

# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY  
OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS

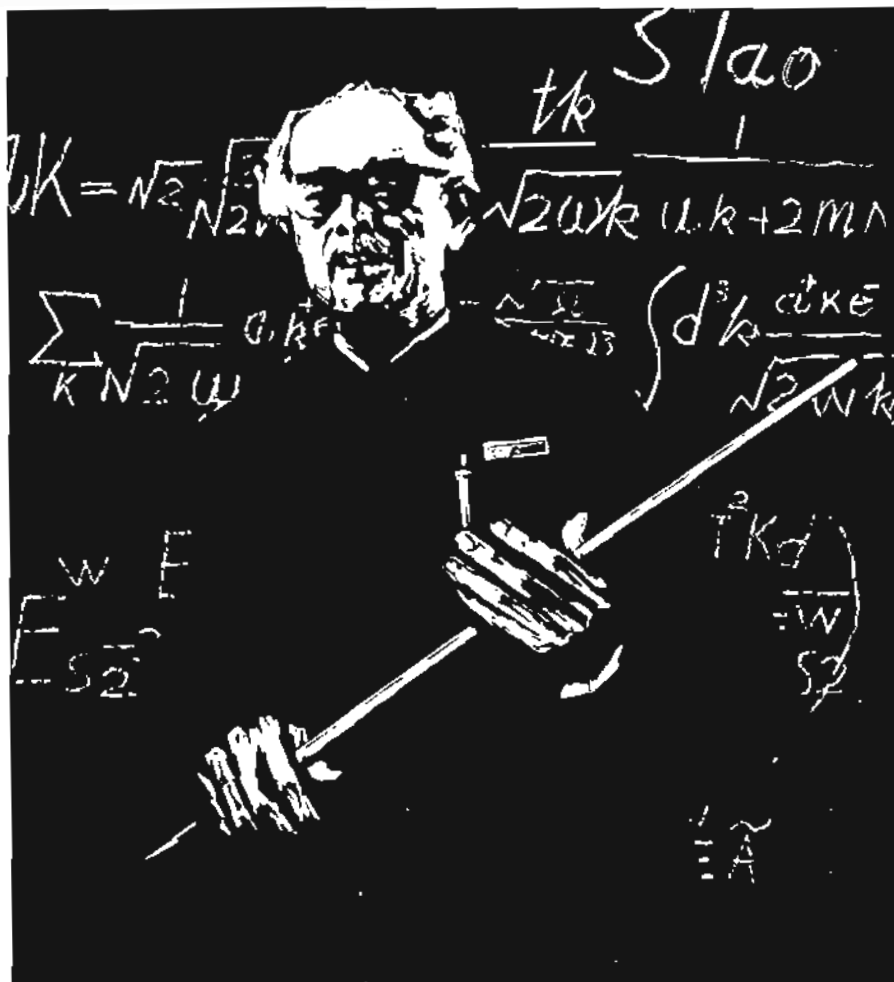
Role of China's  
Intellectuals



Liu Shaoqi in the  
1920s



Moscow Says No to  
Afghan Neutralization



## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### A Guide to Action for Chinese Communists

The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" specifies what is required of the 38 million members of the Chinese Communist Party. Adopted at the recent C.P.C. Central Committee plenary session, this major document aims at strengthening the Party whose fine traditions and style of work were greatly undermined by Lin Biao and the gang of four (p. 3).

### Role of Intellectuals

Intellectuals are part of the Chinese working class. They are playing an important role in the country's modernization

drive. Our Special Feature explains why this is the case. Aside from two sketches of economist Sun Yefang and physicist Yan Jici, there is a survey of the intellectuals' past and present role in the revolution and a summary of the Party's policies towards them (p. 19).

### The Liu Shaoqi Frame-up

Proof that Lin Biao and the gang of four fabricated evidence in a major frame-up against Liu Shaoqi during the Cultural Revolution (p. 14).

### Sociological Research Revived

Yet another branch of social learning has been revived in

China to help serve socialist modernization (p. 6).

### On the Diplomatic Front

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### Popular Evening Papers

Evening news papers with mass appeal, suspended in 1966, have made a successful comeback in the cities of Beijing and Guangzhou (p. 30).



## BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

Published in English, French,  
Spanish, Japanese, German  
and Arabic editions

Vol. 23, No. 13 — March 31, 1980

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Published every Monday by  
BEIJING REVIEW, Beijing (37), China  
Post Office, Registration No. 2-922  
Printed in the People's Republic of China

**POLITICAL****"Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life"**

The Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life, a document adopted by the recent Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th C.P.C. Central Committee, was published in full in all newspapers in Beijing on March 15.

This 12-point document is intended to revive and carry forward the Party's fine traditions and style of work which were sabotaged for a dozen years or so, improve inner-Party democracy, safeguard the centralized leadership of the Party, strengthen its unity, consolidate its organization and discipline, and enhance its fighting capacity.

This document contains important rules and regulations of the Party and represents a concrete supplement to the Party Constitution. All Party members are required to observe these guiding principles, and leading bodies and cadres of the Party at all levels should take the lead in carrying them out. "Any Party member who violates these principles should be criticized and educated and, in serious cases, punished according to Party discipline, up to expulsion from the Party."

The guiding principles stress that "upholding the Party's political and ideological lines is

the most fundamental principle for inner-Party political life."

The Party's political line is to unite with the people of all nationalities, and work with one heart and one mind so as to build a modern, powerful socialist country faster and better.

As to the Party's ideological line, the document notes that the fundamental thing in the dialectical materialist methods of thinking and work advocated by the Party is "to proceed from actual conditions in all cases, link theory with practice and seek truth from facts."

It is necessary to oppose two erroneous tendencies: One is ossified ideology and the practice of proceeding from books in all cases. This means the idea of refusing to make any change from whatever is in books, and forbidding any discussion or action about whatever is not in books. Another is the erroneous viewpoint and revisionist trend of thought that negate the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Communist Party leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The second point of the guiding principles notes that collective leadership is one of the highest principles guiding Party leadership. "Party committees at all levels from the Central Committee down to the grassroots must follow this principle in carrying out the system of combining collective leadership with the division of labour and individual responsibility." As to major issues, they must be discussed and decided collectively

and arbitrary decisions made by individuals must be opposed.

The other ten points of the guiding principles are:

- Safeguard the Party's centralized leadership and strictly observe Party discipline;

- Uphold Party principles and eradicate factionalism;

- Speak out what is on one's mind and match one's words with one's deeds;

- Give scope to inner-Party democracy and adopt a correct attitude towards differing views;

- Guarantee that the Party member's rights are not encroached upon;

- Give full expression to the voters' will in an election;

- Fight against erroneous tendencies, evildoers and evil deeds;

- Adopt a correct attitude towards comrades who have made mistakes;

- Accept supervision from the Party and the masses and see that privilege-seeking is not allowed, and

- Study hard and become both red and expert.

(For detailed extracts of the guiding principles, please read our next issue. — Ed.)

**Veteran Communists on Party Style of Work**

Soon after the publication of the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life in mid-March, several veteran revolutionaries, who joined the Communist Party of China in the 20s, talked about the tradition and working style of the Party.



**An Ziwen.** Seventy-one years old, An Ziwen was head of the Organization Department of the Party Central Committee for a long time. He is now Vice-President of the Central Party School.



He said that in our Party's political life, there have been two traditions. One is a good tradition. When the Party faced practical and theoretical problems, all members could air their views freely and take part in discussions so as to distinguish right from wrong and measure losses and gains. Decisions arrived at on this basis would ensure unified views and actions. During the War of Liberation and for some time after the nationwide liberation, the Party maintained this tradition which vitalized the cause of the revolution.

Another, he said, is a bad tradition, that is, a patriarchal attitude of "what I say goes," and of tolerating no diverse views." This happened on some occasions in the period of the civil war (1927-37) and during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). In those periods, normal Party life was non-existent so the cause of revolution suffered one setback after another.

An Ziwen said: By summing up our Party's positive and negative experiences, the guid-

ing principles laid down as Party rule and discipline that "what I say goes" and a patriarchal attitude are not permitted." This is essential.

**Li Weihan.** This 84-year-old revolutionary is now Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and adviser to the United Front Work Department of the Party Central Committee. He said: The Party's fine tradition and style of work was in a state of havoc during the 10 years of calamity when Lin Biao and the gang of four held sway. The guiding principles are powerful weapons to rectify the Party's style of work, enforce Party discipline and carry on deep-going ideological and political education under new historical conditions.



Recalling his 60 years' experience since joining the revolution, this old revolutionary said: As a Communist, one must have lofty communist ideals and an unbending spirit. He should be able to stand the tests of hard struggle as well as the tests after victory has been won. He should for ever maintain the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle and work wholeheartedly for the benefit of the people. In this respect, Comrade Zhou Enlai was our example. He said, "We should hand

down the Party's fine tradition and style of work from generation to generation, so as to build China into a modern socialist country."

**Shuai Mengqi.** A woman Communist with 50-year Party standing whom people in-



timately call "Sister Shuai," she is a standing committee member of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline. As a native of Hunan Province, Shuai Mengqi said: A Hunan proverb says that "to build up a family fortune is like carrying heavy loads, but to squander it is like waves washing away the sand." This is the same with the Party's style of work. It is very difficult to foster a good style of work for the Party, but it is easy to destroy it. It is indeed distressing that our Party's style of work had degenerated to such an extent during the 10 years when the gang of four ran amuck. Now with the publication of the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life, things will change for the better.

"A good working style of the Party will certainly bring about a good working style of the people. Fostering a fine Party working style calls for the effort of every one of the comrades in the Party," she stressed.

## ECONOMIC

## All-Out Efforts to Plant Trees

At a mass rally attended by a number of Party and state leaders and over 10,000 people in Beijing's Great Hall of the People, Vice-Premier Wang Renzhong said that by the year 2000 more than 66.66 million additional hectares of land in China will be planted with trees.

Vice-Premier Wang said: It's an arduous task, for in the coming 20 years, the land to be planted with trees will be more than double the area of 28 million hectares afforested in the past 30 years since 1949. However, he added, this is not impossible "provided the people in their hundreds of millions are mobilized."

The Vice-Premier added: The N.P.C. Standing Committee in February last year proclaimed March 12 as National Tree-Planting Day, which will be made a regular festival each year. Around that time, he added, the local departments concerned should propagate the importance of tree-planting, and tell the people what has

been achieved the previous year and what tasks still lie ahead in the current year. The programme will be followed year by year and by all future generations, he declared.

On March 5, a directive was jointly issued by the Party Central Committee and the State Council on the task for afforestation and the policy concerned.

The directive said that only 12.7 per cent of China's land is covered with trees. China stands 120th in the 160-odd countries of the world in terms of the percentage of afforested area in a given country. The long-term goal is to cover 30 per cent of the country's land territory with trees. The target for the period between now and the year 2000 is to afforest 20 per cent of the land area.

Part of the immediate goal to be achieved by 1985 is to build tree belts round farm plots in practically all the plain areas and plant trees along roads and rivers, around villages and rural houses.

The directive noted that the policy for tree-planting is to rely mainly on the collective efforts of the people's communes and their sub-divisions, expand the state-owned afforested areas,

and, at the same time, encourage commune members to plant trees. All the trees planted, either by the commune, the production brigade and production team, or by the commune members themselves, belong to the planters. This should remain unchanged for a long time.

Wasteland and barren hills belonging to a given rural collective must be planted with trees under unified planning. These trees shall be owned by the communes, brigades or teams which undertake to plant them.

The people's communes and their sub-divisions may plant trees on state wasteland or hills, if the government is unable to do it in the near future. Such trees are the property of the rural collectives, but the state still retains ownership of the afforested land. The peasants are encouraged to plant trees in and around their courtyards, or in places designated for tree planting by their production teams. These trees also are owned by the planters.

The directive called for all organs and enterprises to take an active part in planting trees. Factories and mines which consume large amounts of timber and logs should set up their own forest base areas. The directive encouraged rural primary and middle schools to set up their tree farms and sapling nurseries, and urban residents to plant trees, flowers and grass.

On the morning of March 23, Hu Yaobang, Wang Zhen, Wan Li and other leading comrades of the Secretariat of the C.P.C. Central Committee and the State Council planted trees and flowers in the courtyards and



Shamteng (right), a 67-year-old commune member in Inner Mongolia, has been planting trees for 20 years.





Workers in a coal mine in Ningxia at work underground.

along the roadsides of Zhongnanhai, where the Party Central Committee and the State Council offices are located. A mass tree-planting campaign is in full swing throughout the country.

## Stepping Up Coal Production in the 80s

Energy is the material foundation for carrying out the four modernizations in our country and their tempo of progress depends largely on the growth of energy, said Gao Yangwen, the new Minister of Coal Industry, at the recent national coal conference in Beijing.

Coal is the main source of energy in China and its production must be speeded up in the 1980s.

In the 80s, he said, we should adopt new technology in coal production, coal mine construction, geological prospecting, the dressing and washing of coal and the multipurpose use of coal so as to speed up the modernization of the coal industry. At the same time, enterprise management must also be modernized. This includes:

— Designing and constructing new coal mines according

to the requirements of comprehensively mechanized coal mining. At present, over 20 mining administrations and their coal mines have adopted this method of mining. But as far as the whole country is concerned, only 6.3 per cent of coal mining work is comprehensively mechanized.

— Changing the structure of the coal industry. Not only producing coal, but developing coal chemistry and carrying out the gasification and liquefaction of coal so as to make its transport easier. We must start now to establish research institutes and strive to put the factories for liquefaction into operation in the latter part of the 1980s.

— Doing a good job in the multipurpose use of coal and making full use of heat from coal. We must recover useful elements as far as possible, introduce new technological processes, and fully utilize poor-quality coal and shale oil.

— Making coal washing our major work for the present, trying to double coal-washing capacity by 1985, and increasing the percentage of the nation's washed coal from 17 to about 30.

— Preparing to exploit our coal deposits by establishing compensatory trade and joint ventures with other countries.

— Increasing coal exports step by step.

Gao Yangwen expressed his full confidence that the tasks for the 1980s will be fulfilled. A relatively solid foundation has been laid for developing the coal industry in the last 30 years. There are now over 600,000 million tons of proven coal deposits of all varieties, of which 30,000 million tons can now be tapped by building coal shafts. This is most essential for a rapid growth of the industry. Last year, coal output exceeded 620 million tons. In addition, we have mastered certain advanced techniques, possessed the capacity to make mining equipment and trained a contingent of experienced workers, technicians and cadres. All these are important factors for the future expansion of the coal industry.

## SOCIAL

### Studying Sociology

Sociology, long a neglected branch of learning, has now been revived in China. People hold that research on this subject will help realize socialist modernization of the country.

This was illustrated recently at an enlarged meeting of the council of the Chinese Society of Sociology held in Beijing. The meeting was attended by over 60 sociologists, professors and researchers as well as cadres from civil affairs, youth and women's departments.

At the meeting, the sociologists discussed such current issues as population, marriage and juvenile delinquency. They

decided to concentrate their research on seeking social measures to solve these problems. They agreed that ideological and moral education of the youngsters should be taken as the central topic for sociological research at present.

Professor Fei Xiaotong, president of the society, stressed the need of sociological research for China's modernization programme. In order to seek correct social measures and overcome factors adversely affecting the modernization programme, he said, the Chinese sociologists must proceed from the realities in the country and vigorously carry out investigations and study. This noted Chinese sociologist was recently awarded the 1980 B. Malinowski Honorary Prize by the International Association of Applied Anthropology.

Professor Lei Jieqiong, vice-president of the society, said that, unlike social problems under capitalism, social problems under socialism can be solved as the socialist system steadily improves and develops. She maintained that it is the duty of sociologists to promote such improvement and development.

Since its founding in March last year, the society has arranged lectures and symposiums to help train sociological researchers and disseminate knowledge about sociology. At the same time, it has helped government departments concerned to investigate issues related to population and the views of young people on the family, marriage and family planning. In addition, it has organized academic exchanges between Chinese sociologists and their counterparts abroad.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

### Premier Hua Meets Two African Countries' Delegations

**Rwanda Is One of Our Good Friends.** "We have many good friends in Africa, and Rwanda is one of them. . . Relations between our two countries are based on mutual respect, help and support. Our friendship enjoys a very sound foundation and our relations have been developing quite well."

So said Premier Hua Guofeng as he met with Rwandan Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation Francois Ngarukiyintwali and his party on March 18. He also pointed out that both the Chinese and the Rwandan people are faced with the task of building up their own countries and share many identical views and have many demands in common in the realm of international struggle and national construction.

Referring to the current international situation, Premier Hua said that the key condition for a solution to the Kampuchean problem, as is also the case for Afghanistan, is for the aggressors to withdraw their troops unconditionally and leave the people of Kampuchea to solve their own problems themselves. But, he went on, it is not easy to compel the aggressors to withdraw; it depends on the still more powerful struggle of the invaded country's people and the support by the people of all other countries.

Minister Ngarukiyintwali said that Rwanda condemns all acts violating the norms of interna-

tional relations, no matter where they take place.

**Support for Tunisia in Its Struggle Against Interference and Aggression.** When Premier Hua Guofeng met with Mr. Mohamed Ennaceur, Special Envoy of President Habib Bourguiba and the Tunisian Minister of Social Affairs, and Mrs. Ennaceur on March 21, he reiterated that the Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Tunisian Government and people in their just struggle to defend their national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against foreign interference and aggression. He congratulated the Tunisian people on their victories in building up their country and foiling foreign encroachments and subversion under the leadership of President Bourguiba.

Premier Hua also blasted the hegemonistic expansionism now being carried out in the Middle East and the scheming to undermine the unity of the countries there. He expressed his hope that the people of these countries would put their national interest first, see through plots and unite against the enemy.

### Chinese Envoys Abroad

**Strengthening Friendly Ties With Three Southeast Asian Countries.** Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua visited the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore from March 11 to 19. The visit has resulted in a better understanding between China and the three countries on the major international issues and closer bonds of friendship.



Huang Hua said, "We all hold that in order to maintain peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the whole Asia-Pacific region, the Charter of the United Nations and the fundamental principles guiding the relations between countries must be followed. On the issues of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, the resolutions adopted at the United Nations General Assembly last November and January this year and the resolution adopted at the foreign ministers conference of Islamic countries must be implemented, that is, all foreign troops must withdraw from Kampuchea and Afghanistan and leave the Kampuchean and Afghan people to decide their internal affairs without outside intervention. We think this is the precondition for a just, fair and reasonable solution of these issues."

During his visit, Huang Hua expressed his appreciation of the stand taken by the ASEAN countries in their resolute struggle against foreign intervention and aggression. He said that ASEAN has now become an important force in safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia. The Chinese Government and people sincerely wish that the ASEAN countries will enjoy prosperity and stability and make a still greater contribution to defending the cause of peace.

Huang Hua also discussed ways to develop bilateral relations with leaders of the three countries. "As both China and the ASEAN countries are striving to develop their economies, all of us are satisfied with the current bilateral relations," he added. The prospects for trade, economic and technical cooperation and exchange of personnel are quite promising.

**Standing by the Pakistani People.** "The Chinese people and the People's Liberation Army

firmly stand on the side of Pakistan which is under the direct threat of Soviet aggression and expansion, and resolutely support the Pakistani people and army in their just struggle for safeguarding their state sovereignty and territorial integrity."

This statement was made by the head of the Chinese military goodwill delegation, Vice-Defence Minister Xiao Ke when he visited Pakistan.

Arriving in Islamabad on March 14 for a six-day friendly visit, the delegation exchanged views with Pakistani representatives on international issues of common interest, especially the situation in South Asia following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and they came to similar conclusions. On March 16, President Zia-Ul-Haq received the delegation and during the conversation, it was deemed necessary to further promote the profound ties between the two countries, peoples and armies under the present situation arising from the Afghan event.

Xiao Ke and his party visited Peshawar, capital of North-West Frontier Province bordering on Afghanistan. The Soviet Union was reported to have massed more troops in the adjacent Afghan provinces of Kunar and Nangarhar, exposing Pakistan to the direct threat of Soviet aggression and expansion. Xiao Ke strongly condemned the Soviet Union for its naked armed invasion of an independent country.

He said, "The support given by countries and people over the world to the Afghan people in their struggle against Soviet aggression is just. It has nothing to do with interference in Afghan internal affairs, nor is it a pretext for further aggression."

**A Working Visit to the United States.** Vice-Foreign Minister Zhang Wenjin paid a working visit to the country from March 15-23 to continue the discussions held during U.S. Defence Secretary Harold Brown's trip to China in January.

Zhang Wenjin held separate talks with Secretary of State Vance, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski and other officials on major international issues as well as bilateral relations.

During the talks, both sides reviewed at length the situation arising from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea.

Zhang Wenjin told the press that the talks had been "very cordial and fruitful."

**First Regular China-Japan Consultation.** In accordance with an agreement reached between the Chinese and Japanese Governments during Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira's visit to China last December, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Han Nianlong visited Japan from March 15-20 for the first regular consultation between high-level foreign ministry officials of the two countries.

The discussions covered the issues of Korea, Indochina, the Middle East, South Asia, Japan's relations with the United States and the U.S.S.R., and China's relations with Japan. When Japanese Foreign Minister Saburo Okita met with his Chinese guest on March 18, he stated that it is very important for the Japanese and Chinese officials in charge of foreign affairs to have a cordial and frank exchange of views on the international situation.



## Moscow's Reply to Proposal For Afghan Neutralization

THE Soviet Union has in effect turned down the proposal of some Western countries for the neutralization of Afghanistan by refusing to withdraw troops from that country. This is clearly indicated by the agreement reached in Moscow on March 14 between Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and Foreign Minister Shah Mohammad Dost of the Afghan Karmal regime.

Dost was summoned on March 13 to Moscow where Gromyko held talks with him on "problems of mutual concern." The following day, they reached a specific agreement on the "temporary stay" of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

**What Does "Temporary Stay" Mean?** Although the contents of the agreement are not revealed, it is not difficult for experts in Soviet affairs to conclude that the so-called "temporary stay" is but a synonym for perpetual occupation.

In 1968, after occupying Prague by a surprise attack, the Brezhnev clique forced the Czechoslovak authorities to sign an agreement on the "temporary stay" of Soviet troops in the country. Now more than ten years have elapsed, but the troops are still stationed in Czechoslovakia.

Last year, Viet Nam signed a similar agreement with the puppet regime in Phnom Penh following its occupation of Kampuchea. Now, one year later, the Vietnamese troops are

still in Kampuchea oppressing the Kampuchean people.

Therefore, won't it be fair to say that the Soviet Union is trying to do to Afghanistan what it has done to Czechoslovakia?

**Implications of Gromyko's "Political Solution."** At a dinner in Dost's honour, Gromyko made a gesture of welcoming a political solution when he said that "some people have begun twitting about the need to find political ways of settling questions relating to Afghanistan." "This can only be welcomed," he claimed. But people would ask: Since the Soviet Union has decided to keep its troops in Afghanistan for a long time, how can there be a genuine "political solution"?

Furthermore, Gromyko defined the Moscow-style "political solution" as one that should not "affect the state sovereignty of Afghanistan or ignore its lawful government" but would "guarantee Afghanistan against outside interference in its internal affairs." Dost put it even

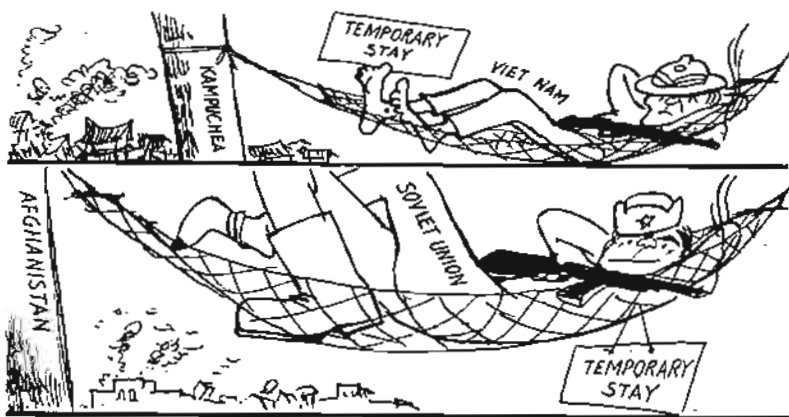
more candidly in reply when he accused "imperialists" of hatching plans to "neutralize" Afghanistan. "We shall deal a firm counterblow to this interference from outside," he added.

That is to say, the "political solution" welcomed by Gromyko is not at all the "neutralization" of Afghanistan, but recognition of Afghanistan's status as a satellite of the Soviet Union. In his own words, Afghanistan is not allowed to fall back; it must "consolidate and deepen the fruits of the April revolution."

This amounts to telling those advocates of neutrality for Afghanistan that any political solution must conform to the Soviet condition of recognizing the accomplished facts of the Soviet military invasion and the "legitimacy" of the Karmal regime.

Facts are most instructive. Those who pin their hopes on an international guarantee for Afghan neutralization in exchange for a Soviet pullout might draw proper conclusions from Moscow's reply.

— Xinhua Commentary



## Japan Looks to Its Defence

**D**EFENCE is now very much on the minds of the Japanese people. Government officials and civilians are freely expressing their views on this matter which was debated in the Diet at one point. The press, too, is giving it much space. Six major Tokyo dailies alone published more than 300 articles on the subject in the last two months.

For the first time since World War II, leading Japanese political figures have publicly expressed their determination to strengthen the country's defence. In his meeting with U.S. Ambassador to Japan Mike Mansfield on February 21; Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira said that Japan would make steady efforts to increase its defence capabilities in accordance with its financial conditions. On the same day, a foreign ministry official pointed out that in view of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the grave situation resulting from the frequent appearance of Soviet air and naval forces around Japan, it was necessary to strengthen Japan's defence capabilities and raise the people's defence consciousness.

For a long time, some Japanese political figures were reluctant to identify who Japan's defence was up against and where the threat was coming from. Many people believed that it was taboo to discuss defence and the less said about it the better. This was especially true when the Soviet Union's wind of "detente" blew to the Japanese islands. Some people began to pin their hopes on "peaceful diplomacy" as a means

of maintaining "good relations" with the Soviet Union. However, the actual situation in the area around Japan and in the Asian-Pacific region exposed "detente" as an illusion. Events clearly showed that the hegemonists were practically at Japan's front door.

**Ominous Signs.** The February 8 flight of a Soviet TU-16 "Badger" medium-range bomber armed with two of the latest AS-6 air-to-surface nuclear missiles over the Sea of Japan near Hokkaido is but one example. The Japanese Air Self-Defence Force General Staff is of the view that the flight was most likely a show of strength by Moscow. The Soviet Union has equipped more of its bombers in the Far East with these nuclear missiles and has also put about a dozen of its latest TU-22M "Backfire" bombers around Irkutsk. The operational radius of these bombers is said to be 5,700 kilometres, and the distance from Haishenwei (Vladivostok) to Tokyo is only 1,060 kilometres. There is no question of Soviet ability to strike at any target in Japan as well as Japan's vital sea lane which passes through the Strait of Malacca. The Japanese Defence Agency expects the Soviet Union to deploy some 100 such bombers in the Far East in the next few years.

Speaking before the House of Councillors' Budget Committee on March 12, a senior official of the Defence Agency said that from 1972 to 1976 Soviet troop strength in the Far East had increased from 30 divisions to 34 divisions and that another two divisions had recently been

assigned to the Far Eastern Command. Soviet naval strength had also grown around the four Japanese islands of Kunashiri, Etorofu, Habomai and Shikotan, and the addition of the aircraft carrier *Minsk* had strengthened the Soviet Pacific fleet.

Soviet air power in the Far East has been increased to over 2,000 combat aircraft with the addition of some 100 specially equipped Mig-27 fighter-bombers. The Soviet Union is also stepping up the pace of developing Pacific military bases on Sakhalin, the Kurils, and Kamchatka Peninsular.

**Apprehensions.** Moscow's strategic gains in Viet Nam, such as the use of its ports and installations, are another source of uneasiness for Japan. When 16 or 17 Soviet naval vessels sailed from the South China Sea through the Strait of Malacca to the Indian Ocean during January alone, Japan became very concerned that in the event of a crisis, the maritime self-defence force would find it very difficult to give protection to Japanese oil tankers travelling to Japan from the Coral Sea and the Solomon Islands, so that Japan's economic lifelines would be cut.

Many Japanese have expressed the fear that should a crisis occur, the self-defence forces would not be able to fulfil their role. They feel that it is important to maintain an independent defence capability which can stand up to the Soviet military threat and that the urgent task is to build up a defence capability able to face unexpected crises and uncertain situations in the 80s.



It is noteworthy that some people are raising the question of whether the United States can really safeguard Japan in view of the shift in the balance of forces and the unstable situation today. They believe that although Japan is under the U.S. nuclear umbrella, it cannot rely on the United States to look after all its defence needs. Some people in financial circles have said that in the past 35 years, Japan had relied on the strength of others for peace and that such a state of affairs cannot last for ever.

**Call for Action.** Military and political figures in Japan have recently asserted that the potential Soviet threat has become a real threat. They say that the present defence budget of 0.9 per cent of Japan's G.N.P. is insufficient, that it should be raised to 1 per cent. The Defence Agency has drafted a programme which envisages increasing the number of combat aircraft to 340 by 1985. It has adopted such measures as deploying one-third of the ground

self-defence force, some 50,000 men, in the area of Hokkaido and increasing the strength of the helicopter and missile units stationed at Wakkanai and Bibai. At the same time, efforts are being made to boost the anti-submarine, air defence and logistical strength of the self-defence forces to resist any small or medium-scale Soviet invasion.

To effect a qualitative improvement in Japan's defence, many people now are urging that defence budget appropriations for defence research be augmented several fold. They also advise that ammunition stocks should be increased from being able to last one and a half days of fighting to at least a week or ten days.

With Soviet aggression growing, the country is beginning to face reality and to realize that peace can only be had by looking to its defence.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst Yang Bianyi

### Israel's Obstinate Position

What stands out is that Israel became more obstinate when the U.N. Security Council passed the resolution. Israel's new Foreign Minister Yitzhek Shamir declared on March 10 that Israel would stick to the three principles of its policy on the Palestinian issue: refusal to return to the 1967 borders, disagreement with the creation of a Palestinian state and rejection of any partition of Jerusalem. These principles are not new by one iota. But their repetition really shows that there is no room for talks on Palestine's autonomy. On March 11, the Israeli authorities took concrete action to reassert their position when they announced the further "expropriation" of large tracts of Arab land east of Jerusalem.

### Obstacles Abound

The 11th round of negotiations on self-rule for the Palestinian people will be held soon in Cairo, only two months before the May 26 deadline. Obstacles cropped up in the previous ten rounds of talks. In addition, Israel has repeatedly put up new hurdles. The United States—a full partner in the negotiations—is shilly-shallying because of factors both at home and abroad. How to keep negotiating is a problem, to say nothing of achieving the hoped-for results. Egyptian newspapers pointed out that no one knew how to surmount the obstacles created by Israel. This is indicative of people's uneasiness about the talks.

In an interview with Israeli correspondents on March 14,

### Egypt-Israel Talks

## Difficulties and Prospects

#### Report from Cairo

THE United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution in early March denouncing Israel for its establishment of Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories.

The U.S. vote for the resolution was acclaimed by most parties concerned, but strongly re-

jected by Israel. Only two days later, U.S. President Carter issued a statement clarifying the U.S. position. In effect, it backtracked on its vote against the Israeli settlements. There were repercussions in the United States and other countries. U.N. officials were disappointed. Some Arab countries protested against the President's act.

President Sadat said that if no results of the talks are obtained by the May 26 deadline, then "it will create a new situation." Obviously, Egypt has taken the situation into consideration and is well prepared. Changes have taken place recently in the Middle East favouring a solution to the problem. A big step forward on the Palestinian question has been taken by West European countries.

### New Situation

Their proposal may be summarized as follows:

1. Recognize the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people.
2. Israel must withdraw from the Arab lands seized in 1967.
3. The Palestine Liberation Organization must be recognized and take part in the autonomy talks.

These points conform to the people's aspirations in the Middle East and are conducive to the peaceful solution of the Middle East issue. It is reported that the West European Common Market countries have worked out a plan which would be submitted to the parties concerned if no results are achieved in the tripartite talks of Egypt, Israel and the United States.

France has played an active role in the West European countries' efforts to solve the Middle East issue. The results achieved by President Giscard d'Estaing in his visit to the region were acclaimed. During the President's visit, Egyptian Prime Minister Khalil paid a five-day visit to France. In an interview with correspondents, the Prime Minister said that Egypt appreciated President Giscard d'Estaing's position.

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin will separately meet with U.S. President Carter in Washington next month to discuss Palestinian autonomy. The campaign for the presidential elections is now under way in the United States. People are keeping a watchful eye on Washington to see how big

a step forward it can take on the Palestinian issue.

However, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the United States' wavering in the Middle East and the Arabian Peninsula can hardly last much longer.

— "Renmin Ribao" correspondent Xing Xiangchao

## Voice From Guinea

**G**UINEAN President Sekou Toure condemned the Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan during his visit to Brazil not long ago. He said: We should not be indifferent to any actions encroaching upon the people's rights and sovereignty of other nations. He also noted that at the Islamic foreign ministers' conference in Islamabad, Guinea had voted against the Soviet intervention and demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops so that Afghanistan could exercise its sovereignty without hindrance.

At the same time, Guinea has taken measures to restrict Soviet diplomatic personnel in that country and halt Soviet reconnaissance flights over the southern Atlantic Ocean. The last two Soviet military advisers have left Guinea. Earlier, two years ago, President Toure had rejected a Soviet request to set up a naval base on Tamara Island.

Foreign publications have viewed Guinea as a firm "ally" of the Soviet Union. Why has Moscow been "persona

non grata" in that country in recent years?

### "Selfless Assistance"

The Kindia Bauxite Company is the biggest item of Soviet economic "aid" to Guinea. The total investment amounted to 120 million U.S. dollars. While providing the "aid," Moscow insisted that 50 per cent of the bauxite turned out should be used to pay back the Soviet investment and 40 per cent for repaying its old debts to the Soviet Union (mainly debts of "military aid"). Only 10 per





cent of the products can be controlled by Guinea. Moscow also demanded that the price of the products should be fixed at only one-third of the international market price.

From 1974, the year the mine went into operation, to 1976, Moscow paid only six dollars for a ton of bauxite imported from Guinea, compared with the 23 U.S. dollars paid by the West. The Guinean Government was quite rightly incensed at this unreasonable price spread. Only after two years of its arduous struggle did the price of bauxite exported to the Soviet Union reach 16 U.S. dollars per ton.

Guinea's debts to the Soviet Union now stand at 450 million U.S. dollars. If Guinea wants to pay off its debts, 90 per cent of the Kindia bauxite products will have to be transported to the Soviet Union for 30 years running. It is still a question whether or not the mining machines and equipment provided by the Soviet Union can run well for that length of time.

Using "aid" as a bait, the Soviet Union also seized the rights of berth and transit for its warships and planes. It was by making use of these rights that Moscow turned Conakry into a military depot to transport Soviet military hardware and Cuban mercenaries during the Angola war in 1975. In the same way, Conakry Airport was made a strategic reconnaissance spot for keeping a regular lookout over the military movements of the United States and the West European countries in the Atlantic Ocean.

The Soviet Union, moreover, induced Guinea to sign a fishery

agreement and acquired the right to fish at will in the territorial waters of Guinea. It is widely known in the country that the Soviet experts and advisers have the skill of "picking up something on the sly." Taking advantage of their position, they stole the country's precious stones. Eighteen Soviet experts have been arrested for that.

#### Subversive Activities

The Soviet Union has not only exploited Guinea economically by force or by trick, but has also attempted to control it politically. For this purpose, Moscow has again and again engaged in subversive tricks. In 1969, the Soviet ambassador to Guinea was expelled for his involvement in attempts to subvert the Guinean Govern-

ment. In the 1970s, Soviet diplomatic personnel were kicked out for their meddling in the internal affairs of the country.

Time reveals a man's heart. From their long experience, the Guinean Government and people have seen the true colours of the "natural ally." President Toure once said that in its 20-year alliance with Moscow, Guinea only obtained a stadium, several small office buildings, a military institute (now it is empty) and a runway at the international airport.

The recent actions taken by Guinea are the result of summing up its experience and lessons in its dealings over many years with Moscow, and also the natural outcome of the Soviet hegemonist policy in the third world.

— Xu Guang

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## Comrade Liu Shaoqi in 1925, 1927 and 1929

THE recently concluded Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party adopted a resolution rehabilitating Comrade Liu Shaoqi. The Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline and some comrades concerned have brought to the attention of Xinhua correspondents a mountain of materials from historical archives and articles carried in the Chinese press in the 1920s. These materials point to the fact that the charges against Comrade Liu Shaoqi's past made by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company in their so-called "investigation report" submitted to the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee in 1968 were entirely fictitious.

Earlier, the commission has spent one whole year making a very thorough investigation into this matter and has repeatedly checked up on all the related materials.

The following gives a factual account of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's activities in 1925, 1927 and 1929.

### 1925

In May 1925, Comrade Liu Shaoqi was elected Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions at the Second National Labour Congress held in Guangzhou. Soon afterwards, he went to Shanghai to take part in the leadership of the workers' movement there. Years of heavy work weighed down on him: he became seriously ill and returned to his native place in Hunan in November of that year for recuperation. Upon his arrival in Changsha, he was arrested by the city's military curfew command under the local warlord Zhao Hengti. That was December 16, 1925.

Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company used this to accuse Comrade Liu Shaoqi falsely of being a "renegade." In their "investigation report," it was said that Comrade Liu Shaoqi at that time "was afraid of struggle," "deserted the trade union council in Shanghai under the

pretext of 'recuperation,'" and "in November the same year absconded to Changsha."

It was also said that after the arrest, "all his backstage supporters" turned out "to engage in counter-revolutionary political dealing" with Zhao Hengti, which made Comrade Liu Shaoqi accept completely "the terms for sparing his life." It was said he "surrendered himself to the enemy and betrayed the revolution"; later, in Guangzhou, he allegedly again "wormed his way into the Party with an ulterior motive." Such is the background of the charge "renegade" against Comrade Liu Shaoqi.

The fact was, as recorded in many documents of that time, that in 1925 Comrade Liu Shaoqi, together with Qu Qiubai, Li Lisan and other comrades, had led 200,000 Shanghai workers and the local residents in waging a heroic struggle against British and Japanese imperialism. This was the well-known May 30th Movement, which brought about a nationwide struggle against imperialism and rang up the curtain on the great revolution in China. To say that Comrade Liu Shaoqi was "afraid of struggle" is entirely against the historical fact.

For instance, a news dispatch carried by the *Shanghai Trade Union Council Semi-weekly News* (October 16, 1925) reported: "Before this council was banned, Liu Shaoqi was already seriously ill. But he would rather sacrifice himself in the interest of the workers, so he carried on his work in poor health. After this council was banned, his health deteriorated further, his body overtaxed by work. But Liu Shaoqi has not asked for a sick leave. On the contrary, he works night and day without a moment's rest, examining and going through various manuscripts and personally calling on workers at their homes about all kinds of business."

Some papers published in Changsha and Guangzhou at that time also described how Comrade Liu Shaoqi, then seriously ill, under the most difficult circumstances in which the enemy was out to persecute the revolutionaries, continued his work day and night in disregard





Comrade Liu Shaoqi in Shanghai (1925).

of his own poor health. It is clear in these reports that he was never "afraid of struggle" nor had he deserted the unions.

After the arrest of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, Zhao Hengti was deluged with cables of protest from trade unions and other organizations throughout the country condemning him and demanding Liu's release. The number of such messages sometimes reached as many as 40 a day. A special issue of *Workers' Road* (No. 237, dated February 20, 1926) published a news story under the title "Liu Shaoqi Released, Comes to Guangdong." It said: "Mr. Liu Shaoqi, Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, was unwarrantedly arrested and jailed by warlord Zhao Hengti when he went back to Hunan for recuperation. Unions throughout the country, on learning the news, flocked to telegraph Zhao Hengti demanding the immediate release of Mr. Liu. Zhao in Hunan, deterred by the strength of the masses, released Mr. Liu on January 16."

He Baozhen, who was married to Comrade Liu Shaoqi at that time, also travelled a lot to plead with her relatives, friends and townsmen to help save her husband. Among others pleaded with were Hong Gengyan, Director of the Changsha Anti-Opium Bureau; Ouyang Zhen-

sheng, Speaker of the Hunan Provincial Assembly, and Ye Kaixin and He Yaozu, who were divisional commanders under Zhao Hengti and also hailed from Ningxiang County, Liu's home town.

It was a common practice in the days of reactionary rule for the Communist Party to use connections with people in high places to save arrested comrades or get them freed on bail. But the so-called report claimed ridiculously that these people were Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "backstage supporters." Upon his release, he was expelled from Hunan, and there was no evidence to show that he had agreed to Zhao's "terms for sparing his life," or that he had "surrendered himself to the enemy" or "betrayed the revolution."

The "investigation report," based on the orders issued by Zhao Hengti in Hunan on capital punishment, asserted that Liu Shaoqi was sure to be executed if he had not surrendered. In October that year, Huang Jingyuan, deputy director of the Workers' Club in Anyuan, Jiangxi, was killed by another warlord in that province. This had nothing to do with the arrest of Comrade Liu Shaoqi at a later date and his release. And yet, the report actually linked this with Comrade Liu Shaoqi's arrest and release to accuse him of being a "renegade."

After Comrade Liu Shaoqi was set free, he went to Guangzhou in February 1926. Representatives of the trade unions in Guangdong Province and Xianggang (Hongkong) called on him to pay their respects. As soon as he had recovered slightly from his illness, he took charge of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and led the workers' anti-imperialist strike in Guangdong and Xianggang.

According to issue No. 249 of a special issue of *Workers' Road*, dated March 4, 1926, the federation held a big rally in Guangzhou to welcome Comrade Liu Shaoqi. The rally was addressed by Deng Zhongxia, one of the leaders and noted activists of the young Chinese Communist Party and a member of the executive committee of the federation. In his speech, Deng called Comrade Liu Shaoqi a "most courageous fighter of the working class." This is a fitting description of Liu Shaoqi in his activities in 1925.

## 1927

In 1927, Comrade Liu Shaoqi was a member of the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and secretary-gen-

eral of the Hubei provincial trade union council. Early that year, under his leadership, workers and other labouring people in Wuhan launched a struggle against British imperialists who had shot some Chinese workers. They seized the British concession in Hankou which had been controlled by the British imperialists for decades. This was unprecedented in the Chinese people's century-long struggle against imperialism. In April of the same year, Liu Shaoqi led the workers in waging a struggle against the Japanese imperialists who had slaughtered Chinese workers.

Yet, the "investigation report" on Liu Shaoqi's case submitted to the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company in 1968, stated that when Japanese imperialist sailors killed Chinese workers in Hankou on April 3, 1927, Liu Shaoqi acted as a "bodyguard for the Japanese" and a "running dog of the imperialists."

The sole evidence produced was the resolution of the emergency meeting of representatives of trade unions in Wuhan and the proclamation of the Hubei provincial trade union council. The resolution contained such statements as "Support the foreign policy of the National Government." The proclamation by the Hubei provincial trade union council stated: "Wait for the National Government to make a serious representation and for measures to be worked out by the trade union council."

At that time, the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party was Chen Duxiu. The above-mentioned documents were all drawn up in accordance with the guidelines and strategy for struggle formulated by the then Party Central Committee headed by Chen Duxiu, and they were not decisions taken by Liu Shaoqi on his own initiative.

Chen Duxiu's opportunist line, the line of surrendering leadership of the revolutionary cause to the Kuomintang government, was repudiated and he was removed from leadership at an emergency meeting called by the Party in August 1927. His mistakes were examined in greater detail at the Sixth Party Congress the next year.

Another charge in the 1968 "investigation report" was that Liu Shaoqi later "transferred the core members of the Wuhan trade union council," "separating the cadres from the masses"; and that he "disbanded the workers pickets" and "handed over all the firearms and

ammunition, even the sticks, of the children's corps, to the Kuomintang office in charge of the garrison in Wuhan." This was the basis for calling Liu Shaoqi a "traitor" and "scab."

The historical facts are that after Chiang Kai-shek had staged the counter-revolutionary coup against the Communist Party on April 12, 1927 in Shanghai, the Wang Jingwei clique in the Wuhan government also quickened its steps in opposing the Communists and betraying the revolution.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party made the decision to disperse the Wuhan cadres to avoid unnecessary losses. The Hubei provincial trade union council therefore transferred known Party cadres to work elsewhere and replaced them with some cadres unknown to the Wuhan authorities. This measure to deal with the changed situation was necessary and absolutely correct. Li Wei-han, who was then a Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the Organization Department of the Party Central Committee, and many other comrades have given testimony to this effect.

As to disbanding the workers pickets and handing over their arms to the Kuomintang, Party documents published soon after the event said that the then Party Central Committee headed by Chen Duxiu, who had followed a Right opportunist line, was held responsible for these actions. Chen Duxiu himself later acknowledged this.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi, who was not a leading member of the Central Committee at the time, was in no position to decide the issue.

On behalf of the trade unions, Liu Shaoqi did make a report to the workers movement commission of the Kuomintang workers department giving an account of the handing over of arms and its significance. This should be viewed as a Party member carrying out the erroneous decision of a higher Party organization. It is groundless for Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company to hold Liu Shaoqi responsible and accuse him of "acting as an enemy agent and traitor."

The 1968 report also accused Liu Shaoqi of colluding with Wang Jingwei and Chen Gongbo, two high-ranking Kuomintang officials. It asserted that Liu was named "head of the workers movement group of the Kuomintang" and that he offered advice to the enemy. Substantiation rested on a written confession dated October 6, 1968 by a man named Ding Juequn.





The museum for the movement of Anyuan railwaymen and coalminers has been reopened. Liu Shaoqi took part in leading the movement in 1922.

Ding, a Communist Party member, was head of the workers department and a member of the executive committee of the Kuomintang Hankou special city headquarters during 1926 and 1927. He left the Communist Party after he was arrested in 1928. He once testified that Liu Shaoqi had not been arrested in Hankou and had had no illicit connections with Wang Jingwei and Chen Gongbo.

But later on he was coerced to produce false evidence which alleged that Liu Shaoqi had been the head of a two-man "workers movement group" of Kuomintang, the other member being Ding Juequn himself. The false evidence also claimed that Liu had written a letter to Chen Gongbo asking to be arrested so as to cover up his real role as a "traitor." Ding Juequn later recanted his confession on a number of occasions, insisting that it had been extorted by threats. However, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company ignored his disavowal and used the false evidence to vilify Liu Shaoqi.

Still another charge in the 1968 report, based on a message dated June 29, 1927 sent by a police station in the French concession in Hankou to the French consul-general in Wuhan, was that Comrade Liu Shaoqi had been arrested along with a number of other Wuhan trade union leaders on June 28, 1927. The report alleged that this was the "sham" arrest arranged by Liu Shaoqi in collaboration with Chen Gongbo.

Evidence supplied by people who had worked with the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and the Hubei provincial trade union council at the time shows that no trade union leaders were arrested. Local newspapers at that time reported only that the trade unions were harassed by the army. There is no reference whatsoever in the press to the arrest of trade union leaders.

## 1929

Comrade Liu Shaoqi was transferred from his post as Party secretary of the Hudong District of Shanghai by the Party Central Committee to become secretary of the Manzhou (covering the three provinces of present-day Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang in northeast China) provincial Party committee in the summer of 1929. Northeast China was then under the rule of Japanese imperialism and Chinese warlords. Party organizations there had been seriously damaged or wrecked in December 1928 because of betrayal by a traitor. The revolution was in a very difficult period.

After his arrival, Liu Shaoqi took steps to consolidate the Party organizations and energetically revived the worker, student and peasant movements, scoring notable advances in all fields. Historical records showed that while in Manzhou Comrade Liu Shaoqi fulfilled splendidly the tasks assigned to him by the Party.

On August 22, 1929, workers in the Fengtian Textile Mill in Shenyang went on strike. Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Meng Yongqian (then head of the organization department of the Manzhou provincial Party committee) were picked up by factory guards at the mill gate where they had gone to contact Party comrades and were detained on suspicion. They were sent to a police station and turned over to the procuratorial office of the city's higher court. Liu Shaoqi and Meng Yongqian never revealed their true identity. No evidence being produced that linked them with "fomenting a strike," the court released them on bail.

These facts were established by documents written then and depositions by Meng Yongqian and other people concerned. The arrest of Liu Shaoqi and Meng Yongqian was not followed by any arrest of other comrades involved, nor the smashing of a single Party organization. Their "betrayal" was out of the question.

Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company in the 1968 report alleged that Liu Shaoqi had turned "traitor" and "immediately on arrest admitted he was secretary of the Manzhou provincial Party committee," betrayed the leading members of the provincial committee and the subordinate Party organizations, "given advice and suggestions to the ruling class," and was thus released. They accused Liu Shaoqi of providing the enemy with information that brought the "wrecking of Party organizations, with many members arrested or killed."

In fact, the smashing of the Manzhou provincial committees of the Party and the Communist Youth League as well as the arrest of many leaders that the 1968 report referred to took place in April 1930. According to the evidence provided by several comrades who worked at the two committees at that time, the arrest of the leaders of the provincial committees of the Party and the Communist Youth League and more than 30 Party and Youth League members was caused by Du Lanting who worked at the provincial committee of the Communist Youth League and turned traitor after being arrested. Liu Shaoqi had earlier been transferred to Shanghai.

Some people involved in working up the 1968 investigation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's case stated that Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company organized a team of 400 to go through all the enemy archives and newspapers and magazines put out in the three provinces of northeast China during that period to find evidence of

Liu Shaoqi's defection after his arrest in Shenyang. They found none.

The first draft of the 1968 report said nothing about Liu Shaoqi supplying information to the enemy after being arrested that led to the breaking up of the Manzhou provincial Party committee and its subordinate organizations and the arrest and murder of many Party members. These accusations were added later by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company even though some persons in the investigation group who were familiar with the period had raised objections.

Those who worked in the group said: "When Liu Shaoqi's case was made known, the leadership relayed to us that the report had been finalized by Zhang Chunqiao." So Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company shifted the sabotage of the provincial Party committee caused by the betrayal of Du Lanting in April 1930 onto Comrade Liu Shaoqi who had returned to Shanghai by that time. The incident happened on April 1930, but they said it took place in August 1929. Actually Comrade Liu Shaoqi was transferred by the Party Central Committee to Shanghai in March 1930, and then sent to Moscow to attend the Fifth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions.

The reinvestigation in 1979 has established that all the written confessions by "insiders" were extracted by coercion. As early as 1968, Meng Yongqian began to lodge appeals and repudiated his false confessions made under force. During his imprisonment, he wrote as many as 20 appeals. They were either pigeonholed or destroyed by Meng himself under compulsion.

On file is the letter Meng Yongqian wrote on March 18, 1969 to the "investigation group." It said: "Prior to the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee (that adopted the resolution labelling Liu Shaoqi a "renegade, traitor and scab" and expelling him "from the Party once and for all"—Ed.), in the period from August to October last year (1968), why was I asked to copy again and again the two confessions which I had fabricated earlier and for which I had made self-criticism for seriously deceiving the Party, and why were they turned over to the Party Central Committee? . . . A fabrication is a fabrication. It deserves no credence. Yet they were turned over to the Central Committee all the same. This shows that there are serious problems in the investigation of the case and the work of interrogation involved."



# China's Intellectuals — Part of the Working Class

by Our Correspondent      Luo Fu

Intellectuals are playing an increasingly important role in China's drive towards socialist modernization. But how many intellectuals are there in this large country of 900 million people? What are their past and present circumstances like? What are the Communist Party's policies towards them? This special feature provides a historical overview and describes the experiences of two famous scholars.

## History in Retrospect

IT is a long defined policy of the Party to rely on an alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals in China's socialist construction. However, intellectuals were practically excluded from the alliance and their revolutionary fervour was negated during the Cultural Revolution due to interference from Lin Biao and the gang of four's ultra-Left line. Some extremists who craved to broaden the scope of class struggle even called them the "stinking ninth," meaning they constituted the ninth category of class enemies after the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists, renegades, enemy agents and capitalist-roaders.

Actually, the Chinese intellectuals have a long revolutionary tradition and they have made important contributions to China's socialist revolution and construction.

### Revolutionary Tradition

**Role of Vanguard and Bridge.** As old China was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, its intellectuals differed from

those in capitalist countries. Proceeding from this reality, Comrade Mao Zedong made the following analysis of their position and role in China's revolution: "Apart from that section of the intellectuals which has associated itself with the imperialists and the big bourgeoisie and works for them against the people, most intellectuals and students are oppressed by imperialism, feudalism and the big bourgeoisie, and live in fear of unemployment or of having to discontinue their studies. Therefore, they tend to be quite revolutionary. They are more or less equipped with bourgeois scientific knowledge, have a keen political sense and often play a vanguard role or serve as a link with the masses in the present stage of the revolution." (*The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party, 1939.*)

The May 4th Movement of 1919, which was the prelude to China's new-democratic revolution (the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary movement led by the proletariat, which differs from the old-

democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie), was waged by hundreds of thousands of students. While at its onset this movement only involved intellectuals with budding communist thought, petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie, it quickly developed into a nationwide revolutionary movement, in which the working class played the principal part. With the development of the movement, the revolutionary intellectuals went into the midst of the workers and peasants, disseminated Marxism-Leninism among them and led the urban workers on strike, thus promoting the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese workers' movement, preparing an ideological foundation and training cadres for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921.

A person who merits special mention here is Li Dazhao (1889-1927), a professor of economics at Beijing University and one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party. One of the first Marxists in China, he embraced and propagated Marxism-Leninism after the Russian October Revolution and actively led the May 4th Movement. When he was the director of Beijing University Library, Comrade Mao Zedong worked under him. In 1927 he was arrested by a warlord at the age of 38 and died a heroic death in Beijing. His celebrated dictum, "With an iron shoulder, I uphold justice; and with a

劉大濤領首方北黨在共國中



Li Dazhao before his execution.

skillful hand, I write articles" is still popular among the people.

Actually, many veteran Chinese leaders, including Comrades Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De, had great learning and were well versed in poetry and literature. They gradually embraced Marxism in their revolutionary practice and became staunch proletarian revolutionaries.

**Integrating With the Workers and Peasants.** In the 1930s, the Japanese imperialists launched an all-out war of aggression against China and the fate of the Chinese nation hung in the balance. Another momentous student movement led by the Chinese Communist Party, the December 9th Movement, broke out in 1935. Students in Beijing first went into action, demanding that the Kuomintang government stop fighting a civil war against the Communist Party, and resist foreign invaders. Later, more and more intellectuals went to the

Party-led revolutionary base areas and integrated with the workers and peasants. Yao Yilin, who was recently elected a Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Huang Hua, Foreign Minister, Jiang Nanxiang, the Minister of Education, and many other senior cadres were all key members of the movement.

In 1945, on the eve of the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong summarized that, in the preceding half a century, "The numerous revolutionary intellectuals have played a very great role in the people's struggle for liberation. . . . They will play an even greater role in the struggles to come." (*On Coalition Government*, 1945.)

Comrade Mao Zedong's prediction was borne out by later developments. In the 1946-49 War of Liberation against Chiang Kai-shek's tyrannical rule, more and more intellectuals sympathized with or joined the

ranks of the revolution, taking part in the struggle against the reactionary regime. Many scholars and professors actively supported and participated in the student movement which spread like wildfire. Comrade Mao Zedong once appraised the student movement at that time as the "second front," the first front being the battlefield where the People's Liberation Army was locked in bitter struggle against the Kuomintang troops.

**Patriotic Sentiments and Celebrating Liberation.** Many of the scholars and professors at that time had studied in Europe and America. To serve the needs of its aggression, imperialism created for China millions of intellectuals of a new type, differing from the old type of literati. However, the imperialists could only control some of them, and later, only a handful. Though many were liberals and democratic individualists, they had strong patriotic sentiments and some even laid down their lives for the revolution. For instance,

### How Many Intellectuals In China?

**I**N China, the term "intellectuals" embraces professors, scientists, senior engineers and writers who are commonly known as highly qualified intellectuals as well as ordinary technicians in factories, primary school teachers and other mental workers with professional knowledge.

• At the time of the founding of New China in 1949, there were about 3 million intellectuals, including teachers, professors, scientific and technical workers, literary and

art workers, journalists and physicians.

• The number increased to 5 million by 1957.

• At present, China has 25 million intellectuals, 90 per cent of whom are graduates from institutions of higher learning or technical secondary schools, postgraduate students and students returned from or still studying abroad, all trained after 1949. Of the 25 million, 6 million are scientific and technical workers. Ninety per cent of the total trained in the last 30 years come from working people's families.





Students fighting the Kuomintang cops during the December 9th Movement (1935).

Wen Yiduo (1899-1946), a famous poet and professor, and Li Gongpu (1900-46), a professor, were both assassinated by Kuomintang special agents.

In 1949, when the Liberation Army captured Nanjing, the capital of the Kuomintang regime, Leighton Stuart, then U.S. ambassador to China, stayed on in the city, hopeful that China's democratic individualists (or "political dissidents" as they are commonly referred to nowadays) would turn the tide. But, "What did he see? Apart from the People's Liberation Army marching east, column after column, and the workers, peasants and students rising in hosts, he saw something else — the Chinese liberals or democratic individualists turning out in force, shouting slogans and talking revolution together with the workers, peasants, soldiers and students. In short, he was left out in the cold, 'standing all alone, body and shadow comforting each other.' There was nothing more for him to do, and he had to take to the road, his briefcase under his arm." (Mao Zedong, *Farewell, Leighton Stuart*, 1949.)

Looking back at history, the Chinese intellectuals were full of revolutionary vigour. Many of them embraced Marxism, integrated with the workers and peasants and became proletarian revolutionaries. The great majority were happy to see the Party-led revolution succeed, and hoped that the poor and backward old China could embark on a course to prosperity.

### The Party's Policies

**Recruiting Large Numbers of Intellectuals.** During the Agrarian Revolutionary War (1927-37), owing to the limitations of the historical conditions and the influence of the "Left" opportunist line, many comrades in the Party adopted an erroneous attitude towards intellectuals, and so, there were only a few intellectuals in the revolutionary ranks. Soon after the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1937, many students went to the anti-Japanese base areas. But since many comrades in the Party harboured misgivings about intellectuals at that time, they excluded them from the revolutionary ranks. To counter

this tendency, Comrade Mao Zedong drafted the Party Central Committee's decision *Recruiting Large Numbers of Intellectuals* in 1939. He pointed out, "Without the participation of the intellectuals victory in the revolution is impossible." This decision attracted large numbers of intellectuals to the revolution.

**Uniting, Educating and Remoulding.** Though the overwhelming majority of intellectuals supported the Communist Party after liberation, most of them came from families of the exploiting classes (because the sons and daughters of the labouring people had scant opportunity to receive an education) and had received a bourgeois education. Therefore, in order to prepare them for the new working and living conditions of the socialist society, a re-education programme was carried out among them, referred to as "ideological remoulding." It was then that the Party put forward the policy to unite, educate and remould that section of the intellectuals.

The Party organizations enthusiastically organized them



Li Gongpu, a professor who died a martyr's death in 1946 for his opposition to the Kuomintang government.



Chairman Mao shaking hands with Li Siguang, a noted geologist, in 1964.

to study the basics of Marxism-Leninism, encouraged them to get to know the workers and peasants and to learn from the good qualities of the labouring people, asked them to discard traditional values left over from the old society, including looking down on the labouring people, making their own way and lacking collectivism. The Party's policy achieved remarkable results. The greater part of the intellectuals gradually became accustomed to the new socialist values and morals and made valuable contributions to the speedy rehabilitation of the national economy and the realization of the targets of the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57).

In 1956 Comrade Zhou Enlai, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, announced that the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals coming from the old society "have become state working personnel serving socialism and part of the working class." He also said, "The Party Central Committee holds that

large numbers of intellectuals need to be recruited for the revolution, especially construction." This statement greatly enhanced the morale of the intellectuals. At that time, the slogan "March on science" could be heard all over the country and a new upsurge of socialist economic and cultural construction began to take shape.

**Training New Intellectuals.** At the same time, the Party undertook the task of training large numbers of intellectuals of a new type. The following statistics illustrate the Party's endeavours in this sphere:

- During the First Five-Year Plan, 270,000 people graduated from institutions of higher learning and 840,000 completed their studies in special or technical secondary schools.

- In 1952 there were only 170,000 engineers and technicians working in China's economic departments. By 1957, the number had reached 800,000, a 4.5-fold increase.

- In 1957, over 90 per cent of the 670,000 students in institutions of higher learning came from families of the labouring people.

In order to help the cadres of worker and peasant origins to acquire vocational knowledge and raise the educational level of workers and peasants, many spare-time classes were started.

**Twists and Turns.** But during the year of 1957, the scope of struggle against bourgeois Rightists was mistakenly enlarged. Many intellectuals who had criticized the Party out of goodwill were wrongly labelled "anti-Party, anti-socialist" bourgeois Rightists. Many specialists who maintained a scientific attitude and resisted the craze of exaggeration during the Great Leap Forward in 1958 were criticized as conservative Right-deviationists who were carrying the "white flag" and following the beaten path. Later on, the Party Central Committee discovered and corrected this and other mistakes made during the Great Leap Forward.

**Hat-Off Salutation.** At the Guangzhou meeting attended by intellectuals from the scientific and technological, literary and art circles in 1962, Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi made an analysis of the "Left" mistakes towards intellectuals since 1957. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: Workers, peasants and intellectuals constitute the three parts of the working people and the hat of "bourgeois intellectuals" (a label forced on all the intellectuals) should be removed. Chen Yi, a poet and a field marshal, humorously punned that we should salute the intellectuals with our hats off — meaning that the intellectuals should be respected and have their labels removed.



This helped mobilize the intellectuals and give full play to their initiative.

**An Appalling Catastrophe.** But the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), which began four years later, inflicted a greater catastrophe upon the intellectuals because of the ultra-Left line pushed by Lin Biao and the gang of four. The intellectuals were condemned as "the bourgeoisie," and "a hotbed of revisionism," therefore, "a target of the proletarian dictatorship — the stinking ninth."

Just as Ye Jianying, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, pointed out last October in his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic: "... A large number of intellectuals, including almost all heads of education institutions, professors, doctors, social scientists, writers, artists and journalists... suffered from frame-ups, attacks, and persecution in varying degrees while their families and relatives also suffered because of guilt by association. It is an appalling catastrophe suffered by all our people."

In the holocaust, it was the interests of the people all over the country that suffered the most. By 1976, the national economy had been brought to the brink of collapse and the quality of education had gone from bad to worse because the institutions of higher learning had stopped functioning for a number of years. A whole generation of sons and daughters of the workers and peasants and other youths were deprived of a proper education as a result. The repercussions will be felt for a long time to come.

**A Judgement of Historic Sig-**

**nificance.** After the smashing of the gang of four, the Party Central Committee adopted a series of measures to restore its correct policies towards intellectuals. At the National Science Conference held in 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, once again pointed out that the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals "have become a part of the working class itself. The difference between them and the physical workers is only a difference of division of labour in society. Those who engage in physical labour and those who engage in mental labour are all labourers of the socialist society." He also said, "We are happy to say that the greater part of the scientific and technological workers have stood on the side of the working class. Such revolutionary intellectuals are a reliable force of our Party."

This important judgement received a warm response from the 25 million intellectuals, their families and relatives. The broad masses of the workers

and peasants, from their own experiences in the long years of the revolutionary war, have come to know that intellectuals are their comrades-in-arms, and, in their efforts to build socialism, the latter, always following the Party's teachings and attaching importance to their integration with the workers and peasants, have not turned into an "alien force" that lords it over the labouring people. So the general populace of workers and peasants also supports the Party's effort to set the policy towards intellectuals right.

Throughout the country a comradely relationship between intellectuals, workers and peasants is developing. It will play a significant role in promoting stability and unity and quickening the pace of the four modernizations. While there are still some people who stick to their ultra-Left views and are even hostile towards the intellectuals, events have proved them wrong. They know nothing about what has happened or is happening.

## Why a Part of the Working Class?

**I**N China, there are mainly three categories of intellectuals:

- Intellectuals from the old society were mostly employed by the capitalists. Like wage labourers, they were, in essence, mental workers creating surplus value for the capitalists. There were also a considerable number of professionals who, like those engaging independently in manual labour, belonged to the petty-bourgeoisie in terms of class status. Intellectuals who were capitalists themselves and who were inclined to imperialism and opposed the masses were comparatively few in number.

Since liberation, thanks to the Party's policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding them, the vast majority of these intellectuals have changed from serving the old society and private ownership to serving the new society and public ownership. They have changed tremendously in their ideology and ways of life. Some of them have made outstanding contributions to the socialist revolution and construction. Therefore, it can be said that the majority of them have become a part of the working class.

- Intellectuals who took part in revolution before the founding of New China had long ago



Lin Yu (second from right), who was doubly promoted to be an associate research fellow of the Institute of Semi-Conductor, talking with his colleagues.

turned into proletarian revolutionaries and intellectuals of the working class. Quite a number of workers and peasants who took part in revolution before liberation have become intellectuals, so they are intellectuals of the working class as well.

- Intellectuals trained by the Party in the 30 years since the founding of New China have in the main received proletarian and socialist education and worked under Party leadership after graduation. Making up about 90 per cent of all the intellectuals, they are the backbone force in the drive for the four modernizations. There is no reason to look upon them as "bourgeois intellectuals" as the gang of four did.

It can thus be seen that the majority of Chinese intellectuals are a part of the working class. But this, of course, does not mean that in the days to come there is no need for them to receive education and to undergo ideological remoulding; this education and ideological remoulding, however, is not for the purpose of changing the basic political attitude and class stand; it is education and remoulding in the same nature as

that conducted among workers, peasants and cadres.

In the historical period of socialism, the Chinese working people, including the intellectuals, still have to overcome the influence of bourgeois ideas. Among the intellectuals today, there are some individuals who oppose socialism. This is also the case with a small number of workers, peasants and cadres. But one must not therefore fail to recognize that the majority of the intellectuals are a part of the working class.

#### Concrete Measures

Measures are being taken by the Party and government to correct some past errors in the treatment of intellectuals. They include:

- Redressing cases of frame-ups, wrong and false charges imposed on intellectuals. For instance, comrades who were wrongly designated as bourgeois Rightists in 1957 have been rehabilitated and reassigned work commensurate with their talents.

- Promoting competent Party and non-Party intellectuals to leading positions. In Shenyang, the largest industrial city in northeast China, nearly 1,000 scientists and engineers have

been promoted to leading positions in factories and colleges.

- Admitting into the Communist Party those intellectuals who applied for Party membership many years ago and who are qualified. Among those recently admitted are the celebrated mathematician Hua Luogeng, famous physicist Yan Jici and noted Beijing opera actress Zhao Yanxia. In Beijing, 2,600 intellectuals were admitted into the Party last year, making up 15 per cent of the total number of new members admitted in 1979.

- Reassigning work to scientific and technical personnel whose previous work was not related to their own field. In the past three years, 160,000 such persons were given new jobs. This figure is equivalent to the total number of college graduates in 1965.

- Restoring and perfecting the system of conferring titles on intellectuals in universities and colleges and in research institutes. On February 12, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress endorsed regulations for awarding the academic degrees of doctor, master and bachelor. They will come into effect on January 1, 1981.

- Honouring and citing intellectuals who have made outstanding contributions, as is done in the case of workers and peasants. At the national model workers' conference held last December, 160, or 47 per cent, of the 340 model workers were intellectuals.

- Improving their material well-being wherever conditions permit. Owing to the fact that our national economy was seriously sabotaged years before, many urgent problems cry out for solution and they cannot all be solved at once. Working and living conditions



of intellectuals have to be improved. Many middle-aged intellectuals are living in overcrowded quarters and their in-

comes are lower than those of industrial workers of the same age. These problems, which have received the attention of

the government and sympathy of the public, will be solved gradually as the economy develops.

## There Is Such An Economist

Sun Yefang has made his mark on socialist political economy. Early on he was wrongly criticized, a good two years before the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution. Later, he was thrown into prison and detained for as long as seven years without a single valid count against him. But he did not give in. Removed from his official post, he had no wish to give up his views; in jail, he continued his research work and writing, with amazing pertinacity; rehabilitated, he is now working harder still, day in, day out. He is one from the older generation of working class intellectuals nurtured by the Party.

Seventy-two-year-old Sun Yefang joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1924, was sent to study in Moscow and took up political economy upon his return from the Soviet Union. After the countrywide liberation, he was once vice-director of the State Statistical Bureau and director of the Institute of Economics.

He is at once a scholar and a man of action. Through practice and years of deliberation in the field of theory, Sun Yefang has brought up some fresh notions on questions of socialist political economy. He is of the opinion that "planning and statistics should be carried out on the basis of the law of value," and once stated: "There may be one thousand or even ten thousand laws, but of all these laws, the first one is the law of value." He unequivocally emphasizes that profit should serve



Sun Yefang.

as an overall standard for examining the success or failure of the management of an enterprise. He stands for extending more power to enterprises, and so on and so forth. Today, these viewpoints are being accepted by an increasing number of researchers as well as people engaged in practical economic work. But these very ideas had in the past caused him to be labelled as a protagonist of "putting revisionist profits in command" and advocating "revisionist enterprise autonomy."

"I don't care if I lose my life. I don't mind if my name is compromised, but I will not abandon my views, and I want to live on for the sake of the truth which I uphold." That is what Sun Yefang said.

### A Unique Book

Published first in 1867, Marx's *Capital* by 1971 was more than a hundred years old. In those years it was translated into various languages and upwards of ten million copies were printed throughout the world. But there is probably not another copy like the one kept at Sun Yefang's bedside in the cell. All the more important chapters,

sections, passages and sentences are marked with different kinds of signs. Inside the pages there are book-marks made of toilet paper and candy-wrappers, in different shapes and placed in different positions. These markers and signs, which epitomize his very fruitful ideas, make up a "note book" which he alone can decipher.

In Sun's second year in prison, Lin Biao's plot was brought to light and his plane crashed when he tried to leave the country and defect. After that, life in the prison was slightly better. Sun was even allowed to read Marxist-Leninist works. Back in the early 1960s, he had already started writing a book on socialist political economy, having worked out an outline and made some drafts for a few chapters. But very soon he was under fire. When the great cataclysm began in 1966, he couldn't even find a quiet place or a desk to work at. There in prison, though a desk was nowhere in sight, he now at least had found a place quiet enough. So in his mind he started "writing" the book. Following the introduction there are 22 chapters and 183 sections, each one of which underwent thorough contemplation; every passage was carefully measured, every sentence precisely worded.

### Economics on Both Sides Of the Bars

An economist was in prison, so was Marxist economics. Outside the prison walls the pseudo-socialist economics of Lin Biao and the gang of four

was at large. The time when Sun Yefang's views on socialist profit were being repudiated again and again was also the time when many enterprises in the country dared not mention profit and when they were suffering ever-mounting losses. The time when his suggestions for guiding economic work in accordance with the law of value were constantly under fire was the very time when our national economy was being penalized for violating objective economic laws and undermined to the verge of collapse.

### As Long as He's Alive, He Carries On

In April 1975, Sun Yefang left the prison in a car—released with no explanation, just as he had been jailed with no explanation.

The car took him to the Institute of Economics and the first thing he said to people who came to greet him when he stepped out of the car was: "One, I won't change my mind. Two, I won't change

my profession. Three, I won't change my views!" The gang of four was still in power at the time, Sun's friends were concerned for his safety.

Sun Yefang was infuriated by the distortion of Marxist principles by the theoretical swindlers then in control of public opinion. So he started reading Marxist classics even more attentively, enumerating the distortions item by item in order to expose them. He considered it important to read the works of Marx and Engels in the original and with this purpose in mind he persisted in studying German despite his advanced age and poor health.

Late at night when everything was quiet, he tossed in bed, unable to sleep, concerned as he was with the affairs of state and world events. As one who joined the Party as early as 1924, how could he not feel worried about his country and people when he saw the battered national economy?

The gang of four was toppled in October 1976. The following

year the discussion of the criterion for testing truth was unfolded. After that, his situation steadily improved, enjoying once more the respect and honour due to an economist with both insight and backbone. The new Academy of Social Sciences contemplated appointing him director of the Institute of Economics. "Let a younger man do it," he said, "I'd rather be a rank and file researcher. Give me time to work on my book!"

Early every morning he gets up and sits at his desk to write down what he has worked out in his mind. Day and night, in winter as well as in summer, he keeps researching and writing, with little rest. Now outside prison bars, this veteran Communist is continuing the task he began inside, dedicating the rest of his life to an exploration of a road to socialist modernization in the Chinese way.

*(Excerpts from a reportage by Deng Jiarong, correspondent of "Guangming Ribao.")*

## Old Physicist Who Starts Afresh

**E**IGHTY-year old physicist Yan Jici found his eyes blurred by tears at a meeting of the Party branch which, on January 16 this year, voted to admit him to the Communist Party of China. Why such excitement on the part of this nonsense old man who seldom reveals his emotions? The answer is not far to seek if we look into his life experience.

Yan Jici responded to the call "For science and democracy" raised during the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal May 4th Movement of 1919, and resolved to study science as a way to save China, "the sick man of Asia." He took up research work and

teaching first at home and later in Paris. He was completely absorbed in science, which he believed to be mankind's single loftiest cause, and was determined not to have anything to do with politics.

But he could not evade stark reality: the Japanese invaders seized the northeast and then started closing in on north China. The fate of the country hung by a single thread. The Kuomintang threw huge sums of money into its military campaigns against the Communists, reducing appropriations for scientific research to a soupcon. In the Institute of Physics where Yan worked without access to

even ordinary laboratory equipment, research work came to a standstill.

In 1935 the frustrated physicist was awakened by the December 9th Movement in which students staged massive demonstrations and called for resistance against Japanese aggression. He began to realize that a scientist like himself, being a Chinese first of all, could not afford to ignore politics and the biggest political issue of the day was patriotism.

In early 1938, soon after the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, on his way home from a scientific conference in Paris, he made a





Yan Jici (1st from right).

statement in Lyons on the need to resist Japanese aggression and work for national salvation which was carried in a local newspaper the following day. The paper added that a group of Chinese students under his leadership were returning to China to fight against the Japanese invaders. The Japanese intelligence service put him under surveillance and he had to change his plan of going to Shanghai then under enemy control. Finding it impossible to go to the north, he finally landed at Xianggang (Hong-kong) and made his way to Kunming in the southwest.

When the eight-year War of Resistance finally came to a victorious end in 1945, Yan Jici had hoped against hope that the peace talks between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party would succeed. But what actually happened provided him with another lesson. The Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek once again started a civil war against the Communists; prices soared skyhigh and democratic politics was out of the question. People also found it difficult to keep body and soul together. Feeling frustrated once again, Yan started to seriously think things over.

By 1948 he could no longer tolerate the situation. He joined with a number of scientists to found the North China Scientific Workers' Association which launched a struggle against the Kuomintang government for better working conditions and security for scientific workers. At long last Yan Jici walked out of the confines of scientific research and came to know that only the Communist Party could save China, only socialism could save China. He lent active support to the Party-led student movement.

After countrywide liberation, the Party fully trusted Yan Jici and conferred great honours on him. He was made head of the General Office of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and concurrently director of the Institute of Applied Physics. But this meant he could no longer frequent the laboratory, something he was reluctant to give up. It was Guo Moruo, the late President of the Academy of Sciences, who persuaded him. "Look," said Guo, "isn't it a matter of greater felicity if we can help send hundreds or even thousands of people to work in the laboratory!"

In the early 50s, Yan took part in land reform, was a

member of the delegation that visited the Chinese People's Volunteers on the Korean front and participated directly in several industrial construction projects. During this period he assimilated political nutrients from the workers, peasants and soldiers. This had drawn him closer to the Communist Party.

In the years when Lin Biao and the gang of four rode roughshod over the people, Yan Jici, like many others, was forced to quit his job and his second son, Yan Shuangguang, an outstanding metallurgist whom he adored, was persecuted to death. But personal misfortune did not shake his faith in the Party. When the Party with the help of the people toppled the gang of four, he saw even more clearly that the Chinese Communist Party could withstand all kinds of severe tests.

After the Party issued a call for the new Long March towards the four modernizations, he was more eager than ever to join the Party. Having sought the truth for decades, he at long last became a vanguard member of the proletariat. Thus it was only natural for him to feel tremendously excited.

Yan Jici is now a Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, President of the China University of Science and Technology and concurrently dean of its Post-Graduate School, entrusted with the task of training a younger generation of scientists. Now that he has become a Party member, the jubilant Yan Jici has become very ambitious. "Today, I'm proud of what I have fulfilled, but, then, this is also a fresh starting-point in my life."

— Bo Sheng

## A Party Secretary Among Intellectuals



Li Bing (middle) and researchers discussing the development programme of the Institute of Tumour Research.

**L**I BING, a former surgeon and long-standing Party member, became the secretary of the Party committee in the Ritan Hospital and the Institute of Tumour Research in 1957. This hospital under the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences specializes in the treatment of tumours.

A Party secretary mainly is concerned with political and ideological work, in a down-to-earth way, not political bombasts. As Comrade Zhou Enlai once told her: "Your job is to lead the rest in advancing the research work to prevent and treat tumours. If this hospital under your charge cannot handle diseases, and research work in this field makes no progress, what are you here for?"

Li Bing knew what this was all about. In those years when some people were paying lip service to "politics taking command" and artificially enlarging the scope of class struggle, she studied some of the fundamental problems in preventing and treating tumours. She came to understand the importance of relying on the medical

workers, scientists, researchers and the joint efforts of these intellectuals if there was to be any progress in this field of endeavour. She placed top priority on the question of how to arouse their initiative in her ideological and political work.

In order that intellectuals do their work enthusiastically, as Li Bing sees it, the most important thing is to trust them, look up to them as important members in our ranks and take care of them politically, with the belief that the majority of them do love the Party and their socialist motherland.

When Lin Biao and the gang of four were rampant, many research personnel in hospitals were labelled "reactionary academic authorities," "revisionist shoots" or "suspected enemy agents" and were denounced and struggled against accordingly. Li Bing was also criticized and sent to "labour reform" as a "capitalist-roader." Even then, she stole visits to comrades under persecution to cheer them up, never forget-

ting her responsibilities as a Party secretary.

Influenced by the ultra-Left trends of thought, some people to this day still hold a prejudice against intellectuals. But Li Bing is always ready to be impartial and say something on behalf of intellectuals. For instance, some people approached the Party committee in the hospital with the viewpoint that scientific researchers writing books was a manifestation of individualism in quest of fame and gains. Li Bing did not see things this way. She thought it was quite all right as long as the books helped promote research work in the field. As to writing books in one's spare time, she thought it should be commended.

Li Bing never rashly takes a stand on a controversial academic issue. She adheres strictly to the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" and refrains from handling academic issues through administrative means. She is sincere and patiently helps intellectuals with their shortcomings and mistakes.

Li Bing also regards creating good working and living conditions for intellectuals as another major task of the Party committee. She helps comrades in the administrative department to see the importance of this for scientific researchers.

Thanks to the efforts of Li Bing and the Party committee in the hospital and the institute, intellectuals working there have an ease of mind and wish to contribute more to the four modernizations.



### ● **Fengyang—No More A Poor County**

Fengyang in east China's Anhui Province had a good grain harvest last year. The county got in 220,000 tons of grain, a record in its history and a 50 per cent increase over 1978. Other farm and sideline products registered big increases as well. With a population of 460,000, Fengyang has taken on a new look: more and more new houses are being built, and peasants are buying furniture, cloth, synthetic and woollen fabric and clothes.

But it was a different world there before liberation. The peasants were victimized by frequent floods and serious droughts. Many had to flee their homes, some had to sell their labour power, others sing for a living and go begging. Their fate is described in one folk song: "Nine out of ten years natural calamities occur. In those days, the rich buy land while the poor sell their sons and daughters. I haven't a child and have to sing for a living with a drum on my back."

After liberation the peasants became the masters of their country. But even though great changes were wrought in Fengyang, it was still one of the ten poorest counties in Anhui. Since 1979 the county has earnestly carried out the Party's rural economic policies, including the policies of "to each according to his work" and respecting the right of the production teams in deciding their own matters. It has also built up some embankment and other flood control projects, thereby basically eliminating the threat of flood. The drainage and irrigation systems have been improved and irrigated areas enlarged.

Last year the county sold the state 20,000 tons of surplus grain. The public accumulation funds in its communes went up by 50 per cent from 1978. All the 98,000 families of the county, even the poorest ones, have surplus grain.

### ● **A Circular to Recruit the Aabled**

In order to utilize its existing equipment to manufacture better and cheaper electronic products, the Jiangxi Radio Factory decided last November to set up an institute to design new record players and other products for public consumption and build a production line for such goods. The factory authorities issued a circular calling on those with talent to submit a plan for the production line. The originator of the best plan, the circular said, would be made head of the institute as well as the production line.

Three days later, Ye Sunquan, a young technician, handed in the first plan. Another six were received. The factory leadership had representatives from all departments concerned examine these plans. The one by Ye was thought to be the best. With the recommendation of Liu Xuemin, director and deputy Party secretary of the factory, and after discussions among the leading comrades, Ye was appointed head of the institute and the production line.

Ye was also given the right to choose his assistants when he assumed the post. Then Ye and his colleagues made an investigation of the original production line for assembling record players and renovated it. The result was encouraging. While

only 3,000 record players were produced last year, estimates based on present production place annual output at 100,000.

### ● **Home of the Coconut**

In south China's Hainan Island, Wenchang County is known as the "Home of the Coconut." The county accounts for half the total acreage and output of coconuts on the island. Last year, there was a big coconut harvest, 10 per cent over 1978. It is said that the first coconut tree on the island was planted in Wenchang County 2,000 years ago.

The county is full of coconut palms. Near the harvest season, the trees hang heavy with



Coconut trees on Hainan Island.

fruit. Some production brigades have their own coconut groves and workshops to process the nuts. These further raise their incomes.

In pre-liberation days, mounting taxes and heavy oppression drove the coconut-growing peasants abroad to earn a living. After liberation in 1949, the "Home of the Coconut" was re-established and its coconut output has gone up each year.

**PUBLICATION**

**Two Evening Newspapers Resume Publication**

• *Beijing Wanbao* (Beijing Evening News) resumed publication on February 15 this year.

It ceased publication shortly after the Cultural Revolution began. It had been criticized for publishing articles in a column which allegedly attacked by innuendo the Communist Party and socialism. The column was a favourite among readers because its short articles were quite thought-provoking. They were written by Deng Tuo, a nationally renowned writer and journalist and a member of the secretariat of the Beijing municipal Communist Party committee before his death in May 1966.

When *Beijing Wanbao* began publication in 1958, it was circulated in other parts of the country as well as in the capital. Although it was a small four-page paper, people found it educational, interesting and informative. Among its con-

tributors were marshalls, vice-premiers and other leaders of the Party and government, including Zhu De, Ye Jianying, Dong Biwu and Chen Yi.

The new paper not only retains its original style, but it has also added some columns to further the new goal of the Party, the four modernizations. A quarter of the size of *Renmin Ribao*, it contains daily summaries of important domestic, international and local news on its front page, along with several small special columns, such as "Around and About," "Beijing Today" and "A Few Words." Five days a week, the second page is devoted to news in Beijing. On the other two days, it carries a special feature entitled "Science Corridor," a popular science digest, and another one called "Home Life," which contains useful information on children's education, love, marriage and helpful hints for around the house. The third page is the paper's art and literature supplement including jokes, riddles, a novel in instalments, features, etc.,

and the fourth page is mainly devoted to culture and sports.

Half a million copies of the paper are printed each day now.

• *Yangcheng Wanbao* (Yangcheng Evening News) also resumed publication on February 15.

The title "Yangcheng," short for "Wuyangcheng" which means the city of five rams — the ancient name for Guangzhou — was derived from a legend about five fairies who ride out of heaven on five rams of different colours, bringing peace and happiness to the city.

When it was first published in 1957, *Yangcheng Wanbao* was widely circulated and welcomed by its readers for its rich content. The new four-page paper will play the role of reflecting and enriching people's lives.

**MEDICINE**

**Anti-Cancer Substance Synthesized**

An effective anti-cancer substance called homoharringtonine has been synthesized both at the Institute of Pharmacy under the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences and in the chemistry department of Lanzhou University.

Homoharringtonine, like harringtonine, is obtained from plants belonging to the genus cephalotaxus.

Work to extract harringtonine from the cephalotaxus plant began in China in 1971. A clinical study has shown that



Long lines to buy "Beijing Wanbao" are quite common.



these substances are effective in the treatment of acute and chronic granulocytic leukemia and other blood cancers. But it is difficult to satisfy clinical needs as the plant contains only limited concentrations of these alkaloids. The study of partial synthesis of harringtonine was hence undertaken and in 1975 China became the first in the world to succeed in this endeavour.

The partial synthesis of homoharringtonine represents a further success. As homoharringtonine possesses stronger anti-cancer properties than harringtonine, its synthesis will offer the possibility of wider application in clinical medicine.

## EDUCATION

### Audio-Visual Progress

Audio-visual education has become much more popular in China in the past year. This development can be seen in the teaching programmes of Chinese institutes of higher learning, especially the departments of foreign languages, medicine and military science. In addition, 600,000 students are registered for the television college.

Twenty-three scientific educational films were made last year, including 9 on mathematics, physics, chemistry and medicine, 13 on the English language and one on teaching. Altogether there are 27,256 copies of these films. Last year also saw the production of 310,000 sets of English, Japanese, German, French and Russian language records.

The Ministry of Education has recommended the use of 85 sets of slide shows on 13 subjects in primary and secondary schools.



An audio-visual class.

The central audio-visual education programme centre has held training classes and provided materials to popularize audio-visual education throughout the country.

## ARCHAEOLOGY

### 975-Year-Old Map of Stars Discovered

China's earliest map of the stars has been discovered in a pagoda in Suzhou, an ancient cultural city in east China.

The wood-block printed map dated 1005 is 25 cm. long and 21.2 cm. wide. Depicting the 28 lunar mansions in ancient China and the zodiacal signs of Babylon, it was printed on a Sanskrit incantation, "Dharani of Great Freedom to Be Obtained." Until the discovery, the earliest known map of the stars in existence had been one dated 1116, unearthed in 1971 from a tomb in Xuanhua County, Hebei Province. The newly discovered one is dated 111 years earlier.

Portraits of 28 Buddhas on two sides of the Sanskrit section represent the 28 lunar mansions in ancient China. In the centre is a painting, 8.5 cm. by 6.2 cm., which illustrates some Buddhist stories. Each of three corners contains four pictures of double concentric light circles which represent the signs of the zodiac of Babylon and in the lower part of the painting are two rows of hexagons (three on the upper row and five on the lower) which represent the stars.

Several hundred Chinese characters were inscribed beneath the map. The last line of the inscription gives the date as the eighth lunar month of the second year of the reign of Jingde, that is, the reign of Emperor Zhenzong of the Northern Song Dynasty. This fixes the date at 1005.

The discovery provides important material for the study of the ancient history of Chinese astronomy and of Babylonian astronomy, especially how it was introduced into China.

中國民航



CAAC



### CAAC Announces new 747 service

Beginning April 1, 1980 CAAC will offer B-747SP wide-bodied jet service to

#### *International:*

**BEIJING—TOKYO—BEIJING** Every Thursday & Saturday

**BEIJING—PARIS—BEIJING** Every Tuesday

#### *Domestic:*

**BEIJING—SHANGHAI—BEIJING** Every Monday

**BEIJING—GUANGZHOU—BEIJING** Every Monday

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