September, 1963
Mao Zedong, 'There Are Two Intermediate Zones'

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Summary:
Mao Zedong begins to espouse his theory of the “Two Intermediate Zones,” with Asia, Africa, and Latin America constituting the first, and Europe and North America constituting the second.

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- English Translation
- Chinese Transcription
- Scan of Original Document
THERE ARE TWO INTERMEDIATE ZONES

(September 1963; January and July 1964)

I

All of you are concerned about the situation, particularly the international situation. Some comrades are concerned that the collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States will bring disadvantages to us. I always believe what Wang Xifeng says in A Dream of Red Mansions: "Bigness has the difficulties of being big." Now the U.S. and the Soviet Union both have big difficulties. Rost, chairman of the U.S. Policy Committee, once published an article whose keynote was that both the U.S. and the Soviet Union faced many difficulties and that these difficulties were insurmountable. I don't know this man, but our views happen to coincide at some points. The United States is being rebuffed everywhere, both domestically and internationally; Khrushchev too. Don't forget this point. In the words of Leng Zixing in A Dream of Red Mansions, "A centipede does not topple over even when dead." The American magazine Hammer and Steel also says that the U.S. is like a hollowed big tree, leafy outside but insect-ridden inside.

In my view there are two intermediate zones: the first, Asia, Africa and Latin America and the second, Europe. Japan and Canada are not happy with the United States. The six-nation Common Market, represented by De Gaulle, is made up of powerful capitalist countries. Japan in the East is a powerful capitalist country. They are unhappy with the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Are the Eastern European countries that satisfied with Khrushchev of the Soviet Union? I don't believe so. Things are evolving and contradictions are revealing themselves. In the past few years the French were trying to assert their independent character, but not to the degree they are today. The contradictions between the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries are also developing and their relations are very tense. Relaxation in the world situation? Don't be deceived by all that. In my view it is not so easy for the Soviet Union and the U.S. to come to an agreement. Many Atlantic countries will not support the U.S. either. De Gaulle has said everywhere that France will not be a satellite country; their struggle is one of control and countercontrol. Khrushchev claims that we follow the same line as De Gaulle; in fact we have never seen De Gaulle. We mainly rely on the people domestically and internationally, not on the leaders of major countries. People are reliable.

(September 28, 1963)

(From the verbatim record)

II

We have diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union; we are two countries in the socialist camp. But the relations between our two countries are not as good as those between China and the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party or China and the Ikeda faction. This is something we should think about. What's the reason? Because the U.S. and the Soviet Union both have nuclear weapons and want to dominate the world. The Liberal Democratic Party is, however, under American control. So far as its international status is concerned, Japan is secondary to the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Secondary countries also include Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, and so on. Thus we have some work to do. Japanese monopoly capitalists are not that united with the U.S. Though Britain is quite close to the U.S., they are not that united either. France annoys the U.S., and West Germany has become important. It will inevitably confront the U.S.

So when we talk about intermediate zones, we refer to two separate parts. The vast economically backward countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute the first. Imperialist and advanced capitalist countries represented by Europe constitute the second. Both are opposed to American control. Countries in Eastern Europe, on the other hand, are against control by the Soviet Union. This trend is quite obvious.
III

The United States reaches out to the entire West Pacific and Southeast Asia. Its reach is too long. The Seventh Fleet, stationed in this area, is the biggest in the U.S.; it has six aircraft carriers, half of America's total number of 12. The Sixth Fleet is stationed in the Mediterranean. When we shelled Jinmen in 1958, the Americans got scared and maneuvered part of the Sixth fleet eastward. The United States has Europe and Canada under its control; it controls all of Latin America, except for Cuba. It has now reached out to Africa and is waging a war in the Congo.

People all over Asia, Africa and Latin America are opposed to U.S. imperialism. A large number of people in Europe, North America and Oceania are against U.S. imperialism. Some of the imperialists are against U.S. imperialism too. De Gaulle's opposition to the U.S. is evidence. We now put forward the view that there are two intermediate zones: Asia, Africa and Latin America are the first, and Europe, North America and Oceania, the second. Japan belongs to the second intermediate zone too. The monopoly capitalists in Japan are not happy with the U.S.; some openly oppose it. Although there are still others who rely on it, in my view, in the course of time many of these people will finally throw out the Americans sitting on their backs.

(July 10, 1964)

(From the verbatim record)

* These are excerpts from three talks: (1) at the Working Conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, (2) with Kikunami Katsumi, Politburo member of the Japanese Communist Party, and (3) Japanese Socialists.
中 地

一九六三年九月，一九六四年一月、七月

大家心的是形，尤其是形。有些同志心、美合作我不利。我相信《上王熙的那句，"大有大的"。在，美、都很困，美政策委主席斯特曾发表一篇文章，基是美、都碰到了多困，而且是法解的。我也不人，他问我的某些想法不而合，差不多。美不，到都碰子，赫夫也是。不要忘一点，是的上冷子的，"百脚之虫，死而不僵"。美《与》志也：美像一株空了的大，里已被虫子咬空了，外枝茂盛。

我看中地有，一是非拉，一是洲。日本、加拿大美是不意的。以戴高代表的，有六共同市，都是些强大的本主家。方的日本，是强大的本主家，美不意，也不意。各赫夫就那么意？我不相信，情在展，矛盾在暴露。去几年法人立性，但有到今天的程度。与各的矛盾也有明展，系得很。什么和形，不要信那一套。美成，我看不那么容易。大西洋多家也不成美，戴高到法不星，他是控制和反控制的斗争。赫夫我同戴高站在上，其我同戴高也有面。我无外，主要靠人民，不靠大袖。靠人民靠得住。

（一九六三年九月二十八日）

二

我同有外交系，而且是社主中的家，但是中之系，不如中同日本自由民主党的系好，也不如中同池田派系好。很难得大家想一想，是什么原因？就是因美，都有核武器，想治全世界，而自由民主党是受美控制的。地位，日本同美、比，占第二位。像第二位的家有英、法、西德、意大利等。我是个有工作可做。日本本同美并非那，英同美比好，但也不是那么法使美感到火。西德的地位重要起了一，一，必同美生抗。

所以到中地有部分：一部分是指洲、非洲和拉丁美洲的大陆。你靠的家，一部分是指以洲代表的帝主家和的本主家。部分都反美的控制，在各生反控制的。有种看起比明。

（一九六四年一月五日）

三

美的手伸到我整西太平洋，南，它的手伸得太了。在里的第七是美最大的。美有十二艘航空母，第七就占了一半——六艘。它有一第六在地中海。一九五八年我在金打炮，美人慌了，把第六的一部分向。美控制洲，控制加拿大，控制除古巴之外的整拉丁美洲。在它把手伸到非洲去了，在果打仗。

整洲、非洲、拉丁美洲的人民都反美帝主。洲、北美、大洋洲也有多人反美帝主。有的帝主者也反美帝主，戴高反美就是明。我在提出么一看法，就是有中地：洲、非洲、拉丁美洲是第一中地；洲、北美加拿大、大洋洲是第二中地，日本也在第二中地。日本的本是意美的，仍未有一部分人反美；另一部分人依靠美，但我看，着的延，日本一部分人的多人也把在上美的赶走。

（一九六四年七月十日）

本篇一是毛在中共中央工作上的。本篇二是毛同日本共党中央政治局委托克己的。本篇三是毛同日本共党佐佐木更三、黑田男、迫兼光等的
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