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ANTI-MEMOIRS

by André Malraux

LA CONDITION HUMAINE

There are now no more than twenty thousand survivors of the Long March—and eight hundred “responsibles,” it is said. On the other side of the bay, it pervades the popular imagination as the *Ramayana* still pervades the imagination of India, as Olympus once pervaded the imagination of Greece.

Everything had begun with victories.

In the autumn of 1928 the Sixth Congress in Moscow finally recognizes the importance of peasant action in the revolutionary struggle.

It is the end of the first schism. Red armies spring up: mutiny after mutiny breaks out in the armies of the Kuomintang, and the mutineers join Mao in the Ching Kang Mountains. But his supplies will not feed an army.

In January 1929 Mao's principal general, Chu Teh, breaks through the blockade and joins up with other Red troops. In December, the whole of southern Kiangsi is conquered, and the first provincial soviet government proclaimed.

The Kuomintang, now the Nanking government, opens the first “Encirclement and Annihilation Campaign” with one hundred thousand men against Mao's forty thousand. By a war of maneuver, in which the bulk of the Red forces is always brought to bear on isolated columns which Mao has lured deep into his territory, and thanks to the support of the local population, the army of Nanking is scattered in two months.

Four months later, the Second Campaign commits two hundred thousand men in seven separate columns. Same tactic, same results.

A month later Chiang Kai-shek takes personal command of three hundred thousand men. Mao's forces attack five columns in five days, capture a considerable amount of war material, and in October Chiang withdraws the forces of the Third Campaign of Annihilation.

The Chinese Soviet Republic is proclaimed under the chairmanship of Mao.

In December 1931 two hundred thousand men come over to him from Nanking. The Red Army starts offensive operations of its own. In 1933 Nanking opens the Fourth Campaign of Annihilation, loses thirteen thousand men in a single battle, and sees its best division destroyed.



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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
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~~SECRET~~

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MAO Tse-tung
(3029/3419/2639)

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

毛泽东

Chairman, and Member,
Standing Committee,
Politburo, Chinese
Communist Party Central
Committee



Addressed as:
Mr. Chairman

Mao Tse-tung, 81, a founder of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), became a Politburo member in 1932 and Chairman of the Central Committee in 1935. Despite precarious health, Mao retains a dominant voice in Peking, and his name gives authority to major domestic and international political initiatives. In addition, he meets with selected visiting foreigners; during the first 10 months of 1975, he met 15 visiting groups including that headed by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in October.

Meetings with Mao are almost invariably arranged on short notice. Despite physical weakness--

Parkinson's disease--Mao remains lucid, highly opinionated and well informed about world events. His comments, delivered in a barely audible tone, require the combined interpretative skills of two officials.

The charismatic Mao achieved his present position after many years of struggle both before and after the Communists won the civil war in 1949. He has made ample use of various suppressive movements and purges to rid the CCP of opponents. His latest efforts, the Cultural Revolution (1966-69) and the purge of former Defense Minister Lin Piao and his followers (1971), secured Mao's political position but left a legacy of divisiveness that still plagues China.

Mao is married to Politburo member Chiang Ch'ing, his fourth wife.

19 November 1975

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NLF MR 80-46
#2

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CHOU En-lai
(Phonetic: joe)
(0719/1869/0171)

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

周恩来

Premier, State Council;
Vice Chairman and Member,
Standing Committee, Polit-
buro, Chinese Communist
Party Central Committee



Addressed as:
Mr. Premier

Chou En-lai, 77, has been Premier of the People's Republic of China since 1949 and, as ranking vice chairman of the Central Committee and a member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, he is the second-ranking Chinese Communist Party leader. Until early 1974 he was the most active of the collective party leadership. Since then, hospitalized by at least one heart attack, episodes of congestive heart failure [REDACTED] Chou has relinquished most of his official duties to a group of Vice Premiers headed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Chou probably retains his influence in policy matters and, until early September 1975, met with visitors. His failure to meet with important visitors to Peking, including Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in October, suggests that his physical condition has deteriorated.

A diplomat and statesman, Chou has excelled in foreign affairs. By temperament more an administrator than a theoretician, he is a suave, urbane pragmatist who has proved his competence and durability in more than 40 years of service to the party. Critics of his moderate approaches to China's economic and political development have consistently failed to damage his political stature.

Chou speaks Russian, English and some French, and fragmentary German and Japanese. Officially, he converses in Chinese with the aid of an interpreter. Chou is married to Teng Ying-ch'ao, a Central Committee member. They have no children.

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18 November 1975

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NLF MR 80-4, #2

By KPH NARA, Date 10/16/91

TENG Hsiao-p'ing
(Phonetic: dung)
(6772/1420/1627)

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

邓小平

Vice Premier, State Council; Member, Standing Committee, Politburo

Addressed as:
Mr. Vice Premier



Teng Hsiao-p'ing, 71, the second highest ranking victim of the Cultural Revolution (1966-69), reentered public life as a Vice Premier in April 1973. He was elected to the 10th Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee in August 1973 and to the Politburo in January 1974. In January 1975 he was named a vice chairman of the Central Committee, a member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, and Chief of Staff of the People's Liberation Army and was confirmed as the leading Vice Premier of the State Council. Teng appears to have assumed most of Premier Chou En-lai's duties in domestic and international affairs and is currently the leading candidate to succeed the ailing Premier. Teng took the leading role in discussions with US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger during the latter's visit to China in October 1975 and is likely to do so during President Ford's visit.

After studying in the USSR in 1925, Teng held an impressive array of political and governmental posts. He first became a Vice Premier in 1952 and a member of the Politburo in 1954. Representing the CCP in critical meetings with leaders of the Soviet Communist Party in the early stages (1960-63) of the Sino-Soviet rift, Teng forcefully presented the Chinese position on major ideological issues.

The Vice Premier has a strong memory, a quick grasp of problems and considerable self-assurance. He has been married at least twice. His current wife, Cho Lin, may hold a government position connected with international relations.

13 November 1975



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