

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS



More
Consumer Goods

Indictment Against
Lin-Jiang Cliques

Relations With
Spanish C.P.
Resumed

Polish Events

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Indictment Against Lin-Jiang Cliques

The cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing have been charged with persecuting Party and state leaders, suppressing officials and citizens, plotting to assassinate Chairman Mao and conspiring to stage an armed rebellion in Shanghai — all in order to usurp Party leadership and seize state power (pp. 3 and 12).

Criticism in the Press

Why public exposure and criticism of bureaucracy and other mistakes is necessary and healthy (p. 3).

Spanish C.P. Delegation In China

A delegation led by Comrade Santiago Carrillo has come to

China to normalize relations between the Chinese and Spanish Communist Parties (pp. 6 and 18).

The Polish Events

Comments on the Polish situation (p. 8).

Apartheid Remains

Despite all the vaunted "reforms," nothing has been done to change the basic tenets of the hated apartheid system in South Africa (p. 11).

Stress on Light Industry

More consumer goods but not a "consumer society." This is the conclusion drawn by our

correspondent after a tour of Zhejiang Province where he investigated the current emphasis on developing light industry and improving people's livelihood. A Special Feature (pp. 20-28).

The Legendary Bell

The 500-year-old Yongle Bell now on display in Beijing's Dazhong Temple is China's largest and finest (p. 30).



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POLITICAL**"Four Major Crimes" — Indictment Against Lin-Jiang Cliques**

Forty-eight specific offences are cited in an indictment drawn up by the special procuratorate under the Supreme People's Procuratorate which charges the "Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques" with having "committed four major crimes." (See p. 12 for major points of the indictment.)

The two cliques worked hand in glove during the "cultural revolution" to frame and persecute Communist Party and state leaders in a premeditated way, attempting to usurp Party leadership and state power and overthrow the political power of proletarian dictatorship, the indictment says.

The four major crimes listed in the indictment are:

1. Framing and persecuting Party and state leaders and plotting to overthrow the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat;
2. Persecuting and suppressing large numbers of cadres and ordinary people;
3. Plotting to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong and stage an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat; and
4. Plotting an armed rebellion in Shanghai.

The prosecution was instituted by the special procuratorate after examining the written opinion for a public prosecution, the case file and evidence submitted by the Ministry of Public Security in September

this year, and after interrogating Jiang Qing and the nine other accused.*

The special court decided to accept and hear the case after examining the bill of indictment.

After the plot of the counter-revolutionary clique headed by Lin Biao to murder Chairman Mao Zedong and stage an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat failed in September 1971, the indictment says, the counter-revolutionary clique of the gang of four headed by Jiang Qing conducted conspiratorial activities against the revolution until being exposed and smashed in October 1976.

The indictment says that the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques brought untold disasters to China.

The 16 people confirmed by the special procuratorate after examination as the principal culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques are: Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen, Chen Boda, Xie Fuzhi, Ye Qun, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo, Lin Ligu, Zhou Yuchi and Jiang Tengjiao. Among them, Lin Biao, Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi, Ye Qun, Lin Ligu and Zhou Yuchi are dead and no criminal liability shall be pursued against them in accordance with the provisions of Item 5, Article 11,

of the Law of Criminal Procedure of the People's Republic of China.

* The ten principal culprits to be tried are:

Jiang Qing — Former member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

Zhang Chunqiao — Former member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, vice-premier of the State Council and director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Yao Wenyuan — Former member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

Wang Hongwen — Former Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau and vice-chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

Chen Boda — Former Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

Huang Yongsheng — Former Political Bureau member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Wu Faxian — Former Political Bureau member of the C.P.C. Central Committee, deputy chief of the P.L.A. General Staff and commander of the Air Force.

Li Zuopeng — Former Political Bureau member of the C.P.C. Central Committee, deputy chief of the P.L.A. General Staff and first political commissar of the Navy.

Qiu Huizuo — Former Political Bureau member of the C.P.C. Central Committee, deputy chief of the P.L.A. General Staff and head of the P.L.A. General Logistics Department.

Jiang Tengjiao — Former political commissar of the Air Force of the P.L.A. Nanjing Units.

Criticism in the Press

More and more criticism has been appearing in Chinese newspapers in the past two

years, provoking a debate over whether public airing of problems is desirable or not.

A commentary in *Renmin Ribao* has replied positively to this question.

The commentary says that criticism of certain cadres' wrong practices in the press is indispensable to fighting bureaucracy and enhancing the Chinese Communist Party's prestige.

The paper has been deluged with letters in support of articles criticizing or exposing wrongdoing, particularly criticism of the *Bohai No. 2* oil rig accident which left 72 dead (see "Investigating the Causes of Oil Rig Accident" in our issue No. 31), abuse of position by the Minister of Commerce who ate extravagant meals in a Beijing restaurant at a low price (see "Privileges Challenged" in our issue No. 44) and a water conservancy project in Xiyang County, Shanxi Province (see "No More Folly" in our issue No. 27).

"The criticism of the Minister of Commerce in your paper gave me a sense of excitement I haven't experienced for years," wrote a Chinese student now studying in Belgrade. "This shows the progress made in our domestic political life."

An armyman wrote that the criticism and punishment of officials responsible for the *Bohai No. 2* accident show that "officials, no matter their positions, are subject to the criticism of public opinion if they commit mistakes."

A Party member wrote that the editorial criticizing the head of Xiyang County "says what the people think and serves as a condemnation of the bureaucrats." It shows that the Party

Central Committee stands for the people's interests.

The commentary recalls that the Decision on Criticism and Self-Criticism in the Press issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in April 1950 explicitly related the problem of preventing and overcoming bureaucracy to criticism in the press.

Bureaucracy has become a serious problem in the political life of the Party and state and, in economic and other work, the biggest obstacle to the four modernizations. It is therefore even more necessary to carry criticism and self-criticism in the press now than in the early years of the People's Republic of China.

The commentary points out that the Petroleum Ministry leaders failed to acknowledge their responsibility up to eight months after the *Bohai No. 2* tragedy, and it was not until the press exposed this incident did they admit it.

The effectiveness of media criticism is also evident in one column of the *Beijing Wanbao* (Beijing Evening News). Although the items in this column are quite brief, the criticism they contain — misconduct by officials, bad attitude of service workers, shoddy products — often results in the solution of problems.

If a Party newspaper prints nothing critical, the commentary says, this reflects dereliction of duty by the local Party committee as well as the editorial board. Such a paper cannot win public confidence, neither can the Party committee.

It also says that any criticism must emerge from careful investigation and verification. A paper's reputation will be

tarnished if the principal facts of a story are inaccurate. When a paper's criticism is wrong, it should welcome other versions and make a self-criticism.

In conclusion, *Renmin Ribao* pledges to continue to improve its work and "raise the militancy and ideological level of criticism."

ECONOMIC

Stress on Energy Conservation

The State Council recently decided to allocate 3,000 million yuan next year for technical innovations and reform of industrial structure, mainly for energy-saving purposes. The figure represents a one-third increase over the amount for this year.

At the same time, the State Council issued a directive



The oil refinery at the Anqing General Petrochemical Works renovated its old equipment to save 60,000 kwh of electricity each year.

that all industrial boilers burning oil be converted to coal by the end of 1985 so that more oil can be saved for use as raw material for the chemical, textile and other light industries.

A national conference for exchanging experiences in energy conservation which recently closed in Beijing urged factories and enterprises throughout the country to save energy equivalent to 24 million tons of standard coal next year.

The current readjustment of China's industrial structure stresses the development of light industry. This helped bring energy savings equivalent to 20 million tons of standard coal in the first half of this year. It is estimated that an increase of one per cent in the proportion of light industry in the nation's industry would mean a real saving of 6 million tons of standard coal. Light industries, which produced 45.7 per cent of the country's industrial output value in the first nine months of this year, used about 80 per cent less energy than heavy industries.

Stressing the importance of energy conservation for China's economic development, representatives to the conference noted that the rate of industrial growth in the first half of this year was more than 13 per cent, while the increase in energy production was only 1.1 per cent. Last year, energy output increased 3.1 per cent, and industrial output, 8.5 per cent.

Yu Qiuli, Vice-Premier and Minister in Charge of the State Energy Commission, said at the conference that priority should be given to energy conservation, which is the most realistic and

effective way to ensure China's production growth in the next few years.

"As the various sectors within the energy industry have been out of balance, it will be difficult to increase energy production greatly in the next few years," he continued.

Another purpose of energy conservation, he added, is to promote improvements in technology and equipment and thus the growth of industry as a whole.

A New-Styled Enterprise

Not long ago, the first national exhibition of goods produced by state agriculture-industry-commerce integrated enterprises or complexes (see special feature in our issue No. 31) opened in Beijing, attracting many visitors.

The 5,300 varieties of goods

on display ranged from raw and processed products such as tea, furs and dairy produce to light industrial, textile, machinery and chemical products. Visitors were also impressed by the great varieties of fruits, nuts, medicinal herbs, processed foods and fine handicraft articles produced by the complexes as well as by the high quality of cotton, woollen and silk textiles.

This integration of farms, processing plants and shops is one of the steps introduced in the last two years to reform the structure of agriculture and raise its status from that of a mere supplier of cheap raw materials.

After meeting the state plans, the complexes, which are built on the basis of state farms, can process and sell their surplus products and keep most of the profits. This has proved helpful in increasing labour produc-



At an exhibition in Beijing of products turned out by agriculture-industry-commerce complexes.

tivity and keeping the complexes in direct touch with the demand of the market.

Since September 1978 when agriculture-industry-commerce complexes began to be organized on a trial basis, 698 state farms in 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have been involved. The figure constitutes 34 per cent of the state farms in the country.

Zhao Fan, Vice-Minister of Land Reclamation, said that state farms should be brought into the management of agriculture-industry-commerce complexes as quickly as possible and in a planned way.

Experiences in the past two years, he added, have proved that integrated management of agriculture, industry and commerce have the following advantages: (1) Effectively increasing agricultural accumulation and accelerating the development of farm production. For example, such complexes in Jiangsu Province made a profit of 29 million yuan in 1979, 82 per cent of which was used in agricultural development. (2) Shifting surplus labour power in agriculture to industry, commerce and service trades to help raise labour productivity. (3) Reducing the costs and losses in transport by processing nearby and directly marketing farm produce. (4) Comprehensively utilizing by-products, thereby realizing greater profits.

SOCIAL

Railway Station Explosion Explained

According to the investigation of public security organs, the

October 29 explosion (see "Explosion in Beijing Railway Station" in our issue No. 45) at the Beijing main railway station is a case of counter-revolutionary sabotage. The explosion was set off by Wang Zhigang, a worker at Shanxi Province's Yuncheng Tractor Plant. Wang was killed in the explosion.

Wang Zhigang, aged 30, was born in Beijing. After graduating from junior middle school, he settled and worked in a production brigade of Wanrong County, Shanxi Province, in 1968. He was recruited into the army in 1973 and was demobilized and assigned to work at the tractor plant after two years of service. Wang held a grudge against society because some of his personal desires had not been satisfied. His grudge developed into hostility towards people, which caused him to set off the explosion in the station.

Renmin Ribao on November 13 ran an article entitled "Take Strong Measures Against Criminals" by its Commentator.

The article said: The present situation is excellent as the people throughout China are united to work for the realization of the four modernizations. But vigilance should not be slackened against the disruptive activities of a handful of counter-revolutionaries, and individuals and cliques who have committed serious crimes. Severe punishments should be inflicted on these people to ensure the political stability and unity.

The article pointed out that a few people commit crimes because their desires cannot be met in the short run and they allow their grudges to lead them astray of the law. It should be understood that the ten years of damage brought about by Lin Biao and the gang of four has

caused many difficulties. Some problems have already been solved and some are being looked into. They cannot all be solved immediately. People need to understand the difficulties of the country and correctly handle the relationship between the interests of the individual and the state.

The article calls for the Party and Youth League organizations at all levels and leading cadres to carry out political and ideological work carefully and use persuasive methods in dealing with people's personal problems. Some contradictions, thus, will not become more acute, helping to stop some people from going astray.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Spanish Communist Party Delegation

The Delegation of the Spanish Communist Party led by General Secretary Santiago Carrillo paid a two-week visit to China in November. This visit has normalized relations between the Spanish Communist Party and Chinese Communist Party that were interrupted for some time.

During the delegation's stay in Beijing, it met with Chairman Hua Guofeng. The Chairman said that the visit was an important event in the history of relations between the two Parties. He hoped that the two sides would have a frank and comradely exchange of views. "Our two Parties have many points in common and our differences are of only secondary importance." "All Communist Par-



Left: Chairman Hua cordially talking with General Secretary Carrillo.
Right: Hu Yaobang holding discussions with Santiago Carrillo.



ties are independent and equal," Chairman Hua said. "They should integrate the universal truth of Marxism with their own revolutionary practice and formulate their own political line, principles and policies."

On inter-Party relations, Comrade Carrillo said: "We object to a 'leading party' or 'centre of leadership,' as well as the attempt to condemn the Chinese Communist Party and to interfere in other Parties' internal affairs." He further stated: "The Spanish and Chinese Parties have far more common points than differences and it is entirely possible for us to develop very good relations."

General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Hu Yaobang gave a banquet in honour of the delegation (for both sides' toasts see p. 18.) and held talks with General Secretary Carrillo.

On November 13, the delegation was warmly welcomed at the Beijing University when Comrade Carrillo made a speech. (for his speech see p. 19.)

Singapore Prime Minister's Visit

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of the Republic of Singapore, an old friend of the Chinese people, paid his second visit to China in mid-November. In recent years the friendly relations between the two countries have been greatly enhanced.

During his stay in Beijing (November 9-13), Prime Minister Lee met with Chairman Hua Guofeng and Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping. Chairman Hua reiterated China's consistent support for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew said the ASEAN countries will keep up their solidarity to safeguard peace and stability in Southeast Asia. He pointed out that Singapore's views on the danger the ASEAN countries are facing are similar to those of China's.

Premier Zhao Ziyang and Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew had frank discussions on the current world situation, with particular emphasis on South-

east Asia, especially Kampuchea. They also discussed the possibilities of further developments in the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Singapore.

News in Brief

Thai Parliamentary Delegation. A Parliamentary Delegation of the House of Representatives of Thailand led by Speaker Boontheng Thongsawadi recently visited China. During its stay in Beijing (November 10-13), the delegation met with Chinese leaders, who expressed appreciation of the Thai Government and people for safeguarding their state sovereignty and territorial integrity and for their just struggle against foreign aggression.



Poland in the Limelight

THE November 10 verdict of the Polish Supreme Court paves the way to solving differences between the Polish authorities and Solidarity, the biggest independent trade union organization in Poland. Tension in Poland has eased again.

Temporary Relief. The pressure, which was building up again after a two-month calm, was sparked by the Warsaw district court making major amendments to the union's charter. The authorities had agreed to the workers' demand for the formation of independent trade unions. This had led to new unions springing up all over Poland and the setting up of Solidarity, an umbrella union group. Solidarity was officially registered by the Warsaw district court on October 24, a month after its charter was sent in for approval, but the court wanted the union to insert a clause in its charter recognizing the "leading role of the United Workers' Party and the socialist system," alter its "right to strike" clause and the stipulation barring Party and administrative officials from posts in the union. The union rejected these and appealed the decision in the Supreme Court. It also demanded that Premier Jozef Pinkowski meet union representatives. The unionists on October 31 eventually met the Premier and some agreements were arrived at, but the main issues were still unresolved. Solidarity also threatened a week-long nationwide strike beginning on November 12 if the Supreme Court did not reverse the decision. To this, the First Secretary of the

Polish United Workers' Party ominously declared on November 5 that some people were dangerously abusing "the right to strike." He was followed by a chorus of other officials warning against another strike and even announcing taking steps to stop workers coming out on strike. PAP, the official Polish news agency, on the 8th pointedly reported that Polish and Soviet troops were holding joint exercises in Poland, but a Polish official spokesman announced that these were not connected to the situation inside Poland. This was picked up and repeated by TASS the next day. An Associated Press item said this was "an implicit threat" from the Soviets on the eve of the strike, hinting at a possible Soviet intervention. For a while, it had the world watching anxiously.

The Supreme Court's decision has defused the imminent explosion and the people in Poland and abroad now breathe somewhat more easily. However, there is a rough road ahead. Poland's economic plight and social tension show no signs of improvement. "The situation is grave and extremely complicated" said politburo member Stefan Olszowski on November 5.

Behind the Unrest. The big strike of July was due in large measure to the continuing economic decline in recent years. Decisions were taken at the sixth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish Party in October 1980 to improve the country's economic health. Economic policy readjustments and managerial reforms were called

for. Premier Pinkowski on October 22 called a meeting of the economic reform committee. It put particular stress on "ridding bureaucracy from the economic management structure" and setting up "a management structure which can inspire employees to raise efficiency." Enterprises will have "greater powers of self-management," and the method of drawing up rigid plans at the centre and imposing them on enterprises will be changed into the method of letting employees draw up plans according to various known conditions.

New agricultural policies were introduced by the government to improve the supply of foodstuffs. It was emphasized that investments, capital goods, loans and other forms of aid would be "equitably proportioned" among all types of farmers. Purchasing prices for milk and other agricultural produce would be raised and taxes would be revised "in favour of the small farmers" to get them to produce more. But it is not going to be easy to reverse the difficult situation brought about by inappropriate economic policies in the past. Industrial production has been falling in recent months, there is a shortage of materials, and the harvest this year has been bad. There are severe shortages of daily necessities, meat, butter, sugar and other goods. If the agreed wage increases are implemented it will make inflation worse. On top of this, new loans are being added to the country's already heavy foreign debt. By all accounts the Polish authorities are in a tight fix.

But the crisis has a deeper political cause. Senior Polish Party officials have admitted that some leading Party and government officials have arrogant work-styles and hold the public in contempt. There is widespread abuse of office for personal gain. The public charges that corruption is quite widespread among officials, who enjoy special privileges and lavish lifestyles. The Polish Party acknowledged this and at its sixth plenary session it passed a resolution declaring that it would "promote socialist democracy," "restore links with the people" and improve public supervision. Some officials have been publicly censured and removed from office and their scandalous behaviour reported in the press. Polish leaders also pledged to clean up the Party. But the resistance and the complications involved are tremendous. Foreign news agencies report that the number of officials engaged in shady practices is quite large and only a very few have been prosecuted so far. It is not going to be easy to improve the image of the Party and government leadership with the Polish public.

To defend their own vital interests was what had led the Polish people to decide to set up their own organizations. Reports put the number who have joined the various new trade unions at close to 10 million. This wave to set up free and self-governing organizations involved farmers, soldiers, students and other sectors of the population. On many issues there are differences and conflicts separating the trade unions and the Polish authorities. These are all potential causes of popular unrest and could easily throw the country into turmoil.

Restraint Shown. However,

restraint is being exercised by both sides. Polish Party leader Kania said at the sixth plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party that the recent wave of strikes "was a large-scale workers' protest. It was not directed at socialism but was opposed to the undermining of the principles of socialism; it was not against the Party but the mistakes in its policies." He also said that the only correct way to handle this problem was "to reach an understanding through dialogue." The starting-point was "realization of the agreements reached" with the new trade unions and the whole working class so as to ensure that no new crisis breaks out. Although Solidarity did call a one-hour "warning strike" on October 3 to protest the authorities not making good their promise to improve the lot of the workers and threatened to call a nationwide strike over the obstruction it ran into over its registration, Solidarity,

Madrid Conference

Follow What Up?

THE formal meeting of the follow-up conference on European security and co-operation, delayed 13 hours, opened on November 11 with a brief ceremony at midnight. Its opening session lasted exactly two minutes. After the welcoming address, the delegates left because there was no agreement on an agenda. They decided to meet again the next day. Seldom has any international conference, with delegates from the 35 countries, opened in such a farcical fashion.

Dead-Locked Conference. The Madrid Conference is being held in accordance with the final documents signed in 1975 by heads of governments attending

on the whole, has acted prudently. This allows the two sides to meet amicably enough to discuss ways to settle their differences.

The Watching World. What the world is watching warily is the Soviet Union's stance towards the Polish events. Ever since the strikers and the government came to an agreement, the Soviet press has poured out a stream of abuse against the Polish workers' movement. On the eve of talks between Solidarity and the Polish authorities, large numbers of Soviet troops were moved up to the Soviet-Polish, German-Polish and Czech-Polish borders and Polish leaders were "invited" to Moscow for talks. The foreign press notes that what Moscow ultimately decides will have a very big impact on the Polish situation. And this is why the world is closely watching.

— Fang Xuan

the Helsinki Conference. An earlier follow-up conference was held in Belgrade in 1977.

Preparatory meetings held in September for this follow-up conference saw the opposing East and West blocs dead-locked over the agenda and time-table for the conference. The U.S. and its allies have been pressing for an extensive review of implementation of the final documents of the Helsinki accords. They hold that the Soviet Union's armed invasion of Afghanistan violates the spirit of the Helsinki Conference, so adequate time should be allotted to discussions on this question.

The Soviet Union and some



"We're here to talk about arms reduction."

Cartoon by Lan Jianan

East European countries tried by every means to curtail the review in a bid to extricate the Soviet Union from harrowing denunciation. They declared that the Western proposals were a "provocation" and demanded that more time should be spent on discussing "detente" and "European arms reduction talks."

No agreement was reached when the scheduled date for the conference arrived. The Soviet Union stuck to its stand and wanted the preparatory session continued. It threatened to back down from the agreement reached on the continuity of the European Security Conference. The U.S. and some of its allies wanted the conference officially opened as scheduled or the whole thing called off. After some tough bargaining, in which both sides did not want to take responsibility for aborting the conference, the Soviet Union and the United States finally

decided to convene the conference, but without an agenda and some 13 hours late.

Nothing Has Improved.

Five years ago, leaders of 35 countries met in Helsinki for the first European Security Conference. There were many grand speeches and they signed the 120 pages of the Final Act of the Conference.

Moscow proclaimed that the spirit of the conference opened "a new page of peace in the history of Europe," and established "the charter of peaceful co-existence in Europe." It described the results of the conference as "confirming the resolve of the European peoples to make the relaxation of world tensions an irreversible process." It wanted this "model" copied in Asia.

But what has been achieved since? Right after the conference, Moscow aggressively extended its presence into southern African countries and went on to establish its influence in the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan and Indochina to form a pincer about Europe. As the Soviet Union pushed ahead with its hegemonistic plans, its "detente" cloak grew more and more threadbare.

Jamaica

New Cabinet Sworn In

IN the October 30 general election, the Jamaica Labour Party (J.L.P.) led by Edward Seaga scored an over-

"Detente" today, after five years, is in tatters, for the world sees more and more clearly what the Soviet Union really wants. And it is this growing awareness of Soviet aggressive designs that is making each follow-up conference less and less like what it should be. For what is there to follow up?

Diverting Attention. Follow-up conferences are supposed to review how the signatories to the Helsinki accords have implemented the spirit of the accords. Now Moscow is trying to prevent this. Does this not again show that Moscow has no intention of keeping any international agreement if it does not further its aggressive policies?

But the farce is being kept up. Moscow has again proposed talks on "military detente and disarmament in Europe" to deflect criticism of its aggression and expansion. Brezhnev on November 12 piously hoped that the Madrid Conference "would open the way to calling a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe."

Even a follow-up conference is a shambles, so what can any conference on disarmament achieve? Are not these insistent calls for "detente" and "disarmament" meant to divert attention away from Moscow's real goals of aggression and expansion?

— Zhung Tai

whelming victory over the ruling People's National Party (P.N.P.). The election result changes the political situation

in Jamaica and has an effect on the entire Caribbean region.

The previous election took place in December 1976 and the next should have been in December 1981, but the Manley government was forced to call a general election in October this year because of the parlous political and economic situation in Jamaica.

Since its full independence in 1962, both the two big parties — the Jamaica Labour Party and the People's National Party, have been in government. Between 1962-72 when the Jamaica Labour Party was in power, the island's economy improved. Then in 1972, the P.N.P. came into power on the slogan of "equal distribution of society's wealth." The Manley government's radical measures drove out capital and people with skills and the economy deteriorated. Reports say that many factories closed down, unemployment topped 30 per cent of the labour force and the country ran up a debt of some 1,450 million U.S. dollars. This

caused deep dissatisfaction. The number of strikes and demonstrations grew and the cry to oust the ruling P.N.P. government rose.

The election was preceded by days of violence. The P.N.P. charged the J.L.P. of being pro-U.S., while the J.L.P. accused the ruling party of wanting to turn Jamaica into an "English-speaking Cuba."

Western news agencies say that the people in rejecting the Manley government have made Cuba lose an ally and dealt a heavy blow to Cuba's policy in the Caribbean. The new Prime Minister also says that the Soviet Union has lost an ally in the Caribbean, with the crushing defeat inflicted on the P.N.P. Prime Minister Seaga faces formidable challenges. The country has enough foreign exchange to last only a few days, said Prime Minister Seaga, and there is no money in the banks. It is imperative to restore the economy as soon as possible to bring stability back to the island, he said.

— Ren Yan

government and political affairs.

The small concessions made to coloureds and blacks reflect the difficulties the South African authorities face at home and abroad. Apartheid has also held back economic development and many in South Africa believe that enhancing the buying power of the blacks would help raise the economic growth rate. With blacks barred from skilled jobs, the country has a severe shortage of skilled workers on the one hand and an army of unemployed on the other. The unemployed could "rise in bloody revolution" and this is compelling the South African authorities to adopt some reforms, however reluctantly.

However, the reforms are quite superficial. Nothing very much has improved for the blacks. Take for instance the black trade unions. Only black workers who are "residence de jure" in cities are allowed to join a union. This immediately limits their numbers as the majority of the black workers cannot obtain this status because of the welter of racial laws and regulations. This has kept 75 per cent of the black workers outside "legal" trade unions. The South African authorities talk about "reforms" but they refuse to countenance any thought of majority rule. For all the "reforms" and talk about "relaxing" racially discriminatory laws, nothing is being done that remotely changes the basic tenets of the apartheid system. These cosmetic changes are meant to deceive the masses and international opinion and give the racist regime a shred of respectability. Most of the black majority see this. Only a very few inside South Africa are being taken in.

— Qiu Xiaoyi

South Africa

Revamping Apartheid

SOUTH Africa is revising some aspects of its official apartheid policy to mitigate dangerous racial tensions at home and improve its image abroad.

Before becoming Prime Minister, P.W. Botha was a hardliner, but in his two years in office, he repeatedly stated that he wanted "unnecessary discriminatory measures" against blacks and coloureds scrapped. He told the whites that reforms were necessary if the black people were to be

weaned away from violent revolution. Libraries, hospitals, restaurants, theatres, parks and some other public facilities are being desegregated. Blacks who are "residence de jure" in cities are now allowed to join trade unions. This is part of the "reforms" being introduced. Botha revised the constitution recently and established a "Presidential Commission" composed of whites and selected coloured people and Indians as a gesture to show that non-whites were now allowed to participate in

*Trial of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing Cliques***Major Points of the Indictment**

THE major points of the indictment drawn up by the special procuratorate under the Supreme People's Procuratorate against the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques and released recently by Xinhua News Agency are as follows:

Persecuting Party and State Leaders

Framing and persecuting Party and state leaders in a premeditated way for the purpose of overthrowing China's political power of proletarian dictatorship is one of the charges made in the indictment against the "Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques."

The indictment lists a series of offences committed by these cliques in framing and persecuting Liu Shaoqi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Zhou Enlai, Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Premier of the State Council; Zhu De, Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Deng Xiaoping, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; and other Party and state leaders.

In August 1966, the indictment says, Lin Biao instructed his wife, Ye Qun, to dictate false charges they had fabricated against Liu Shaoqi to Lei Yingfu, deputy director of operations of the People's Liberation Army General Staff. She told him to commit these charges to writing. After going over what Lei Yingfu had written, Lin Biao asked him to enclose it in a letter addressed to Lin Biao and Chairman Mao Zedong. Lin Biao then forwarded the letter and material to Jiang Qing.

In July 1967, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda decided without authorization to

hold a "rally for repudiating and struggling against Liu Shaoqi." Liu Shaoqi and his wife, Wang Guangmei, were attacked physically and their house was searched and ransacked.

In July and August of the same year, Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi and Qi Benyu incited people to organize a "frontline for getting Liu Shaoqi out of Zhongnanhai [the site of the Party Central Committee and the State Council]," surround Zhongnanhai and break into the State Council compound.

Jiang Qing assumed direct control of the "group investigating the special case of Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei" and directed its work in collusion with Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi. They extorted confessions by torture and rigged up false evidence to vilify Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei as "renegades," "enemy agents" and "counter-revolutionaries." Jiang Qing decided without authorization to have Yang Yichen, Deputy Governor of Hebei Province, Yang Chengzuo, Professor of China People's University, and nine other people including Liu Shaoqi's cook, Hao Miao, arrested and imprisoned. The 11 were subjected to interrogation and torture, and two of them including Yang Chengzuo died later of persecution.

Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen made false charges against Zhou Enlai and other leaders. After hatching a plot, the gang of four sent Wang Hongwen to Changsha in October 1974 to tell Chairman Mao Zedong that Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and others were engaged in activities to usurp power, as Lin Biao had tried to do at the Lushan Meeting of 1970. They also tried to prevent Chairman Mao from nominating Deng Xiaoping for First Vice-Premier. Wang Hongwen said: "The atmosphere in Beijing now is very much like that of the Lushan Meeting." The gang made use of the media under their control to stir up nationwide criticism of the "big Confucian of our time," the "Chief Minister" and

the "Duke of Zhou," thus attacking Zhou Enlai by implication.

Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan smeared Deng Xiaoping as a "counter-revolutionary double-dealer," "general manager of a rumour-mongering company," "fascist," "big quisling," "representative of the comprador bourgeoisie," "Nagy" and the "chief boss behind the Tian An Men Square counter-revolutionary political incident."

Making use of the case of the "extraordinary central committee of the communist party of China" leaflet found in Tianjin in November 1967, Chen Boda, Xie Fuzhi and Wu Faxian cooked up the false case of a "Chinese communist party (M-L)" on the pretext of tracking down the "behind-the-scenes bosses." They asserted that Zhu De was "secretary" of the alleged party central committee, Chen Yi "deputy secretary and concurrently minister of defence" and Li Fuchun "premier." Its members allegedly included Dong Biwu, Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian, He Long, Liu Bocheng, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, Tan Zhenlin, Yu Qiuli, Wang Zhen and Liao Chengzhi. They were also falsely accused of having "illicit relations with foreign countries," "making preparations for an armed insurrection" and attempting to "stage a coup d'etat."

The indictment also lists as crimes of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques the framing and persecution of Chen Yi, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, Ye Jianying, Lu Dingyi, Luo Ruiqing and other Party and state leaders.

Persecuting Leading Cadres

The indictment also charges the two cliques with framing and persecuting large numbers of Members of the Party Central Committee, of the Party Central Committee's Control Commission, of the National People's Congress Standing Committee and of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and leading cadres of organization, public security, procuratorial and judicial departments, the armed forces and the media.

On July 21, 1968, Kang Sheng, then a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, wrote a confidential letter to Jiang Qing, who was not even an alternate member of the Party

Central Committee. He wrote on the envelope: "Important. To be forwarded immediately to and personally opened by Comrade Jiang Qing." The letter said: "Enclosed is the list of names you asked for." This list drawn up by Kang Sheng in his own handwriting, named 88 of the 193 Members and Alternate Members of the Eighth C.P.C. Central Committee and falsely charged them as "enemy agents," "renegades," "elements having illicit relations with foreign countries" or "anti-Party elements."

Kang Sheng also instructed Guo Yufeng, who was then in charge of the Organization Department of the Party Central Committee, to draft a report labelling 37 of the 60 Members and Alternate Members of the Eighth Party Central Committee's Control Commission as "renegades," "enemy agents" and "counter-revolutionary revisionists."

In the same report, revised and approved by Kang Sheng himself, 60 of the 115 Members of the Third National People's Congress [the highest organ of state power] Standing Committee were framed as "renegades," "suspected renegades," "enemy agents," "suspected enemy agents," "counter-revolutionary revisionists, capitalist-roaders or anti-Party, anti-socialist and anti-Mao Zedong Thought elements."

Furthermore, the report smeared 74 of the 159 Standing Committee Members of the Fourth C.P.P.C.C. [organization of the united front] National Committee as "renegades," "suspected renegades," "enemy agents," "suspected enemy agents," "Kuomintang agents," "counter-revolutionary revisionists," or "elements having illicit relations with foreign countries."

The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques also framed and persecuted large numbers of leading cadres of the Party Central Committee's Organization Department, the public security, procuratorial and judicial organs at all levels, the armed forces and the media, the indictment says. The two cliques had the purpose of seizing supreme Party and state power, grabbing the Party's top organizational power, and controlling these organs of dictatorship, the armed forces and the media.

Framing Cases Throughout China

Frame-up cases spread throughout the country while large numbers of cadres and other people were smeared and persecuted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary

cliques, says the indictment, enumerating a host of facts.

The cases framed by these two cliques in Beijing and Shanghai involved more than 30 persons, including secretaries of the municipal committees of the Chinese Communist Party, mayors and vice-mayors of these two cities. Among them, Liu Ren, Deng Tuo, Wu Han, Yue Songsheng, Cao Diqu and Jin Zhonghua were persecuted to death.

Following are some of the other major frame-ups:

The eastern Hebei case: In December 1967, Chen Boda smeared the Communist Party organization in eastern Hebei as "probably a party of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation," in which the Kuomintang and renegades were playing a dominant role. As a result, more than 84,000 Party cadres and other people in the eastern Hebei area were framed and persecuted, and 2,955 of them were persecuted to death.

The case of "enemy agent Zhao Jianmin": In January 1968, Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi slandered Zhao Jianmin, Secretary of the C.P.C. Yunnan Provincial Committee, as a "renegade" and falsely accused him of carrying out the plans of "a group of Kuomintang agents in Yunnan." This led to the framing and persecution of large numbers of cadres and ordinary people in Yunnan, over 14,000 of whom died as a result.

The case of the "Inner Mongolian people's revolutionary party": Ferreting out the so-called "Inner Mongolian people's revolutionary party" and other false cases concocted in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region under the instigation of Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi resulted in the framing and persecution of more than 346,000 cadres and other people, 16,222 of whom were persecuted to death.

The case of a "Xinjiang renegade clique": In 1967, Kang Sheng and others falsely accused those Party cadres who had been arrested and imprisoned in September 1942 by Sheng Shicai, a Xinjiang warlord, of having "surrendered to the enemy and betrayed the revolution" and having formed a "renegade clique." As a result, 92 cadres were persecuted and 26 of them died of persecution.

The case of the "counter-revolutionary 'northeast gang' that betrayed the Party and capitulated to the enemy": From 1967 to 1969, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolu-

tionary cliques falsely accused Lu Zhengcao and 41 others of having formed a "counter-revolutionary 'northeast gang' that betrayed the Party and capitulated to the enemy." Altogether 90 people were persecuted and Zhang Xuesi and several others died as a result. The excuse used by the two cliques was that the 42 people had jointly sent a message to Chiang Kai-shek in 1946 through the Xinhua News Agency, demanding the release of Zhang Xueliang, in accordance with a decision of the Northeast Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee which had been approved by the Central Committee.

The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques falsely accused the underground C.P.C. organizations in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangdong, Sichuan, Yunnan and other places during the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation of being a "Kuomintang," a "renegade party" or a "U.S.-Chiang special detachment." The two cliques called for "making the underground Party organizations the first target of attack" and, consequently, large numbers of leading and other members of these underground Party organizations and many ordinary people, who had fought heroically against the enemy, were persecuted.

The Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique concocted large numbers of trumped-up cases in the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and over 80,000 persons were framed and persecuted, of whom 1,169 died.

The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques and key members of their factionalist setup also framed and persecuted large numbers of cadres and members of the democratic parties, trade unions, the Communist Youth League, the Women's Federation, cultural, educational, scientific and technical, press, publishing, health and sports organizations, and returned overseas Chinese, many of whom were maimed or persecuted to death.

Inciting Violence

The indictment charges Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques with inciting "beating, smashing and looting" and whipping up violence all over China during the "cultural revolution." The two cliques ordered people to masquerade as Red Guards and ransack people's homes and directed counter-revolutionary secret services to kidnap people, search people's homes, throw innocent people into jail and carry out secret inquisition by torture.

In order to suppress the Workers' Red Detachment, a mass organization in Shanghai, and seize Party and government leadership there, Zhang Chunqiao instructed Wang Hongwen in December 1966 to work in collusion with some smash-and-looters and organize and direct a number of people who were ignorant of the real situation to attack the Workers' Red Detachment. This armed clash, known as the Kangping Road Incident, resulted in 91 injured or maimed.

In August 1967, Wang Hongwen engineered and directed an armed attack on the mass organization known as the Rebel Headquarters of the Revolutionary Alliance of the Shanghai Diesel Engine Plant. Six hundred and fifty people were jailed or injured. Afterwards, Zhang Chunqiao acclaimed Wang Hongwen as "our commanding officer" and "leader of the working class in Shanghai."

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan also supported Wang Xiaoyu, then the chairman of the Shandong Provincial Revolutionary Committee, in creating a violent incident in May 1967 in the compound of the committee, resulting in 388 persons arrested and imprisoned. Afterwards, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan congratulated Wang Xiaoyu on his "victory in battle."

In collaboration with Ye Qun, Jiang Qing ordered Jiang Tengjiao to get more than 40 people to disguise themselves as Red Guards and search and ransack the homes of five writers and artists in Shanghai, including Zhao Dan, Zheng Junli and Gu Eryi in October 1966. The reason for this house search was that one of Jiang Qing's old letters "had fallen into the hands of Zheng Junli, Gu Eryi and company." Under Jiang Qing's personal supervision, Xie Fuzhi and Ye Qun burnt in the latter's residence in Beijing all the letters, photos and other materials relating to Jiang Qing, which had been obtained by Jiang Tengjiao in the search.

Zhang Chunqiao directed a counter-revolutionary secret service organization in Shanghai known as the "You Xuetao group" to perform the special tasks of fascist secret service activity such as tailing, shadowing, kidnapping, ransacking people's homes, taking people into custody, secretly interrogating and torturing them, and gathering intelligence. In October 1967, Zhang Chunqiao enjoined the group to "be careful," saying that "you can spy on others, but they can spy on you, too."

Plotting to Stage Armed Coup d'Etat

The Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique plotted to stage an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat and assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong when he was on an inspection tour of southern China in September 1971.

Lin Biao, after his attempt to become chairman of the state and usurp power by a "peaceful transition" failed at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Party Central Committee held in the autumn of 1970, put into full gear a plot for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat.

In February 1971, Lin Biao and his wife, Ye Qun, sent their son, Lin Ligu, to Shanghai where he called together key members of the "joint fleet" — as they described their counter-revolutionary special detachment — to work out details of the coup in a document they called *Outline for Project "571."* The plan called for "gaining the upper hand by striking first militarily," to "seize nationwide political power" or create "a situation of rival regimes." The methods included taking advantage of "some high-level meeting to catch all in one net" and "using special means" such as bombs, traffic accidents, assassination and kidnapping.

From March to April, 1971, Lin Ligu established a command team in Shanghai for the coup, appointed heads for Nanjing, Shanghai and Hangzhou, and set up secret service organizations in Guangzhou and Shanghai for the coup.

On September 5 and 6 of 1971, Lin Biao and Ye Qun learnt from confidential reports sent separately by Gu Tongzhou, chief of staff of the air force headquarters of the P.L.A. Guangzhou Units, and Huang Yongsheng, chief of the P.L.A. General Staff, that Chairman Mao had mentioned in conversations with some leaders in southern China Lin Biao's conspiracy to usurp power at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Party Central Committee. Lin Biao and Ye Qun decided that Chairman Mao should be assassinated on his inspection tour of southern China.

On September 7, 1971, Lin Ligu issued an order mobilizing the "joint fleet" for a "red alert" combat readiness. The very next day, September 8, Lin Biao issued the following handwritten order: "Expect you to act according to the order transmitted by Comrades Ligu and Yuchi (Zhou Yuchi, deputy director of the General Office of the Air Force)."

From September 8 to 11, Lin Ligu, Zhou Yuchi and other key members of the "joint fleet" worked out the plan and details for assassinating Chairman Mao. They assigned Jiang Tengjiao, a Lin Biao follower, to be frontline commander for action in the Shanghai area. They planned to attack Chairman Mao's special train with flame throwers and 40-mm. bazookas, dynamite the Shuofang railway bridge near Suzhou, over which the train was scheduled to pass, bomb the train from the air, or blow up the oil depot near the stop of the train in Shanghai, and then assassinate the Chairman in the ensuing commotion, or have Wang Weiguo, another Lin Biao follower and former political commissar of Unit 7341, carry out the murder when Chairman Mao received him in Shanghai. During the same period, Lin Biao and Ye Qun, who were in Beidaihe, kept in constant touch with Huang Yongsheng in Beijing through confidential letters and telephone calls.

On the evening of September 11, when Lin Biao and Ye Qun learnt that Chairman Mao had already left Shanghai for Beijing and that their plot to assassinate him had fallen through, they planned to flee south to Guangzhou, taking along Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo, and set up a separate party central committee there to split the nation. They even attempted to "launch a pincer attack from north and south in alliance with the Soviet Union."

Making preparations to flee south to Guangzhou and defect to another country, they ordered Zhou Yuchi and others to obtain from the air force headquarters maps showing where radar units were deployed in relevant areas, information concerning airports, frequency tables of the radio stations in neighbouring countries which could be used for navigational purposes, maps showing airlines leading from Beijing to Ulan Bator and Irkutsk, the location of the airports there and their call signs and radio frequency tables. They also had eight planes ready for the flight to Guangzhou, and sent the special plane, No. 256, with Lin Ligu to Shanhaiguan for the use of Lin Biao and Ye Qun who were in Beidaihe at the time.

Late during the night of September 12, Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Ligu received a secret report that Premier Zhou Enlai had been making inquiries about the sending of the special plane, No. 256, without authorization. They scrambled on to the plane and took off at 00:32

hours on September 13 and fled abroad. The aircraft crashed near Undur Khan in Mongolia, killing all on board.

As the special plane, No. 256, was readying to take off, the authorities of the Shanhaiguan Airport phoned Li Zuopeng, asking what they should do if the plane took off without permission. Li Zuopeng distorted Premier Zhou Enlai's order that the plane "cannot take off without an order signed jointly by four persons," namely Zhou Enlai, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian and Li Zuopeng, thus enabling Lin Biao to escape abroad. Afterwards, Li Zuopeng tried to cover up his crime by altering the logbooks entry of the relevant phone calls.

Plotting Armed Rebellion In Shanghai

The indictment charges Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen with plotting an armed rebellion in Shanghai. They worked hand in glove with Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen, former secretaries of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China and vice-chairmen of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, to make Shanghai their base, build up their own armed forces and stage an armed rebellion.

Back in July 1967, Zhang Chunqiao instructed Wang Hongwen and others to organize an armed force under their control in Shanghai in a bid to "use the gun to protect the revolution made with the pen." During the 1973-76 period, Wang Hongwen said to Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen on many occasions, "What worries me most is that the army is not in our hands." He urged them to keep the command of the Shanghai militia in their hands. Wang Hongwen also said, "A national general headquarters must be set up for the people's militia. I will take charge of it myself."

Ding Sheng, former commander of the Nanjing Units of the People's Liberation Army, said to Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen in Shanghai in August 1976 that he could not control the army units deployed along the Wuxi-Suzhou-Shanghai line, adding that "you must be prepared for any eventuality."

Immediately afterwards, Ma Tianshui handed out to militiamen altogether 74,000 rifles, 300 artillery pieces and more than 10 million rounds of ammunition, as a concrete

measure in preparation for an armed rebellion. On September 21 of the same year, Zhang Chunqiao received Xu Jingxian alone in Beijing. Zhang Chunqiao heard his report on the above-mentioned situation and gave directives.

On October 8, 1976, after learning through a secret code that the gang of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen were smashed in Beijing, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen immediately called a meeting for emergency mobilization and decided to make use of the militia for an armed rebellion. "If we cannot keep up the fight for a week, five or three days will suffice to let the whole world know what's happening."

They assembled and deployed 33,500 militiamen, set up a command team and two secret command posts for the armed rebellion, assigned for use over 27,000 rifles and artillery pieces and 225 motor vehicles, and made available a large quantity of food and other materials. Fifteen

transmitter-receivers were installed at the command posts in the Jiangnan Shipyards and the China Textile Machinery Plant and at the militia headquarters of the various districts.

The operation plan for the armed rebellion was to throw up three cordons between the heart of Shanghai and its outskirts in order to bring under control the city's administrative centre, railway stations, wharves, airports, harbours, the Pujiang River Tunnel, bridges and other main transport routes. Pass words and argots were also stipulated.

The followers of the gang of four also planned to issue a "message to the people of Shanghai and the whole country," instigate production stoppages, strikes, parades and demonstrations, control the press and radio stations to blockade news released by the central media, cut off the supply of electricity, barricade airport runways with steel ingots, and scuttle ships to block the river mouth at Wusongkou. □

How to Pronounce the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet

Following is the Chinese phonetic alphabet showing the pronunciation with approximate English equivalents. Spelling in the Wade system is in parentheses for reference.

"a"	(a),	a vowel, as in far;
"b"	(p),	a consonant, as in be;
"c"	(ts),	a consonant, as "ts" in its; and
"ch"	(ch),	a consonant, as "ch" in church, strongly aspirated;
"d"	(t),	a consonant, as in do;
"e"	(e),	a vowel, as "er" in her, the "r" being silent; but "ie", a diphthong, as in yes and "ei", a diphthong, as in way;
"f"	(f),	a consonant, as in foot;
"g"	(k),	a consonant, as in go;
"h"	(h),	a consonant, as in her, strongly aspirated;
"i"	(i),	a vowel, two pronunciations:
	1)	as in eat
	2)	as in sir in syllables beginning with the consonants c, ch, r, s, sh, z and zh;
"j"	(ch),	a consonant, as in jeep;
"k"	(k),	a consonant, as in kind, strongly aspirated;

"l"	(l),	a consonant, as in land;
"m"	(m),	a consonant, as in me;
"n"	(n),	a consonant, as in no;
"o"	(o),	a vowel, as "aw" in law;
"p"	(p),	a consonant, as in par, strongly aspirated;
"q"	(ch),	a consonant, as "ch" in cheek;
"r"	(j),	a consonant pronounced as "r" but not rolled, or like "z" in azure;
"s"	(s, ss, sz),	a consonant, as in sister; and
"sh"	(sh),	a consonant, as "sh" in shore;
"t"	(t),	a consonant, as in top, strongly aspirated;
"u"	(u),	a vowel, as in too, also as in the French "u" in "tu" or the German umlauted "u" in "Muenchen";
"v"	(v),	is used only to produce foreign and national minority words, and local dialects;
"w"	(w),	used as a semi-vowel in syllables beginning with "u" when not preceded by consonants, pronounced as in want;
"x"	(hs),	a consonant, as "sh" in she;
"y"		used as a semi-vowel in syllables beginning with "i" or "u" when not preceded by consonants, pronounced as in yet;
"z"	(ts, tz),	a consonant, as in zero; and
"zh"	(ch),	a consonant, as "j" in jump

Visit of the Spanish C.P. Delegation

Comrade Hu Yaobang's Toast

IN his toast at the banquet in honour of the Spanish Communist Party on November 11, General Secretary Hu Yaobang expressed, on behalf of the C.P.C. Central Committee, his warm welcome to the delegation led by Santiago Carrillo.

He stated that the Spanish Communist Party had a glorious history and rich experience in struggle. The Spanish Communist Party, he said, "upholds national independence in international affairs, opposes imperialism and hegemonism and safeguards world peace." The Chinese Communists admire the Spanish Communist Party for its adherence to the principle of independence and its courage in exploring a way to socialism.

The Chinese and Spanish peoples and Parties are bound by traditional ties of friendship. "The lofty ideals of communism link us closely together. Our relations were interrupted for a time but that is now over. Both our Parties are looking ahead to a great future."

"Momentous and profound changes have taken place in the global situation and the international workers' and communist movements in recent years," he continued. "Likewise, important developments and changes have taken place in China's political, economic and social situation." He said that he was glad the Spanish delegation was visiting China at such an important time to exchange views about issues of mutual interest.

"We are confident that the normalization of relations between the Chinese and Spanish Parties on the basis of complete equality, independence and mutual respect and trust conforms with the desires of both Parties and both peoples and is in the interests of the communist movement and the peace of the world," said Hu Yaobang.

Comrade Carrillo's Toast

GENERAL Secretary Santiago Carrillo of the Spanish Communist Party said that the Spanish Communist Party delegation now visiting China was happy to see the resumption

of its long-standing friendship with the Chinese Communist Party.

The international workers' and liberation movements, he said, had followed a course full of storms, complexities and hardships and this course had its mistakes as well as its brilliant moments. "But, as Communists and revolutionary Marxists, we have been striving to overcome these mistakes."

"The Chinese and Spanish Communists, through their own practice, have concluded that, so long as all Parties proceed from a position of independence and their right to formulate their own strategies in line with their own obligations and activities and the times they are in, so long as they hold sincere and open discussions, placing what unites them in first place and not concealing their differences, then it is possible for them to have sincere relations of co-operation in their common cause."

"We know," Comrade Carrillo said, "you in China have a great abundance of important experience and successes. Led by the Communist Party, China is now exploring the way towards socialist modernization."

He further stated that China's socialist modernization was of enormous significance both for altering China's backwardness and for the progress of the world as a whole. "In the progressive and advanced ranks of mankind, no one can remain indifferent, or hostile, to the efforts the Chinese people have made to match their outstanding position in the world today."

"The Spanish Communist Party," he said, "will strive to expand and promote political, economic and cultural relations between the two countries so as to benefit both peoples and the cause of peace and international co-operation."

He added that the workers' and communist movement has always fought to defend world peace. "To fight for peace, it is imperative to oppose imperialism and expansionist tendencies, to oppose interference in the internal

affairs of other peoples and countries by the use of force, and to respect the independence and the right of self-determination of all nations."

"We are convinced that the struggle for peace is the common cause of the Spanish and Chinese Communists," said General Secretary Santiago Carrillo.

Each Communist Party Explores Ways Corresponding to Reality Of Its Own Country

THERE can be a variety of ways and forms for a revolution today and each Communist Party should try to explore the ways and forms that correspond to the reality of its own country."

This was stated by General Secretary Santiago Carrillo in a speech at Beijing University on November 13.

He said that Marxists today should not content themselves with inheriting the rich theoretical heritage left behind by Marx and Engels or by thinkers and revolutionaries like Lenin, Mao Zedong, Gramsci and those of lesser importance. "We must develop the thoughts of our great masters and advance through a Marxist study of new phenomena so that we will not lag behind or change from revolutionaries to conservatives," Carrillo said.

"The diversity of the ways and forms of socialism is determined by the objective factors of each country and it is absurd to ignore them. There are no prescriptions valid for all," he added.

The General Secretary talked about how each country's working class in Western Europe should explore its own ways. In the course of exploration there had appeared what was described as "Eurocommunism" which, he said, meant simply the application of revolutionary Marxism to the realities of their own countries.

Carrillo said: "It is our view that today, in a world where imperialism is no longer the only system, where many countries are marching along the road of socialism in one

form or another, in a world where capitalism is undergoing a profound crisis, the workers are able to win power through a democratic way in those countries where they constitute a decisive majority."

Carrillo said that the problem now facing the Communist Parties was to win over the broad masses of workers to the cause of socialism, to create a social and political group capable of solving their problems by majority decision, and to unite with the socialist parties in a very concrete way for this purpose.

"If we propose a system in which only one party, the Communist Party, is going to hold power while the other parties are not allowed to exist, then none of them will ally with us," he said. "As a fundamental component, our conception of the democratic way towards socialism consists of multi-partism. That is to say, a model of political system different from that of other socialist countries."

He held that a socio-economic formation like socialism could have different superstructures and political systems as in the case of capitalism.

"This strategy does not negate the Marxist assertion that violence is the midwife of history: because socialism cleared its way in history through great violent revolutions and there was then no other way," he said. "But other countries can embark on the already opened way without the necessity of using the same violence."

Comrade Carrillo discussed the importance of fighting for world peace in the present epoch. He said: "I think that all of us are conscious of the serious dangers which are now threatening world peace. The defence of peace today is a vital need of socialism."

"But the defence of peace does not mean that any country should use its troops to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. No country has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

"Therefore, we Spanish Communists are following with enormous sympathy the action of the non-aligned countries which are making a distinct contribution to the cause of peace, independence and freedom of all peoples." □

More Consumer Goods

—An important aim in readjustment of the national economy

by Our Correspondent Tian Yun

Light industry has long been a weak link in our economy. Since readjustment of the national economy began in 1979, consumer goods production and betterment of people's livelihood have been given a place of importance, with the tempo of light industrial growth outpacing that of heavy industry.

Our special feature in this issue reports on the guidelines for the ongoing economic readjustment and tells how they are being applied in Zhejiang, a seaboard province in east China. — Ed.

Why Is Readjustment Necessary?

THE purpose of readjusting the national economy is to remedy a long-standing disproportion which has existed between the major economic branches so as to achieve more or less harmonious proportions between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry as well as between the various other branches and trades, and also to work out a more rational ratio between accumulation and consumption. Only thus can there be a steady, sustained development of the national economy.

One of the main aspects of the readjustment is to speed up the development of the textile and other light industries.

Historical Lessons

Light industry is the economic branch producing mainly consumer goods. It embraces dozens of trades and manufactures all kinds of things to satisfy the people's various needs.

China's light industry, in terms of output value, had grown 20.8-fold in the 30 years from the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 to 1978, but lagged far behind heavy industry, whose output value in the same period rose 91.6-fold. In those years, the population increase was over 426 million, with the result that the

people's consumer needs had to be restricted and kept on a low level.

During the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57), investment in heavy industry took away 46.5 per cent of the nation's total in capital construction; light industrial investment, 5.9 per cent. The ratio of investment between the two was 8:1, which basically ensured a co-ordinated development of the two.

After that, Comrade Mao Zedong formulated the guideline of putting a premium on the development of light industry and arranging the national economic plan in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. In practice, however, it was the principle of "taking steel as the key link" that was acted on, so that for many years undue emphasis



Hunan Province's Liling chinaware now goes to overseas markets in large quantity.



A textile mill in northeast China's Shenyang producing synthetic fabrics with newly acquired looms.

was placed on boosting iron and steel production and other heavy industrial production connected with it. The after-effect was a downward spiraling of the proportion of light industrial investment. It went down to 3.9 per cent in the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62), hovered at 4 per cent in the Third Five-Year Plan (1966-70) and a 5.4 per cent was earmarked for light industry in the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1971-75). But this 5.4 per cent also included investment in industrial branches producing raw and other materials, such as chemical fibre. If these were deducted from the total, the actual investment in light industry was a mere 2 per cent or a little more than that, leaving the investment ratio between light and heavy industries at 1 to well over 10.

As a result of this and other factors, the growth of consumer goods production lagged farther and farther behind the expansion in purchasing power, and the problem of the supply of many main light industrial goods falling behind the demand became increasingly serious. Take the paper and the sugar industries for instance. In re-

cent years the output of paper has been one-third less than the demand, while one-third of the nation's sugar supply has had to be imported. Again, the average amount of textile fibre consumption per person in this country is less than 40 per cent of the world average. There is also a shortage of sewing machines, bicycles, leather shoes, alcoholic drinks, furniture etc. Our effort to speed up the development of light industry is aimed at solving this contradiction between supply and demand on the market. This serves the purpose of socialist production — to meet the ever growing material and cultural needs of the people.

Important Source of Funds Accumulation

Developing light industry will also help accumulate funds and expand the export trade, thereby providing more favourable conditions for accelerating the tempo of socialist modernization.

Tremendous funds are needed in the modernization drive. Light industry is an important source of state revenue and construction funds. Between 1950 and 1977 our light industry as a whole provided the state with

profits and tax levies amounting to 29 per cent of its financial revenue, 13 times as much as the state investment in the industry (or 70 per cent of the state investment in capital construction).

In the process of its modernization China needs to import advanced technology and supplies of all kinds, which must be paid for by expanding exports. China's export of light industrial goods is bringing in more than 40 per cent of its foreign exchange earnings. Therefore, a faster development of light industry could boost exports and bring in more foreign exchange.

If we develop more light industry and build less heavy industrial enterprises for the time being, we will be able to make more funds available for constructing many more heavy industrial enterprises eight to ten years from now. Then the development of heavy industry will be carried out on a sounder basis. "Foster heavy industry by means of light" — this seems to be China's only road to socialist modernization.

Exploit Advantages, Avoid Drawbacks

In economic construction it is necessary to proceed from actual conditions, making good use of the strong points while steering away from the weak. This has been proved true by the practice of our country in the last 30 years.

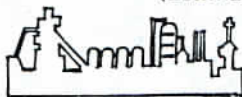
What are China's strong points? It has a large territory, a large population, abundant manpower and rich natural resources. Its weak points are: backward technology in production and limited funds. So developing light industry means developing more productive branches which absorb more labour power, yield good economic results but need less in-

vestment. This is what is meant by making use of the strong points and steering away from the weak.

China has favourable conditions for light industrial development. As 70 per cent of the raw materials for light industry comes from agriculture, and since agricultural resources in our country are rich both actually and potentially, we can count on our domestic sources for its development. There is also a vast home market for the goods produced. Quite a number of our traditional products have fairly strong competitive value on world markets. The existing light industrial enterprises have tremendous potentials; many old enterprises, medium-sized and small ones, after renovation and innovation, will yield immediate results and increase earnings although the money spent in these renovations and innovations, comparatively speaking, does not amount to much. Light industry consumes less energy than heavy industry; in labour-intensive enterprises in particular, energy

Some Targets in the 1981 National Economic Plan








(Estimated increases over the 1980 targets)



Total industrial output value: a 6% increase



Total light industrial output value: an 8% increase

		1981	1980
	Cotton yarn	2.865 million tons	2.775 million tons
	Paper	5.2 million tons	5 million tons
	Sugar	2.6 million tons	2.5 million tons
	Bicycles	14.84 million	12.6 million
	Sewing machines	8.6 million	7.2 million
	Watches	23.6 million	21 million
	Synthetic detergent	480,000 tons	430,000 tons

consumption is relatively low. All this makes it possible for a speedy development of light industry.

Measures and Results

The state has adopted a series of policies to enable light industry to catch up with or overtake heavy industry in the tempo of development. For instance, priority has been given to light industry in the following six aspects: in the supply of raw materials, fuel and electricity; in tapping potentials, renovating and innovating the existing enterprises; in the construction of new projects; in bank loans; in appropriations and the import of the latest technology; and in communications and transportation.

Last year, state investment in textile and other light industries' capital construction reached 2,300 million yuan,

with another 1,500 million yuan earmarked for tapping the potentials of textile and other light industrial enterprises or their renovation and for special loans. Funds earmarked for the development of textile and other light industries this year are much larger than the previous year.

A marked change has taken place after the economic readjustment of 1979. In that year, light industry's output value was 9.6 per cent greater than in 1978, surpassing that of heavy industry, which was 7.7 per cent. It registered another 21.5 per cent increase in the first three quarters of this year, compared with the corresponding period last year, surpassing by far the growth of heavy industry, which was 4.6 per cent. There have been fairly large increases in the production of cotton yarn, cotton cloth, chemical



Umbrellas made in Hubei's Guangji County are now of much better quality.

fibres, paper, synthetic detergent, bicycles, sewing machines, watches and television sets — a rare occurrence in many years.

Meanwhile, readjustment in the proportions of the various trades inside light industry itself has also begun. Attention is being paid to paper-making, to the manufacture of industrial goods for daily use, to departments producing chemical fibres, to woollen textiles, to silk

production, to the knitwear industry and to the capacity for handling dyed and printed textile goods, and the weak links have been somewhat strengthened. Places throughout the country are also making efforts to raise quality and increase the variety of their products. Last year, Beijing, Shanghai, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Sichuan alone trial-produced 30,000 new varieties and patterns of textile.

sified economy which provides all kinds of raw materials for the textile and other light industries. In the past, however, Zhejiang once was very keen on developing its coal and steel industries, disregarding the fact that it is poor in coal and iron deposits. It had tried to establish a complete industrial complex of its own. Of course it had failed in this endeavour, which, at the same time retarded the development of its textile and other light industries. The result: the industrial goods for daily use produced in the province were far below the needs of the people there, nor could they meet the needs of the foreign trade departments.

The Zhejiang Way

ZHEJIANG Province's total output value in textile and other light industries in 1979 was 17.1 per cent larger than that of the previous year. New products and goods of the latest designs numbered 13,000. Most of them are of improved quality. In the first ten months this year, the output value was 30.4 per cent greater than in the last year's corresponding period.

Zhejiang is one of the places in the country where the damages suffered in the ten chaotic years of the "cultural revolution" were particularly serious. Such a fast tempo indicates that it was a tempo of economic recovery rather than of economic growth. Still, in the

absence of a planned economic readjustment, such a tempo of recovery would be inconceivable.

Priority

Zhejiang has marked advantages for developing the textile and other light industries. Known traditionally as the land of silk, it has a fairly good foundation in the production of numerous textile and other light industrial goods as well as in the production of arts and crafts. The whole province has a mild climate with plenty of rainfall, and the output of food grain per unit area has been rather high. In the countryside, there is a well developed diver-

Last year, while determined to strengthen its agriculture, the provincial authorities also embarked on large-scale development of textile and other light industries, and made this their main task in the economic readjustment. Many important measures were taken. They include:

- Giving priority to the supply of fuel, motive power and raw and other materials needed in the development of the textile and other light industries;

- Making heavy industry serve light industry by producing materials badly needed by the textile and other light industries;

- Raising the share of local capital construction investment for light industry from 8.9 per cent in 1978 to 11.3 per cent in 1979 and again to 14 per cent this year, while issuing more bank loans, increasing foreign exchange appropriations and funds for its technological renovations;

- Encouraging the cultivation of industrial crops and expanding the raw material producing



Shaoxing wine jars are themselves a piece of art.

bases (this year the cotton-growing area has been expanded by 11,330 hectares, and the area for growing mulberry saplings by 1,660 hectares).

Tapping Potentials

The greater part of Zhejiang's textile and other light industrial factories are not big. Equipment in many is outdated. People tried a thousand and one ways to tap the potentials of the existing enterprises.

Rice wine of Shaoxing with a history of 2,300 years, for instance, is famous for its unique colour, bouquet and flavour. Its *jiapan* brand is the winner of a state gold medal award. Last year the Shaoxing Brewery got a loan of 2 million yuan and with the money it replaced most of the handwork in its two main processes with machinery, boosting the output from 18,000 to 25,000 tons.

Economic mergers in various forms are encouraged and promoted. In Jiaxing County, there was a well-equipped machinery works manned by fairly competent technicians but without many tasks to fulfil. When it was merged with a poorly equipped, small factory making electric fans, and co-ordinated

with other small factories, Jiaxing last year produced 13,400 electric fans, an output which was larger than the number of electric fans made in this county in the previous eight years. Because of their good quality, these electric fans have found their way into Xianggang (Hongkong). In Hangzhou city, more than 40 factories whose products did not sell well on the market were either merged or made to change their line of production to making furniture, garments, leather shoes, leather articles and plastic articles in short supply up to now. Many of these things are now in full supply while the supply of others has been greatly improved.

Economic union between town and countryside has also boosted productive capacity. One shoe-making factory in Yueqing County in 1978 started producing shoes worn for mountaineering and its business has been good. It exported 100,000 pairs of these shoes in the first year, and planned to make 500,000 pairs in the next. It entered a union with 36 small factories in town and enterprises of rural communes and production brigades, enlisting 28,000

people outside the factory to take part in production. Output shot up to 2.43 million pairs in 1979, and this year it plans to produce 3 million.

Processing outside the factory is a form developed extensively in arts and crafts (such as straw plaiting, embroidery on dresses, wood carving etc.), in plastic plaiting and in the garment industry. This makes it possible for the factories concerned to greatly raise their productive capacity, that is, to increase production with little or no extra investment at all, without any increase in the number of working personnel, in factory buildings or equipment. This also means the rural communes and production brigades as well as small enterprises in town will receive a larger income.

Role of the Market Mechanism

Some years ago, all products of the textile and other light industries were purchased by the state commercial departments which also monopolized the marketing. Factories could only arrange production according to state plan. It often happened that products wanted on the market could not be turned out in time while those not wanted stockpiled. Today reforms have been made. Planning go hand in hand with regulation by the market so that under the guidance of state plans, the market can now play a positive role. The reason for these reforms is that in a country as large as ours, with such a great variety of products and consumer needs, it is inconceivable that there could be a feasible plan to take care of everything.

Regulation by the market itself fills the gaps not covered by state planning in the supply of raw materials and the marketing of products. Early last year, Zhejiang's textile



Electric fans being assembled in a Jiaxing factory.

and other light industries planned to increase production by 10 per cent. But they had two problems to solve: one was insufficiency of certain raw materials and the other was excessive inventories of some of the products leading to refusal on the part of the commercial departments to take more. Now that the market is allowed to regulate supply and demand, upwards of 10,000 people in the province engaged in supply and marketing have gone into action. Some factories started processing goods for clients who supplied the material. The filatures in Zhejiang, for instance, last year reeled silk from 2,000 tons of cocoons supplied by the southwest province of Sichuan and this year its textile industry has processed 7,400 tons of cotton and 280 tons of chemical fibres for Shanghai and Xianggang. According to statistics, the state-owned textile and other light industries now get 20 per cent of their raw materials from the market,



Hangzhou Silk Printing and Dyeing Mill is famous for its silk blanket cover.

enterprises under collective ownership get 70 per cent while enterprises run by communes and production brigades get 90 per cent.

The productive departments are now free to market their

own products made in excess of the planned figure, and to market new products to be sold on trial as well as those which the commercial departments do not want to purchase. Factories now set up their own showrooms and retail shops or are hooked

Adjustment Through the Market Under the Guidance of State Planning

OF last year's total output value of Zhejiang's textile and other light industries, 26 per cent was handled through channels of regulation by the market; the percentage is to increase to 30 this year. If things go on like this, is it possible that the planned economy will give way to a market economy, thereby giving rise to anarchism in production? No, this is not possible, because adjustment through the market in our country is made use of under the guidance of state planning.

As seen from China's own experience, there must be planning. But it must be within our means, in accordance with our existing economic conditions, and must not be all-inclusive. Items which the state is not in a position to handle should be regulated by the market.

Between 1949 and 1957, the state handled according to plan only products having a great bearing on the national economy and people's livelihood and our economic life during that period had been quite normal. The radical change—the replacement of private ownership with public ownership—which took place in the said period thus, instead of causing a backslide in production, had actually stimulated the development of production and improved the people's livelihood with each passing year. This demonstrates that as long as the state is in control of the most important materials and products, things will never get out of hand.

In future, what state planning aims at is achieving an overall balance. Part of the targets will

remain compulsory and have to be acted on by the enterprises concerned. Another part of the targets will be advisory and serve as a forecast, the state giving guidance to production in enterprises through its economic policies, economic decrees and economic means. More and more targets will step by step fall into this category. Capital goods, with the exception of a part of them that are important or in short supply and have to be distributed according to plan, may all enter the market for free circulation. Consumer goods, with the exception of a part of them, will be purchased, according to plan, by order or selectively, instead of being marketed solely by commercial departments. More channels for commodity circulation will be opened together with more forms of circulation. This will enliven the economy and speed up production.



A Hangzhou fashion designer (second from left) and his assistants.

up with dealers directly, with the result that quite a few of them no longer worry about such things as the prospect of operating under capacity as before. The provincial commercial departments purchased only limited amounts of many items such as dry batteries, iridium-tipped fountain pens or spirits, so the manufacturers send people to other provinces to sell them and business is good.

Adjustment by the market also prompts factories to improve quality and lower prices. Hangzhou Silk Printing and Dyeing Mill is the biggest of its kind in the province. In the past its production plan was decided on by the state, its products were marketed solely by commercial departments and it was in the dark about market needs. At the all-province exhibition and sales fair of textile and other light industrial goods which took place in August 1979, products of this factory failed to appeal to customers and visitors because the designs were old-fashioned. By contrast, a kind of shining silk with a new, attractive design made at the Shaoxing Silk Printing Mill

sold like hot cakes. This gave the Hangzhou mill food for

Not a "Consumer Society" at All

WHAT will be the social effects of paying more attention to the production of consumer goods? Some people from abroad, when they see more and more consumer goods on display in Chinese stores, even imported ones in the show-windows in a number of big cities, are concerned about whether this will turn China on a path leading to a "consumer society."

This query was taken up by this correspondent when in the capital of Zhejiang Province, Hangzhou, with a population of one million. The correspondent visited a factory, a store and a worker's family there to find out what people thought.

At the Yanan Garment Factory

This is a small factory situated somewhere between the prosperous city district and the scenic lakeside. In its four-storeyed building, 237 workers and staff members produce 15,000 to 20,000 garments a month.

thought. Its director and his designing staff travelled from place to place to find out the likes and dislikes of the public and worked out 170 new designs. Twenty of them chosen as the best by workers and staff members at the mill were adopted. The new products were much acclaimed at the exhibition fair held last February.

At the fair, the price of a porcelain rice bowl made in Yuyao was 0.18 yuan while a bowl of the same specification and quality made in Shaoxing was priced 0.22 yuan. This put pressure on Shaoxing to lower its cost and price.

Factory deputy-director Ruan Wenyong told this correspondent in an interview: "Our people now wish to dress better, and look better. Years back, a woman wearing a print dress was sure to be accused of cultivating a bourgeois way of life; now that's an ultra-Left viewpoint. When we run a garment factory, our job is to meet the needs of the people. For instance, there should be new fashions; they should be attractive and in good taste, and not only wear well but be reasonably priced within the means of the general public. Making dresses of fancy designs to whet people's desire for consumption in order to earn more money certainly is not our guideline for business. If we did, I would say we had deviated from our course of serving the people."

The days of dull uniformity in clothing, with blue and grey predominating, are gone. Zhou Jinxiang, 63-year-old women's fashion designer, and his assistants have recently produced

five designs for women's frocks and they are well liked. Three thousand of them were sold out in no time. These summer dresses, neat and well tailored, are convenient for taking a walk or riding a bicycle. Zhou and his assistants are planning to bring out more fashion designs on the basis of further investigations into what people like.

At a Department Store

This one on Jiefang Road is the biggest department-store in the city, serving about 100,000 customers daily with a turnover of around 120,000 yuan a day.

The shelves there have been stocked with a growing variety of goods in recent years. Turnover in the first half of this year went up by 27 per cent, compared with the corresponding period last year; it was 41.8 per cent higher in August this year than the same month last year.

Speaking of the guideline on which his store is run, one responsible member of the management said: "Of course we expect to increase our turnover and take in more profit. In

past years, the mere mention of profit would have been criticized because it had become a synonym for capitalism or revisionism. In fact, we do not have capitalists here and our profit goes mainly to the state; only a part of it is put aside for the store as a collective fund and for our workers and clerks as bonuses. Won't the state go bankrupt if all factories and shops make no profit and suffer losses? The crux of the matter is how to increase the turnover and profit. We do not put up dazzling advertisements, we don't offer 'bargain sales' or cudgel our brains to urge people to buy. We just meet the public's needs of all kinds in a down-to-earth manner." He then enumerated some of the business methods of his store:

- Apart from getting goods from the state wholesale commercial departments, the store also goes to places in and outside the province to buy products made by factories in excess of the amount planned and products not handled by state commercial departments. This increases the variety of commodi-

ties and gives customers a greater choice.

- The store does not feature high-class expensive commodities to serve the needs of the few, but is always mindful of the needs of the many.

- Odds and ends are always in great demand although they are low-priced and not very profitable. Even though the store's turnover has gone up, it still makes the supply of odds and ends one of the standards by which to judge whether its service to the public is good or not. Sewing needles, small nails, bamboo clothespins and thermos bottle stoppers bring in practically no profit at all but they are on the store's must list of commodities to be kept in supply.

At an Ordinary Worker's Home

People of Fuhua Silk Mill in Hangzhou like to talk about the three happy events in the life of Feng Zhonglin and Shen Yuzhen in recent years. In 1977 the couple each had a raise in wages and this year, 1980, Shen got another raise; in 1978 they moved into a new two-room flat; in 1979 their son was enrolled as a student of the Biology Department of the China University of Science and Technology.

Both husband and wife come from poor families. The husband's father was a peasant who died before liberation. Shen's father was a worker, now retired. Their life is much better now, but the wife keeps saying: "Run the house frugally — that's still very important!"

The combined monthly wages of Shen Yuzhen and her husband come to 106.80 yuan, lower than the factory average, which is 58.76 yuan. But together with extra earnings, bonuses and all kinds of subsidies which add



At the department store on Jiefang Road, Hangzhou: a swarm of TV buyers.

up to about 38 yuan, and the 17-yuan educational subsidy for their son (universities and colleges in China issue subsidies to students whose family income is low), their overall income is 160.80 yuan a month. Every month, Shen Yuzhen gives her mother ten yuan. There is a family of five (a son, a daughter and Feng's mother) and this means an average of 30 yuan for each member of the family. The breakdown of the family's monthly expenses is as follows:

Food about 60 yuan (the son eats and lodges at the university); rent, water and electric bills, 8.2 yuan; pocket money for Feng Zhonglin to buy cigarettes, wine etc., 15 yuan; monthly allowance for the son, 10 yuan; for the daughter, 2; savings, 15 yuan. This leaves a balance of 45 yuan, put aside for daily necessities and unexpected purchases.

As they have a regular income and run their house with frugali-

ty, their total savings go up every month. The Fengs have used some of their savings to buy a number of durable goods for the family. These include three wrist watches, two bicycles, one sewing machine, one radio set, one electric fan — and there is enough furniture for everyone. As for clothing, they don't spend much on this item. Shen Yuzhen said: "We women workers like to dress well, but I myself am not very particular about it. As long as one's clothes are neat and clean, I prefer simplicity. No one will be looked down on because he or she is not well dressed. Here in our country, one's dress does not speak for his social position."

The son who is studying at college has without a doubt also formed a habit of extreme prudence in handling money. He puts his monthly allowance from his mother in the bank, and plans to buy a tape recorder at the end of this year to facilitate his studies at college.

Durable Goods in Hangzhou Homes

Households visited: 3,238 (all working people families)

Average size of family: 3.9 persons

Employed: 8,030 persons

Retired: 716 persons

	<i>Goods bought early this year</i>	<i>Average amount per household</i>
Bicycle	3,653	1.13
Sewing machine	1,857	0.57
Wrist watch	7,665	2.37
Radio	1,687	0.52
Television set	677	0.21
Phono pickup	220	0.07
Tape recorder	55	0.02
Camera	64	0.02
Electric fan	1,506	0.47



Shen Yuzhen's daughter learning to sew with the mother looking on.

Shen Yuzhen, who does not have much schooling, can just barely read and write simple Chinese. Her view on material life is typical of working people in this country. "Hangzhou," she observed, "is an easy place to spend money in. In running a household you may either scrimp or waste a lot of money. Our country is hard pressed — money is needed for construction and also for wage increases. Our government has tried in many ways to better our lives under very difficult circumstances. That we all know. I think we can improve our living standard only bit by bit. The important thing is to work hard, stick to plain living — this is the way to build our country."

Obviously, people here have not yet begun to go in for consumerism and wasteful habits, chase after money or worship material possessions. This is a thing we are happy about because a "consumer society" is not necessarily a society which brings people happiness. What many a Chinese wishes to see is a comfortably off, yet simple and honest society. □

FINE ARTS

Gu Yuan's Woodcuts

Powerful realism is manifested in the woodcuts of China's leading graphic artist, Gu Yuan, that recently were on exhibition at the National Art Gallery in Beijing. One hundred woodcuts created between 1938 and 1980 were displayed along with 90 watercolour paintings produced between 1953 and 1980. Peasants awakening from a long history of suppression are featured in his simple and natural woodcuts which portray life with a powerful sense of reality; his paintings contain beautiful landscapes imbued with the joy and sorrow of the people.

The most striking woodcuts in this art exhibition include:

At the District Government Office (1940) shows four cadres in peasant clothing at work in a cave dwelling. Their earnestness and their close ties with the people indicate the return of power in the liberated areas to the hands of the people.

Sheep (1940) illustrates a peasant child returning from the pastures carrying a newborn lamb to the sheep pen at sunset. This joyful but innocent boy



"Visit to My Old Peasant Host."
By Gu Yuan (1963)

and the lovely lamb make the woodcut quite poetic.

Human Bridge (1947), a colour woodcut, demonstrates the advance of the People's Liberation Army under heavy enemy fire. Another colour woodcut, *Jade Belt Bridge* (1962), which consists of red lotuses and a few fishing rods over the lotus pond, shows Gu Yuan's excellent skill in portraying gently flowing and crystal clear water.

Visit to My Old Peasant Host (1963) and *I Remember Yanan* (1978) recall the war years. The first shows a high-ranking army cadre sitting on a kang (an earthen bed) and chatting with his host, his comrade-in-arms from the revolutionary war years, and the host's family. The second portrays the army in its dual role of harvesting and fighting.

In *Early Spring* (1979), Gu Yuan employs different methods of carving to depict the spring wind rippling the reflections of trees on a lake. The budding trees and grass and singing birds indicate that with the coming of spring the land is full of living things.

Gu Yuan, 61, is the vice-president of the Chinese Graphic Artists Association. He began his woodcut career in 1938 when he went to Yanan to join the revolution. There, he painted and carved woodcuts to illustrate the struggle of the Chinese worker-peasant army to smash the old order and build a new society. His first work of note was *Carrying Fodder* in 1940 which was praised by the well-known painter Xu Beihong. His subjects are taken from aspects of daily life: collecting manure, fighting drought, land reform and the new marriage law. Gu Yuan



"Making Honey," one of Gu Yuan's recent works.

has been praised by the leading graphic artist Li Qun for possessing "a power that turns loess soil in northern Shaanxi Province into gold and this comes from his revolutionary zeal and genius."

STORYTELLING

Yue Fei on the Air

Large numbers of people in Beijing have recently had the pleasure of listening to *The Story of Yue Fei* told over the radio by woman storyteller Liu Lanfang. In many areas around lunch and supper time, life had all but come to a standstill as regular listeners drop other activities to catch the latest episode of this enchanting story.

The Story of Yue Fei was adapted from various popular tales and legends about the famous general who lived in China some 800 years ago. The story depicts the life of the beloved hero, his illustrious military career and his ultimate betrayal and murder by traitorous court officials of the Song Dynasty.

The narrator of the story, 36-year-old Liu Lanfang from the northeastern city of Anshan, has over 20 years of storytelling experience. Her radio performance of Yue Fei was first broadcast by the Anshan Radio in 1979 and then over 60 other radio stations throughout the country. The series ran half-hour episodes each day for three months, and was so popular that it is now being rerun nationwide.

The story has been followed and enjoyed by audiences of all ages and backgrounds, by school children and professionals and workers alike. What gives the story such broad appeal is not just its interesting plot and popular lead character, but the style in which it is delivered as well. Storyteller Liu Lanfang narrates with power and skill in both traditional operatic and everyday colloquial language, and audiences everywhere say they share the story's various moods of joy, hatred, sadness and love through the moving spirit of the storyteller's voice. *Wenji Bao*, a national literary magazine, recently published a review of the story, saying it "suits both refined and popular tastes."

The fact that the story has delighted so many millions of listeners in China reflects the enduring vitality this traditional form of art has today; it will not be replaced by contemporary films, music and other modern forms of entertainment. Over the past 1,200 years, Chinese storytelling has developed from a primarily religious content at first into the historical and popular stories of today. In addition, it has certain advantages over other art forms because of its uniquely flexible and convenient mode of expression.

CULTURAL RELICS

Ancient Bell on Display

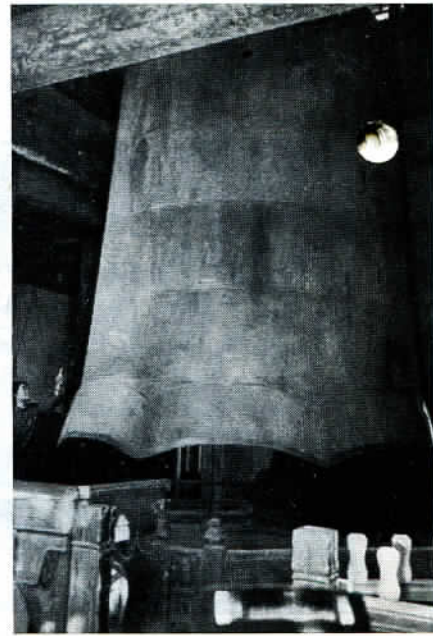
The historical Yongle Bell, China's largest and also one of the largest in the world, is now on display at the Dazhong (Great Bell) Temple in the western suburb of Beijing. The 500-year-old bell, made during the Yongle reign of the Ming Dynasty (1403-24), stands at 6.75 metres in height and 3.3 metres in width, and has a weight of over 46 tons. Buddhist sutras totalling 227,000 Chinese characters are inscribed around its lower edge and inside the bell.

The abundance of historical records concerning the legendary bell has drawn the interest of researchers and experts in the fields of history, archaeology, religion, metallurgy and others. In co-operation with the Cultural Protection Centre of Dazhong Temple, various experts have studied the bell this year and come to some in-

teresting conclusions. For example, from their study of the religious writings inscribed around the bell, several researchers have come to conclude that Emperor Zhu Li originally had the bell constructed in order to propagate Buddhism.

Exquisitely cast, the giant bell is approximately 80 per cent copper, 16 per cent tin, 1 per cent lead and a small proportion of various other elements. According to recent tests by the Acoustics Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the bell still has a beautiful tone and a volume of 120 decibels and can be heard for 50 kilometres on a quiet evening. The frequency of its sound is between 22 and 800 hertz.

A reference room has been set up at the temple to help tourists learn more about the history and background of the Yongle Bell. Thirty-two other ancient bells from the Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties (960-1911 A.D.) are also on display at the Dazhong Temple.



Left: The Dazhong Temple. Right: The Yongle Bell.

Modern Chinese History (1919-49)

History of China: New-Democratic Revolution Period (Vol. I)

《中国新民主主义革命时期通史》第一卷

By Li Xin, Peng Ming, Sun Sibai, Cai Shangsi;

Chief Editor: Chen Xulu;

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The first volume of *History of China: New-Democratic Revolution Period* has been republished recently and the other three will reach bookstores next year.

First printed in 1962, this work records the 30-year history from May 1919 to October 1949. The present second edition, totalling one million words, contains many more photos and maps, and a chronicle at the back of Volume IV.

The first volume consists of five chapters which describe

the major historical events from the May 4th Movement to the First Revolutionary Civil War (May 1919-July 1927). An account is provided of the relationship between the Nanjing Incident and the Great Massacre in Shanghai on April 12, 1927. In March that year, imperialists opened fire on a Chinese warship anchored near Nanjing, killing 2,000 people. In the opinion of the authors, this shocking event, which came to be known as the Nanjing Incident, accelerated Chiang Kai-shek's collaboration with the imperialists and his open-counter-revolutionary betrayal, which started with the massacre.

Another interesting feature in this volume is the appraisal of Chen Duxiu. While severely criticizing Chen Duxiu's mistakes, the authors fully acknowledge his role in the New Culture Movement and his contributions to the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. In their description of the founding of the Party, the authors state: "The congress elected the central organ of the Party and Chen Duxiu was elected its secretary. Chen Duxiu did not take part in the congress as he was in Guang-dong at that time. He was widely known as the editor of *New Youth*. Before the May 4th Movement he had been an influential radical democrat. After the movement, he became a very effective propagandist for socialism and an organizer of the Party. While preparatory work for the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was under way, the Shanghai group was in close touch with him. Such were the reasons why he was elected leader of the Party though he did not attend the meeting."

The second edition has in-

corporated many results of new research and corrected some factual errors. For instance, it states that 13 people took part in the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, thus correcting the wrong number of 12 given in the first edition. Previous histories failed to name the leaders of the Central Revolutionary Base Area who smashed the fourth encirclement launched by Chiang Kai-shek. This edition specifically attributes these achievements to Zhou Enlai and Zhu De.

The results of new research that are of a more complicated nature could not be included in the second edition because of time limitations. Thus, only minor revisions were made. Another shortcoming is that the four volumes are uneven in quality. But, despite these defects, the work represents a solid contribution to modern Chinese history.

The five major topics discussed in the first volume are: China on the eve of the May 4th Movement; the May 4th Movement and the founding of the Chinese Communist Party (May 1919-July 1921); new developments in revolutionary movement after the founding of the Party (July 1921-December 1923); the setting up of the revolutionary united front and the upsurge of the revolutionary movement (January 1924-June 1926); and the Northern Expedition (July 1926-July 1927). Some 80 photos and a chart illustrating the route travelled by the Northern Expedition are also included.



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