

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- December 9th Student Movement
- Basic Approach to Socialist Ownership
- Kampuchea's Call for Unity Among Patriots



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Court Reports

Continued testimony on the plots to assassinate Chairman Mao and frame Premier Zhou and Vice-Premier Deng (pp. 15-19).

Nuclear Power Stations

Chinese scientists now advise the government that nuclear power stations have to be built to meet the country's growing energy requirements (p. 3).

Scientists as Brain Trusters

Expertise is needed in making major decisions concerning economic construction and social reform. So a suggestion is afoot to enlist leading scientists as high-level advisers (p. 5).

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Veterans of Revolution

Those who took part in the legendary Long March continue to play a distinguished role in society (p. 28 and cover picture).

Kampuchea's Call for Unity

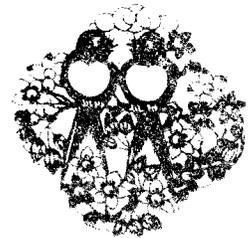
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POLITICAL

Engels Commemorated

More than 1,000 scholars in Beijing attended a symposium on November 27 to commemorate the 160th birthday (November 28) of Frederick Engels, one of the founders of Marxism. The symposium recalled his great achievements and urged the study of his works, life and thinking.

Yu Guangyuan, Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, said in his speech to the symposium: In the last century or so, Marxist theories have exercised a tremendous and profound influence on the history of human thought and the political, economic and cultural history of mankind. This influence can be clearly felt today in most parts of the world.

Engels was one of the most learned and brilliant thinkers and scientists in the history of mankind, said Yu Guangyuan, and made outstanding contributions in all the fields he studied — politics, economics, culture, philosophy, history and linguistics. His contributions in the dialectics of nature and in military science were unparalleled.

Yu put forward the task of profoundly studying the works of Engels and other Marxist works to solve new problems arising in connection with China's four modernization. He stressed: "Only if we continue to develop Marxism, as Engels did after the death of Marx, will Marxism not fall behind the practice of life and will it remain a glorious banner guiding

mankind in striving for a bright future."

Ten scholars read abstracts of their theses at the symposium. The meeting was sponsored by the Chinese Society for the Study of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Works, the Chinese Society for the Study of Dialectics of Nature and three other scholarly societies.

Need for More Lawyers

The shortage of lawyers is still a crucial problem facing the judicial departments now despite the progress made in the last two years to restore lawyers' organizations and rebuild the legal profession.

Wang Yuechen, Vice-Minister of Justice, made this statement at a national forum on the work of lawyers, which was held in Beijing recently. He called for the selection and training of competent people so as to strengthen and expand the legal profession.

Wang reported that, up to now, 20 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have or are preparing to set up lawyers' associations, and 380 legal advisory offices have been established with a total of 3,000 lawyers. However, there is only one lawyer for every 300,000 people now, far short of the demand.

With the strengthening of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, he added, legal help from lawyers is not only needed by the public, but by government departments and industrial enterprises as well.

According to the plan of the Ministry of Justice, the legal profession will grow dramatically in the next five years: By the end of 1985 there will be one

lawyer for every 10,000 city dwellers and one for every 50,000 peasants.

He urged colleges and departments of law to select people with the necessary qualifications from among university students and cadres and train them in the profession.

The forum discussed urgent problems facing the profession and measures to step up the construction of a lawyer system so as to prepare for the implementation of the Provisional Regulations Governing the Work of Lawyers on January 1, 1982.

ECONOMIC

Proposal for Nuclear Power Stations

Some 100 nuclear energy scientists and specialists advised the government that nuclear energy development should be made a long-term and stable policy for meeting the country's energy requirements. They proposed the construction of six nuclear power stations, with two each in Guangdong Province, in east China and in Liaoning Province, all areas of acute power shortage. They hope to see these new plants completed between 1988 and 1991.

The call was put forward by scientists, engineers and leading cadres in the field of nuclear energy at a symposium following the agreement in principle between Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang and French President Giscard d'Estaing on China's purchase of two complete sets of nuclear power station equipment from France. The agreement has been widely

seen as an indication that the Chinese Government has put the development of nuclear power stations on its agenda.

Wen Rui, deputy director of the Guangdong Provincial Power Bureau, said at the meeting that there has been a power shortage in Guangdong for the last few years. Now only 61 per cent of the electric power requirements of the province's industry can be met. As a result, Guangdong lost 7,500 million yuan in industrial output last year. The province is deficient in coal, oil and water resources, and shipment of fuel from other provinces would burden the already overloaded transport system.

Professor Lu Yingzhong, from the Nuclear Technology Institute of Qinghua University, forecast China's energy needs for the next three decades. He said that China's coal deposits were abundant, but in relation to the population size, they were also limited; that on a per-capita basis, China was short of petroleum resources and that, theoretically, the figure for per-capita water resources was fairly high, but the geographical

distribution was such that the needs of various areas could not be met.

Professor Lu maintained that though economizing on energy was a way out in the short run, nuclear power was the best long-term alternative energy source for energy-hungry regions.

Nuclear specialists attending the symposium noted that, at present, there are more than 200 reactors operating in nuclear power stations in the world. Their safety, reliability and economic value have all been proved in practice. In comparison with coal and oil, nuclear power causes the least amount of air pollution, and is thus the "cleanest" energy source. At present many countries in the world are developing nuclear energy in a big way.

The scientists and specialists also pointed out that China had already developed nuclear capabilities in the course of developing nuclear weaponry and therefore could develop nuclear power stations by relying mainly on its own efforts, supplemented as necessary by some imports of equipment and technology.

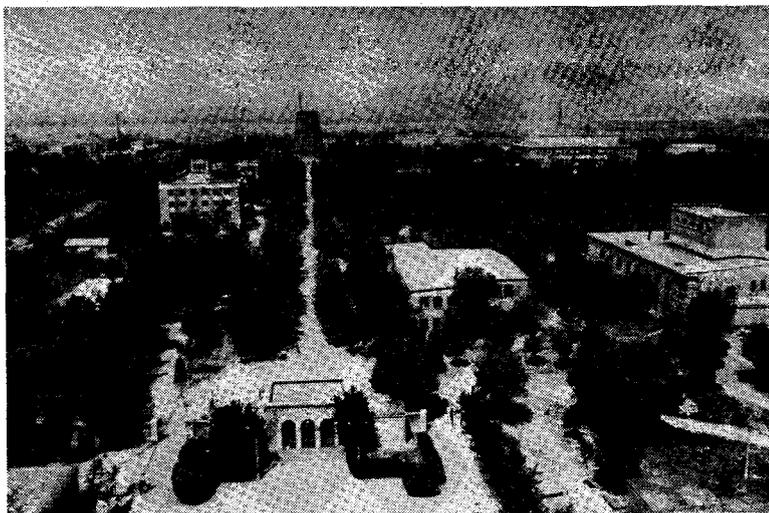
In order to accelerate the development of nuclear energy, the State Scientific and Technological Commission has set up a special nuclear energy panel. The panel, composed of 38 nuclear specialists and science administrators, is headed by Jiang Shengjie, a well-known specialist in nuclear chemical engineering and Vice-Minister of the Second Ministry of Machine-Building.

Independent Business Accounting

A number of state enterprises are responsible for their own profits and losses and pay taxes to the state in Shanghai, Beijing, Sichuan and Guangdong Provinces this year. This type of independent business accounting constitutes another major reform in economic management, a follow-up to the reform which gave enterprises enlarged power in managing their affairs and allowed them to retain part of their profits.

The exact methods of independent accounting being experimented with vary according to locality but one thing is common to all these enterprises — they now pay taxes instead of handing in their profits to the state. The remaining profits are at the disposal of the enterprises for expanded reproduction, collective welfare and bonuses. The state will no longer subsidize those enterprises which incur losses.

The taxes paid include: an industrial and commercial tax, an income tax and an income regulating tax for those enterprises which have better resources and equipment and higher profits. Local authorities collect taxes on housing and land as well as car or ship licences. The enterprises also pay a



The Atomic Energy Institute under the Chinese Academy of Sciences was set up in 1958 and has now become a comprehensive research centre of atomic science and technology.



Since the Shenyang No. 5 Plastics Factory was made responsible for its profits and losses, its production has gone up dramatically.

bank fee for their fixed assets and their circulating funds.

Previously the state was responsible for the enterprises' income and expenditures irrespective of whether they earned a profit or incurred losses. Now the quality of enterprise management is closely linked to the interests of the workers and staff. In this way their initiative is boosted and production increased.

For instance, in the five Sichuan enterprises which are trying out this new method, a total of 65.67 million yuan in taxes was collected by the state in the first seven months of this year, a net increase of 21.4 million yuan over the corresponding period last year. The income of the enterprises and of the workers and staff also increased.

Scientists as Advisers

The establishment of scientific advisory groups, composed of outstanding scientists, under the Secretariat of the Party

Central Committee and the State Council was raised at a forum sponsored by the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Beijing not long ago.

Proponents for advisory groups argued that a wealth of scientific and technological knowledge is needed to direct modern economic construction and guide social reform. Major policies on science and technology cannot be formulated without careful investigation and scientific evidence. These tasks cannot depend only on the knowledge of individual leaders but must also be backed by the collective wisdom of experts.

Scientists at the forum further cited the erroneous decisions on the site for the Baoshan Iron and Steel Complex in Shanghai and the construction of a pipeline for bringing natural gas out of Sichuan Province as examples that might have been averted. In fact, a number of scientists opposed these arrangements but they were ignored.

These advisory groups could either give advice or act as a "brain trust" for the Secretariat and the State Council in scientific matters. It should gradually become a part of common practice that the groups should be consulted before decisions are made on these matters. Thus, errors can be prevented or avoided in the decision-making by individual leaders, the proponents concluded.

EDUCATIONAL

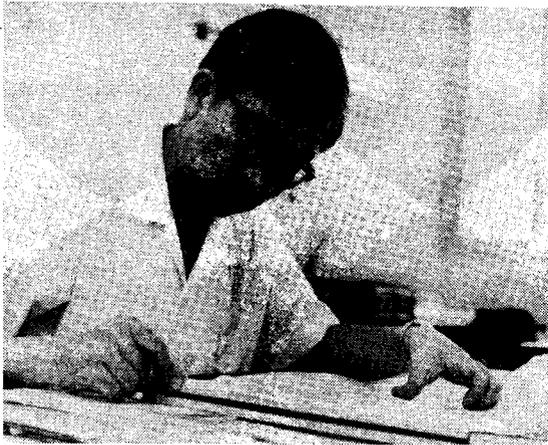
Self-Study Encouraged

Since only a limited number of college students can be enrolled at present, the Beijing Municipal People's Government has recently decided to encourage young people who have no chance of attending college to study hard on their own by granting diplomas based on examinations.

No matter where and how he studies, said the city's decision, any Beijing citizen shall be regarded as a college graduate if he has passed the required examinations.

An examination committee for self-study students will be set up under the municipal government. It will organize examinations and issue diplomas. Examinations will be held for those who have finished basic college courses and those who have finished junior college or college courses. The required courses for each examination will soon be made public.

All citizens can sit for these exams regardless of their age



Cao Shenbo, a Shanghai Machine-Tool Plant worker with only a primary school education, now becomes vice-director of the Shanghai Research Institute of Machine Tools as a result of his diligent self-study.

and previous schooling. Those who are granted college diplomas will be qualified for assignment to new positions suited to their speciality and receive the same wages as any other college graduate.

Six-Year Curriculum Restored in Primary Schools

The Beijing Municipal Bureau of Education recently decided that, starting in autumn, the city's children again would attend primary school six years instead of five. The aim is to give children a sounder education and enable them to develop morally, intellectually and physically.

Restoration of the six-year programme means children will have more classes in music, art, handicrafts and general knowledge. The present subject of politics will be gradually replaced by training in ethics, and history and geography classes will be reintroduced next year once teaching materials have been prepared. More attention will also be paid to the children's physical development.

During the "cultural revolution," primary education was reduced from six to five years and it became poorer and poorer. General knowledge was so poor that there were children

who didn't know Shanghai was a Chinese city. In one case, when his father went there on business the child said he'd gone abroad.

The five-year programme made it difficult for pupils to learn Chinese characters. They were expected to master 2,400 characters in the first three years, 300 more than before the "cultural revolution." Some general knowledge subjects and mathematics meant for secondary school students were packed into the curriculum. All this was too much for these young pupils. Primary education now begins at six and a half years old.

Children had little time to take part in recreational and physical activities and their health deteriorated. Although primary-school pupils now are taller than before the "cultural revolution," they are not built as strongly. The average vital capacity and chest measurement are smaller and more pupils are near-sighted.

One mother wrote to the municipal education bureau, asking for help in improving her child's physical development. "I'm terribly worried about the health of the primary school pupils. Please do something. If this doesn't change, I'd prefer that my child stay away from school."

About one million pupils are going to Beijing's 4,500 primary schools.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Distinguished Romanian Guests Visit China

The Chinese people warmly welcomed Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Ilie Verdet, and his party on their recent visit to China.

During their stay in Beijing (November 25-28), the Romanian guests met with Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders. In his meeting with Prime Minister Ilie Verdet, Chairman Hua Guofeng said, "The international situation in the 80s is more turbulent and tense. This situation requires us to enhance our contacts." He expressed the wish that friendly co-operation in the fields of politics, economy and trade between the two Parties and two countries would further develop through their joint efforts.

At the banquet in honour of the Romanian guests, Premier Zhao Ziyang praised Romania for its resolute defence of national independence and state sovereignty and its opposition to imperialist power politics and the practice of ordering other countries about. He also praised Romania's opposition to aggression, expansion and the division of spheres of influence and its positive contribution to safeguarding world peace and the just cause of people around the world.

Premier Zhao held talks with Prime Minister Ilie Verdet, during which the two sides exchanged views on further developing friendly co-operation. Premier Zhao said that Sino-Romanian friendship is based

on a solid foundation and the interests of the two countries coincide.

The two sides gave each other a brief account of their economic situation. Prime Minister Ilie Verdet expressed the desire for the further development of friendly co-operation in all fields between Romania and China.

Support the Palestinian People's Just Struggle

November 29 is "International Day of Solidarity With Palestinian People." On the eve of the third annual commemorative meeting Premier Zhao Ziyang sent a telegram in which he reiterated the Chinese stand: "The P.L.O. is entitled to take part in a comprehensive and fair settlement of the Middle East question as a party concerned."

The telegram pointed out: "More and more countries have come to see the importance and urgency of reaching a just settlement of the Middle East question. The emergency special session of the U.N. General Assembly on the Palestinian question held last July reaffirmed the inalienability of the Palestinian people's national rights and demanded Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories it occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem. This just demand has won the support of all justice-upholding and peace-loving countries and people of the world."

It said: "The Chinese Government and people have always sympathized deeply with the Palestinian people and support-

ed the just struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. We have attached much importance to the relevant U.N. resolutions and the related proposals advanced by all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries. We sincerely hope that those resolutions and proposals which may help to bring about peace in the Middle East will be implemented at an early date so as to put an end to the miseries and misfortunes of the Palestinian people."

It declared that "the Chinese Government and people will, as always, support the Palestinian people in their efforts to regain their legitimate national rights, including the right to return to their homeland, to exercise self-determination and to establish an independent state."

News in Brief

Joint Construction Engineering Corporation. A summary of the talks between China and the Yemen Arab Republic on setting up a Yemen-Chinese Construction Engineering Corporation Ltd. was initialed in Sanaa on November 19. The corporation was established with the joint capital of the China Construction Engineering Corporation and Al-Rowaishan Ltd. for Universal Trading. Its business is to take charge of exploration, designing, counselling, and building of construction projects inside and outside the Yemen Arab Republic.

Memorandum on Co-operation in Agricultural Science and Technology Between China and Britain. A memorandum of understanding on co-operation in agricultural science and technology was signed between

the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture and the British Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food in Beijing on November 11.

Mutual Deposit Facility Arrangement. A mutual deposit facility arrangement between China and the Philippines was signed in Manila on November 11. Each party may request from the other party a total deposit placement of 20 million U.S. dollars in order to promote closer economic and trade relations between the two countries. The whole facility will remain in operation for five years.

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Viet Nam

Pie in the Sky

VIETNAMESE leaders recently promised their people they would concentrate manpower and resources to steadily develop the economy and improve living conditions. "We are preparing for a future advance," they said, "leading to the successful construction of socialism." If they mean it, they should stop expanding their armed forces and give up their aggressive policies. That would be more convincing.

Present Economic Situation.

Two years after the Vietnamese aggressors poured into Kampuchea, they are still there, trying to subjugate the people of Kampuchea. Militarily, they are tied down by a prolonged war and at home the economic situation is not very bright either. The Vietnamese people have not enough to eat. Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach wailed that Viet Nam's war in Kampuchea was making "very, very big" economic problems for his country. Another Vietnamese leader, Premier Pham Van Dong, admitted that Viet Nam has run into "tremendous difficulties" on all fronts. Industrial development is "slow and unstable," agriculture faces "grave difficulties," there is a serious energy shortage and the market is in a mess. Even rationed goods are frequently unavailable, he said. He just stopped short of

pronouncing the second national five-year plan (1976-80) a complete failure.

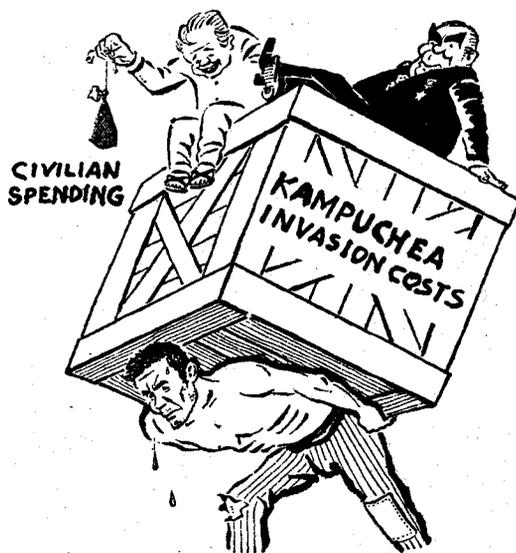
Earlier, the Vietnamese authorities tried unsuccessfully several times to solve the vital grain problem. Apart from sending officials to coerce peasants to deliver more grain, nothing to boost output was done. Their policy has been likened to "impatiently killing the goose to get more eggs." The severe grain shortage is caused by inclement weather and rapacious official policy. One unofficial report claims that 8.5 million people in north Viet Nam have been rendered homeless by floods. The authorities are powerless. The people are grumbling. They are also asking themselves why, after 30 years of fighting, they are still at war when what they want is peace. Why are their men fighting in Kampuchea? Why is life no better than

during the war against U.S. aggression? Dissatisfaction is turning to open resentment and the authorities have been compelled to acknowledge this. The official media have conceded that "economic difficulties" and unrelieved hardships are "shaking some people's confidence and sapping their fighting morale." This explains why the Vietnamese authorities have suddenly announced steps to start improving the economy.

Lacking Manpower and Money.

But where is the money to come from? That is what the people ask. They know that half of the national revenue goes to keep Viet Nam's huge war machine running. How can the Vietnamese authorities hope to develop the economy if they do not give up their policy of aggression and expansion?

And where is the manpower to come from? The authorities have insistently declared that expanding the armed forces has "top priority" and they would let nothing stand in the way to build up their military might. Viet Nam has over 1.2 million men under arms, which is 2.2 per cent of the total population and 17 per cent of the male adult population. Starting in November, the second conscription drive was ordered this year. In Hanoi alone, 40,000 young people will be registered and given their physicals. This includes 300 college graduates just back from abroad and some 4,000 new college graduates. The authorities are also enlarging their paramilitary organizations, such as the militia and self-defence corps. Workers, peasants, cadres and students have to undergo endless military training and build military projects. A million Vietnamese



Too heavy? I'll offload this.

Cartoon by Gen Hua

citizens have been forced to leave the country and more are leaving. So the working force is sorely taxed. How many are left in Viet Nam for the "develop the economy" drive?

Empty Promise. If the Vietnamese authorities are sincere about giving the people enough to eat, they will have to scrap their policy of aggression and expansion and pull their troops out of Kampuchea. This is sound reasoning and the Vietnamese people arrived at this conclusion earlier than anyone else. A vice-director of the Vietnamese Economic Research Institute has said: "We have had to divert a lot more grain and money to our army. And more foreign exchange too. The army

has requisitioned the trucks and the manpower needed in agriculture and other economic sectors." But the Vietnamese authorities clearly have no intention of changing their policy of aggression and expansion. Head of the Education and Propaganda Board of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party Hoang Tung has made this very clear. "The aim of the 1981-85 state plan is to militarize the whole country," he declared. Does this not give the lie to the Vietnamese leadership's promise to energetically improve the economy and the people's lives?

— Ren Yan

determined to drive the Vietnamese aggressors out of Kampuchean territory."

"The earnest desire of the Democratic Kampuchean Government is to elect an independent, neutral and non-aligned government in Kampuchea through free and direct vote under the supervision of the U.N. Secretary-General or his representative after the Vietnamese have been driven out."

"The important question at present is," he went on, "how to make Viet Nam withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea would be happy to see the formation of a new front or new government in Kampuchea by patriotic forces in the country."

Kampuchea

Call on Patriots to Unite Against the Enemy

ACCORDING to a November 29 Xinhua report, Ieng Sary, Deputy Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea in charge of Foreign Affairs, met Xinhua correspondents recently at a place where the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is located.

He said, "At present, it is necessary to form a government in Kampuchea to include Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth so as to rally all patriotic forces against the Vietnamese aggressors. I believe this government will be able to drive the Vietnamese out."

"To bring this about," he said, "as the first step, it is necessary to hold military and political discussions and establish contacts with outstanding Kampuchean figures and then formu-

late a concrete programme."

"The Government of Democratic Kampuchea does not want to hold power alone. Political power can be transferred to anybody so long as he is

ASEAN Efforts. Referring to the ASEAN-proposed international conference on Kampuchea, he said that they in Kampuchea fully agree to the idea and support the conference. However, Viet Nam was opposed to it. Viet Nam would sit down to talk only when it has been made to suffer heavy defeat on the Kampuchean battlefield or under ever greater pressure from outside.



A Democratic Kampuchean pharmacy.

Referring to the role of ASEAN countries in their efforts for the settlement of the Kampuchean issue, Ieng Sary said: "ASEAN countries have given all-out support to Democratic Kampuchea. We fully appreciate it and we will never forget it. At the U.N. General Assembly this year, ASEAN nations made tremendous efforts which helped to maintain the seat of Democratic Kampuchea in the United Nations. The victory is a tremendous encouragement for the Kampuchean people and army in their fight against the Vietnamese. Many countries are now exerting efforts for the implementation of the resolution adopted at the 35th U.N. General Assembly."

He pointed out that after its defeat at the General Assembly, Viet Nam is changing its tactics — making deceitful propaganda and dispatching Heng Samrin to a number of countries to seek international recognition for the regime. Viet Nam wants to divert the attention of the world public and lead them to believe that the Kampuchean issue no longer exists and it would be wrong to raise the matter again. Viet Nam also attempts to legalize the Heng Samrin regime.

The War in Kampuchea. Answering a question on the situation on the Kampuchean battlefield, he pointed out: "Two dry seasons and two rainy seasons have elapsed since Viet Nam's invasion. Now a new dry season has set in. During that period, Hanoi attempted to completely wipe out our troops. Our army has, however, grown stronger. This is a big failure of the Vietnamese. Their blitzkrieg did not work. Instead, they got themselves bogged

down in a quagmire."

He said that the Vietnamese aggressor troops were losing mainly because of Democratic Kampuchea's persistent struggle in the military, political and diplomatic fields and of the lowered morale of an increasing number of Vietnamese soldiers who have become aware that

Soviet-Japanese Relations

Moscow's Three-Stage Formula

Report From Tokyo

THE communique issued after the second U.S.S.R.-Japan round-table conference held in Moscow drew little public attention in Tokyo, but the Soviet proposal for improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations in three stages was severely taken to task by political commentators.

From the first day of the three-day conference, the two sides deadlocked over the Afghanistan crisis and Japan's northern territories. The Japanese representative said that Japan was "concerned" over the purpose behind the march of the Soviet armed forces into Afghanistan and was "greatly worried" by the increasing Soviet military build-up on Japan's northern territories under Soviet occupation. The Soviet representative said that "by making the Afghanistan issue a prerequisite for the improvement of Japanese-Soviet relations, the Japanese Government shows that it has no sincerity in improving relations." He also charged that the Japanese Government was fanning up anti-Soviet feelings

their war in Kampuchea is unjust. He added that the Vietnamese people realize that the Vietnamese war of aggression against Kampuchea can only bring disaster to them. In addition, the war has served to isolate Viet Nam internationally and sharpen contradictions within the Vietnamese ruling circles.

at home by raising the territorial problem.

The next day, the Soviet side put forth a proposal to "improve" Soviet-Japanese relations in three stages.

In the first stage, the two sides should see that the political confrontation between the two countries does not affect the activities in the economic, cultural and sports spheres. Both sides should not bow to outside pressure, but decide on their policies calmly and independently. They should respect each other's positions and refrain from fanning up an atmosphere hostile to the other side.

In the second stage, the two sides, based on the above-mentioned "trustful relations," should discuss and conclude a Japanese-Soviet treaty of good neighbourliness and co-operation, or any treaty the Japanese side may propose.

In the third stage, the two sides are to conclude a Japanese-Soviet peace treaty.

Japanese commentators pointed out that the first stage was the crux of the issue, because it was the implementation of

Brezhnev's earlier policy to separate politics from economics vis-a-vis Japan. During this first stage, Japan would not be able to apply economic sanctions against the Soviet Union or take measures similar to that of boycotting the Moscow Olympic games although Japan stands politically opposed to Soviet actions in Afghanistan and the Japanese northern territories. This meant, as *The Japan Economic Journal* pointed out on November 20, a strong demand that Japan unilaterally renounce its economic sanctions against the Soviet Union.

If the second stage were preceded by this sort of "trustful relations," not only would the Japanese demand for the return of its northern territories be out of the question when it came to concluding the proposed treaty of good neighbourliness and co-operation between Japan and the Soviet Union, but the Soviet Union could also make use of the treaty to meddle in the internal affairs of Japan. Zentaro Kosaka, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Research Council of the Japanese Liberal-Democratic Party, said in his report on November 18 that "the Soviet demand for concluding the proposed treaty harbours aggressive designs against Japan."

Japan has always been on guard over the Soviet Union's wanting to conclude, instead of a peace treaty, a treaty of good neighbourliness and co-operation to shelve the territorial issue. This was why Japan has ignored Moscow's demand for the conclusion of such a treaty and demanded that settlement of the territorial issue should come before a peace treaty. To lull Japan, the Soviet side this time affirmed that it has no intention of replacing the peace treaty with a goodneighbour treaty.

But observers noted that if Japan complied with Russian demands in the first and second stages, then the real significance of the peace treaty, which is to be signed in the third stage, would be lost as far as Japan is concerned. Japan's hands would be tied.

Participating in the conference were 136 Japanese and over 200 Soviet representatives. The conference was believed to be

the most extensive dialogue between the two countries since January this year when the Japanese Government began restricting formal contacts with the Soviet Union.

The first round-table conference between Japan and the Soviet Union was held in Tokyo in December 1979.

— *Xinhua Correspondent*
Wu Xuewen

Iran-Iraq War

The World Wants It Stopped

ALMOST every member of the United Nations has, some time or another after hostilities broke out between Iran and Iraq on September 22, urged the belligerents to stop fighting and settle their differences peacefully. The Chinese Government and people, too, would like to see an early ceasefire. Chinese leaders time and again pointed to the danger of superpower interference and voiced the hope that the two countries settle their dispute through peaceful negotiations. It is in the interests of both the Iranian and Iraqi people to do so, and it is conducive to the maintenance of peace and stability in the Gulf region.

The U.N. Security Council passed a resolution soon after the Gulf war started which called on the two parties to stop fighting and accept mediation. On November 5, the Security Council issued a statement supporting U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim sending his personal representative to mediate and calling on Iran and Iraq to end hostilities at the earliest possible date and to settle their dispute through peaceful means according to the U.N. Charter. On November 11, Kurt Waldheim

sent his special envoy, the former Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme, to Iran and Iraq to seek a peaceful settlement to the conflict. Olaf Palme ended his visit on November 24. He said he could "see an end" to the war, but warned against expecting "rapid results" from his mission.

The Islamic world is particularly disturbed by the Iran-Iraq war. No sooner had the conflict begun than the Islamic conference sent its chairman, Pakistan President Zia Haq, and secretary-general Habib Chatti to Teheran and Baghdad to find a solution to the conflict. It was a fruitless mission, and in mid-October, Chatti again went to Iran and Iraq to talk with the leaders of the two countries. Reports said that Iraq agreed in principle to receive an Islamic summit delegation and Iran agreed to consider a ceasefire proposal put forward by the delegation.

The Palestine Liberation Organization has worked hard to bring an end to the Iran-Iraq war. P.L.O. Chairman Arafat visited Teheran and Baghdad to mediate right after the war started and then he went about

Iran-Iraq War Helps Israel

WHILE people everywhere are deeply disturbed by the Iran-Iraq conflict, the Israeli authorities, who are implacably hostile towards the Arab people, are not at all unhappy.

Israel, which considers Iraq the major threat to its security, would like to see Iraq weakened in its war with Iran. It sees itself as the beneficiary of the armed conflict. When the war broke out, it menacingly warned Jordan against siding with Iraq and proffered aid to Iran to wean Iranian support away from the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Another spin-off for Israel is that the war is diverting the world's attention. Public condemnation for the past year has been focused on Israeli sabotage of the Palestinian autonomy talks, its annexation of Jerusalem and the establishment of more Jewish settlements on the West Bank. With the spotlight on the Iran-Iraq war and not on Israel, the Begin authorities have seized the opportunity to bomb and invade Lebanon and taken steps to annex the Golan Heights.

finding support for convening a non-aligned countries conference to discuss the Iran-Iraq war. In mid-October, another P.L.O. leader, Abu Iyad, told correspondents about a four-point proposal for ending the conflict: 1) both sides simultaneously announcing a ceasefire; 2) Iraq to declare it is willing to withdraw its troops back to the border as defined in the 1975 Algeria treaty, or to the border as defined in the 1913 Constantinople treaty; 3) an Iraqi troop withdrawal from the Iranian territory should be immediately followed by an Iranian declaration of willingness to negotiate directly with Iraq in any neutral country; and 4) the Iraqi troop withdrawal

should be supervised by the Islamic or non-aligned countries, and negotiations to begin after the withdrawal.

The non-aligned countries have also made energetic efforts to bring an early end to the Iran-Iraq war. In early November, the foreign ministers of Yugoslavia, Zambia, Pakistan, India, Cuba and the P.L.O. met in Belgrade to discuss the formation of a ministerial mediation committee within the non-aligned bloc to help settle the Iran-Iraq conflict.

As the Iran-Iraq war enters its third month, the desire of the world's people for an end to the war in the main oil-producing region is even stronger.

— Shi Kun

Multiple Murder in El Salvador

ON November 27, unidentified armed men kidnapped leaders of anti-government organizations during a meeting and killed some of the more

prominent members. The world cannot but condemn such an atrocious crime.

The political situation in El Salvador has grown extremely

unstable of late and there has been a series of killings before this recent abduction and murder of many political leaders. This latest slaughter will undoubtedly gravely affect developments in El Salvador.

The fight between political forces in El Salvador is sharp and complex. But basically it is one between those who stand for reform and democracy and those who stand for dictatorship. Those fighting desperately against social progress to defend their vested interests and the old system frequently resort to violence to crush their opponents. The people of El Salvador have been demanding an end to violence to stabilize the situation, and the various parties concerned were meeting together to discuss ways of finding a political solution to the domestic contradictions. When this atrocity occurred, the ruling junta had just announced a "final assault on violence." Western news agencies report that an extreme Right armed organization has claimed responsibility for the kidnapping and multiple murder. Obviously that organization must have the backing and connivance of certain quarters to dare kill so many political personages like this.

The struggle of the people of El Salvador for democracy and the right to live has the support and sympathy of the people of the world and the bloody violence of the reactionaries can only move the heroic people of El Salvador to greater and firmer resistance.

— "Renmin Ribao" commentary, November 30

Beijing Review, No. 49

The Basic Approach to Socialist Ownership

by Yu Guangyuan

ORIS!

THE basic Marxist approach to socialist ownership is: anything that can best promote the development of the productive forces, yes, and it may count on the support of Marxists; anything that does not, no, and Marxists will not support it; anything that actually impedes the development of the productive forces will be firmly opposed. Only by insisting on this basic approach can one help bring about China's socialist modernization.

That the relations of production must adapt themselves to the level of the development of the productive forces is an objective law applicable to any society. But until the founding of Marxism, it can be said, people were by and large ignorant of this law, let alone applying it consciously. It was only after the emergence of Marxism in the 19th century that the exploited and oppressed proletariat which shouldered the historical mission of burying the capitalist system arrived at a good understanding of this law. Relying on it, the proletariat consciously waged revolutionary struggles to overthrow the capitalist relations of production which hold the development of the productive forces in check. Only after the proletariat in a country has won the revolution and there has been a change in class confrontation, especially after the victory in the socialist transformation of the old relations of production, when the proletarian Party armed with Marxism has not only seized power but also become the centre giving guidance to social and economic development, is it possible for the proletariat to consciously choose the kind of production relations best suited to the development of the productive forces for advancing social progress.

The author is Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Socialism's economic institutions are, basically speaking, suited to the development of the productive forces although it remains necessary to resolve the specific problems of the economic structure and economic policies. The superiority of socialism can be brought into play only when conscious efforts are made from time to time to select those relations of production best suited to the development of the productive forces and to introduce more effective economic institutions and policies. This is made possible by the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the victory of socialist transformation. So that this possibility can be used to our advantage, we must make an in-depth study of the part of the political economy dealing with socialism, that is, find out what kind of production relations — and on what level of production — will have positive effects on the development of the productive forces. Only when a study of this objective law is made can we accordingly find the relations of production which are most suited to the existing level of the productive forces and can best promote their development, and have these relations of production established while striving to overcome all kinds of forces of resistance blocking their establishment.

China's current historical period calls for reforms of the economic structure. In such a period, it is all the more important to do scientific research and look for the relations of production that will suit development of the productive forces. Although production relations should remain relatively stable (once a certain structure is established its essential points should be adhered to for scores of years), they are not absolutely and entirely immutable because the productive forces develop continually. Accordingly, this work of seeking the various kinds of relations of production suited to the constantly

developing productive forces must be eternally carried on.

Standard of Judgment

The only standard for judging the superiority of certain relations of production is to see if these relations can best promote the development of the productive forces then and there. This is the basic viewpoint of historical materialism. For a Marxist, it is the one and only standard.

More concretely, in a socialist country, the relations of production that can best promote the development of the productive forces are those that are most superior at the time. Furthermore, during a certain period in a socialist country, it is possible for several different socialist ownerships to coexist side by side. Each of these may show its own peculiar superior quality in certain departments, in economic organizations of a given magnitude, in regions where productive forces have developed to a certain level, and so forth. Take China for instance. The coexistence of the three economies — the socialist economy owned by the state, the collectively owned economy of the working masses and the individual economy which serves as a kind of supplement to the first two — probably are the type of relations of production most suited to the level of the development of the productive forces in the historical period our country is in. These three economies each have a superiority to display in promoting productive forces at different levels of development. The state-owned economy may prove to be the most superior as far as big, modern industry is concerned, but in the vast countryside, socialist collective ownership is apparently superior to ownership by the state. Likewise, if we are to make good use of the labour power within families, individual economy as a supplementary economy plays a role neither the state-owned economy nor a collectively owned economy can play. Thus, it is correct to say that small plots reserved for personal use, household sideline production and things like these have their own special superiority.

Are there other standards in people's minds than the standard of judgment mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph before the last? Yes, up to now there have been other standards. Some cadres believe socialist state ownership is unconditionally superior to socialist collective ownership. When they think in this way, it seems they have in

mind a standard other than the one mentioned above. It appears that the very standard they think of is large-scale and a high degree of public ownership. They merely pass judgment on the degree of the superiority of the various socialist ownerships unconditionally, according to "size" and "degree of public ownership" regardless of the level of the productive forces. This was one main cause for the mistakes made so often in policies connected with the ownership issue.

About Being "Advanced" or "Backward"

To clarify the issue, I think it is first necessary to make a distinction between "the degree of superiority" and the concept of being "advanced" or of being "backward." When we speak of the "degree of superiority" of a certain type of production relations, we are talking about how big the role played by the relations of production is in promoting the productive forces right then. When we refer to a type being "advanced" or "backward," we are talking about the sequence of the changes of the relations of production commensurate with the level of the productive forces, changes of the relations of production with the development of the productive forces. It is, therefore, necessary that the being "advanced" or being "backward" concept be examined in the light of the historical development of the inter-relations between the productive forces and the relations of production. It is meaningless to talk about a certain type of production relations being "backward" and another type being "advanced" when no reference is made to their relationship to the productive forces.

Viewed from the course of historical development, what will be the future of socialist ownership with the development of the productive forces?

This is an issue of great complexity. Among the existing forms of socialist ownership, some may continue for considerable time; others will exist not very long, to be replaced by other forms; still others will exist only briefly and will be changed before long. The future of some of them is clear and can be perceived while in some other cases, we cannot be clearly certain of their future nor can we see if they have a future at all. In short, on the question of the future development of socialist ownership, if we want to judge which are "advanced" and which are "backward," we must carefully study them scientifically or wait until they have been

tested by history. Such work should be guided by the Marxist principle that the relations of production must necessarily be suited to the nature of the productive forces.

If we are to do things strictly and with a scientific approach, it is wrong to decide which ownership is superior to another on the basis of "size" and "degree of public ownership;" it is improper to decide which of the ownerships is "advanced" or "backward" while they are developing. For example, socialist collective ownership may not necessarily evolve into state ownership; our academic circles just now are studying the possibility of these two ownership systems both directly evolving into a third type of ownership system.

Based on what has been said above, it will not do to judge if a certain ownership system is superior or not by measuring how big it is and how much public ownership there is. It has now become increasingly clear that even in a highly developed economy, small-scale economy is still indispensable and there should

be long-term coexistence between big and small economies. Since socialist economic organizations themselves do not necessarily develop from small to big, how can we say that ownership small in size is definitely "backward" and that large-size ownership is definitely "advanced"? Besides, what is meant by "public"? This is another question worth looking into. When we speak of the "degree of it being public" in the existing forms of socialist ownership, we refer only to how large it is in the scope of owners involved, not to which of the socialist economies the working people's collective can act more fully as masters. Looking at ownership systems according to the concept of "being big" and "being public" is often one-sided.

Regarding the question of the backwardness or the forward movement of a socialist ownership system in terms of historical development, we must not limit ourselves to the restraint of the prevailing viewpoint but free our minds and seriously explore, in a scientific way, according to the basic principles of Marxism. □

Reports From the Courts (2)

Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao Tried For Making False Charges

On October 17, 1974, Jiang Qing summoned the three other members of the gang of four to a secret meeting, in which it was decided to send Wang Hongwen to Changsha to make false charges against Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping before Chairman Mao in an attempt to usurp state power.

Having just heard the court investigation of this charge against Wang Hongwen and Yao Wen Yuan on November 24 (see our issue No. 48, p. 30), the First Tribunal continued its investigation into the same charge against Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao separately on November 26 and 27.

During the "cultural revolution," Jiang Qing and others regarded Liu Shaoqi (the late Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Chairman of the State), Zhou Enlai and other Party and state leaders as the biggest obstacle to their plan to usurp Party leadership and state power. After Liu Shaoqi was

overthrown, the gang of four began to use all means to frame Premier Zhou.

At an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau held in November 1973, Jiang Qing attacked Premier Zhou, saying that "he could hardly wait to replace the Chairman." On December 9 of that year, Chairman Mao, refuting Jiang Qing's accusation, said: "It is not the Premier who can hardly wait, but her (Jiang Qing)."

At the beginning of 1974, the gang of four, taking advantage of the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, again spearheaded an attack against Premier Zhou. Later, Chairman Mao criticized Jiang Qing and the other three at a Political Bureau meeting in July, warning them not to become a "gang of four."

On the eve of the Fourth National People's Congress in October 1974, the gang of four conspired to organize a "cabinet." At a meeting

of the Political Bureau on the evening of October 17, Jiang Qing seized a chance to attack Deng Xiaoping (Chairman Mao then suggested he take the office of the First Vice-Premier) and was sternly rebuffed by Deng Xiaoping.

After the meeting, Jiang Qing, an ordinary member of the Political Bureau, summoned Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao, who held higher positions than she, and Yao Wenyuan to her residence for a meeting. They analysed the situation, discussed the reasons for Deng Xiaoping's repudiation of her at the Political Bureau meeting and then decided to send Wang Hongwen to see Chairman Mao (who was recuperating in Changsha at the time) to accuse Zhou and Deng.

November 26

Jiang Qing said she didn't know. After Jiang Qing was led to the dock, the chief judge posed a number of questions to her: On the evening of October 17, 1974, did she summon Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan to Building No. 17 at Diao Yu Tai (the State Guest House)? Did they conspire together to send Wang Hongwen to Changsha to talk with Chairman Mao and raise false accusations against Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping? What did she say, and what did Zhang Chunqiao say at the meeting? Since Wang Hongwen had already made a report to her upon his return from Changsha, why did she still want Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng (Wang took notes and Tang worked as an interpreter when Chairman Mao received foreign guests in Changsha) to go to Changsha to speak to Chairman Mao about Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, and what did she want them to say? Did she say that "those people in the State Council often maintain illicit contacts with each other on the pretext of discussing work," and that "the Premier is the boss behind the scenes"?

To all these questions, Jiang Qing either replied "I don't know" and "I don't know either" or "How could I know what was talked about?"

The public prosecutor suggested that the court exhibit relevant evidence and call Wang Hongwen, a co-defendant in the case, and other witnesses to testify in court.

The court then exhibited Wang Hongwen's written account of a telephone call on October 4, 1974, from Zhang Yufeng (a staff member of Chairman Mao), transmitting Chairman Mao

Zedong's directives, in which one sentence read: "Who will be the First Vice-Premier? (Deng)."

Wang Hongwen was next summoned to give testimony. He said that he went to Changsha to make a false charge after he had conspired together with Jiang, Zhang and Yao. He admitted that it was Jiang Qing who called the secret meeting in Building No. 17 at Diao Yu Tai in Beijing and the purpose was to prevent Deng Xiaoping from becoming First Vice-Premier of the State Council. Wang Hongwen then made additional remarks on those questions he had not explained clearly in court on November 24. He said that on the evening of October 17, Jiang Qing summoned Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and himself to a meeting at Diao Yu Tai, that it was he himself who proposed a trip to Changsha to make a false report to Chairman Mao and that it was Jiang Qing who urged him to make the trip before Deng Xiaoping accompanied foreign guests to Changsha to meet the Chairman.

Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng then appeared in court as witnesses. In separate testimony, they both stated that on October 18, 1974, they were summoned on two occasions to Diao Yu Tai by Jiang Qing, first during the day and then in the evening. She asked them to take the opportunity of accompanying foreign guests to Changsha to convey to Chairman Mao the false accusations made by the gang against Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. They refused and reported Jiang Qing's bidding to Premier Zhou. Following the Premier's advice, they reported the true situation to Chairman Mao after his meeting with the foreign guests.

Later, Jiang Wen, the public prosecutor, requested to speak. Addressing the court, he said that the abundance of facts revealed in the court investigation had proved that Wang Hongwen's trip to Changsha was by no means an accidental and isolated event. "It was a systematic move by the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique to frame Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. Its purpose was to prevent Deng Xiaoping from becoming First Vice-Premier of the State Council and to create the conditions for the clique to usurp Party leadership and state power." He added: "The course of events showed that Jiang Qing was the chief instigator as well as the ringleader of this counter-revolutionary clique. At the time, Wang Hongwen was vice-chairman of the Party Central Committee and Zhang Chunqiao a

Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau. Why was it that Jiang Qing was able to summon these people to a meeting? Why could she make these people act at her beck and call? They would not have done so if they had not ganged up as a counter-revolutionary clique and recognized Jiang Qing as their ringleader."

November 27

Zhang Chunqiao kept silent. On November 27, the First Tribunal under the Special Court investigated the charges against Zhang Chunqiao about the Changsha incident. The judge began by interrogating him on whether he had colluded with Jiang Qing and others to make false charges against Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping to Chairman Mao. Zhang refused to answer the question which was asked three times.

The judge then said to him: "Your refusal to answer the questions does not affect the trial of this court. For this court is conducting the trial in accordance with the provisions of the Law of Criminal Procedure. . . . Article 35 of the Law of Criminal Procedure stipulates that 'any accused shall not be sentenced without evidence other than his confession; he shall be convicted and punished on the basis of sufficient evidence even without his confession.'" The judge also stated: "This article applies to you all the same. Since you have refused to talk, the court will hear other testimonies."

The court then played the recordings of the confessions of Wang Hongwen, his co-defendant, and the recorded account of the witness Wang Hairong, and had the written statements by the witnesses, Zhang Yufeng and Tang Wensheng, read.

Jiang Qing in the dock while Wang Hongwen was giving testimony.



This was followed by an investigation into the charge that Zhang Chunqiao incited Kuai Dafu (a former Qinghua University student and one of the main heads of the Beijing student "rebels") to agitate publicly in Beijing for the overthrow of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping.

Kuai Dafu (in custody) appeared in court to give testimony. He admitted that on December 18, 1966, Zhang Chunqiao received him privately in a reception room at Zhongnanhai and gave him "an unmistakable and clear direction" to discredit Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping (who was then a Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and Vice-Premier of the State Council). Kuai Dafu said: "Zhang Chunqiao, as a deputy leader of the 'cultural revolution' group under the C.P.C. Central Committee, received me privately and put all his cards on the table, which, I thought, was a show of special trust in me." Incited by this talk, Kuai organized a demonstration in Beijing on December 25 with 5,000 demonstrators shouting slogans of "Down with Liu Shaoqi" and "Down with Deng Xiaoping." Afterwards, a campaign to overthrow Liu and Deng spread throughout the country. Kuai said: "In the whole business of us opposing Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, Zhang Chunqiao played the role of a behind-the-scene manipulator."

The court also investigated the charges in the indictment that Zhang Chunqiao had made false accusations against Zhu De (the late Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee), Chen Yi (the late Vice-Premier of the State Council and Foreign Minister) and others. Relevant testimonies were shown or read out after the defendant refused to answer the questions put to him by the judge. Huang Tao, a co-defendant in the case and a former standing committee member of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, was summoned to testify.

Later, addressing the court, the public prosecutor charged Zhang Chunqiao with having the aim of "changing the dynasty" when he falsely accused and persecuted Party and state leaders.

— "Beijing Review"
correspondent

Investigation of Lin Biao Clique's Attempted Coup and Plot to Assassinate Chairman Mao

Lin Biao wanted to be Chairman of the People's Republic and could not wait to seize state and Party power. At the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Party Central Committee held in August 1970, he and his followers spoke first and insisted on the establishment of the post of Chairman of the People's Republic in total disregard of the original agenda of the session and the proposal put forth by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. When their plot was frustrated and they were criticized, they decided to change their methods and forcibly seize power.

In October 1970, Lin Liguo, Lin Biao's son, organized a shock force—a "joint fleet"—to assassinate Chairman Mao. In February 1971, Lin Biao and his wife Ye Qun sent Lin Liguo to Shanghai. Lin Liguo summoned together all key members of the "joint fleet," and worked out the "Outline of Project '571,'" the plan for an armed coup d'état, between March 21 and 24.

The Second Tribunal of the Special Court investigated the indictment's charges of the above-mentioned activities against the Lin Biao clique in six interrogations.

November 25

Jiang Tengjiao, a principal defendant and former political commissar of the Air Force of the P.L.A. Nanjing Units, admitted that he took part in a secret meeting called by Lin Liguo in Shanghai in March 1971 and was appointed frontline commander of Nanjing, Shanghai and Hangzhou. The meeting was called in order to set up a "command unit" for implementing the plan of an armed coup d'état.

The court read out a deposition given by Chen Liyun, an accomplice in the same case and former political commissar of the P.L.A. Unit 7350, and a diary entry about the secret meeting written in early April 1971, by Cheng Hongzhen, another accomplice and former clerical secretary at the general office of the Air Force Headquarters. The deposition and diary evidence tallied with Jiang Tengjiao's confessions.

Huang Yongsheng, another principal defendant and former chief of the P.L.A. General

Staff, confessed that he had provided Ye Qun, Lin Biao's wife, with secret information on Chairman Mao's talks on his inspection tour of southern China, in which Chairman Mao criticized Lin Biao, on September 6, 1971, thus "prompting Lin Biao to make up his mind to assassinate Chairman Mao."

Immediately after interrogating Huang Yongsheng, the court summoned Li Zuopeng, former first political commissar of the Navy, and questioned him on the same issue. Li also admitted that he had informed Huang Yongsheng and Qiu Huizuo, former head of the P.L.A. General Logistics Department, of what he had learnt about Chairman Mao's talks.

Li Weixin, who is in custody and took part in the drafting of the Outline of Project "571," testified at the court session. Li was formerly deputy head of a section under the political department of the P.L.A. Unit 7341 and a member of the "joint fleet." On September 13, 1971, he and two other members of the "joint fleet" tried to flee the country in a helicopter, but failed after their plane was forced to land. They decided to kill themselves at the same moment. He was afraid to die, fired into the air and was later taken alive.

Li Weixin testified that the Outline of Project "571" was worked out by Lin Liguo and others in Shanghai under Lin Biao's direction.

November 26

Jiang Tengjiao was brought to the dock again. He confessed that, after Lin Biao issued an order in his own handwriting for the armed coup, he was appointed frontline commander for the plot to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong in Shanghai. Jiang also stated that he took part in working out the details of the plan on several occasions.

He admitted they had worked out three plans: (1) to attack Chairman Mao's special train with flame throwers and 40-mm. bazookas; (2) to attack Chairman Mao's train by firing anti-aircraft guns point-blank; and (3) to have Wang Weiguo, former political commissar of P.L.A. Unit 7341, carry out the as-



Huang Yongsheng (right), Li Zuopeng (left) and Jiang Tengjiao standing trial.

sassination with a pistol when being received by Chairman Mao on the train. They also planned to dynamite a railway bridge and other methods.

Depositions by Li Weixin and two others as well as testimonies at the court session by Hu Ping (former deputy chief of staff of the P.L.A. Air Force Headquarters) and Lu Min (former chief of operations of the Air Force Headquarters) affirmed the aforesaid offences.

November 27

Jiang Tengjiao was brought to the courtroom for the third time. He confessed that Lin Biao and his wife Ye Qun, after their plot to assassinate Chairman Mao had fallen through on September 12, 1971, had planned to flee south to Guangzhou with Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo and to set up a separate party central committee there. Jiang Tengjiao was to ensure the four men's safety during their flight south.

Jiang also confessed that Lin Biao had planned to call an emergency meeting of officers at divisional and higher levels after arriving in Guangzhou to set up a provisional party central committee. He also planned to seek assistance from the Soviet Union when necessary.

November 28

Huang Yongsheng and Li Zuopeng lied in court.

Huang Yongsheng first admitted that he "was a member of the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique." But later he contradicted himself by saying: "I had no special relations with Lin Biao. Ours were organizational and work relations and one between a superior and subordinate."

It was then shown through testimonies and written statements that Huang Yongsheng had frequent contacts with Lin Biao and Ye Qun

and their relations transcended work contacts and were those of counter-revolutionary partners. The confession of Wang Fei, a faithful henchman of Lin Biao, was read. It stated: On September 8, 1971 when Lin Ligu (Lin Biao's son) handed him a letter from Ye Qun to pass on to Huang Yongsheng, Lin told him: "When that (the counter-revolutionary coup) goes ahead, you should be under the direct command of the Chief of the General Staff Huang." A written testimony provided by Huang's former attendants said that after Lin Biao fled and died in the air crash, Huang destroyed a great deal of incriminating evidence.

Later Li Zuopeng took the stand. He first tried to absolve himself, but many solid testimonies showed that on September 12, 1971 he distorted Premier Zhou Enlai's instruction and did not take any measures to stop Lin's special plane from taking off, making it possible for Lin Biao and others to flee.

November 29

The court interrogated Wu Faxian, former commander of the Air Force, about the seizure of a helicopter by Zhou Yuchi, former deputy director of the general office of the Air Force Headquarters, and others in an attempt to flee the country following Lin Biao's defection on September 13, 1971. Wu admitted that more than one hour after Premier Zhou issued an order prohibiting flights throughout the country on the early morning of September 13, 1971, he did not take any measures to enforce it.

The court also separately investigated the charges that Qiu Huizuo and Wu Faxian, after the defection of Lin Biao, had destroyed evidence involving their collaboration with Lin Biao and his wife Ye Qun, including correspondence, photographs and other materials. Both Qiu and Wu admitted the charges were true.

— "Beijing Review" correspondent

A Milestone in China's Student Movement

—Reminiscences of the Ninth of December, 1935

Forty-five years ago, China was under corrupt Kuomintang rule with large sections of the country being overrun by invading Japanese troops. Painfully alarmed, the whole nation was in great anxiety. Demonstrations ripped through Beijing (now Beijing) as frustrated students took to the streets to voice their protest, which had repercussions throughout the land. It came to be called the December 9th Movement and served as one of the prime movers that quickened the pace of the Chinese revolution. The nation is now pausing to look back on these eventful days. Here, four participants relate their experiences during the movement.

The Eruption

IN a letter to a friend, Nym Wales, the first wife of Edgar Snow who wrote the epic *Red Star Over China*, recalled how "lots of Tungpei [northeast China] people called before the Sian Incident as I remember it — they were desperate and worried . . . Sung Ling [Song Li] was one, head of the student movement at Tungpei University. . . . Sung Ling led the student column on December 9th on the streets and was one of the chief leaders, with Wang Ju-mei [Huang Hua, now Vice-Premier and concurrently Minister of Foreign Affairs], David Yu [Huang Jing, the late Minister of the First Ministry of Machine-Building], Yao Yi-lin [now Vice-Premier] and others." The following is an account given by Song Li, now secretary of the Luda municipal Party committee, when he recalled the days before and after the movement:

After what had happened on September 18, 1931 [the Mukden incident initiated by the Japanese invaders to occupy northeast China], the non-resistance policy pursued by the Kuomintang government facilitated the Japanese occupation of

three provinces in northeast China in a matter of three months. They then looked covetously towards north China, seeking the collaboration of Chinese traitors and master-minding a so-called "north China autonomous movement to quarantine communism." The aggressors issued a statement that "Japan is ready to help if and when a movement for autonomy takes place in north China."

In October 1935, at the instigation of the aggressors, some Chinese traitors established a bogus government in eastern Hebei Province while their underlings in Tianjin also went into the streets, "pleading" for "autonomy" in broad daylight.

While continually seeking compromises with the Japanese



Huang Jing speaking at the December 16 rally. With him is Song Li.

invaders, the Kuomintang government started a brutal crackdown on the domestic movements of the progressives who were crying for resistance. Since a regiment of Kuomintang gendarmes moved into Beiping in the early summer of 1935, in that city alone, several thousand young people were arrested and as many as 500 of them died in jail.

Life then was hard in the vast countryside and displaced refugees were everywhere, dying in the fields when the Huanghe River (the Yellow River) flooded and when a serious drought hit Shaanxi Province. We often came across people selling their children or begging at street corners.

Whither China?

In the face of the imminence of the country and the great misery of the common people, youths concerned about state affairs started asking questions: "Whither China?" "What can we do about it?" Discussions took place clandestinely under the guidance of the underground Party organization in Beiping.

In August 1935, the Chinese Communist Party issued an Appeal to Fellow Countrymen Concerning Resistance to Japan and National Salvation (known by its shortened name the August First Manifesto) in which it made the call: "Our country and our nation are now at a critical juncture, hanging by a thread. Resist, we stand; otherwise, we fall. It is the sacred bounden duty of every compatriot to resist Japanese aggression and save the country!" The political stand as advocated in the manifesto—



Beiping students in a scuffle with Kuomintang police during the December 9 demonstration.

"stop the civil war [started by the Kuomintang to fight the Communists], unite to fight the enemy from without"—thus lighted up the way for us students.

In October, the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army completed its 25,000-li Long March, despite continual Kuomintang attacks, and arrived in northern Shaanxi Province. This was very inspiring news to the progressive students.

On November 18, 1935, the Students' Association of Beiping was founded with the help of the underground Party organization in Beiping. On December 3, it passed two motions, one of which was to oppose all kinds of "autonomous" movements launched in the name of popular demand. The other was to unite with the middle schools and institutes of higher learning in the city and initiate activities on a gigantic scale to appeal to the government for resistance to the invading enemy.

On December 8, the association called a meeting attended by representatives from schools

and universities. They decided to call a demonstration, set the route and formulated its slogans. In a statement drafted on that day, the pained and angry cry was raised: "Vast as north China is, there is no longer any room to place a desk for reading in a quiet atmosphere!"

The Ninth and Sixteenth Of December

The sentiments of those times were reflected in the *Song of the Volunteers*, a popular work among the patriotic youth at that time.

*The Chinese nation faces its greatest danger,
Everyone urgently calls out:
Arise! Arise! Arise!*

Daybreak. December 9, 1935. We college students in Beiping swarmed into the streets singing patriotic songs and shouting: "Down with Japanese imperialism!" "Down with traitors!" "Stop the civil war and resist Japanese aggression in unity!" as we paraded towards the office of the Kuomintang representative in the city centre to make our appeal.



Students and local residents at the parade.

It was bitter cold. Our clothing was covered with frost. As the parade moved on, more students and local residents joined in until the ranks swelled to six or seven thousand. Then, as we approached an intersection in a busy shopping district, Kuomintang soldiers and police armed with swords, water hoses and clubs attacked us. The blood of several hundred wounded students stained the streets and was quickly frozen on the ground.

Meanwhile, upwards of 1,000 students from Qinghua and Yanjing Universities were prevented from entering the city. All the gates were locked and guarded by armed soldiers. The students shouted slogans in the piercing northerly wind,

struggling from one city gate to another the whole day long.

On December 10, Beijing students staged a joint strike. Another demonstration on a still greater scale was in the offing.

The student association called a second demonstration to be held on December 16.

I was chosen as one of the leaders of the city-wide demonstration. When more than 2,000 students were again barred outside the city, they angrily rammed the city gate with their bodies and broke through.

Demonstrations from all directions finally converged at Tianqiao, the place where labouring people lived in close knit communities. At a big rally attended by over 10,000 students and some 20,000 local residents, resolutions were adopted on resisting Japanese aggression and recovering the lost territory in the northeast. The rally was followed by a huge demonstration.

At dusk, as students were returning to their universities located in the suburbs, soldiers and police attacked them, wounding three hundred.

The news of the two demonstrations spread throughout the whole country. Everywhere people responded. The popular demand for resisting Japanese aggression and saving the

country rose like a tidal wave, bursting open like the eruption of a volcano. The cry "arise, arise" could be heard everywhere in this vast land, even in out-of-the-way places.

Far-Reaching Significance

What was on the mind of the public could not be reversed; the popular demand could not be rejected. The Kuomintang government finally was forced to consent to co-operating with the Communist Party; an anti-Japanese united front was established. Thus, when the gunfire sounded on July 7, 1937 at the Marco Polo Bridge on the outskirts of Beijing, the nation was ready for an all-out war of resistance against Japan. It was an extremely difficult cause. The war lasted eight years, from 1937 to 1945, and in the end the invaders were driven back to where they came from. The popular forces led by the Communist Party grew and expanded in the struggle, paving the way for the defeat of the Kuomintang government in their second civil war against the Communists (1946-49) and culminating in the victory of the revolution in 1949.

The December 9th Movement also provided our revolution and construction with large numbers of cadres. Participants in the movement and still greater numbers of young students all over the country who were inspired by the movement travelled to the anti-Japanese base areas established by the Communist Party. Many heroically laid down their lives during the war. A still larger number were tempered to become staunch revolutionaries who remain to this day the leading forces in China's political, military, economic and cultural spheres.

Indignation Didn't Amount to Anything; Adventurous Deeds Got Nowhere

YU Gang, now deputy secretary-general of the United Front Department under the Party Central Committee, was another champion of the movement. In an account of his experience, he stated:

I am a native of Changsha, Hunan Province. As a keen admirer of the ancient culture of Beiping and its rather developed educational undertakings, I got myself enrolled in the Teachers' College as a



Yu Gang.

student of history. Then I knew nothing about the revolution and all I wanted was to study well, so I spent most of my time in the library.

But deafening din kept disturbing us so that after a while it was impossible for us to carry on with our studies. Japanese aeroplanes droned overhead in the Beiping sky and sirens screamed as prison vans of the third regiment of the Kuomintang gendarmes taking to jail progressives who had been arrested in the dead of night. Every time I heard the shrill of the blood-curdling sirens fill the air, I became tense.

Like everybody else in the college, I felt indignant. But

what was the use of being indignant? Action was what was needed. But how? I myself, as well as several others, felt that even if we were ready to lay down our lives, we were in no position to confront the well-armed invaders and oppressors, nor could we arouse the whole society to fight!

There Was a Way

Early one morning a couple of days before December 9, every one of us found in our wash basins a handbill carrying the August First Manifesto of the Chinese Communist Party. They had been distributed by the underground Party organization in the Teachers' College. All of us were excited to read: "Fellow countrymen! Are we going to stand by idly and watch the extinction of our country and nation? Are we not going to rise up and save our country and ourselves?" Filled with patriotic sentiments, I decided the Communist Party was right and should do what I could along the lines called for by the Party. I, therefore, ran for the executive committee of the student government and was elected chairman.

A second experience which had a great impact on my thinking occurred when the student government sponsored a trip to the coal mine at Mentougou on the southwestern outskirts of Beiping. There I saw coal miners leading an intolerable existence. They crawled on all fours inside dark mine shafts to excavate coal and when they came out they were paid with a very meagre wage according to the weight of the coal they had

dug. I felt this dark side of Chinese society had to be changed. As it was the Communist Party that stood for such a change, I began to look for ways to make direct contact with it. In April 1936 I succeeded in getting into touch with a comrade of the underground Party organization and applied to join the Youth League; in the following month my League membership made it possible for me to become a Party member. By then I knew that I was not alone and I no longer felt frustrated. Hadn't we, after all, started the monumental December 9th Movement that sent shock waves through the whole country?

Lessons From "Leftism"

In the December 9th Movement we too had learnt a lesson from having gone to an extreme—I am referring to the episode known as "carrying a coffin during a parade."

Some months after the December actions, we learnt that Guo Qing, an 18-year-old student, who had been arrested during the demonstration, had died from torture in jail. When the sad news came, everybody was furious. The Students' Association of Beiping decided to carry his coffin through the streets on March 31, 1936. Progressive students of the Teachers' College took part in the parade.

When we were assembling at Beida (Beijing University), the police and military forces as well as secret agents immediately surrounded us and blocked the entrance. Someone finally rammed the door of a side entrance with a tree trunk and we were able to stream off the campus. But, before we could travel farther, we were besieged by the military and police force.

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A scuffle ensued and the parade was dispersed. A number of people were wounded and more than 50 students were arrested.

This activity organized under the white terror of the Kuomintang only included the leading progressives in various schools and colleges without the participation of the student masses.

Following the incident, over 200 progressive students were thrown into prison and expelled from school. A part of the middle-of-the-road students became scared; the student movement in Beijing fell into straits.

Soon after the March 31 incident, Comrade Liu Shaoqi, who was in charge of Party work in areas under Kuomintang control, came to Tianjin and Beijing with important instructions on the student movement. He was of the opinion that "the recent action has shown serious closed-doorism and adventurism, which will bring great damage to national salvation and the united front of the people of Beijing." He proposed "to further consolidate and expand the popular united front." This timely instruction sparked us to fresh efforts in the student movement in Beijing. Guided by the Party's united front policy and under the personal leadership of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, it regained momentum.

I began to realize that young people with great vigour often take impetuous, excessively "Leftist" actions against the seamy side of society. In revolutionary terms, one may call it "petty bourgeois fanaticism." It turns out that such fanaticism always end in a mess. As for terrorist acts, they are just stupid.

Broad Unity Needed

With a view to rallying students of different interests and different religious beliefs around the banner of resisting Japanese aggression and saving the country, we at that time sponsored a variety of activities.

There was a great debate among students on "studying and saving the country." One viewpoint that prevailed then was that students need only study their specialty well and that itself was a contribution to national progress and national salvation. It followed that they should devote themselves to academic studies instead of participating in the patriotic movement. The debate helped many people to see that the talk about "saving the country by studying" was actually designed to dull people's patriotic spirit and make them into ready captives of a subjugated nation. We also invited progressive teachers inside and outside our college to give talks on various subjects and organized study groups. They proved to be a big attraction to many middle-

of-the-road teachers and students.

Between 1936 and 1937, the Students' Association sponsored summer camps on three occasions with more than 3,000 people taking part. Activities in the summer camp included camping out on a mountain on the city outskirts, picnicking, discussing revolutionary theories, etc.

There were also cultural activities. There was a choir in each and every middle school and institute of higher learning. *Song of the Volunteers*, *The Internationale* and *Marseillaise* drowned the decadent songs of that time. Students' theatrical companies performed skits in the streets to propagate resistance to Japan among the people.

All these activities had helped expand the ranks of progressive students and boost the number of sympathizers. The opposition was isolated. This was a profound lesson to us. It taught us that Communists must in no way alienate themselves from the masses; if they do, they will perish like fish out of water.

The Women Students

ZHAO Zhixuan, now director of the Institute of Electric Engineering under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, was a sociology student at Yanjing University during the December 9th Movement. She recalled:

The old Yanjing was known for its being an "aristocratic" university. Most of the students came from bourgeois or well-off petty bourgeois families. There were also a few overseas Chinese from Hawaii or Djakarta.

Women students at that time were not interested in the fu-



Zhao Zhixuan.

ture of their country or society. Well fed and well dressed, apart from studying, they were only interested in what new Hollywood films were playing; they



A woman student arousing people at a rally to resist Japan and save the country.

spent most of their time on their appearance. Although there were talks about women's liberation on campus, nine out of ten of them ended up living like Nora in Ibsen's *Doll's House*. As to the masses of working women, bound hand and foot by the four ropes of the old society — political authority, religious authority, clan authority plus their husband's authority — they had no equal rights at all to speak of.

The December 9th Movement changed my way of life. During that national crisis, everyone was filled with surging patriotic sentiments. On December 8 the Yanjing Students' Association called a meeting which many of us women students also attended. After the meeting, more women students were asked to take part in the demonstration planned for the next day. Forty or fifty vanguard students were dispatched to the city district, half of which were women and they proved to be as dauntless as their male counterparts.

A day before the December 16 demonstration, more than ten of us spent the night at my home inside the city wall because we were afraid the police

would shut the gates on the day of the action. When my mother asked me why we had come, I said: "There will be a big rally tomorrow. We were afraid that we wouldn't be able to get there in time so we came into the city a day early."

The following day, we were the first to raise the flag of Yanjing University in the parade. During the confrontation the military and police force especially attacked us women students because they thought they could overpower us more easily. One of us was stabbed by a bayonet. Not one of us, however, wavered.

During the movement I was the head of the department of education for the common city people under the Yanjing Students' Association. My job was to run a "school for the common people" near the university to propagate the need for resisting Japan. We kept it going during the summer vacation and a few male students belonging to the opposition came to threaten us and even tried to smash up our school, but we managed to hold out.

Out of the Cage

I come from a feudal big family. Father was a warlord in the north China port city of Tianjin. He had a wife and two concubines. When I was a child I often saw him bullying my mother. After I entered college, he refused to pay my tuition fee because from his feudal perspective, a female was an appendage to her husband and she need not have a specialized profession. My mother moved to Beiping and pawned her belongings to pay my tuition fee. So I had a strong desire to study well in the hope that some day I could find a job and my mother could live a happy life.

After my participation in activities to resist Japanese aggression, I became conscious of things on a higher plane — national liberation. I realized that as long as there were many families and individuals deprived of their happiness because of enemy occupation, I myself could not possibly enjoy a happy life.

But then, it was not easy for a "young lady" from a feudal family to take part in political activities. My eldest brother was a man imbued with feudal notions. After the December 9th Movement, a Yanjing student leader often came to stay at our house when he was engaged in underground activities. I often sat up late to wait for him. My eldest brother were strongly against this because as he saw it, a girl in her late teens allowing a man to come to her house at midnight and stay for the night was shameful and a breach of moral conduct. For this he often scolded me scathingly.

Family and social pressures prompted me to get out of the cage and throw myself into the struggle for national liberation. Most of us women students who

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took part in the December 9th Movement became Party members. Later some joined the west Beiping guerrilla force fighting the Japanese and a much larger number went to Yanan, where the Party Central Committee was located.

Had I not taken part in the student movement, it would be hard to imagine what kind of woman I might have turned into. I could have become a plaything for a man like those ladies from bourgeois families in the old society.

Integration With Workers And Peasants

WHAT next after the demonstrations? Wei Dongming, now chief editor of the magazine *People's Education* and a Qinghua alumnus, recounted:

To undermine the student movement, the Kuomintang government on December 25 announced that all schools and colleges were to close early for winter vacation. Its aim was to paralyse the movement once all the students had gone home. The student movement was forced to make a decision.

Just as we were at a loss as to how to proceed, the Party Central Committee's Political Bureau held a meeting at Wayaobao in northern Shaanxi, at which Chairman Mao made a report entitled *On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism*. In it he pointed out: "The student movement has already grown considerably and will certainly go on doing so. But this movement can sustain itself and break through the martial law imposed by the traitors and the policy of disruption and massacre practised by the police, the secret service agents,

After liberation in 1949, I served as director of a number of big factories, including the Shenyang Wool Textile Mill, the Dalian Machine Tool Works, the Harbin Boiler Plant, and the Harbin Steam Turbine Works. The road I personally travelled was merely a microcosm of the changes of the social status of Chinese women. It is my belief that equality between the two sexes is mere empty talk if we women do not fully participate in political, economic and other activities like men.

the scoundrels in the educational world and the fascists only if it is co-ordinated with the struggles of the workers, peasants and soldiers."

To the Countryside

"To the countryside!" became the call of the Party and the students responded.



Wei Dongming.

In late December the Students' Association started organizing the Southbound Propaganda Team which was divided into four groups. We of Qinghua University belonged to the third group.

It was the coldest season of the year. We succeeded in

dodging police surveillance and arrived in threes and fours in a predetermined village. We sang patriotic songs on our way and stopped to make speeches in the villages we passed by. After dark we often found shelter in a village primary school.

Chinese villages then were most backward and the life of the peasantry was very harsh. To make friends with them, we all agreed before we left that no one should wear leather shoes and everyone should dress simply. Even so the peasants were surprised to see us and took us as missionaries. But when we spoke to them about why we must not live like captives of a subjugated nation, they all extended us a warm welcome.

The miserable life led by peasants left a very deep impression on us. Not a few students came from well-to-do or even very rich families. When they saw peasants collecting fallen leaves on the ground for food in wintertime, they were stunned.

If many of them had taken part in the December 9th Movement simply because of patriotic impulses, they began to have the revolutionary desire to transform society after coming into contact with workers and peasants. Earlier on, during the demonstrations they had shouted patriotic slogans with tears swimming in their eyes; now as they marched through the villages, they sang the *Song of Workers*.

I can still remember the words: "Life flows like muddy water, machines eat up our flesh, coal smoke smears our faces with dirt, the spirit of wine is scorching our hearts inside. . . ."

The third group of the propaganda team was finally rounded up by the military and



Patriotic students went to the countryside after the Ninth of December to arouse the peasants to fight the Japanese invaders.

police force at Gaobeidian in Hebei. After spirited discussion, comrades decided that although we were being forced back to Beijing, we should never abandon our goal and organization for going south. So we decided to found upon our return the National Salvation Vanguard Team of the Chinese Youth, which was later renamed the Vanguard Team for National Liberation.

The Main Force Located

In the December 9th Movement young students had played a vanguard role, but the main force of the War of Resistance and the revolution was after all still workers and peasants who constituted the overwhelming majority of the population.

The December 9th Movement had not confined itself to the narrow circle of intellectuals but embarked on the road of integrating with workers and peasants. This was particularly so after the War of Resistance Against Japan got started. Inspired by the slogan "To the war front," swarms of students joined the guerrilla war against

Japanese invaders in the enemy rear and merged with the armed struggles of workers and peasants.

We became so many times stronger after joining with workers and peasants. Comrade Yang Xuecheng, a Qinghua student, was a typical example. He used to be a very quiet student. Later he blossomed in the struggle to become an eloquent orator. After the fall of Beijing and Tianjin, he was sent by the Party to work in Hubei, where he quickly made himself a commander of guerrilla warfare. He started with eight old rifles and established a guerrilla force in central Hubei and built a base area there, fighting guerrilla war for six years under the most trying conditions. Overworked, he died of sickness at the front.

The December 9th Movement had brought up a generation of young revolutionaries. Just as Comrade Liu Shaoqi, who had long been in charge of Party work in enemy occupied areas, said: "The

revolutionary young students (especially those of Beijing) in the days of the December 9th Movement have pointed to a road—going to the countryside, to the midst of the revolutionary armed forces, to identify themselves with the people, particularly the peasants, and, under the leadership of the Communist Party, to set up revolutionary base areas and wage the War of Resistance Against Japan. This is the right way for all revolutionary young students to take in striving for national liberation in the national crisis."

The New Generation

Chinese youth of this generation were once puzzled and even in despair after the upheavals in the ten years of the "cultural revolution." Most of them today are bracing themselves up. Like the youth in the days of the December 9th Movement who thought of the destiny of the country, our youth of today are thinking of how to effect reforms and how to quickly build a socialist China with a high degree of democracy and a highly developed modernized civilization. The offsprings of the December 9th Movement are not in the least a "lost" generation like some people have said; definitely they are more resourceful and more resolute than our generation. □



● *Intellectuals of Taiwan Origin in Shanghai*

More than 200 professionals and intellectuals of Taiwan origin now reside in Shanghai. They are highly respected for their contributions to China's modernization programme.

Fan Xinfu, for example, came to the mainland in 1946 at the age of 19, just out of secondary commercial school in Taiwan. In 1958, he became an engineer at the Shanghai Gaoqiao Chemical Works, where today he is a deputy chief engineer and noted specialist in chemical engineering. Fan has contributed to the research and development of new chemical products, such as the high-efficiency catalyst used in making polyethylene, which made it possible for China to join the ranks of the advanced countries in the production of this chemical. In addition, through diligent study, Fan has mastered the Japanese, English and German languages and can read technical books in Russian, French and Italian as well.

Professor Shi Guanghai of the Shanghai Institute of Traditional Chinese Medicine is a noted dermatologist of Taiwan origin. He has personally cured many difficult and complicated cases, and has performed more than 1,000 operations on "drinker's nose" and scores of operations on nasal tumours in the last few years alone. Two of his papers, "The Treatment of Lupus Erythematosus by Combining Traditional Chinese and Western Medicine" and "The Prevention of Congenital Syphilis and Its Treatment," have brought him wide acclaim from colleagues both at home and abroad.

Seventy-four-year-old Lin Zhaoquan, a member of both the Shanghai Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. and the standing committee of the Shanghai branch of the All-China Sports Federation, donated 400 volumes of books on physical training to the Shanghai Research Institute of Physical Culture. The books had previously been given to him by a Japanese friend. Lin has also used his knowledge of



Deputy chief engineer Chen Heng, a native of Taiwan Province, working at the Tianjin Dyestuff Factory.

foreign languages to translate many foreign articles and essays on physical training into Chinese.

● *Red Army Veterans In Chongqing*

Many former Red Army soldiers—the "rebels" described by U.S. journalist Edgar Snow four decades ago in *Red Star Over China*—are now spending their old age in comfort. As "veteran Red Army soldiers," an honorary title given to those who joined the revolution in the mid-thirties or

took part in the Long March, these men and women are highly respected and cared for by the Chinese government and people.

There are several hundred such senior veterans living in Chongqing, Sichuan Province. The city government recently moved 110 of them into new apartments in the suburbs and local scenic areas. Most of the veterans in Chongqing serve as advisers or have left their posts for recuperation, but all continue to receive full pay from their former jobs.

Eighty-three-year-old Zhu Yufeng, a former regimental political commissar in the People's Liberation Army and veteran of the Long March, lives together with his wife in a two-storeyed, six-room home outside Chongqing. Their five children, all working in the city, spend weekends and holidays with them. Zhu was a farm hand before he joined the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army led by General He Long in 1934. He was wounded several times in battle during the Long March.

Many veterans of the revolution are still quite active in building socialism. Liao Qikang, for example, deputy director of the Chongqing Special Steel Plant, worked under Comrade Zhou Enlai between 1936 and 1940. He is currently writing his reminiscences of the late Premier's revolutionary activities in his spare time. Another veteran, Liu Keming, retired from his job at a chemical plant and then organized over 100 family members of plant workers to manufacture semi-finished chemical products out of the plant's waste fluids. He has received the honourable title of "advanced worker" many times.

People in the News



At the button counter in the Quanyechang department store in Tianjin, a smiling shop assistant with two braids answers questions from customers and helps them select buttons. She is **Wang Juan**, a national model worker.

Normally there are 200 kinds of buttons at her counter. When there is a special button display, she will handle up to 400. Wang Juan knows every variety, its price and place of the tastes of both young city people and rural girls and to study which buttons go best with which kinds of clothing.

Wang Juan also makes an effort to be polite with everyone of the more than 3,000 customers she comes in contact with every day. As the wrapping paper for buttons is quite small, she practised at home with beans to improve her packaging.

Wang receives letters with enclosed remittances and cloth samples asking her to select buttons. On the eve of the last Spring Festival, a woman in faraway Xinjiang sent money to Wang for buttons for her little girl. But the colours and shapes of children's buttons were not very appealing. Wang decided to discuss the matter directly with the button factory. After making some proposals to the designers she designed 17 kinds of buttons herself in the shapes of cats, birds and monkeys which the factory began producing. She was able to make these appropriate suggestions because of her conscientious attitude towards her job and the tastes of her customers. Now button designers come to her for advice.

The veteran soldiers also give lectures to young people on their experiences in the revolution to inspire them to work harder. Last year they spoke to a total of more than 10,000 young people in Chongqing alone.

● **Ecological Balance Improved**

Shuiquan People's Commune, located in the loess hilly lands of east Inner Mongolia, has begun to show signs of prosperity, owing to its persistence in planting trees and grass over the last ten years. Now, 35 per cent of its land is covered with either forest or grass and the ecological environment has improved.

Shuiquan commune occupies an area of 20,000 hectares with only 7,000 inhabitants. The area used to be lush pasture land with forests dotted here and

there. But all this was later destroyed by indiscriminate felling and reclamation, causing soil erosion and damage to the vegetative cover. There was hardly one year in which the area did not suffer from drought, hail, early frost and sand storms.

In 1970, when the commune authorities decided to plant trees on hills and in gullies and rotate crops, the commune members responded positively. Since then, 4,800 hectares of the commune's land has been turned into forest and 7,330 hectares into grassland.

As a result, the ecological balance and the climate have improved. The amount of rainfall has increased by an average of 20 mm. and the frost-free period has lengthened from three to five days a year since 1975. Natural calamities have

been reduced while soil erosion is under control. The commune's grain output has risen rapidly from 1,500 tons in 1970 to last year's 4,100 tons.

The expansion of grasslands has spurred an increase in the number of cattle, sheep and horses. Pig-raising has also benefited since common types of pig-feed such as lucerne and sweet clover are now grown on the grassland. Honeybee-raising has begun, with a total of 130 hives, to take advantage of the rich sources of nectar on the grassland and in the orchards. The annual income of commune members has increased from 30-40 yuan per person to 100 yuan.

● **Coconut Carvings of Hainan Island**

Hainan Island's coconut-shell carvings, now sold in over 20 foreign countries and regions, recently attracted the interest of businessmen at the Chinese Export Commodities Fair in Guangzhou.

The people of Hainan began making products from coconut-shells over 2,000 years ago, as it is a naturally hard and lightweight wood with an attractive grain. Later the island's folk artists made the shells into works of art by adorning them with carvings of animals, humans and landscapes.

Today five coconut-shell carving factories have been established on Hainan. In Wenchang County, a traditional centre for this trade, many shell carving workshops have been set up in its communes and brigades. In addition, several hundred workers at the Haikou Coconut Carving Factory are producing over a thousand different kinds of engraved, painted and inlaid coconut-shell products.

BOOKS

Introducing Minority Nationalities

Brief History of the Zhuangs

《壮族简史》

*Edited by the editing group of
"Brief History of the
Zhuangs,"*

*Published by Guangxi People's
Publishing House,*

*Distributed by Guangxi Xinhua
Bookstore,*

Renminbi 0.73 yuan.

Brief History of the Zhuangs is a comprehensive work on the origins, social development, and culture of the Zhuang nationality. With a population of 12 million, the Zhuang people are the largest of China's 55 minority nationalities and they have a fairly developed economy and culture.

Eleven million Zhuangs are concentrated in the four prefectures of Nanning, Bose, Hechi and Liuzhou in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. Another 820,000 Zhuangs are dispersed in Yunnan Province, with a concentration in the Wenshan Zhuang and Miao Autonomous Prefecture. Others reside in Guangdong, Guizhou and Hunan Provinces.

The work provides an intriguing account of one of the biggest uprisings in Zhuang history. In 1052, Nong Zhigao, a Zhuang, launched a revolt against the Song Empire (960-1279). The ranks of the Nong insurgents swiftly expanded to tens of thousands as more and more local Zhuang and Han people joined the movement. In the ensuing half year, the Nong forces occupied 12 county seats.

Another important historical fact brought out in the book is the role played by the Zhuangs

in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement. In the 19th century, the Han, Zhuang and Yao people in Guangxi launched the movement which constituted a significant chapter in modern Chinese history. The movement started at Jintian in 1851 and about one-fourth of the insurgents were Zhuangs. Many Zhuangs served as the revolutionary backbone of the movement, some like Xiao Zhaogui becoming prominent figures.

During the 1870s and 80s, as an important event of Chinese history, the Zhuang people banded together with other nationalities and launched a struggle against the French colonialists who had invaded China from the southwest after occupying Viet Nam.

This book also covers the armed uprising in Bose in 1929 and 1930 organized by Deng Xiaoping and Zhang Yunyi under the Party's leadership and the subsequent founding of the Seventh and Eighth Armies of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, which played an important role in the Chinese revolution.

This work illustrates how the Zhuangs have their own cultural and artistic tradition. For example, bronze drums were made 2,000 years ago by the Zhuang people south of the Wuling Mountains and in southwest China. Now, 500 bronze drums have been unearthed or collected in Guangxi. The Huashan Cliff murals and the Zhuang brocade provide further examples of their rich cultural heritage.

Work on the book was begun in 1958 by specialists of minority history in Guangxi. They finished the ninth draft in 1963 but then had to stop all work on the project in 1966. In 1978, this group resumed work. They

held three symposiums on the history of the Zhuang nationality in order to reach a clearer understanding of some major events before making the final revisions.

The book was published earlier this year and includes a map of the distribution of the Zhuang people together with pictures showing bronze drums, Huashan Cliff murals, Zhuang brocade and the site of the Bose Uprising.

Minority Nationalities in Yunnan Province

《云南少数民族》

*Edited by the Yunnan Provincial
Research Institute of
History,*

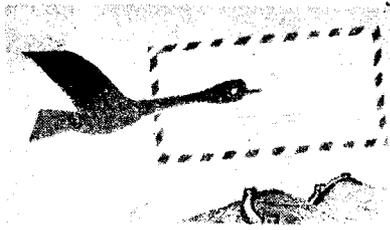
*Published by Yunnan People's
Publishing House,*

*Distributed by Yunnan Xinhua
Bookstore,*

Renminbi 1.10 yuan.

Located in the southwestern part of the country, Yunnan Province has the largest number of minority nationalities in China; 10 million minority people of 22 nationalities compose one-third of the province's population, many living in the mountainous areas. About a dozen nationalities reside near the 4,100-kilometre-long frontier.

The book provides a brief account of the origins and development of all these minorities in the province. In the late 1940s, examples of all historical stages of social development could be found among the minorities: clan communes, patriarchal slave system, the prefeudal serf system, etc. During the socialist revolution and construction in the 50s, great changes occurred in these societies as they jumped over several historical periods and entered socialist society. An added feature of the work is the inclusion of 31 rare photographs.



LETTERS FROM READERS

Motive Force of Historical Development

I found the discussion in *Beijing Review* No. 35 on "What Is the Motive Force of Historical Development" one of the most interesting articles I have ever read in a Chinese magazine, and this must surely indicate the success of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom." I intend to use the article in my teaching of history to people preparing for university entrance in England in the coming academic year.

I hesitate to attempt to contribute to the debate, but I thought there were a couple of points I could make in relation to the contribution of Yan Zhongkui.

Firstly he sees human needs as fundamental. I would say that one must not treat the "material needs of mankind's existence" as in any way static. One of the most significant features of capitalism is the constant creation of new needs. The whole of the advertising industry in this country seems dedicated to making people feel unhappy unless they possess something that wasn't even invented ten years ago. Obviously this is an important factor in the development of modern capitalism.

Secondly he says that "the goal of all oppressed and exploited classes ... is the realization of an ideal life." I would say that the most successful struggles have been waged precisely when what was at stake was not an ideal life, but any kind of life at all, as for example when in 1917 the Russian people responded to Lenin's call for "Land, Bread and Peace." I have always thought revolution is an unavoidable response to urgent pressures.

A.N. May
Huyton, Britain

China's Present Policy

Having been deeply influenced by the Chinese cultural revolution, I took quite a long time, after the smashing of the gang of four, to get a clear picture of China's policy. I began to gain some understanding after reading *Beijing Review* and other Chinese documents.

In learning China has resumed plots for personal needs and that free markets are brisk again, I immediately recalled the past "san zi yi bao" (the extension of plots for private use and free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas on a household basis). After becoming aware of the necessity for China to fight against the survivals of feudalism (ideologically and economically), I realized that to carry on socialist construction, it is utilizing capitalist factors to a certain extent rather than discarding capitalism.

However, there are also possible dangers. Free markets and other capitalist factors may enable peasants to become traders and lead to polarization, that is, some will become rich and some will lose their land. China must certainly have taken this question into consideration. I would like to know what specific measures China has adopted to limit this tendency?

Kazumi Kudo
Kushiro, Japan

In China's rural areas, land and other major means of production are collectively owned and their buying and selling are prohibited, so the land will be kept intact and the peasants will not be exploited. Please read "Rural Contract" in our issue No. 45.
— Ed.

Away With Feudal Ideas

I read "Away With Feudal Ideas" in your issue No. 27. Despite his high position, I greatly admired Zhou Enlai's stand and his honest spirit in carrying out his official duties. I already knew that in a socialist society, the existence of connections through relatives is not allowed and the exploitation and oppression of others is opposed. I heartily congratulate the great

achievements of the Chinese people.

Arras Abdavvi
Fergeuot, Algeria

Report Trial of Gang of Four in Detail

It is very important to report in detail on the trial of the gang of four which is now going on in Beijing. It is important to expose and refute the ultra-Left theory of the gang of four and their crimes because there are people who still consider the overthrow of the gang of four and the present line of the Chinese Communist Party as a deviation from Marxism-Leninism. For these people, it is very informative to publish articles on this subject and articles related to the problems of China's reality, such as modernization, family planning, backward conditions in certain economic fields, bureaucracy and so forth.

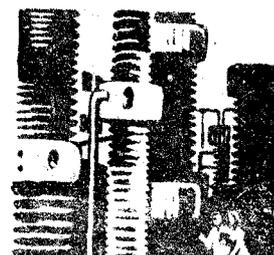
Heinz-Gunter Foerster
Bielefeld, W. Germany

Social Problems

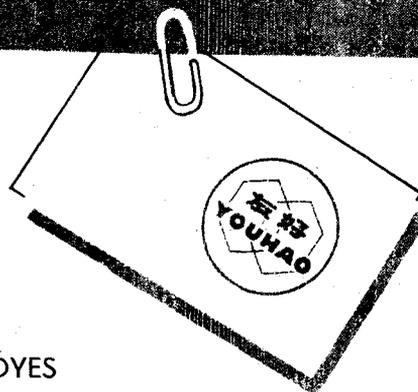
Since I became a reader of *Beijing Review* this year, I have found your magazine very interesting, particularly the column "Events and Trends," in which people can find the most important part under the topic "Social."

It is interesting not only because it deals with social problems in socialist China, but also because it tells me that not everything is perfect in a socialist country, for there are still those who embezzle and disturb public order. It is encouraging to readers that the column faithfully introduces social conditions in a socialist country. Therefore, I hope that you will continue to publish as much as possible such articles so as to help us better understand the events and trends in Chinese society.

Ali Toyb
Mbeni, The Comoros

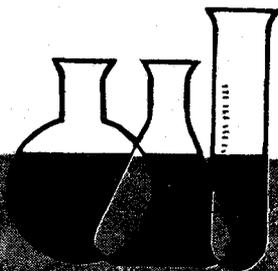


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YOUHAOTHOL (Coupling Components)
COLOUR BASIS
COLOUR SALTS
YOUHAO REACTIVE DYES
YOUHAONEUTER DYES (Metallized Dyes 2:1 Type)
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