说清楚！这也是我们创意的初衷。

我们的图片展不去单独展览文革中的武斗，不去单独展览文革中的八个样板戏，不去单独展览文革中的毛泽东八次接见红卫兵，不去探究某一个具体的领域、某一个省、某一个地区发生了什么事情，我们要全景式地再现文革的全部过程，以及它的理论和现实中的逻辑。

我不知道我们是否做到了，希望大家评判。这是我们的初衷，我们在朝着这个方向努力。

我们把文革按照六大主线进行了梳理，每一个主线都给出了历史的对应图片组。按照现在网络流行的语言，这叫做“有图有真相”。

文革结束40年以来，网上有大量的图片，其中今天出席开幕式的李振盛先生，拍摄了大量的骇人视听的文革照片，已经在社会上流传多年，我们很多人都看到过。今天展览的图片中也使用了李老先生的十多幅照片。有很多著名图片都是他拍摄的，他亲历了那样一个残酷的现场。但是这些照片在网上流传，大家看着好像觉得跟自己无关，那是一个很荒唐的事情，过去就完了。我们要做的事情是把它们重新集合起来，全方位地再现那场灾难是如何发生、如何演变、直至如何被迫终结的，以及今天它还有什么样的毒素在毒害着我们。

刚才说到，这次的图片展包括六大部分，通过这六大部分我们总结了文革的全过程。这当然是我个人的一个理论探索，也得到了两个学会的领导以及若干朋友，包括参与我们整个团队运作的王书君、吴称谋等朋友的赞许，也得到了徐友渔老师、黎安友教授的若干指点。但这个理论毕竟是我个人的，所以我在这里简单阐述一下。

文革的发动首先是毛泽东为了维护他那皇帝一般的权力和更换接班人。因为他在1959年大跃进失败后，遭遇到了党内的挑战。虽然我的文字中写道他仅仅是遭遇了“轻微的批评”，但是他仍然认为自己的权力遭遇了严重挑战。他认为党内挑战他的人像挑战斯大林的赫鲁晓夫一样，对他具有那样一个程度的威胁和他死后有被“鞭尸”的可能。所以他把党内的二把手刘少奇说成是党内的赫鲁晓夫、埋在身边的定时炸弹。他要提前把这个定时炸弹引爆，他要更换他原来选定好的接班人，换上他更放心的更符合他的乌托邦梦想的接班人，保住他那皇帝般的权力和死后的地位及梦想的传承。保权和更换接班人是他发动文革的最重要的初衷之一。

还有一个初衷，就是他要按照他从马克思到斯大林学来的那一套乌托邦理想来改造中国人的人性，改造整个中国社会。

所以文革发动之初，有两个重要的主线——一个是毛泽东要保住权力，包括更换成更可靠的接班人；第二个主线是要继1959失败之后再次强行推进他的乌托邦梦想。所以我们第一部分用黄色背景，象征着中国的皇权时代，皇帝的权力，展示了整个文革的高层内斗。从它的发端到最后结束，从最初的海瑞罢官，到毛泽东去世、所谓粉碎四人帮，到十一届六中全会的若干历史问题的决议。整个第一部分都是高层内斗，这是文革最主要的一条线索。

第二部分，毛泽东虽然发动了这样一场为了保住他的皇权以及改换接班人的运动，但是这场运动同时伴随着对底层民众的疯狂的大屠杀。所以第二部分叫做“无产阶级专政大屠杀”，颜色的选择是殷红的血色，因为已经不是刚流出的鲜血，但仍然是殷红色，还没有变黑，这个血仍然在流淌着，没有凝固。

为什么会有这样的大屠杀？因为毛泽东的乌托邦理想中包含着像列宁斯大林他们一样所有的共产极权者都过干这种事，即清除所有异议者，以确保进入他们的“理想国”的居民的精神纯度。只要他们建立了国家，无论是斯大林还是后来的波尔布特，还有其他的国家，他们都像普列汉诺夫评价列宁那样：“他为了把一半的人拖进他所谓的天堂，不惜杀掉另一半人”。用一个伟大的目标，一个伟大的说辞，他要杀掉另一半人。他们事实上就是这样干的。从建政之初，他们就按照一个10%甚至20%的比例杀人。文革之前，他们屠杀了那么多国民党时代的军政留守人员，其实那些人都投诚了，投降了，想要为新政权服务了。但是又重新被挖掘出来，数以百万计的被杀掉；然后把中国数以百万计的富裕农民用地主的帽子或富农的帽子杀掉。因为他杀了这么多人，他又不放心，担心那些被杀的人的后人、他们的思想的认同者，还可能变天。所以自从他们建立政权以来，一直到60年代的文化大革命，他们始终说有一种阶级敌人的力量、他们的后代、没有改造好的隐藏的阶级敌人、国民党派来的特务……天天在中国内陆捣乱。他们不停地需要以多种运动名义来挖出这样的敌人，再把他们杀掉。所以文革10年中，他们用一打三反、用斗批改、清理阶级队伍等名义陆陆续续的又杀掉了几十万人。第二部分我们就展示这样的文革大屠杀，这是出自政权的主动屠杀。同时，毛泽东又挑动派系之间的武斗，这种派系之间的斗争又造成几十万的生命损失。

中共官方和民间的各种统计都认为，文革期间造成的人命损失最少有130万，最高有300万之多，同时造成一千多万人的伤残。这场大屠杀跟纳粹大屠杀比较，已经不相上下，而且持续屠杀了十年之久！一直到文革结束，1977年，还有很多人，我的图版上介绍了很多烈士，像史云峰，他们都死在文革结束之后。那时那个余毒、余威还在。

第三部分，砸烂一个旧世界。毛泽东要建立他的乌托邦世界，所以他要把旧的全砸掉，因而号召红卫兵破四旧。所以我用了白色底板，砸得白茫茫大地一片真干净。所有的教堂、所有的寺庙、所有的文化遗存、所有的书画……统统砸烂，大家可以去观察，大家对破四旧有印象。

接下来的三个部分全是在回顾毛泽东要建立的理想国，看看他创造了一个何等荒唐和悲惨的世界。毛式理想国第一部分，用了橘黄色的图板。他要所有人都像雷锋一样，无限忠于他，要所有人都像雷锋一样，对待阶级敌人像严冬一样残酷无情。他认为雷锋才是他的理想国里的合格国民。所谓文化大革命，就是要把全体中国人民教育成雷锋，对所有人进行灵魂的重新再造。

毛式理想国之二。1959年，他搞的跑步进入共产主义这样的疯狂运动失败了，但是他不服气。文革时他要建立一个更加高级的社会主义，即限制所谓资产阶级法权的社会主义，最后搞得一片灰暗，直到经济崩溃。所以我采用灰紫色来描述。

这是他建立理想国的第二部分。人性上的理想国，经济上的理想国。

毛式理想国第三部分，输出革命。他要把这个革命引向全世界，要把全世界都变成一个红彤彤的世界。他要当全世界的伟大领袖。这部分我用了殷红的红色。他给日本、法国等很多国家都带来了文革的灾难。尤其是他们培养和培植、扶持，直到最后邓小平打越南战争还去挽救的那个组织——红色高棉。这个中共扶持的红色恐怖组织在柬埔寨屠杀掉了120万人(占全部人口的1/7)。所有的知识分子都被屠杀掉了，屠杀殆尽。而这个组织就是毛泽东支持的，既出钱又出人又出武器。毛在北京接见红色高棉的头头波尔布特，夸奖他说“你们比我们做得好”。所以我说柬埔寨是文化大革命国际化的一个极品版。如果毛泽东再多活10年，中国可能就是柬埔寨。

这是我们的创意，当然最后一部分是供讨论的结论。

我们今天在这里，不仅要回顾文革，揭示它的历史真相，这并不是我们最主要的目的。我们并不是要给毛泽东和中共开一个罪行的控诉会。我们是要平和的、理性地思考，认真想一想，为什么会发生文革这件事，我们中华民族为什么如此多灾多难，为什么会出这样一场惊天动地的浩劫，而且至今依然被掩盖着，不能探讨、不能思索。我们要找出它的发生机理，我们要避免它重来，我们要为中国的民主和法制以及宪政建设做出我们最基础性的努力。

最后说一句：不挖掉文革这个老根，中国没有未来！

(根据录音整理，并经本人修订)