

毛泽东旗帜思想研究

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摘要

旗帜者，崇拜信仰，政治主张，人心凝聚，前进指向也。自古开国君王，兴举义兵之始，无不建旗树纛，昭告天下，聚合民心，扫除弊政，得以改天换地，治国安邦。而开国立基者亲手升起国旗，翻看几千年中华史册，唯有中国人民解放军、中国共产党、中华人民共和国的主要缔造者和领导人毛泽东主席。

Research on Mao Zedong's Thinking on Flags

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Abstract

A flag represents adoration, political advocacy, unity of hearts, and direction for progress. Since ancient times, when founding emperors began to raise righteous armies, they invariably adopted flags and banners to proclaim to the world, rally the people's support, and eliminate maladministration—thus changing the world and governing the country securely. Among the founders of nations and dynasties throughout thousands of years of Chinese history, it was only Chairman Mao Zedong, the main founder and leader of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Communist Party of China, and the People's Republic of China, who personally raised the national flag.

中国人民解放军军旗、中国共产党党旗、中华人民共和国国旗的诞生，都是由他亲自确定，是毛泽东思想的旗帜体现。毛泽东不仅是人民领袖，革命领袖，思想领袖，也是旗帜领袖。他的旗帜思想，主要体现在几个方面。

一、毛泽东的旗帜意识超越了他之前的统帅

中国共产党领导的最大规模武装暴动，是1927年8月1日在南昌举行的起义，史称打响了武装斗争第一枪。起义部队的主力是贺龙任军长的国民革命军第二十军，加叶挺任师长的第十一军二十四师和朱德领导的第三军军官教导团。起义部队都是国民党的军队，因此，南昌起义部队举的旗帜也是国民革命军军旗。

同是国民革命军，为了区别敌我，起义的国民革命军官兵佩戴红领巾加以区分。经过一夜激战，共产党领导的起义军歼灭南昌国民党军3000多人，缴获各枪支5000多支，占领南昌城。南昌起义胜利后，为了便于集中指挥，对起义部队进行了整编，仍然沿用国民革命军第四集团军第二方面军番号，由贺龙任代总指挥，叶挺任代前敌总指挥，刘伯承任参谋长。8月3日，起义军分批撤离南昌，准备南下攻打广东。在潮汕地区战斗时，贺龙去掉代字，直接用“国民革命军第二方面军总指挥”头衔发布安民告示。

1927年8月7日，中共中央在汉口召开紧急会议，史称“八七会议”。毛泽东破除了“素以领导同志的意见是对的”观念，在发言中从国共合作、农民问题、军事问题、组织问题四方

The birth of the flags of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Communist Party of China, and the People's Republic of China was personally determined by Mao Zedong, embodying his thinking on flags. Mao was not only a people's leader, a revolutionary leader, and a thought leader, but also a flag leader. His thinking on flags is manifested in several aspects.

I. Mao Zedong's Understanding of the Significance of Flags Surpassed That of his Predecessors

The largest-scale armed uprising led by the Communist Party of China was the Nanchang Uprising on August 1, 1927, historically known as the opening shot of armed resistance in China. The main force of the uprising was the 20th Army of the National Revolutionary Army, commanded by He Long, plus the 24th Division of the 11th Army, commanded by Ye Ting, and the Officer Education Corps of the 3rd Army, led by Zhu De. The uprising troops had been part of the Kuomintang, so the flag raised by the Nanchang Uprising troops was also the flag of the National Revolutionary Army.

In order to distinguish themselves from the enemy, the officers and soldiers of the National Revolutionary Army wore red scarves. After a night of fierce fighting, the uprising army led by the Communist Party annihilated more than 3,000 Kuomintang troops in Nanchang, seized more than 5,000 guns, and occupied the city of Nanchang.

After the victory of the Nanchang Uprising, the uprising forces were reorganized to facilitate centralized command, continuing to use the designation of the Second Front Army of the Fourth Group Army of the National Revolutionary Army. He Long served as the acting commander-in-chief, Ye Ting as the acting frontline commander, and Liu Bochong as the chief of staff. On August 3, the uprising forces began withdrawing from Nanchang in groups, preparing to move south to attack Guangdong. During the battles in the Chaoshan region, He Long dropped the “acting” title and issued proclamations as “Commander-in-Chief of the Second Front Army of the National Revolutionary Army”.

On August 7, 1927, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held an emergency meet-

面批评前中央总书记陈独秀的错误。着重指出“党要非常注意军事问题，须知政权是由枪杆子中取得的”。8月20日，毛泽东在以中共湖南省委名义给中共中央写信提出：“我们不应再打国民党的旗子了。我们应高高打出共产党的旗子。国民党的旗子已成军阀的旗子，只有共产党旗子才是人民的旗子。可以断定国民党的旗子真不能再打了，再打则必会再失败。我们应该立刻坚决的树起红旗，小资产阶级也必定在红旗领导之下”。

毛泽东的预判应验了，举着国民革命军旗帜的南昌起义部队南下广东途中，最终被围追堵截的国民党军队打散。只有朱德保留并带领800多人的骨干部队继续战斗，1928年占领宜章县城后，这支部队也打出镰刀斧头旗帜，直至与毛泽东带领的秋收起义余部完成井冈山会师。

8月22日，中共中央讨论了湖南省委的信，有常委指出：毛泽东提出“枪杆子中夺得政权”，与中央意见不同。8月23日，中共中央复信指责湖南省委关于应当抛去国民党旗帜、实现苏维埃政权的主张。说“此时我们仍然要以国民党名义，来赞助农工的民主政权”。

而34岁的书生毛泽东初掌军权，就出手不凡，彰显旗帜引领，奠定了他旗帜领袖、革命领袖的领导地位。1927年9月初，时任中央特派员、秋收起义前敌委员会书记的毛泽东到安源，决定正式组建“工农革命军第一军

ing in Hankou, historically known as the “August 7th Meeting.” Mao Zedong challenged the prevailing belief that “the opinions of the leading comrades are always correct” and criticized former General Secretary Chen Duxiu’s mistakes from four perspectives: the cooperation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, the peasant issue, military matters, and organizational issues. Mao particularly emphasized that “the Party must pay great attention to military matters, as political power comes from the barrel of a gun.”

On August 20, Mao Zedong wrote a letter to the Central Committee in the name of the Hunan Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China, proposing that “We should no longer fight under the flag of the Kuomintang. We should hold the flag of the Communist Party high. The flag of the Kuomintang has become the flag of the warlords, and only the flag of the Communist Party is the flag of the people. It can be concluded that the flag of the Kuomintang can no longer be used, otherwise, it will surely fail again. We should immediately and resolutely raise the flag of Communist Party, and the petty bourgeoisie will surely be led by the red flag”.

Mao Zedong’s prediction came true. The Nanchang Uprising forces, carrying the flag of the National Revolutionary Army, were ultimately dispersed by Kuomintang troops as they moved south toward Guangdong. Only Zhu De managed to preserve and lead a core group of over 800 soldiers, continuing the fight. After capturing Yizhang County in 1928, this force also raised the hammer-and-sickle flag symbolizing the Communist movement, and eventually joined with the remnants of Mao Zedong’s Autumn Harvest Uprising at Jinggangshan.

At the beginning of September 1927, Mao Zedong, who was then serving as a special envoy of the Central Committee and the secretary of the Front Committee of the Autumn Harvest Uprising, went to Anyuan to decide to officially establish the “First Division of the First Army of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Revolutionary Army”



图 1. 1927年，中国共产党领导下制作并升起的第一面中国镰刀斧头旗。

Figure 1. The first Chinese hammer-and-sickle flag made and raised under the leadership of the Communist Party, 1927.

第一师”，准备9月9日举行秋收起义。并指示何长工等人，制作“中国工农革命军第一军第一师”军旗一百面。从此，中国有了共产党领导的工农革命军，中国有了第一面由共产党领导制作和举持的镰刀斧头军旗（图1）。

二、毛泽东诗词里的旗帜

毛泽东是伟大的诗人，他的许多旗帜主题诗词名篇，大多在炮火烽烟中写成，其艺术成就和刚健气魄，为历代帝王将相所不能及。1927年秋他写下《西江月·秋收起义》“军叫工农革命、旗号镰刀斧头”的旗帜开篇。从此，旗帜情怀成为他战斗岁月的鲜红写照，为我军战争史铸就一座座旗帜里程碑。

1928年8月创作《西江月·井冈山》“山下旌旗在望，山头鼓角相闻。敌军围困万千重，我自岿然不动”。

1929年秋创作《清平乐·蒋桂战争》“红旗跃过汀江，直下龙岩上杭。收拾金瓯一片，分田分地真忙”。

1930年1月创作《如梦令·元旦》“今日向何方，直指武夷山下。山下山下，风展红旗如画”（图2）。

1930年2月创作《减字木兰花·广昌路上》“漫天皆白，雪里行军情更迫。头上高山，风卷红旗过大关”。

and prepare for the Autumn Harvest Uprising on September 9. He instructed He Changgong and others to make 100 flags of the “First Division of the First Army of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Revolutionary Army”. From then on, China had the Workers’ and Peasants’ Revolutionary Army led by the Communist Party of China, and China had its first hammer-and-sickle flag made and raised under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (fig. 1).

II. Flags in Mao Zedong’s Poems and Lyrics

In the autumn of 1927, Mao Zedong wrote the poem *The Moon Over the West River—Autumn Harvest Uprising*, with the opening line “The army is called the Workers’ and Peasants’ Revolutionary Army, and the flag is with hammer and sickle.” Since then, the theme of flags has become vivid in the portrayal of his combat years, forging a series of milestones in China’s military history.

In August 1928, he composed *The Moon Over the West River—Jinggangshan*, with the lines “Below the peak, the flags are in sight; On the mountaintop, the drums and horns are sounding. The enemy forces us under siege, but we stand firm as ever.”

In the autumn of 1929, he wrote *Peaceful Rejoicing, Jiang-Kuang War*, which included “The red flag leaps over Ting River, straight to Longyan and Hangzhou. Collecting the fragments of the broken country, we divide the fields and lands among the people.”



图2. 毛泽东诗词书法“风展红旗如画”，1930年。

Figure 2. Poetry of Mao Zedong: “the red flag waves in the wind like a painting”, 1930.

In January 1930, Chairman Mao wrote *Like a Dream—New Year’s Day*, saying, “Today where to go? Straight to the foot of Wuyi Mountain. At the foot of the mountain, the red flag waves in the wind like a painting.” (fig. 2).

In February of 1930, he composed the shortened form of *Lily Magnolia Flowers—On the Road to Guangchang*, which goes, “Everything is white with snow, and the situation is more urgent for the army to march through. On the high mountains above our heads, the red flag rolls up the great pass in the wind.”

1931年3月创作《渔家傲·反第一次大“围剿”》
“唤起工农千百万，同心干，不周山下红旗乱”。

1935年10月创作《清平乐·六盘山》“六盘山上高峰，红旗漫卷西风。今日长缨在手，何时缚住苍龙？”

毛主席的军事思想，在战火中百炼成钢，他统帅的人民军队高举红旗，不仅仅缚住了蒋介石反动派这一“苍龙”，还彻底掀翻了国民党的腐朽统治。

新中国成立后，旗帜思想依然是毛泽东诗词中的主题。1950年11月，抗美援朝第一战役取得胜利，毛泽东欣然作词《浣溪沙·和柳亚子先生》：“最喜诗人高唱至，正和前线捷音联，妙香山上战旗妍”。

1958年5月24日，毛泽东为中共中央理论刊物“红旗”杂志题写“红旗”刊名。红旗两字，也成为毛泽东最传神的书法作品之一，在神州大地广为传颂。第30届北京世界旗帜学大会晚宴用白酒“红旗藏”，也选用“红旗”定体（图3）。

1959年6月25日，毛泽东回到离别32年之久的故乡，创作了七律《到韶山》“红旗卷起农奴戟，黑手高悬霸主鞭。为有牺牲多壮志，敢教日月换新天”。

In March 1931, he wrote *Fisherman's Pride—Countering the Great “Encirclement and Suppression Campaign”*, stating, “Awakening millions of workers and peasants, uniting as one, under the Mount Buzhou peak the red flags are fluttering.”

In October 1935, he authored *Joy of Quiet Peace—Liupan Mountain*, which reads, “On the high peak of Liupan Mountain, the red flag rolls freely in the west wind. Today we have the long whip in hand; when will we tie up the gray dragon?”

Chairman Mao's military thinking was tempered in the war, and his people's army, holding high the red flag, not only hamstrung the Kuomintang reactionaries but also overthrew the corrupt KMT once and for all.

After the founding of People's Republic of China, flags continued to be an important theme in Mao Zedong's poetry. For example, after the first campaign of the Anti-American War of Korea was victorious in November 1950, he happily wrote *Silk-Washing Stream—With Liu Yazi* with the line, “The happiest thing is that the poet sings aloud; Just like the good news from the front lines, The battle flags are beautiful on Miaoxiang Mountain.”

On May 24, 1958, Mao Zedong calligraphed “*Hongqi*” (which means “red flag”) for *Hongqi Magazine*, the theoretical publication of the CPC Central Committee. The two characters “*Hong qi*” have also become one of Mao Zedong's most vivid calligraphic works, widely acclaimed across China (fig. 3).

In addition, when returning to his hometown in June 1959 after 32 years, he composed a seven-character verse *On the Road to Shaoshan Mountain* with the line “The red flag rolls up the peasant slaves' spears, The hand hangs the master's whip above.”

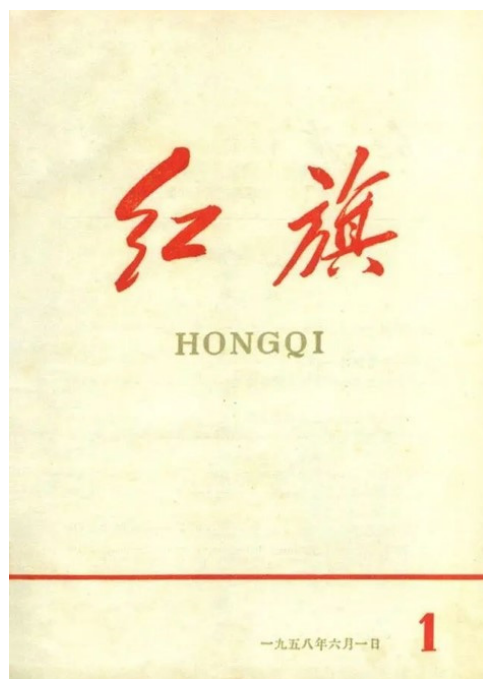


图3. 毛主席的书法：红旗，1958年。

Figure 3. Chairman Mao's calligraphy: *Hongqi* (“red flag”), 1958.

1965年5月，毛泽东重回阔别38年的井冈山，创作《水调歌头·重上井冈山》“风雷动，旌旗奋，是人寰。三十八年过去，弹指一挥间”。

三、毛泽东亲自确定八一军旗式样

毛泽东领导秋收起义，率先打出“中国工农革命军第一军第一师”旗帜后，朱德、贺龙等领导和创建的工农革命队伍，相继打出镰刀斧头旗帜和自己的旗帜，与国民党旗帜进行武装斗争。这一时期，共产党领导下的全国武装队伍，没有统一名称编制和旗帜。

1928年5月25日，中共中央颁发《军事工作大纲》，指示：割据区域所建立之军队，可正式定名为红军，取消以前工农革命军的名义。

1930年5月中旬，中共中央在上海召开全国红军代表会议。会后颁布了《中国工农红军编制草案》，规定全国红军建立正规军团，军团以下按“三三制”建立军、师、团、营、连等单位，并颁布统一军旗图案：旗面正中为大五角星，星内排列镰刀斧头，各级军事单位旗帜规格大小不同。

1931年3月18日，中华苏维埃中央革命军事委员会颁布《苏维埃和群众团体红军旗帜印信式样》，要求各地政府各红军部队按此规定制换旗帜。

In May 1965, Mao Zedong returned to Jinggangshan after 38 years away and composed *Prelude to Water Melody—Returning to Jinggangshan*, saying, “With wind and thunder raging, flags fluttering high, we’re back in the mortal world. Thirty-eight years have passed in a fleeting moment.”

III. Mao Zedong Personally Chose the Design of the Military Flag of the PLA

After leading the Autumn Harvest Uprising and raising the flag of the “First Division of the First Army of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Revolutionary Army”, Zhu De, He Long, and other leaders who created the Workers’ and Peasants’ Revolutionary Army successively raised hammer-and-sickle flags and their own flags to engage in armed struggle with the national flag. During this period, the armed forces under the leadership of the Communist Party did not have a unified name, organization, or flag.

On May 25, 1928, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the “Outline for Military Work”, instructing that the army established in the separatist region could be officially called the “Red Army”, replacing the previous name, “Workers’ and Peasants’ Revolutionary Army”.

In mid-May 1930, the CPC Central Committee convened a national Red Army representative conference in Shanghai. After the conference, the “Draft Organization of the Chinese Workers’ and Peasants’ Red Army” was promulgated, stipulating that the Red Army across the country would establish regular corps, and that the corps would be divided into army, division, regiment, battalion, company, and other units according to the “three-three system”. A unified military flag pattern was also promulgated: a large five-pointed star in the center of the flag, with a sickle and an axe arranged inside the star, and the flags of military units at all levels had different specifications and sizes.

On March 18, 1931, the Central Revolutionary Military Council of the Chinese Soviet Republic issued the “Pattern for the Flags and Seals of the Soviet and Mass Organizations Red Army”. This regulation required local governments and Red Army units to replace their flags.

军旗规定：旗幅左上方为顶角向上的五星，旗幅中心为一交叉的镰刀、锤子，皆金黄色布制作；旗幅三边有旗须，白布旗裤用以书写部队番号（图4）。

1934年1月，在瑞金召开的全国第二次苏维埃代表大会，通过了“关于国徽、国旗及军旗的决定”。军旗规定：军旗为红色底子，横为五尺，直为三尺六寸，中为黄色的交叉镰刀锤子，右角上为黄色的五角星，旗柄为白色“。

按照规定，军旗为红底，横长约166厘米，竖长约120厘米，中间为黄色交叉的锤子和镰刀图案，右上角为黄色五角星，旗杆套为白色（图5）。

至1948年2月，为了迎接全国解放战争高潮的到来，严格规范军旗使用提上议事日程。中共中央向各中央局、各军区和各野战军等单位，公开征求对中国人民解放军军旗的意见。

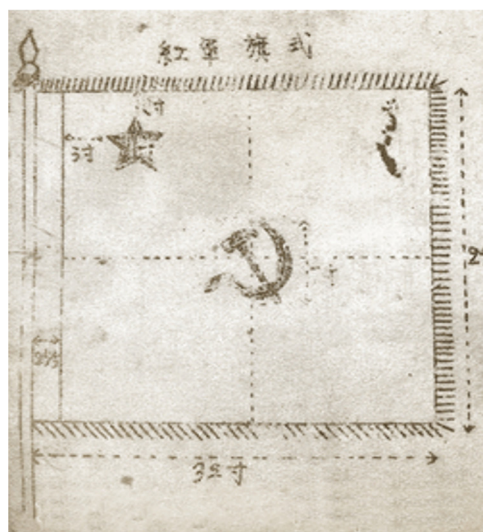


图4. 1931年的红军军旗式样图。

Figure 4. Pattern for the flag of the Soviet and Mass Organizations Red Army, 1931.

The regulations stated that in the upper left corner of the flag should be a five-pointed star, pointing upwards, and the center of the flag should bear a crossed hammer and sickle, both made of gold cloth. The three edges of the flag should be fringed, and on the white cloth flag heading the designation could be written (fig. 4).

At the Second National Congress of the Soviet held in Ruijin in January 1934, the “Decision on the National Emblem, National Flag, and Military Flag” was passed.

According to the regulations, the military flag had a red background, about 166 centimeters horizontally and 120 centimeters vertically, with a crossed hammer and sickle in yellow in the middle and a yellow five-pointed star on the top right corner. The flag heading was white (fig. 5).

By February 1948, anticipating the climax of the national liberation war, strict regulation of the use of military flags was put on the agenda. The CPC Central Committee publicly solicited opinions on the flag of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army from various central bureaus, military regions, field armies, and other units.



图5. 1937年5月，陕甘宁特区政府为国民党中央考察团举行欢迎仪式，在延安大礼堂悬挂红军军旗和中华民国国旗。

Figure 5. In May 1937, the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Special District Government held a welcoming ceremony for the Kuomintang Central Inspection Team and hung the Red Army flag and the flag of the Republic of China in the Yan’an Auditorium.

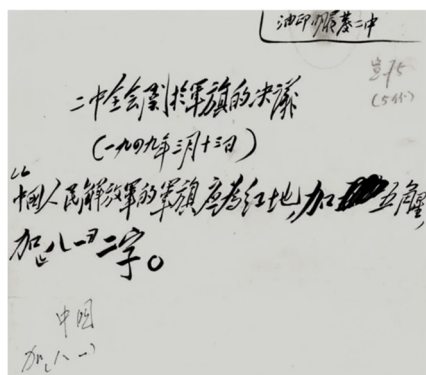


图6. 毛泽东起草的《关于军旗的决议》，1949年。

Figure 6. The “Resolution on the Military Flag” drafted by Mao Zedong, 1949.

在历时一年多，广泛征求意见基础上，1949年3月13日，中共七届二中全会通过了毛泽东起草的《关于军旗的决议》（图6）：中国人民解放军的军旗应为红地，加五角星，加“八一”二字。一个多月后，毛泽东指挥英勇的中国人民解放军百万雄师强渡长江，解放南京，占领蒋介石总统府，降下国民党政府的青天白日旗，升上胜利的红旗，宣示国民党反动政权的垮台灭亡（图7）。

四、毛泽东不同意党旗用他的头像

中国共产党自1921年成立以来，由于不是执政党，加之斗争形势复杂尖锐，一直没有对中共党旗规格和式样做统一规定。长期使用“苏维埃”式党旗：五星+镰刀、斧头，或者五星+镰刀、锤子（图8-9）。

1943年4月28日，毛泽东在延安主持中共中央政治局会议，讨论了中国共产党党旗式样，为中共党旗样式做出规定：长阔为三与二之比，左角上有斧头镰刀，无五角星。这个决定，从独



图7. 中国人民解放军军旗，1949年。

Figure 7. The military flag of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, 1949.

After more than a year of extensive consultation, on March 13, 1949, the 7th Plenary Session of the Communist Party of China passed the “Resolution on the Military Flag” drafted by Mao Zedong (fig. 6). The military flag of the Chinese People's Liberation Army was to be red with five stars and the words “Eight One” (August 1, the founding date of People's Liberation Army of People's Republic of China). More than a month later, Mao Zedong commanded the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army to cross the Yangtze River, liberate Nanjing, occupy Chiang Kai-shek's presidential palace, lower the blue sky and white sun flag of the Kuomintang government, and raise the red flag of victory, announcing the collapse of the Kuomintang regime (fig. 7).

IV. Mao Zedong Rejected Using His Portrait on the Party Flag

Since its establishment in 1921, the Communist Party of China (CPC) had not unified the specifications and designs of its party flag due to its status as a non-ruling party and the complexity and severity of the struggle. For a long time, the “Soviet”-style party flag, featuring a five-pointed star combined with “a sickle and an axe” or “a hammer and sickle”, was used (figs. 8-9).

On April 28, 1943, Mao Zedong presided over a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee in Yan'an, where the design of the CPC party flag was discussed and a regulation was made that “The ratio of length to width shall be three to



图 8. 1927 年至 1928 年中国共产党领导的海陆丰赤卫队使用的旗帜。

Figure 8. Flag of the Hailufeng Red Guards, led by the Communist Party of China, 1927–28.



图 9. 中国共产党党旗，1928年。

Figure 9. The flag of the Communist Party of China, 1928.

立自主的高度，在党旗要素和样式上与苏联国旗做出了区分。

1945年4月23日，中国共产党第七次全国代表大会在延安杨家岭中央大礼堂开幕。大会主席台正中悬挂“在毛泽东的旗帜下胜利前进”的会标（图10）。七大确定毛泽东思想为中国共产党一切工作的指针，确立了毛泽东思想在全党的领导地位。七大期间，党中央决定征集中国共产党党旗和党歌。



图 10. 1945 年，第七次共产党代表大会，旗帜标语。

Figure 10. 7th Communist Party congress with flag slogan, 1945.

two, with a hammer and sickle on the left corner, but no five-pointed star.” This decision, from a position of independence, distinguished the CPC flag from the Soviet flag in terms of elements and design.

On April 23, 1945, the Seventh National Congress of the CPC opened in the Central Great Hall of the Yan'an Yangjialing. The slogan “Advancing Victoriously under the Flag of Mao Zedong” hung in the center of the dais (fig. 10). The 7th Congress established Mao Zedong's thinking as the guiding principle for all work of the CPC and consolidated its leadership position within the party.



图 11 – 12. 1945 年，印有毛泽东肖像的共产党旗帜设计被拒绝。

Figures 11–12. Rejected Communist Party flag designs bearing Mao Zedong's portrait, 1945.

在几百幅党旗征集稿中，有相当多的图案把毛主席头像剪影和姓氏“毛”及拼音“M”作为党旗设计元素，这些图案都被毛泽东本人否决了（图11-12）。

毛泽东有一张经典的照片，是1949年3月5日，他在西柏坡召开的中共七届二中全会上做报告。他背后的党旗式样，就是1943年由他在延安时主持通过的。

此后，中共中央和相关部门，多次发出过关于党旗制作方案和通知：中共中央宣传部关于党旗问题的通知（1949年6月15日）；杨尚昆关于党旗问题给刘少奇的信（1950年6月13日）；中共中央组织部拟定的党旗制作方案（1950年）；中共中央关于党旗问题的指示（1951年6月17日）；中共中央关于党旗问题的通知（1951年6月）；中共中央办公厅关于党旗问题的批复（1952年9月）。

这些批复和通知中，对党旗的式样内容，沿用1943年延安时通过的规定，没有大的变化。不同的通知，分别强调了党旗上不能有五星、不能加中国共产党字样和其他记号。1951年6月，中共中央关于党旗问题的通知明确党旗式样：一律采用左上角缀以黄色镰锤图案的红旗。自此，党旗“镰锤”名称确定。

五、毛泽东修改国旗征集启事，并赋予五星红旗人民的定义

1949年6月15日，新政治协商会议筹备会在北京召开，为建立新中国做各项筹备工作。新政协筹备会下设六个工作小组，其中第六小组负责

During the congress, the CPC Central Committee decided to solicit designs for the CPC party flag and anthem. Among the hundreds of submissions for the party flag, quite a few incorporated silhouettes of Mao Zedong's portrait, his surname "Mao", and the Chinese pinyin character "M" as design elements, all of which were rejected by Mao himself (figs. 11-12).

A classic photo of Mao Zedong shows him delivering a report at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee held in Xibaipo on March 5, 1949. The party flag behind him was the one he presided over and approved in Yan'an in 1943.

Since then, the CPC Central Committee and relevant departments have issued plans and notices on the production of the party flag many times: Notice of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee on the party flag issue (June 15, 1949); Yang Shangkun's letter to Liu Shaoqi on the party flag issue (June 13, 1950); the party flag production plan drafted by the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee (1950); the CPC Central Committee's instructions on the party flag issue (June 17, 1951); the CPC Central Committee's notice on the party flag issue (June 1951); and the CPC Central Committee's General Office's reply on the party flag issue (September 1952).

In these replies and notices, the style and content of the party flag were based on the regulations adopted in Yan'an in 1943, with no major changes. Different notices emphasized that the party flag should not have five stars, the words "Chinese Communist Party", or other symbols. In June 1951, the CPC Central Committee issued a notice on the party flag, which clarified its design: red with a yellow hammer-and-sickle on the upper left corner. Since then, the party flag has been called the "hammer-and-sickle" flag.

V. Mao Zedong Revised the Announcement for Soliciting National Flag Designs and Defined the Five-Starred Red Flag as the People's Flag

On June 15, 1949, the Preparatory Committee of the New Political Consultative Conference convened in Beijing to prepare for the establishment of a new China. The Preparatory Committee of the New Political Consultative Conference consisted of six working

制定国旗、国徽、国歌、国都、国名、纪年方案。

1949年7月初，国旗国徽国歌征集工作启动。毛泽东对《征求国旗国徽图案及国歌辞谱启事（草案）》作了六处修改。国旗的修改是：把国旗应注意要点中“色彩以赤色为主”的“赤”改为“红”；国歌的修改是：将国歌应注意要点中“毛泽东思想”，改为“新民主主义”。

征集启事发布后，第六小组陆续收到海内外国旗应征图案2992幅。评选工作经过充分发扬民主，又组织中国人民政治协商会议628名代表分组评审，无法对候选的38幅国旗图案达成共识。

还有五天就要举行开国大典了，国旗不能久议不决。9月25日，毛泽东在中南海丰泽园召开“国旗国徽国歌纪年国都协商会座谈会”，他否定了得185票的三号方案（图13），没有选朱德总司令设计的得18票的十五号方案（图14），确定了仅得15票的第三十二号五星红旗方案（图15）。毛泽东指出：五星红旗这个图案，表现了我们革命人民大团结，现在要大团结、将来也要大团结。因此，现在也好，将来也好，又是团结，又是革命。

groups, of which the sixth group was responsible for formulating the national flag, national emblem, national anthem, capital, national name, and calendar.

In early July 1949, the solicitation for national flag, national emblem, and national anthem designs commenced. Mao Zedong made six revisions to the “Draft Announcement for Soliciting Designs of the National Flag, National Emblem, and National Anthem Lyrics and Scores”. Among them, the change regarding the national flag was to replace “red (in Chinese, “*chǐ*”) as the dominant color” with “red” (in Chinese, “*hóng*”). For the national anthem, he changed “Mao Zedong Thought” to “New Democracy” in the key points for consideration.

After the announcement was released, the sixth working group received 2,992 design submissions for the national flag from both home and abroad. The evaluation process fully embodied democracy, with 628 representatives of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference divided into groups to review the submissions. However, consensus could not be reached on the 38 candidate designs.

There remained just five days before the founding ceremony, and choosing the national flag could not wait. On September 25, Mao Zedong held a “National Flag, National Emblem, National Anthem and Chronicle National Capital Consultation Symposium” in Fengze Garden, Zhongnanhai. He rejected proposal #3 which had received 185 votes from the representatives (fig. 13) and proposal #15 (designed by Commander-in-Chief Zhu De) with 18 votes (fig. 14), and chose proposal #32, the five-star red flag design with only 15 votes (fig 15). Mao Zedong pointed out: “The design of the five-star red flag shows the great unity of our revolutionary people. We must have great unity now and in the future.

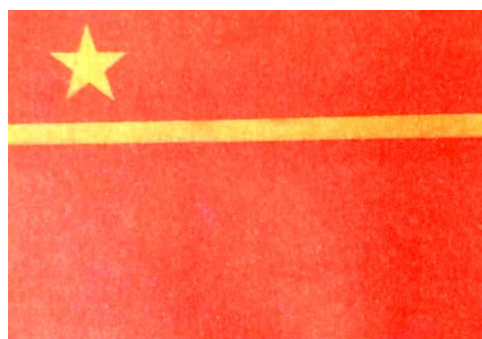


图 13. 国旗提案#3，1949 年。

Figure 13. National flag proposal #3, 1949.

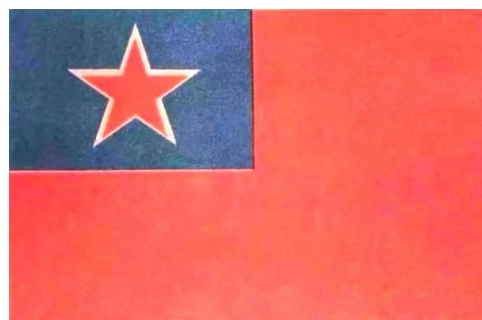


图 14. 国旗提案#15，1949 年。

Figure 14. National flag proposal #15, 1949.

并修改五星红旗原设计稿中“大五星代表共产党之领导与人民解放军”的解释，赋予五星红旗新生命。

9月27日，中国人民政治协商会议第一届全体会议一致通过：中华人民共和国国旗为红地五星旗，象征中国革命人民大团结。1949年9月30

日，中央人民政府朱德副主席，在中国人民政治协商会议第一届全体会议闭幕典礼上致闭幕词：“庆贺中国人民政治协商会议的圆满成功！庆贺中华人民共和国的诞生！中央人民政府万岁！毛主席万岁！”

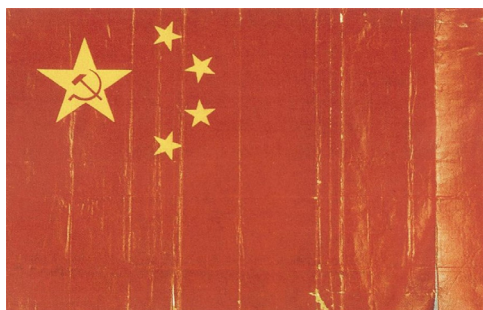


图 15. 国旗提案#32初稿，1949 年。

Figure 15. National flag proposal #32 (first draft), 1949.

Therefore, whether now or in the future, it is both unity and revolution.” He also modified the explanation of “the five stars represent the leadership of the Communist Party and the People’s Liberation Army” in the original design of the five-star red flag, giving it new life.

On September 27, the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference unanimously adopted

the Five-Starred Red Flag as the national flag of the People’s Republic of China, symbolizing the great unity of the Chinese revolutionary people. On September 30, 1949, Zhu De, Vice Chairman of the Central People’s Government, delivered the closing address at the closing ceremony of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference: “I congratulate the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference on its successful completion! I congratulate the birth of the People’s Republic of China! Long live the Central People’s Government! Long live Chairman Mao!”

六、毛泽东是中华人民共和国第一升旗手

1949年10月1日下午3时，中华人民共和国开国大典。中共中央主席、中央人民政府主席、中央军委主席毛泽东，在天安门城楼上向全世界庄严宣告：“中华人民共和国中央人民政府，今天成立了！”

中央人民政府委员会林伯渠秘书长宣布：“请毛主席升国旗！”毛主席亲手按动电钮，中华人民共和国第一面五星红旗，在庄严的《义勇军进行曲》伴奏中，在22米



图 16. 1949年，毛泽东升起中华人民共和国第一面五星红旗。

Figure 16. Mao Zedong raises the first Five-Starred Red Flag of the People’s Republic of China, 1949.

VI. Mao Zedong Was the First Flag-Raiser of the People’s Republic of China

At 3:00 p.m. on October 1, 1949, the Founding Ceremony of the People’s Republic of China commenced. Mao Zedong, Chairman of the CPC Central Committee, Chairman of the Central People’s Government, and Chairman of the Central Military Commission, solemnly declared to the world from the Tiananmen rostrum: “The Central People’s Government of the People’s Republic of China is founded today!”

Secretary-General Lin Boqu of the Central People’s Government Commission announced, “Please let Chairman Mao raise the national flag!” Mao pressed the button himself, and the first Five-Starred Red Flag of the

高的旗杆上冉冉升起到天安门广场上空（图16）。

中国人民解放军总司令朱德宣读《中国人民解放军总部命令》：“我命令中国人民解放军全体指战员、工作人员，坚决执行中央人民政府和伟大的人民领袖毛主席的一切命令，迅速肃清国民党反动军队的残余，解放一切尚未解放的国土，同时肃清土匪和其他一切反革命匪徒，镇压他们的一切反抗和捣乱行为。”

七、毛泽东决定缓办《国旗制造及悬挂办法》

新中国成立后，全国各地掀起了国旗缝制和悬挂的热潮，全国各地政府和军队纷纷给中央来函，请示国旗的制造标准和

使用规范。1949年10月26

日，中央人民政府办公厅印发通知，征求对《国旗制造及悬挂办法》草案的修改意见。11月2日，组长马叙伦、副组长沈雁冰，召集原第六小组成员及聂荣臻、杨尚昆、王炳南等，召开《国旗制造及悬挂办法》草案讨论会（图17）。

草案依据《国旗制法说明》，对国旗制造标准做了规定。还规定了国旗使用范围和日期：“各级政府机关、中国人民政协各级机

People's Republic of China rose majestically to the sky above Tiananmen Square, accompanied by the solemn melody of *The March of the Volunteers* (fig. 16).

Zhu De, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, read out the "Order of the Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army: "I order all officers, soldiers and workers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to resolutely implement all orders of the Central People's Government and the great people's leader Chairman Mao, quickly eliminate the remnants of the Kuomintang reactionary army, liberate all unliberated territories, and at the same time eliminate bandits and all other counter-revolutionary gangsters, and suppress all their resistance and disruptive acts."

VII. Mao Zedong Postponed the "Measures for Producing and Hoisting National Flag"

The founding of People's Republic of China triggered a nationwide upsurge in the sewing and hoisting of national flags. Government agencies and military organizations across the country quickly sent inquiries to the central government requesting guidance on flag manufacturing standards and usage norms. On October 26, 1949, the General Office of the Central People's Government issued a notice seeking feedback on a draft of the "Measures for Producing and Hoisting National Flag". On November 2, a meeting was held under the leadership of Chairman Ma Xulun and Vice Chairman Shen Yanheng, attended by members of the original Group of Six as well as Nie Rongzhen, Yang Shangkun, Wang Bingnan, etc., to discuss the draft (fig. 17).

The draft document specified the standards for flag production. It also outlined the scope and timeframe for flag use that,

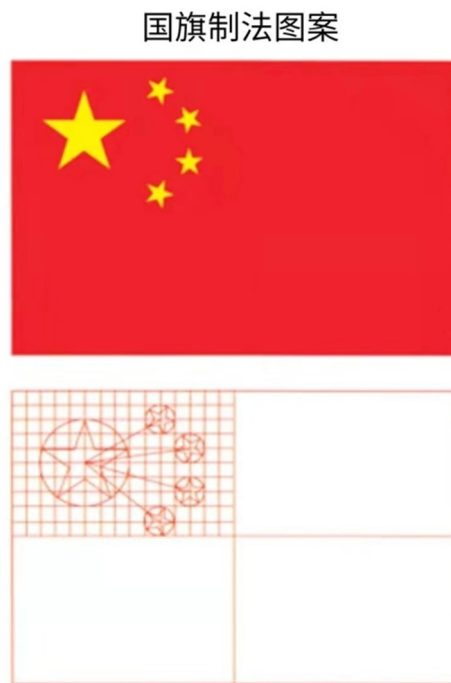


图 17. 1949年国旗制法说明。

Figure 17. Specifications for the national flag, 1949.

关、各民主党派党部、各人民团体会所、军队、军舰、商轮、学校与我国驻各国外交机关等公共处所，除在大会厅、礼堂悬挂国旗外，须选适宜地点，树立旗杆，每日升降国旗”。草案特别规定的国旗的显著尊位：“国旗的位置应在同一场所范围内的最高处，不得低于其他旗帜；如有列队持旗行进时，国旗须在先。不得与其他旗帜交叉或并列行进”。草案并对国旗升降时间、升降方式等做了规定。同时限定了国旗不许可使用的情形。

这部经过广泛征求意见的《国旗制造及悬挂办法》草案，就是后来《中华人民共和国国旗法》的主要内容。11月3日，毛泽东在中央人民政府办公厅送请核阅的草案上批示：交政治局讨论。由于这个草案还在讨论研究中，未正式公布。11月30日，中共中央及中央军委发出通知，对国旗军旗的礼节和升降仪式暂不作统一规定。

1950年6月28日，中央人民政府第八次会议通过《中华人民共和国国徽》方案。8月18日，文化部部长沈雁冰在政务院会议室，召开国徽使用、国旗悬挂、国歌奏唱办法及审查国徽图案座谈会，会议通过了《中华人民共和国国旗悬挂办法》草案。政务院会议通过的这个草案，在国旗的尊位、悬挂场合、升降方式、不许可情形等基本内容上，是1949年11月3日毛泽东批示《国旗制造及悬挂办法》草案的延续，但对国旗悬挂日期作了大的改动。原草案规定机关、军队、学校、驻外机构等每日升降国旗，而新草案把国旗悬挂的日期，限定在“星期日、国定纪念日、国际性的集会日、公共集会日”四种日期，同时补充说明“驻各国外交机

“In addition to hoisting the flag in assembly halls and auditoriums, suitable locations must be chosen with flagpoles erected for daily raising and lowering of the flag at various public venues such as government agencies, political conferences, democratic parties, people's organizations, military installations, merchant ships, schools, and Chinese diplomatic missions abroad.” The draft particularly emphasized the prominent position of the flag, stating that it should be raised at the highest point within the same premises, not lower than other flags; and when parading with other flags, it must lead the way. Moreover, regulations were provided for the timing and methods of flag-raising and -lowering, while scenarios where the flag should not be used were also identified.

This draft of the “National Flag Manufacturing and Display Methods” that was widely solicited for opinions was the main content of the “National Flag Law of the People's Republic of China”. On November 3, Mao Zedong wrote on the draft sent by the General Office of the Central People's Government for review: “Submit it to the Politburo for discussion.” Since this draft is still under discussion and research, it had not been officially announced. On November 30, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Military Commission issued a notice that no unified regulations would be made on the etiquette and raising and lowering ceremonies of the national flag and military flag.

On June 28, 1950, the Eighth Meeting of the Central People's Government adopted the “National Emblem of the People's Republic of China” plan. On August 18, Shen Yanbing, Minister of Culture, held a symposium on the use of the national emblem, the display of the national flag, the singing of the national anthem, and the review of the national emblem design in the meeting room of the State Council. The meeting passed the draft “Regulations on the Display of the National Flag of the People's Republic of China”. This draft adopted by the State Council meeting is a continuation of the draft “Regulations on the Manufacture and Display of the National Flag” approved by Mao Zedong on November 3, 1949 in terms of the basic contents such as the dignity of the national flag, the occasions for display, the method of raising and lowering, and the circumstances that were not allowed. However, it made major changes to the days for displaying the national flag. The original draft stipulated that the government agencies, the military,

关，得每日悬挂”。

1950年9月，毛泽东批示《中华人民共和国国旗悬挂办法》公布缓办。1950年9月20日，毛泽东签署主席令，公布《中华人民共和国国徽使用办法》。而《中华人民共和国国旗悬挂办法》，未能公布。

这里我要特别指出的是，1990年10月1日施行的《中华人民共和国国旗法》、和2021年1月1日修正的《中华人民共和国国旗法》，与1949年中央人民政府办公厅制定的《国旗制造及悬挂办法》立法精神相同：国家机关、军队、人民团体和学校等单位，每日升降国旗。而不是1950年8月政务院版本的只在“星期日、国定纪念日、国际性的集会日、公共集会日”升挂国旗。

八、1971年联合国总部升起五星红旗

1971年10月25日，第26届联合国大会表决通过：恢复中华人民共和国的一切合法权利，承认她的政府的代表为中国在联合国组织的唯一合法代表并立即把蒋介石的代表从它在联合国组织及其所属一切机构中所非法占据的席位上驱逐出去。

10月26日，毛泽东在中南海召集周恩来、叶剑英、姬鹏飞、乔冠华等开会，决定派出中华人

schools, and overseas institutions should raise and lower the national flag every day, while the new draft limited the days to display the national flag to “Sundays, national memorial days, international assembly days, and public assembly days”, and added that “diplomatic agencies stationed in various countries may hang the flag every day.”

In September 1950, Mao Zedong issued a directive to delay the publication of the “Regulations on the Display of the National Flag of the People’s Republic of China”. However, on September 20, 1950, he signed an order promulgating the “Regulations on the Use of the National Emblem of the People’s Republic of China”, although the “Regulations on the Display of the National Flag of the People’s Republic of China” were not published.

I want to emphasize that the “National Flag Law of the People’s Republic of China”, which came into effect on October 1, 1990, and the revised version that took effect on January 1, 2021, share the same legislative spirit as the “Regulations on the Manufacture and Display of the National Flag” formulated by the General Office of the Central People’s Government in 1949: national institutions, military units, mass organizations, and schools are required to raise and lower the national flag daily. This contrasts with the version proposed by the Government Administration Council in August 1950, which stipulated that the national flag should only be flown on “Sundays, national holidays, international gathering days, and public assembly days.”

VIII. Hoisting the Five-Star Red Flag at United Nations Headquarters in 1971

On October 25, 1971, the 26th Session of the United Nations General Assembly voted to restore all its rights to the People’s Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupied at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it.

On October 26, Chairman Mao Zedong convened a meeting at Zhongnanhai with Zhou Enlai, Ye Jianying, Ji Peifeng, Qiao Guanhua, etc., to decide on

民共和国代表团出席第26届联合国大会，以乔冠华为团长。毛泽东还批准中国英文简称使用China（中国），不用People's Republic（人民共和国）。



图 18. 1971年，中华人民共和国国旗首次在联合国总部飘扬。

Figure 18. The national flag of the People's Republic of China flies for the first time at the United Nations headquarters, 1971.

11月1日（星期一）上午8时，五星红旗第一次升起在联合国总部大厦前旗杆上，这根旗杆正是之前升起青天白日旗的第23根旗杆。旗杆不变，旗帜更换，升起了五星红旗，开启了中华人民共和国的新时代（图18）。

毛泽东批示，送赴联大中国代表团的规模要扩大，要提高规格。11月8日，毛泽东在北京人民大会堂福建厅，接见了赴联合国代表团全体成员，为他们送行。11月9日，中华人民共和国出席联合国第26届大会代表团离开北京。周恩来、叶剑英等党政领导人、首都群众和中国人民解放军指战员四千多人以及许多国家的使节到机场欢送。

万丈高楼平地起，改革开放起奠基。如果没有毛泽东的旗帜思想和他带领中国人民创造的伟大辉煌，1971年五星红旗不可能在联合国总部升起，也就没有今天中国改革开放的巨大成就。没有毛泽东的重视，中国首次出席联合国大会代表团级别、送行规格会低很多。

the composition of the official delegation of the People's Republic of China to the 26th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, with Qiao Guanhua as its head. Chairman Mao also approved the use of the English name "China" to represent the country internationally, instead of "People's Republic".

At 8 am on Monday, November 1, the national flag of China was raised for the first time on the flagpole in front of the United Nations headquarters building. This 23rd flagpole was precisely the one where the Kuomintang flag

had previously fluttered. The flagpole remained unchanged, but the flag was replaced, and the Five-Starred Red Flag was hoisted, ushering in a new era for the People's Republic of China (fig. 18).

Chairman Mao Zedong instructed that the scale and status of the delegation to the United Nations General Assembly should be expanded and upgraded. On November 8, Mao met with all members of the delegation to the United Nations at the Fujian Hall of the Great Hall of the People in Beijing to bid them farewell. On November 9, the Chinese delegation to the 26th Session of the United Nations General Assembly left Beijing. Zhou Enlai, Ye Jianying, and other party and government leaders, as well as over 4,000 capital citizens and Chinese People's Liberation Army commanders and soldiers, along with diplomatic envoys from many countries, went to the airport to see them off.

Great achievements start from small beginnings, and reform and opening-up laid the foundation. Without Mao Zedong's thinking on flags and the great achievements he led the Chinese people to create, the Five-Starred Red Flag would not have been raised at the United Nations Headquarters in 1971, and there would be no significant accomplishments of China's reform and opening-up today. Without his attention, the scale of China's first delegation to the United Nations General Assembly and farewell ceremony would have been much smaller.

结束语

毛泽东主席是中华人民共和国第一升旗手，他的旗帜思想在军旗、党旗、国旗设计评选中，起了决定性作用。这三面旗帜经历七十多年的飘扬，历经各种斗争和风浪考验，历久弥新，依然熠熠生辉。可见三面旗帜从形式到内涵的完美。“风展红旗如画”，“风卷红旗过大关”。毛泽东的旗帜情怀和诗词才华，伴随着最艰难的革命战斗历程，在旗帜诗词和旗帜书法中生动展现，其气概和格局无人企及。

他对国旗悬挂法规缓办的处理方式，体现了他强烈的国旗意识和高超的领导艺术。在他的领导下，联合国恢复中华人民共和国的合法席位，五星红旗升起在联合国总部大厦，成为改革开放的伟大奠基。有超凡的旗帜思想，才成就超凡的丰功伟绩。

毛泽东的旗帜思想，成为全党、全军、全国各族人民共同的思想财富，也是开展军史、党史、新中国史教育的生动教材。希望全国广大学校升旗手，深入学习毛泽东旗帜思想，了解旗帜历史，传承旗帜思想，研究旗帜文化，再创旗帜辉煌！

Conclusion

Chairman Mao Zedong was the first flag-raiser of the People's Republic of China. His thinking on flags played a decisive role in the selection of the designs of the military flag, party flag, and national flag. These three flags have been flying for more than 70 years, and have gone through many struggles and trials. They are still shining. It can be seen that the three flags are perfect in form and meaning. "The wind unfurls the red flag like a painting" and "The wind rolls the red flag over the pass". Mao Zedong's enthusiasm for flags and talent for poetry, accompanied by the most difficult revolutionary battle process, are vividly displayed in flag poems and flag calligraphy. His spirit and pattern are unmatched.

Mao's handling of the postponement of the regulations on the display of the national flag reflects his strong sense of the national flag and superb leadership skills. Under his leadership, the United Nations restored the lawful seat of the People's Republic of China, and the Five-Starred Red Flag was raised at the United Nations Headquarters, becoming a great foundation for reform and opening-up. Only with extraordinary insights into flags could such extraordinary achievements be accomplished.

Mao Zedong's thinking on flags has become a common ideological treasure for the whole party, the entire military, and the Chinese people of all ethnic groups. It is also a vivid teaching example for military history, party history, and national history. It is hoped that flag-raisers in schools across the country will study Mao Zedong's thoughts on flags deeply, understand the history of the country's flags, inherit his sense of flags, study the culture of the flags, and create new glories for the flags!

关于作者

赵新风

天安门广场30米新旗杆启用升旗手，36人升旗
天安门国旗护卫队国旗班第一任班长；中国国旗网创办人；北京奥运会、南京青奥会、武汉军运会、北京冬奥会升旗专家；全国学校升旗手总教官，全国高校升旗手交流展示活动总评委；全国人大法工委国旗法、国徽法修正专家，国旗法国旗知识神州行活动组委会常务副主任兼秘书长；第30届北京世界旗帜学大会组委会主任兼秘书长，连续在ICV25至30发表演讲。在中国出版三本国旗专著，是北京奥运会颁奖升旗手册起草人。

About the Author

ZHAO Xinfeng

Zhao Xinfeng is a flag-raiser for the new 30-meter flagpole in Tiananmen Square; the first captain of the national flag guard unit of the Chinese national flag guard team with 36 people; founder of the Chinese national flag website; expert on flag-raising for the Beijing Olympics, Nanjing Youth Olympic Games, Wuhan Military Sports Festival, and Beijing Winter Olympics; chief instructor for national school flag-raisers; chief judge for national university flag-raising exchange activities; expert on the revision of the national flag and national emblem laws for the National People's Congress Legal Affairs Commission; executive director and secretary general of the Activity Committee for the national flag and emblem knowledge "China Tour"; and director and secretary General of the Organizing Committee for the 30th International Congress of Vexillology in Beijing. He has delivered papers at ICV 25 through ICV 30. He has published three monographs on national flags in China and is the drafter of the flag-raising manual for the medal ceremonies of the Beijing Olympics.

