

## **July 29, 1972**

### **Zhou Enlai's Remarks about the Lin Biao Issue**

#### **Citation:**

"Zhou Enlai's Remarks about the Lin Biao Issue", July 29, 1972, Wilson Center Digital Archive, 2001-298, Act on Access to Information Held by Administrative Organs. Also available at the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Obtained by Yutaka Kanda and translated by Ryo C. Kato.

<https://wilson-center-digital-archive.dvincitest.com/document/118836>

#### **Summary:**

Zhou Enlai made statements on the Lin Biao Issue and responses of foreign representatives from the United States, Japan and the Soviet Union. In addition, he delves into modern Chinese History after the Anti-Japanese War.

#### **Credits:**

This document was made possible with support from MacArthur Foundation

#### **Original Language:**

Japanese

#### **Contents:**

- Original Scan
- Transcript - Japanese
- Translation - English

## (林彪 向題等 首相発言)

時代の流れに叛いていく輩は当然いるでしょう。  
中国の場合は、人民戦争で勝利を勝ち取り農村から  
都市を包囲して20年ばかり社会主義の革命をやった。  
林彪のような副主席に名前から、毛主席に叛逆者が  
出た。

歴史的には、井冈山時代から毛主席と一緒に闘  
ったが、思想の面では毛主席と合わず、個人主義が強  
かったのです。最大の戦役である東北の戦役では、計  
画の人数は50万の大部隊を壊滅したのは林彪の功  
績だと思います。彼は毛主席と一緒にいた。彼は  
腹心の部下だった。毛主席は何度も何度も命令  
を出したのです。それからやっと動き出したので、  
延安から毛主席が直接指導しながら一月余りで壊滅  
させた。私たちの軍隊が殺られて、蒋介石の  
軍隊が勝っていることを認識できなかったのです。

毛主席の戦略配置を破壊してしまいました。毛主席は  
彼の意見を聞かずにいた。林彪は毛主席を暗  
殺しようとしたのです。

中国の軍隊にしても、人民にしても、党にしても、勝利を  
勝ち取った。彼の陰謀であっても、彼の脱走  
しようとしたことは悪い事ではなかった。彼を赦す  
ようだった。彼は不安になり厳吉に逃げた。9月13日  
の木村の飛行機。これは、アメリカの消息が1週間早く  
一帯に広がった。次が日本、ソ連はダメだった。  
ソ連は初め判りませんでした。ソ連の領土が現場に判  
りて見えて判りました。蒙古の外交部は中国の  
大使を呼んで聞いた。これは理屈だった。

後で外国のニュースが流れ、ソ連が疑いを持ち、埋蔵の場所が定まり、検査の上、林彪を確認された。林彪はソ連に病気の治療に又変っていたのです。元ソ連が代念、残念、残念、残念、残念とくりが返された。国には何もありません。キツい水が来り、話し合いされた。蒋介石はもって後に判りた。蒋介石の学生にも判れたから、蔣は大変な話だといいましたが、耳に入ったとしても、既に全部、織り込んでいた。

中国はいまや蒋介石時代の軍閥の時代とちがいます。おわり、交り、判りた。崗錫山や馮玉祥等と抗日戦争前は、軍閥との戦争は止まらぬと知りませんでした。それは、竟の命令で説得し得たからで、蒋介石の天下は格やかにはありませんでした。

いかに、最初、抗日戦争終了当時は、アメリカの援助で威張っていた。五項目、四項目の綱領を出された。毛主席は重慶会談を行ない、ヤルタ協定は蔣が承認し、条約を締結されたが、人心を失った。いき500万の軍隊は3年余りに織滅にされました。

林彪の出来事が起きて、蒋介石は甚だたに悲しむ。しかし、竟林全体に公表し、学習をしました。人民に公表し、学習をされた。これ現在、外国の友人にも話せるようになった。ブレジネフは残念がり、蒋介石は失望したという。東条英機も初めは有恩人になっていりましたが、最後は失敗しましたね。苦難をもたらされたのは、日本の人民にあり、アジアの人民に判りた。毛主席は南野三郎さんにも判りた。日本の軍閥主義に

感謝しているというのを……これは反面教師です  
 その第一は蒋介石であり、第二は日本の軍国主義に  
 あり、第三はアメリカの帝国主義です。

これにより中国人民は自覚いたしました。明治維新  
 の時代は、未だ支配階級がはびこっていました。

農民蜂起はありましたが、いい指導者がなく南米を  
 取りましたが北上できませんでした。1851年～1863年  
 までの一時のことでした。

英仏が中国に攻めてきて延命院が焼き払われ  
 当時の皇帝は孔子に殺されました。1861年のことです。  
 その後、西太后が40年間支配いたしました。それが  
 暗黒の時代であり、日本の明治維新の時代でした。  
 1861年のことです。

皆さん方は、明治維新のあと、軍国主義が抬頭し  
 中国が弱まっていたので、日本の勝利がなやなくもな  
 りました。1894年の中日戦争で勝利しました。

その後1904年、ロシアとやり、ロシアはスエズ運河が  
 通れず、アフリカの希望峰を回って遠回りをしてました。

バルチック艦隊を破った東御が軍神と呼ばれ  
 軍国主義崇拜思想が生まれ、それがたまたま第二次世  
 界大戦で失敗しました。中国人民は自覚いたしました。

日本に教訓を学ばれました。平和五原則は、中国のみの  
 有利だけでなく、世界の人民に貢献し得ると思ひます。

社会党の成田氏に自衛のための努力について  
 話しました。中曽根氏に話したいと思ひますか  
 民族の自衛の気概も持っているとはいいことです。

この辺りの中州間は四派の連合政府です。

01-14 EDC

6

仲意が此が公要の時、野党は意見を批  
 判して、同党は批判をするというべきで  
 ないから——正しい意見、積極的意  
 見を出し、田中首相にそれを受け入れさせる  
 べきです。それを受け入れれば前進です。

人民の意見を促し、政府は実行させるには、社会の  
 改造に役立ちます。







(Premier's [Zhou Enlai's] Statements on the Lin Biao Issue)

There are of course generations that go against the flow of time.

In China's case, we won the villages and cities through the victory of the people's war, and in 23 years accomplished a socialist revolution.

There are those like Lin Biao that, despite being a Vice Premier, rebelled against Chairman Mao [Zedong].

He was with Chairman Mao since the Jinggang Mountain days, but ideologically they did not agree. He was quite individualistic. People abroad believe that it was Lin Biao who defeated the 500,000 strong army during the crucial Northeast Campaign [of the Chinese Civil War]. He was with Chairman Mao. He was a coward and was afraid. Chairman Mao gave orders over and over again. He finally acted after this. After Chairman Mao gave direct orders from Yan'an, the enemy was defeated after only a month. He was not aware that our army had become experienced while Jiang Jieshi's [Chiang Kai-shek] army had been weakened.

He was undermining Chairman Mao's strategies. Chairman Mao did not listen to his opinions. Lin Biao attempted to assassinate Chairman Mao.

China's army, its citizens, and the [Communist] Party were all winning victories. We were oblivious to both his plotting and his attempt to escape. We attempted to educate him, but he became worried and fled to Mongolia. It was early dawn on September 13 [1971]. The American intelligence caught wind of this the quickest. Then it was Japan. The Soviets were unable to catch this. The Soviets did not know what had happened at first. Even when the Soviet representative went to the site, they did not get it. The Mongolians found out after their foreign ministry summoned the Chinese ambassador. They then buried the remains. After the foreign media began running this story, the Soviets raised their doubts. They unearthed the remains, and after running tests they confirmed that it was Lin Biao. Lin Biao had gone to receive medical treatment from the Soviets on two occasions.

[Leonid] Brezhnev repeated that it was disappointing, disappointing, disappointing, disappointing, disappointing. There were no problems domestically. Kissinger came to talk with us. Jiang Jieshi came to know of this occurrence much later. He had been a student of Jiang Jieshi's, so it must have been a shock to him. Although by the time the news of the event reached Jiang's ear, everything had been already settled.

China is now a far cry from Jiang Jieshi's era of military cliques. Everything has changed. Prior to the Anti-Japanese War, we did not cease fighting against the likes of Yan Xishan and Feng Yuxiang and the military clique. This was under the orders of the Party. Due to this the rule of Jiang Jieshi was not a calm one.

Immediately after the end of the Anti-Japanese War, Jiang Jieshi and the military clique were swaggering on account of American support. They proclaimed five-point and four-point plans. Chairman Mao convened the Chongqing talks. Jiang approved the Yalta Agreement and a treaty was established. However, they lost their humanity and the five million man army was defeated after only three years.

Jiang Jieshi was likely pleased after learning of the Lin Biao affair. However, there were announcements and instructions for the entirety of the Party. We made similar announcements and instructions to the people. And now we are at a point where we can speak about the affair with our friends abroad. Brezhnev was likely disappointed and Jiang Jieshi was likely in despair. Even Toji Hideki began with elation, but he



ended in despair. The Japanese and Asian people were the ones who suffered.

Chairman Mao told Mr. Nango Saburo that he is thankful for Japanese militarism. This is in the sense of learning from bad examples. The first is Jiang Jieshi; the second is Japanese militarism; and the third is American imperialism.

The Chinese people gained self-awareness through these. During the Meiji-era, the ruling class was still rampant.

There were peasant uprisings and we retook Nanjing, but we were unable to proceed north. This was during the period between 1851 and 1863.

When the British and French invaded China, they burned down the Old Summer Palace and the emperor at the time died. This was in 1861. Subsequently, the Empress Dowager Cixi ruled for forty years. This was for China a dark age, and for Japan this period was the Meiji era. This was in 1861.

After the Meiji era, militarism was rising and China was weakened. Victory for Japan was an easy outcome. They were triumphant in the 1894 Sino-Japanese war.

Next in 1904, Japan fought the Russians. Because the Russians were unable to use the Suez Canal, they had to take the long way and rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Having defeated the Baltic Fleet, Togo was named a 'God of War' and the ideology of worshipful militarism was born. Because of this, the Japanese made their mistake in the Second World War. The Chinese people were awakened by Japan and learned a great lesson. We believe that the Five Principals of Peace are not only beneficial to the Chinese people, but can also contribute to the peoples of the world.

I spoke with Mr. Haneda from the Social Democratic Party about the efforts for self-defense. I feel that it is fine to report to Mr. Nakasone [Yasuhiro] as well, that it is important to keep a strong spirit for the self-defense of a nation.

The next Tanaka cabinet is a coalition government of four parties.

It is important to maintain cohesion. It is important for the opposition party to raise their opinions and give criticisms when the cabinet makes mistakes. The other side is holding the power. It is important to give correct opinions and vigorously make their opinions heard so that Prime Minister Tanaka accepts them. If he accepts them, it will be progress.

Promoting the people's voice so that the government acts is instrumental in the reform of society.