

# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY  
OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS



Hu Yaobang on  
China's Reforms

●  
Stress on  
Political Work

●  
Lin Biao's Abortive  
Coup in 1971



## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### Hu Yaobang Gives Interview

In an interview with the editor of *Avghi*, organ of the Greek Communist Party of the Interior, General Secretary Hu Yaobang answers questions concerning the "cultural revolution," China's political and economic reforms, and inter-Party relations (p. 11).

### China's Stand on Polish Question

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Han Nianlong declared that the internal affairs of Poland should be settled by the Polish people themselves without foreign interference. The Vice-Minister also answered questions from Chinese and foreign reporters about other important international issues (p. 8).

### Importance of Ideological Work

A *Renmin Ribao* editorial

stresses the importance of strengthening ideological and political work among the people in order to facilitate the current economic readjustment and expedite the modernization drive (p. 3).

### Party Discipline

Party committees at all levels are urged to combat unhealthy tendencies and improve the style of work which, as Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Chen Yun said, "is a matter of life and death to the Party" (p. 4).

### Price Control

A state Council circular calls for concerted efforts to control the prices to ensure a stable livelihood for the people (p. 4).

### Abortive Coup d'Etat

This week's Special Feature gives a detailed account of the attempted assassination of Chairman Mao Zedong and

abortive counter-revolutionary coup d'etat by Lin Biao and his cohorts (pp. 19-28).

### Court Reports

The First Tribunal of the Special Court investigated charges in the indictment that Jiang Qing had framed large numbers of innocent people and that Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen had plotted to engineer an armed rebellion in Shanghai (pp. 14-17).

The Second Tribunal completed its investigation of the charges against Huang Yongsheng, former chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A., and four other defendants (pp. 17-18).



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**COVER:** Modern drama flourished on the Chinese stage. (Top left) "Our Neighbours"; (Bottom left) "Dawn Over the Ancient Capital"; (Bottom right) "Fair Opinion."

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## POLITICAL

### Strengthening Ideological-Political Work

*Renmin Ribao* on December 5 carried an editorial calling for the strengthening of ideological and political work and the integration of ideological with economic work so as to expedite the four modernizations.

The editorial stressed the necessity of combating erroneous ideas among the cadres and the people as a whole. These ideas include "Leftist" thinking, the ideological influences of feudalism and small production, and bourgeois ideas infiltrating from abroad. The key to success in ideological and political education lies in improving Party leadership, the editorial added, and Party leaders and members should set a good example and be models in improving their style of work.

The gist of the editorial follows:

China is now in a period of historic transition. An important and pressing task facing the whole Party is to strengthen ideological and political work and mobilize the people of the whole country to work with one mind to promote the current economic readjustment and restructuring and expedite the socialist modernization of the country.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee in December 1978, Party committees at all levels have done much to set things right and emancipate the mind. Ideologically, the cadres and the masses are on the whole active and healthy.

However, as a result of the serious sabotage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, the adverse effects of "Leftist" thinking over the years still need to be eradicated. Moreover, the ideological influences of feudalism and small production still exist to a serious extent, and with the expansion of international exchanges, decadent bourgeois ideas constantly infiltrate into the country. In addition, many cadres and people are mentally unprepared for the overall readjustment of the national economy and various economic reforms. Many theoretical questions, policies and measures have yet to be further probed, clarified and perfected. And there are shortcomings and errors in our work after the smashing of the gang of four. All this has resulted in various kinds of ideological questions among the cadres and the masses and given rise to certain erroneous thinking and confusion.

These are unavoidable at a time of great change. The question is that quite a few units and departments fail to recognize all this and have relaxed ideological and political work with the result that many ideological problems which should have been solved remain unsolved for a long time; in some cases, simplistic methods are used, thereby complicating the problems and making them harder to solve.

To accomplish the four modernizations, it is necessary to have the firm backing of the Party's ideological and political work. It is our revolutionary tradition to attach importance to such work. In this new historical period, it is all the more necessary to place ideo-

logical and political work in a very important position.

To strengthen this work, we must continue to emancipate our minds and seek truth from facts. In the final analysis, ideological and political work means using the Marxist standpoint, views and methods to educate and unite the people.

It is necessary that this work should adapt itself to and serve the four modernizations. Appropriate criticisms and self-criticisms should be made against erroneous ideas and practices that hinder the progress of the four modernizations. The enthusiasm of the masses must be guided in the right direction so as to boost the production and improve the work of their units.

Concern for the well-being of the masses is an important part of the ideological and political work. On the other hand, it is necessary to educate the people to correctly handle the relationships between the state, the collective and the individual.

In addition, it is imperative to improve education among the cadres and correct our Party's working style. The fine traditions and practices of our Party must be revived and carried forward.

The key to strengthening ideological and political work lies in improving Party leadership. First of all, our system must be reformed so that there will gradually be a division of work between the Party and the government. From now on, the Party committees should exercise leadership and ensure the implementation of the Party's line, principles and policies not by issuing adminis-

trative orders but mainly through ideological and political work and through Party members playing an exemplary vanguard role.

## **Chen Yun and Hu Yaobang On Party Discipline**

Chen Yun, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and First Secretary of the Central Committee's Discipline Inspection Commission, called on the whole Party to make unswerving efforts to improve the Party's style of work. He stressed: "The style of work of a ruling Party is a matter of life and death to the Party."

Quoting this statement at a recent meeting of the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Central Committee, General Secretary of the Party Hu Yaobang expounded this question and made the following remarks:

When the status of a Marxist Party changes from that of being the object of oppression, massacre and encirclement to that of a ruling Party of the whole country, there is the possibility that it may degenerate and change its nature. Party members whose revolutionary will-power is weak are prone to succumb to sugar-coated bullets and degenerate. They often mistake the leading position of the Party for that of a ruler and look upon themselves as rulers.

The historical experience of the Chinese Communist Party shows that the Party's line and policies and its style of work and inner-Party life are interdependent; for the Party to have only a correct political line and correct policies is insufficient, it must have a correct organizational line and a good style of work.

Thanks to the joint efforts made by the Party discipline inspection commissions at various levels and the entire Party, much progress has been made in Party discipline over the past one year or two. But compared with the early post-liberation days, there has been no basic improvement. In some places, a good style of work is seriously lacking. Examples in this regard are numerous:

Some cadres openly or covertly refuse to implement the Party's line, principles and policies;

Some take advantage of the position and power given them by the Party and the people to seek personal gains, form factions and put their faithful followers in important posts;

Some throw Party principles to the winds to establish ties with others, give dinner parties or gifts, accept bribes to the detriment of the good name of the Party and the country, and dissipate public funds or property;

A few even use their power to make false charges against good people;

Some practise fraud, deceive their superiors and delude their subordinates, take to flattery and seize every chance to gain advantage by trickery;

Some are extremely irresponsible in their work and have caused enormous loss to the interests of the state and people.

All these vile practices have damaged the prestige of the Party, undermined the relations between the Party and the people, weakened the Party's strength, and encouraged unhealthy social tendencies.

These vile practices are the result of the corruption of our Party by the ideology of the exploiting classes and the sabo-

tage of normal inner-Party democratic life by Lin Biao and the gang of four.

To take resolute measures to improve the Party's style of work is a continuation of the struggle to eliminate the remaining pernicious influences of Lin Biao and the gang of four. It is imperative to uphold what is just, without fear of offending someone in the course of doing so. Party committees at all levels should organize Party members and cadres to conscientiously study the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" promulgated last March, and take practical steps to check unhealthy tendencies, especially those against which the people have the most complaints. Party discipline inspection commissions at all levels should not hesitate to combat unhealthy tendencies and overcome all kinds of obstructions and difficulties in their work.

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## **ECONOMIC**

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### **Controlling Prices**

The State Council issued a circular on December 7 calling for concerted efforts to step up the production of commodities and control the prices. The aim is to ensure a stable livelihood for the people. An important task put forward at the national working conference on prices held in April this year was to guarantee the basic stability of prices.

Major points of the State Council circular are:

— Retail prices of all commodities, manufactured goods or farm produce, with prices already fixed by the state, must not be higher than the fixed prices after the promulgation of the circular;

— Commodities with negotiated prices are to be sold at prices not higher than on December 7. The prices can be reduced but not raised;

— All capital goods, the allocation of which comes under the state plan, including that part which is turned out after fulfilling the state plan and can be sold by the enterprises themselves, must be sold at the prices fixed by the state;

— Industrial goods for daily use are not to be purchased or sold at negotiated prices. Major farm and sideline products are not to be sold on the peasants' markets before the state purchasing quotas are fulfilled;

— Seasonal price differences for fresh and live commodities, such as vegetables, eggs, fish and fruits, are permissible; and

— Banks at all levels should strengthen the management of credit and cash money and control the circulation of currency.

The circular urges that the people's governments at various levels organize several large-scale price check-ups in succession and mobilize the people to report and expose cases of violation of the provisions laid

down in the circular. If such violations are proved true after investigation, the units concerned will be fined and their bonuses will be withheld; those responsible will have part of their wages withheld and disciplinary action will be taken against them. Serious cases will be dealt with according to law.

Measures are being taken by the local people's governments to stabilize prices. The Beijing municipal government has put forward ten measures in this regard, combining overall check-ups by special groups with supervision by the people. In Anshan in northeast China's Liaoning Province, 14 units were severely criticized for violating the price policy, and economic punishment was meted out to 19 others. Managers and employees of 30 shops were either fined or had their bonuses withheld.

### Only One Exchange Rate for Renminbi

There is, and will continue to be, only one exchange rate for Renminbi, and the rate will be published solely by the General Administration of Foreign Exchange Control. This state-

ment was made by a spokesman of the aforementioned administration in an interview with a Xinhua correspondent on December 15.

The spokesman dismissed talks in Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao) of a dual exchange rate as utterly groundless.

He pointed out that measures to be adopted from January 1 next year for internal settlement of accounts between enterprises in the country engaged in import and export business are being discussed. But, he stressed, this is only part of the effort to restructure China's economic system and has nothing to do with the exchange rate for Renminbi in dealings with foreign countries.

### FOREIGN RELATIONS

#### Li Xiannian and Hu Yaobang Meet Greek C.P. Delegation

Vice-Chairman Li Xiannian and General Secretary Hu Yaobang of the Chinese Communist Party on December 14



Left: Li Xiannian with Mpampis Drakopoulos.  
Right: Hu Yaobang talking with Mpampis Drakopoulos.

met in Beijing on separate occasions with a delegation of the Greek Communist Party of the Interior led by its General Secretary Mpampis Drakopoulos.

During his meeting with the delegation, Vice-Chairman Li said: "We are very glad to build up and develop the friendly relations between our two Parties." He went on to say that inter-Party relations should be based on the principles of equality, non-interference in each other's affairs and mutual respect, and learning from each other and exchanging experiences. There must be equality among all Parties, big or small. He told the comrades from Greece about the experiences and lessons of the Chinese Communist Party both in revolution and in construction.

General Secretary Mpampis Drakopoulos said that the experience gained by one Party is valuable to the development of another Party. Parties should treat one another as equals and exchange experience regularly. He said there is no ready-made formula in the world for building socialism. The Chinese Communist Party is leading the Chinese people forward on an untrodden path, so setbacks are unavoidable in the course of advance.

Hu Yaobang and Mpampis Drakopoulos considered that the establishment of official relations between the two Parties is in the interest of both Parties and peoples.

On the same day Hu Yaobang was interviewed by Vasilis Konstantinidis, Editor of *Avghi*, organ of the Greek Communist Party of the Interior. (For details of the interview see p. 11.)

## Huang Hua on Opposing Colonialism

Chinese Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua on December 11 sent a message to the U.N. General Assembly, greeting the 20th anniversary of the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" adopted by the assembly.

In his message, Huang Hua said: "Since the end of World War II, nearly a hundred colonies and semi-colonies as well as trust and non-self-governing territories have shaken off the yoke of colonialism and declared independence after waging a heroic and arduous struggle over a long period of time. This has greatly changed the face of the world."

In 1960, he noted, the U.N. General Assembly adopted the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," which significantly helped to advance this historical process.

"At present," he continued, "the old colonial system has collapsed, but colonialism and racism, particularly in southern Africa, have not yet died out. Moreover, that late-coming superpower is trying to replace the old-line imperialism and colonialism in an attempt to carry out infiltration, expansion and aggression in the third world countries. This is a form of new colonialism and also of hegemonism. Opposing colonialism in all its forms and manifestations remains an important task of the United Nations. The countries that have won independence are faced with an arduous struggle to consolidate independence, safeguard sovereignty, develop the economy and defend world peace and security."

Huang Hua added that the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly stand on the side of the third world countries and peoples and make concerted efforts to oppose imperialism, colonialism, racism and hegemonism and to safeguard world peace.

## Protest Against Vietnamese Armed Intrusions and Provocations

For more than a month Vietnamese armed intrusions and military provocations have kept increasing in the border areas of China's Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and Yunnan Province, with over 200 serious incidents. The Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged a strong protest against all this in its December 13 note to the Vietnamese Embassy in China.

The note stated: "In its note to China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated November 21, the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry confounded right and wrong and tried to confuse and deceive public opinion by using the old trick of 'the thief crying stop thief.' It must be pointed out that the Vietnamese authorities are now stepping up their war of aggression in Kampuchea and intensifying the buildup of their troops along the Thai-Kampuchean border, thus threatening the peace and security of Thailand and the Southeast Asian region. Now the Vietnamese side is spreading sheer lies and fabrications in an attempt to divert world attention from its aggressive and expansionist activities, but its efforts will prove to be entirely futile."

The Chinese Foreign Ministry demanded that the Vietnamese side stop its armed intrusions and provocations against the Chinese border areas.

## An Ominous Sign

THE December 8 dispatch by the official Soviet news agency TASS grossly distorting the current situation in Poland triggered off widespread reaction and told more than it had been intended.

On December 8 an electrical appliance plant in Kielce, south of Warsaw, stopped work for an hour because there was a temporary power cut. But TASS maliciously alleged that the stoppage was a "counter-revolutionary incident" during which the plant workers "arbitrarily removed the leadership and disarmed the guards of the plant" and that Party activists "went missing." The TASS report went on to claim that "counter-revolutionary groups," operating under cover of local branches of the independent Solidarity trade union, had now "turned to open confrontation" with the local Party organizations and with the administration of some enterprises and institutions and were "leading the situation in the country towards further destabilization and sharpened political struggle."

Polish officials and Solidarity leaders immediately denied the TASS report. The Polish Party paper *Trybuna Ludu* reported that the situation in Kielce was calm, in good order and that production there was running normally.

The fabricated report by TASS at this critical moment cannot be put down as accidental. It is too reminiscent of the Soviet subterfuge prior to Soviet tanks rolling into Cze-

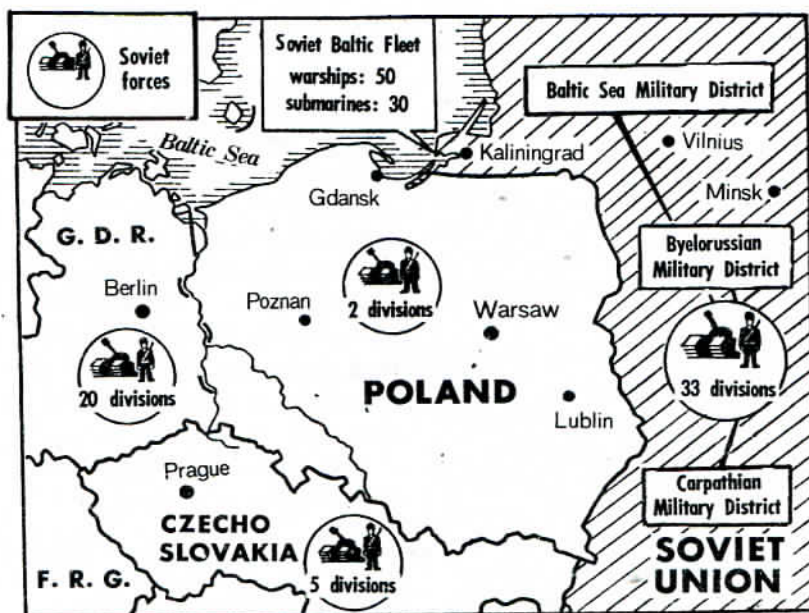
choslovakia in 1968. Soviet officials and the Soviet press then had distorted the situation in Czechoslovakia, alleging that the West had incited "anti-socialist" activities there. On this flimsy pretext, the Soviet Union had claimed that it had the right to step in to "defend socialism," and that the invasion was the Warsaw Pact countries exercising their right of "collective defence." The world was later told that this was the "Brezhnev doctrine."

What the Soviets are doing today is strikingly similar to what they did in 1968. It must be noted too that the TASS rumour came within three days of the Warsaw Pact summit held in Moscow. It shows that the Kremlin has not abandoned plans for armed intervention in Poland. Furthermore, after the Moscow meeting, the Soviet media did not stress that Poland is "able to overcome the difficulties that have occurred."

Instead, they emphasized Poland "may firmly rest on the fraternal solidarity and support from the signatories of the Warsaw Pact." This is tantamount to declaring that, if necessary, Moscow would not hesitate to invade Poland as it did to Czechoslovakia in 1968 in the name of "solidarity with" and "support for" another member state of the Warsaw Pact.

After the Warsaw Pact summit, continued massing of Soviet divisions along the Polish borders were reported. A special Soviet command had been activated and preparations for armed intervention in Poland had been completed. These reports cannot be discounted.

Of course, the Soviets will not be without their difficulties if it comes to actually mounting an invasion of Poland. Their Afghanistan adventure is burden enough to make them think twice before loading themselves with another albatross. The Russians must



Sketch map by Zhu Yulian

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## The Poles Will Settle Their Own Affairs

THE Polish issue is Poland's internal affair and should be settled by the Polish people themselves without foreign interference, said Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Han Nianlong.

Speaking to Chinese and foreign journalists on December 13 at the All-China Journalists' Association, Han Nianlong said, "The grave danger of a Soviet military intervention in Poland exists indeed, the people of all countries should heighten their vigilance to such a danger.

"Should the Soviet Union defy the opposition of the people everywhere and blatantly carry out armed intervention, it will have to bear the grave consequences of its own action."

Asked about **China's position on Brezhnev's Persian Gulf proposal**, the Vice-Minister said

that such a proposal was hypocritical. For, he said, "it is the Soviet Union that has sent 100,000 troops to invade and occupy Afghanistan. It has repeatedly refused to withdraw its aggressor troops. Furthermore, it has strengthened its military forces in the Indian Ocean to gravely threaten the security of the Persian Gulf region. These are facts known to all."

"The Soviet Union," he said, "should unconditionally pull out all its aggressor troops from Afghanistan and stop its intervention in the country's internal affairs. An evasion of these issues only shows that Brezhnev's proposal is not to be taken seriously."

Han Nianlong also answered questions about China's relations with Southeast Asian countries as well as about the Kampuchea issue.

Speaking of an **international conference to solve the Kampuchea problem**, Vice-Minister

Han said, "We are for the holding of such a conference. But, the most important task of the conference, if it is held, is to discuss the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, otherwise it will have no practical significance."

Answering a question on the **contention of the two superpowers in Africa**, Han Nianlong said that China is opposed to all contentions by the superpowers, whether in Africa or anywhere else in the world.

When a reporter asked whether China would restore **diplomatic relations with Indonesia** in the near future, Han Nianlong said that China has expressed its willingness to restore diplomatic relations with Indonesia long ago. "On this issue, there are no difficulties on the Chinese side. However, if Indonesia has difficulties or inconveniences, we are willing to wait," Han Nianlong added.

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know, too, that Poland is not Czechoslovakia. One Polish reporter told his Agence France-Presse colleague in Warsaw that in the event of a Russian invasion of Poland, a country with 35 million people, "there will be 35 million Molotov cocktails to greet the Soviets." If Moscow is willing to face that, it still has to face the storm of universal condemnation the invasion will arouse.

The December 8 rumour TASS floated, however, is being interpreted to mean Moscow is not giving up plans for an armed intervention in Poland. The Soviets are still seeking, and even fabricating, pretexts for an eventual intervention.

— *Xinhua Correspondent Guo Ping*

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## Brezhnev's India Trip

BREZHNEV'S official visit to India between December 8 and 11 was the Soviet leader's first visit to an Asian nation after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. During his stay there, he tried to pretend that he was concerned about peace in the region. His statements and deeds, however, showed that the Soviet Union was determined to stay in Afghanistan and to make trouble in South Asia as it continues its push south.

The visit took place at a time when the Soviet Union found itself extremely isolated internationally owing to its stub-

born stand over Afghanistan. One of the aims of going all the way to New Delhi was to win Indian support for the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan so as to strengthen its hand for expansion in South Asia. But Brezhnev did not get everything he wanted.

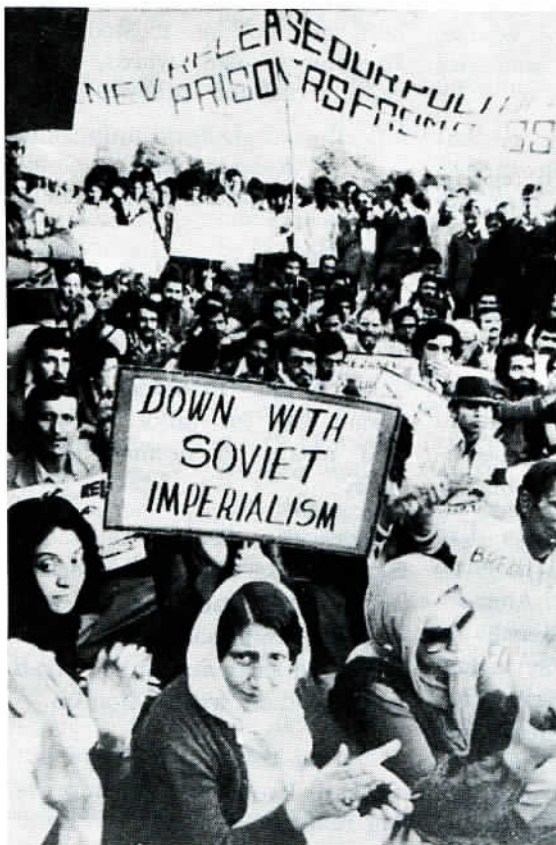
Indian President Reddy told Brezhnev at a banquet held in his honour, "We in India remain opposed to any form of intervention, covert or overt, by outside forces in the internal affairs of the region." Although Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi did not openly demand the withdrawal of



Soviet troops from Afghanistan, she reaffirmed India's determination to oppose any outside intervention. An Indian Foreign Ministry spokesman even openly declared, "India's consistent stand has been not to condone any form of interference or domination of any country by another." Apparently, Brezhnev has not been able to alter India's stand on the Afghanistan issue, despite his going to India in person. It also shows how abhorrent the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan is to the world.

In India Brezhnev stubbornly defended the Soviet armed occupation of Afghanistan, refusing to consider pulling Soviet troops out on the grounds that there was "outside interference" and declared that the Soviet Union would "fulfil to the end its duty of providing assistance to friendly Afghanistan." He even went so far as to try and pressure Afghanistan's neighbours, Pakistan for one, into abandoning their principled stand expressed in the resolutions adopted by the U.N. General Assembly and the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference, which demanded an immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and force them to recognize the Karmal regime and to accept the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan as a *fait accompli*. From this, it is clear that Moscow's "political solution" to the Afghanistan issue is aimed solely at legitimizing the Soviet occupation.

**Five-Point Proposal.** In his address to the Indian Parliament, Brezhnev brought out a 5-point proposal for "peace and security" in the Persian



Afghan and other demonstrators outside Soviet Embassy during Brezhnev's visit.

Gulf region, but this is clearly an attempt to cover up Soviet aggression and expansion there.

While Brezhnev assiduously avoided mentioning the Soviet military forces in Afghanistan and other areas which menace the security of the Persian Gulf, as well as the many Soviet military bases in the Aden Gulf and the Arabian Sea, he spoke much about "not establishing foreign military bases in the area of the Persian Gulf and adjacent islands; not deploying nuclear or any other weapons of mass destruction there." Brezhnev also chose to speak about "not using and not threatening with the use of force against the countries of the Persian Gulf area, not interfering in their internal af-

fairs"; "respecting the status of non-alignment chosen by Persian Gulf states; not drawing them into military groupings with the participation of nuclear powers"; and "respecting the sovereign right of the states of the region to their national resources" and so on. These are empty utterances when it is very clear that it is the Soviet armed occupation of Afghanistan that is gravely threatening the security of Pakistan and Iran. No one can take seriously what Brezhnev said, because the Soviet Union is pressing ahead with its southward strategy, continually strengthening its military presence in the Indian Ocean to enable it to cut the flow of oil to the West. Brezhnev's proposal "not to raise obstacles

or threats to normal trade exchange and the use of sea lanes that link the states of the region with other countries of the world" cannot, of course, interest any of the countries concerned.

Moscow had hoped to improve its image by Brezhnev's visit to India. It is now ap-

parent that it has backfired. The Brezhnev visit has shown the world once again that the Soviet hegemonists are crafty, and not to be trusted. In Brezhnev's own words, "Deception cannot produce good results."

— "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, December 13

## Syria-Jordan Border

THE situation on the Syrian-Jordanian border continues to improve, thanks to the mediation efforts of Saudi Arabia.

Earlier, border tension had built up during the 11th Arab Summit held in Amman, Jordan, from November 25 to 27. Reports said that Syria had massed troops and tanks on the border with Jordan when it declared its boycott of the Arab Summit. Jordan, too, was said to have concentrated troops and tanks in the area.

Syria was reported to have accused Jordan of supporting terrorists inside Syria, while Jordanian leaders declared that they would strike back at any foreign invasion. The situation grew serious and their neighbours were worried.

Saudi Arabia offered to do all it could to resolve their differences peacefully and avoid a further split in the Arab camp. Prince Abdallah Ibn Abdil Aziz, Saudi Arabian Second Deputy Premier and National Guard Commander, flew to Damascus on November 30 with a message from King Khaled

for Syrian President Hafez Assad and for talks on ways and means to promote Arab unity.

President Assad told his Saudi visitor that Syria cherished joint Arab action and wanted Arab solidarity maintained so as to strengthen Arab confrontation with Zionism.

During their talks, Syria put forward two points for improving relations between Syria and Jordan: 1. Jordan should stop supporting the Moslem Brotherhood in Syria; 2. Jordan should not represent the P.L.O. (Palestine Liberation Organization) in any way.

Prince Abdallah went on to Amman, where he met and had talks with King Hussein of Jordan. He told King Hussein about Syria's stand and attitude. The Jordanian side expressed its appreciation and thanked Saudi Arabia for its mediation. It announced its willingness to end the Syrian-Jordanian confrontation. A leading member of the Jordanian Government stated that Jordan was firmly against the pre-conditions put forward by Syria, but he said that King Hussein was prepared to hold talks with Syria.

Jordan, he pointed out, had not supported the Moslem Brotherhood in Syria and, as for its relations with the P.L.O., Jordan would abide by the declaration adopted at the 11th Arab Summit: "The P.L.O. is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

When Prince Abdallah visited Syria for the second time, he told President Assad that Jordan was willing to talk with Syria concerning the issue of the Moslem Brotherhood and the P.L.O. To get Syria to adopt a more co-operative stance on the Syrian-Jordanian border, he said that Saudi Arabia would give financial aid to Syria to help it to overcome its present economic difficulties and strengthen forces against the Israeli expansionists.

Thanks to the mediation efforts of Saudi Arabia and the willingness of both sides to accept the Saudi initiative, tension along the border has relaxed. This shows once again that differences and disputes among Arab countries can be settled step by step through negotiations. The initiative taken by Saudi Arabia is welcomed by the people of Jordan and Syria and the rest of the Arab world.



CORRECTION: In issue No. 50, p. 11, right-hand column, third paragraph, line 12 should read "U.S. Central Intelligence Agency."

# Bright Prospects for China's Reforms

— Hu Yaobang answers "Avghi" editor's questions

*In an interview with Vasilis Konstantinidis, Editor of "Avghi" (Dawn), organ of the Greek Communist Party of the Interior, on December 14, Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, spoke on the evaluation of the history of the Chinese Communist Party and China's political and economic reforms.*

**The "Cultural Revolution."** Asked about the evaluation of the history of the Chinese Communist Party between 1957 and 1976, Hu Yaobang said: "It is the unanimous view of our Party that the decade between 1966 and 1976 of the so-called great cultural revolution was a period of catastrophe. There was nothing correct nor positive about these ten years. The whole thing was negative. Tremendous damage was done to our economy, culture, education, political thinking and Party organization. The only positive factor, if we may call it that, is that we have learnt some lessons from the mistakes made during this decade. In this sense only has a bad thing turned into a good thing.

"The situation in the first ten years of the 1957-76 period was, however, quite different from that in the second ten-year period. We were correct in many respects during that decade, though we did make mistakes in some respects and these had brought damage. But they were not so serious as those made in the second ten years."

Marxism holds that a Party good at learning can take destiny into its own hands and is confident of its future, Hu Yaobang said.

**China's Political and Economic Reforms.** Answering a question about China's political and economic reforms and the measures taken to ensure their realization, Hu Yaobang told the Greek editor that the political reforms involved mainly the strengthening of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system.

"Efforts are being made to restore the Party's good tradition and style of work, because they were gravely damaged by Lin Biao and the gang of four over the years."

About the reforms of the economic system,

Hu said, the most important thing now was economic readjustment. This is because "sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four for many years brought about a serious economic dislocation."

"Reforms in these two respects have achieved a certain degree of success, but the task remains arduous. We are confident that, under a policy of steady progress, reforms in these two respects will be fruitful."

**Self-Reliance and Economic Exchange.** On China's policy of opening to the outside world and its impact on the present international situation, Hu Yaobang said: "Fundamentally, China is building socialism through self-reliance. On this basis, however, we will actively develop economic contacts and co-operation with other countries." "One of our mistakes in the past was to close the country to the outside world. The histories of various countries show that a closed-door policy harms national development. Yugoslavia, Romania and Korea have done better than China in this regard. In a sense, we have learnt from their experience in working out our policy of opening to the outside world."

**Independence and Equality Between Various Parties.** Discussing the present trends of opposing a "leading Party" and demanding independence and non-interference in each other's affairs in the international communist movement, Hu Yaobang said: "The trends of demanding independence and equality in the international communist movement date back to the 1940s.

"It is contrary to the principles of the international communist movement for one Party to interfere with another Party's affairs. It is totally wrong for a Party to style itself the only correct one and that it holds the leading position. It is my view that the era of such a practice should be ended. The trends for consultations between different Parties on the basis of independence and equality are irrepressible."

He added: "The Parties in Europe are opposed to an international leading centre. Our Party and Chairman Mao Zedong have also

been against a 'patriarchal Party.' The practice of a 'patriarchal Party' can bring only disaster, and no advantage at all, to the international communist movement."

**Relations Between the Chinese and Greek People and Parties.** Commenting on Sino-Greek co-operation, Hu Yaobang said: "The Communist Party and people of China greatly admire that ancient culture of Greece. The ancient civilization of Greece played a tremendous part in pushing world history forward.

"Our Party and people also hold in high

esteem the contributions the Greek people made in their struggle against fascism and in their democratic revolution."

He expressed the hope that the friendship between the people of China and Greece would develop from generation to generation. "Our Party and people are very glad that our two Parties have established close, comradely relations on the basis of complete equality. I wish your Party greater success."

"Let our two Parties unite and advance towards our great common goal," Hu Yaobang said in conclusion. □

## *Theoretical Discussion*

# Letting a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend

by Zhou Jin

TO promote the progress of socialist sciences, culture and arts, the Communist Party of China put forward in 1956 the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." The policy means that different forms and styles of art should develop freely, different schools in sciences should contend freely and questions of right and wrong involved in the arts and sciences should be settled through open discussion and practical work and not in a summary fashion.

However, after 1957 and particularly during the turbulent ten years which started in 1966, it was asserted in academic and literary and art circles that "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" actually meant "letting two schools of thought contend"—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Hence, in the eyes of some self-styled representatives of the proletariat, those who disagreed with them were representatives of the bourgeoisie. This distortion of the policy and the resultant enormous publicity contradicted China's actual ideological situation and was disastrous to the country's scientific and cultural undertakings.

For a long time, people did not adequately recognize and guard against feudalism and

hence neglected its criticism. (See "The Need to Eliminate Feudal Remnants" in our issue No. 45, p. 15.)

The victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 brought to an end the feudal relations of production and the political system of feudalism. However, feudal ideology did not disappear with the elimination of the feudal economic foundation. In fact, sometimes it was mistaken as socialist ideology, causing trouble and damaging the revolutionary cause. For instance, during the "cultural revolution," anti-Party conspirators and careerists like Lin Biao and the gang of four wantonly advocated the cult of personality and deified the supreme leader, thus allowing feudal remnants to flourish. It can be said that the school of feudal ideology at a very early point joined the "contention" as a significantly powerful force.

Thus, by translating "the contention of a hundred schools of thought" into "the contention between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie," the existence of feudal ideology has been ignored and, in an objective sense, protected. This is disadvantageous to eliminating remnant feudal ideas and to expanding the Marxist ideological front and developing our sciences and arts.

In addition to excluding the school of feudal ideology, the theory that there are only two schools contending also ignored the school of the petty bourgeoisie. Petty-bourgeois ideology was simply lumped together with the school of bourgeois ideology.

In old China, small producers were numerous both in the urban and rural areas. The social status of the petty bourgeoisie made them both partial to the revolution and also ambivalent towards it. However, it was not right to simply place the petty bourgeoisie on a par with the bourgeoisie just because it was different from the proletariat.

This happened, though, when "the contention of a hundred schools of thought" was changed into "the contention of two schools of thought." In every political movement, the petty-bourgeois ideology was attacked as bourgeois ideology. This phenomenon was very prominent in literary and art circles. Writers were criticized if slight petty-bourgeois ideological tendencies appeared in their works. Once the charge was raised to the level of bourgeois ideology, the criticized would not only be deprived of the right to explain themselves but also would be barred from pursuing creative endeavors. Undoubtedly this seriously damaged our literature and art work.

### Marxist Theory of Knowledge

In fact, "the contention of a hundred schools of thought" in literary, art and scientific fields cannot simply be understood as a struggle in the ideological sphere. It is neither "the contention of two schools of thought" nor "the contention of four schools of thought." Contention in regard to literary, art and scientific questions means different forms and styles in the arts can develop without restraint and varied schools in the sciences may conduct free exchanges. No rights and wrongs involved in the arts and sciences can be judged without a process of cognition and a constant deepening of cognition. Practice is the final judge. This is because man's cognition of objective things cannot be instantaneous and people differ in a variety of ways in their explanations of unrecognized fields and new things. This is the case in both the sciences and arts. Therefore, even inside the ranks of the proletariat, it is improper and impossible to call for a unanimous viewpoint on every specific issue. Moreover, since people's knowledge is always limited by objective conditions and their subjective cognitive abilities, they will unavoidably have some one-sided

views. Therefore, differences are very common. Before the law of a thing is recognized, people should be recommended and encouraged to experiment and explore in the spirit of daring to seek truth. It is all wrong to put political labels on those who make mistakes and suffer setbacks and thus to kick them into the ranks of the bourgeoisie. As literary and art creations and scientific research are complicated mental work, it is impossible and against the Marxist theory of knowledge to ask every writer or scientist to be infallible and accomplish their cognition of objective things in one move.

Inside the ranks of the proletariat, free contention among different schools should be encouraged. There must be no hurry to "unify" those schools which have different or even opposite points of views. It is not right to draw hasty conclusions and rashly put the label of "bourgeoisie" on people. In the past whenever there was contention, attempts were invariably made to discover who represented the proletariat and who the bourgeoisie. This metaphysical way of thinking about contention has already given us a sound lesson. Unfortunately, there are still some people who adhere to this old viewpoint and way of doing things and outrageously intervene in literature and art and academic affairs.

### To Inherit in a Critical Way

By talking about "letting a hundred schools of thought contend," the works of bourgeois writers and the bourgeois academic ideas and writings should not be totally negated. Bourgeois literature and art have their own periods of rise and decline. As to the literature and art works in the ascendant periods, we should fully



confirm their historical role and, at the same time, point out their class and historical limitations. We should critically inherit their progressive ideologies and their sophisticated artistic techniques. These precious cultural heritages should not be discarded. Even the bourgeois literature and arts during the declining period should be concretely analysed work by work. Take critical realism for example. It emerged in the 19th century with Balzac and Tolstoy as its masters. Engels saw clearly that "Balzac was politically a Legitimist," "his sympathies are all with the class doomed to extinction." (Engels: "To Margaret Harkness," April 1888.) But at the same time he said that Balzac was "a far greater master of realism than all the Zolas past, present and yet to come." (*Ibid.*) Tolstoy who came from an aristocratic family was, as

Lenin said, a "landlord obsessed with Christ" and a "crackpot preaching of submission, 'resist not evil' with violence." (Lenin: "Leo Tolstoy as the Mirror of the Russian Revolution.") However, Lenin commented: Tolstoy was a "great artist, the genius who has not only drawn incomparable pictures of Russian life but has made first-class contributions to world literature." (*Ibid.*)

The three component parts of Marxism originated in German classical philosophy, British classical political economy, and French Utopian socialism. The representative personages of these theories all belonged to the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie. If Marx and Engels had not inherited these theories in a critical way but had just discarded them, there would not have been any Marxism at all. □

## Reports From the Court (4)

# Jiang Qing and Her Cohorts Persecuted Innocent People

FROM December 6 to 13, the First Tribunal of the Special Court continued hearings on the charges that Jiang Qing and other defendants arrested and framed large numbers of innocent people.

Jiang Qing was brought to the dock on December 9 and 12.

The court hearings showed that, during the "cultural revolution," in order to cover up her ugly past in the 1930s, Jiang Qing together with Ye Qun (Lin Biao's wife), Wu Faxian (former commander of P.L.A. Air Force) and Jiang Tengjiao (former political commissar of the Air Force of the P.L.A. Nanjing Units) decided to have the homes of five Shanghai artists searched. All five were persecuted physically and two died.

The five artists were Zheng Junli, Zhao Dan, Gu Eryi, Chen Liting and Tong Zhiling, all famous movie and stage personalities. They had known Jiang Qing in the 1930s, so they were familiar with her past. In June 1966, Jiang Qing asked Zhang Chunqiao to have two talks with Zheng Junli, urging him to hand over all his correspondence with and photographs of

Jiang Qing in the 1930s. But although Zheng Junli met this request, handing all the related letters and pictures over to Zhang Chunqiao, who then passed them on to Jiang Qing, he was not spared. Zheng Junli's home was searched and he was tormented to death.

Following the instructions of Jiang Qing and Ye Qun, Wu Faxian and Jiang Tengjiao had some people disguise themselves as red guards and search the homes of Zheng Junli and four others on the early morning of October 9, 1966. Jiang Tengjiao personally gave Ye Qun what had been obtained in the search.

One day in January 1967, Ye Qun and Xie Fuzhi (former minister of public security who died in 1972) burnt the material obtained in Shanghai in a little kitchen of Lin Biao's home in the presence of Jiang Qing. This was witnessed by Zhao Gensheng, then clerical secretary in Lin Biao's office, who gave testimony in court.

Huang Chen, Zheng Junli's wife, also appeared in court to give testimony. Pointing to Jiang Qing, she said: "I know what you were like in the 30s." Then she emotionally recount-

ed how her home had been searched and how Zheng Junli had been persecuted, secretly arrested in 1967 and died in prison two years later.

The court also investigated and confirmed the charge that in 1968 Jiang Qing collaborated with Kang Sheng to work out a name list framing many Members of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party as "renegades," "enemy agents" and "people having illicit relations with foreign countries."

During the "cultural revolution," Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng criticized or framed many Members and Alternate Members of the Eighth Party Central Committee. According to statistics, Kang Sheng directly smeared 592 people, including 120 Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee. In just a part of Jiang Qing's recorded speeches between 1966 and July 1970, she framed 172 people, including 28 Members and Alternate Members of the Eighth Party Central Committee. All of these people were persecuted as a result.

Jiang Qing also directly framed and persecuted Lu Dingyi (former Head of the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee), Hu Qiaomu (Member of the Central Committee), Zhou Yang (Member of the Central Committee and former Deputy Head of the Propaganda Department), Qi Yanming (former Vice-Minister of Culture), Wang Kunlun (former Vice-Mayor of Beijing and a famous writer), Qian Junrui (former Vice-Minister of Higher Education), Liao Mosha (a famous writer) and many others.

The court played back one of Jiang Qing's above-mentioned speeches. Wang Kunlun and Liao Mosha testified in court.

Wang Kunlun said: "I was smeared as an 'enemy agent' by Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi. . . . One word of theirs led to my arrest and seven-year imprisonment."

Liao Mosha testified that he had joined the revolution when he was a teenager and never stopped working for the Party and the people for a single day. After stating that he had known Jiang Qing in 1933 in Shanghai, Liao declared: "She knows clearly what kind of person I am, and so it is obvious that she framed me deliberately. I was imprisoned for eight years without any reason and then I was forced to labour for three years. I suffered serious physical persecution."

The two witnesses asked the court to mete out severe punishment to Jiang Qing in accordance with the law.



Jiang Qing (left) standing trial, Liao Mosha testifying.

During the hearing on December 12, Jiang Qing disrupted the court by yelling at the bench and vilifying and abusing a witness. The presiding judge ordered that she be taken from the courtroom.

**Wang Hongwen** stood trial on December 6 and 13.

During the hearing of the First Tribunal of the Special Court on December 6, some scenes from a film about an armed clash which happened 12 years ago in Shanghai were shown, including shots of Wang Hongwen "interrogating" "captured" people and Wang Hongwen's followers beating these captured people.

On August 4, 1968, under the pretext that a mass organization in the Shanghai Diesel Engine Plant "opposed Zhang Chunqiao," Wang Hongwen organized more than 100,000 people who were ignorant of the real situation to surround and attack the plant, causing the largest armed clash in Shanghai. As a result 650 people were injured and imprisoned. In order to publicize his "victory," Wang Hongwen asked to have the above two scenes shot. But today it was used as a document of his criminal activities.

Xu Panqing, deputy secretary of the Shanghai Diesel Engine Plant Party committee, appeared in court to give testimony. He said: "Among the people who were injured in the armed clash, over 100 were permanently crippled. Accountable material losses to the plant amounted to over 3.5 million yuan."

A deposition exhibited in the court said that, after the incident, Zhang Chunqiao praised Wang Hongwen as the "leader of the Shanghai working class."

Wang Hongwen admitted that all evidence and testimonies by the witnesses were true. He stated: "The armed clash injured several hundred people and the responsibility rests with me. I plead guilty before the people of the whole country."

Wang Hongwen also admitted the charge that he took part in organizing another violent incident in Shanghai.

The court also investigated the charge in the indictment that Wang Hongwen and Xu Jingxian (a co-defendant in the case of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques), under the instigation of Zhang Chunqiao, collected and compiled in November 1968 "Reactionary Comments of Chen Yi," which fallaciously claimed Chen Yi had "capitulated to imperialism, revisionism and reaction." Wang Hongwen also admitted that he had done so.

Yao Wenyuan was brought to the court on December 8 and 10.

Confronted by the evidence, Yao Wenyuan had to admit he had designed, revised and approved in 1976 a number of articles in *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi*, slandering Party, government and army leaders.

In 1974 after the plot of the Jiang Qing clique to seize power failed, many veteran Party, government and army cadres, including Deng Xiaoping and others who had been overthrown during the early period of the "cultural revolution" with Liu Shaoqi, resumed work and the political and economic situation at home began to improve. But this was regarded by the gang of four as a "Right deviationist wind

to reverse the correct verdicts." In early 1976, Yao Wenyuan made use of the media at the national level which was under his control to write and publish a large number of articles to slander Party, government and army veteran cadres as "bourgeois democrats," "old-line capitalist-roaders" and "turncoats." The aim was to overthrow again veteran cadres who had just resumed work.

Extracts from some of the articles revised and finalized by Yao Wenyuan were read out in court. Among them was a signed article carried by *Hongqi* in issue No. 3, 1976. It put forward the formulation "from bourgeois democrats to capitalist-roaders," thus providing the theoretical grounds for slandering veteran cadres.

The article was written under Yao Wenyuan's instructions. Yao himself chose the title and decided on the contents. During the writing, he gave two verbal instructions, read the article five times and revised it three times.

Yao Wenyuan confessed that those articles were directed at some veteran cadres who had recently resumed work.

The court also investigated the charge that Yao Wenyuan had smeared the people as "counter-revolutionaries" and a "counter-revolutionary adverse current" when they mourned the passing of Premier Zhou Enlai and condemned the gang of four in Nanjing and Beijing during March and April of 1976.

Evidence exhibited in court and testimonies by witnesses substantiated the above charge.

— "Beijing Review" correspondent

## Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen Plotted Armed Rebellion

December 13

The First Tribunal finished investigating charges in the indictment against **Zhang Chunqiao** and **Wang Hongwen** on December 13 when it heard charges on their plot to engineer an armed rebellion in Shanghai.

Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen as well as their followers Ma Tianshui,

Xu Jingxian, Wang Xiuzhen (former secretaries of the Shanghai municipal Party committee and vice-chairmen of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee) and company, in the name of "arm the Leftists" and "reform the militia," built up an armed force of their own with Shanghai as their base, and, when their defeat seemed imminent, plotted an armed rebellion in October 1976.



Wang Hongwen admitted that the Shanghai armed rebellion was the result of the gang of four's long-term endeavour to build up a factional armed force and that he and Zhang Chunqiao should be held responsible.

During the session, the tribunal exhibited many documents, testimonies and photos of weapons and transceivers, revealing how the followers of the gang of four had prepared for the armed rebellion.

The organizers and directors of the armed rebellion, Xu Jingxian, Wang Xiuzhen and Shi Shangying (former head of the Shanghai militia command), were summoned before the court to testify.

Wang Xiuzhen said that the armed rebellion was the "inevitable result of the long-term efforts made by Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen to build up an armed force directly under their control." She said that on many occasions Wang Hongwen told her that the army must not be allowed to lead the militia whose command must be in the hands of the (Shanghai) municipal Party committee and that this force should be relied on in a future war.

Wang Xiuzhen added that on September 23, 1976, Wang Hongwen telephoned her and said: "The struggle has not finished so that you people should heighten your vigilance. The bourgeoisie inside the Party will never be reconciled to their defeat. There are always some people who want to bring Deng Xiaoping forward." She admitted that after the downfall of the gang of four, because of these instructions of Wang Hongwen's, they thought that revisionists had taken power in the Party Central Committee and that the time of a severe test had come.

Consequently, they plotted an armed rebellion in Shanghai.

The judge asked Wang Hongwen: On many occasions you said that people must be on the alert against the danger of revisionists taking power and must be prepared for a guerrilla war. What did you mean?

Wang Hongwen answered: "By revisionists I meant those veteran cadres who were overthrown during the 'cultural revolution.' In case they took power we would go to the mountains to fight a guerrilla war. 'To fight a guerrilla war' was Zhang Chunqiao's idea."

Testifying in court, Xu Jingxian said that after Chairman Mao passed away, Zhang Chunqiao issued successive counter-revolutionary directives from Beijing to Shanghai. On September 28, 1976, Zhang Chunqiao sent Xiao Mu, Wang Hongwen's secretary, to Shanghai to convey his words: "You must frequently analyse the class situation and be aware that there will be twists and turns in the struggle. The bourgeoisie still retains some strength. The problem is who will get the upper hand." Zhang Chunqiao also said that Shanghai would face a severe test and would be ready for a war.

Xu Jingxian added: "On October 8 when we learnt that the gang of four had been smashed, I thought that Zhang Chunqiao's prediction had become true and that the time of a severe test had arrived. According to the directive 'be ready for a war' issued by Zhang Chunqiao on September 28, I plotted an armed rebellion in Shanghai."

Confronted with witnesses and material evidence, Zhang Chunqiao still refused to answer any inquiries made by the tribunal.

— "Beijing Review" correspondent

## Huang Yongsheng and Others Framed Cadres and Masses

THE Second Tribunal of the Special Court, in 18 sessions, completed a 19-day investigation (from November 23 to December 11) of the charges in the indictment against Huang Yong-

sheng, former chief of the P.L.A. General Staff; Wu Faxian, former commander of the P.L.A. Air Force; Li Zuopeng, former first political commissar of the P.L.A. Navy; Qiu Huizuo,

former head of the General Logistics Department; and Jiang Tengjiao, former political commissar of the Air Force of the P.L.A. Nanjing Units.

On December 3, the Second Tribunal began to investigate the charges that Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo had framed and persecuted leaders of the Party, state and army and large numbers of cadres and other people.

**Huang Yongsheng** was brought before the court on December 3, 5 and 8. The court exhibited solid proof that he had made false charges against Ye Jianying, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, which he could not deny. On several occasions he had written to Ye Qun, Lin Biao's wife, falsely accusing Ye Jianying of conspiring a coup to usurp the Party and state leadership. The court also investigated charges that Huang had framed senior military leaders, including Peng Dehuai, late Minister of Defence, Nie Rongzhen, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Luo Ruiqing, late Chief of the P.L.A. General Staff, and Huang Kecheng, former Chief of the P.L.A. General Staff. Huang Yongsheng also admitted he had fabricated charges against the underground C.P.C. organization in Guangdong Province by alleging that it had "recruited renegades." As a result, more than 7,000 people were persecuted, 85 of whom died.

The Second Tribunal, on December 6 and 9, investigated the charges that **Wu Faxian** had made false accusations against Zhu De, late Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee; Deng Xiaoping, then General Secretary of the C.P.C. Central Committee; He Long, late Vice-

Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Lu Dingyi, former Head of the Propaganda Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee; and Luo Ruiqing. Wu Faxian admitted that he should be held responsible for these charges. He also confessed that he had carried out Lin Biao's instructions to suppress and persecute the cadres and masses of the Air Force and fabricate many false cases. In all 174 cadres suffered directly from his frame-ups, of whom four were deputy commanders of the Air Force.

**Li Zuopeng** appeared in court on December 3 and 4. He acknowledged that his attack against Ye Jianying "was not based on facts" and admitted that he had actively taken part in the framing and persecution of Luo Ruiqing under the direction of Lin Biao, as was stated in the indictment. Evidence and testimonies presented in court proved that Li had framed and persecuted 120 cadres in the Navy.

**Qiu Huizuo** was brought into the court on December 5, 9, 10 and 11. He admitted: "I followed Lin Biao to slander Commander-in-Chief Zhu De. This was a counter-revolutionary activity." He also admitted that his false accusations against Xu Xiangqian, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, were not based on facts and that he was involved in the plot of "smashing the P.L.A. General Political Department." During the last session, the court presented a great deal of written testimonies and statements by witnesses which proved that Qiu Huizuo had instigated many group frame-ups in the P.L.A. General Logistics Department. As a result, 462 people were persecuted, eight of whom died.

— *Xinhua* and "Beijing Review" correspondents



Wu Faxian standing trial at the Second Tribunal.

# Lin Biao's Abortive Counter-Revolutionary Coup d'Etat

"Beijing Review" Correspondent Hua Fang

*The Special Court under the Supreme People's Court is proceeding with the trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques in Beijing. Following is a detailed account of how Lin Biao, the late vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and others attempted to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong and engineer an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat nine years ago. The account was based on court investigations and news coverages outside the court. It may be helpful to our readers in understanding the trial. — Ed.*

This article reads like a thriller, but it tells the facts.

## Recollections of the Past

The events of September 13, 1971 have a historical background.

China's feudal society lasted several thousand years. The victory of the Chinese revolution led by the Communist Party of China in 1949 and the ensuing land reform have completely smashed the feudal system of land ownership, but feudal thinking has not been eliminated. Lin Biao and company took the opportunity to engage in a deifi-

ON September 13, 1971, a Trident crashed near Undur Khan in Mongolia. The words No. "256" at the tail of the plane was clearly discernible. Several corpses lay higgledy-piggledy by the wreckage.

Mao and engineer an armed counter-revolutionary coup failed, Lin Biao was forced to defect pell-mell. The plane crashed and he himself became the laughing-stock of history.

A male corpse, with a bald head, thin face and broken left leg, was Lin Biao.

A female corpse, with a broken left arm, was Ye Qun, Lin Biao's wife.

Another male corpse with a pistol on his belt was Lin Liguo, Li Biao's son. An I.D. card giving his name and age was found near the body.

How was it that Lin Biao, so influential in the "cultural revolution" as vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, came to such an end? After his plot to assassinate Chairman



Wreckage of the Trident.

## SPECIAL FEATURE/LIN'S ABORTIVE COUP

cation campaign. They did their utmost to "deify" the leader who was respected and loved by the people and then decked Lin Biao out as "a shining example" of boundless loyalty to the leader. They extolled the leader as a "genius," regarding Lin Biao as "a super-genius" who was adept at spotting the genius. Their ultimate aim was to replace the leader with the careerist Lin Biao.

In recollecting past events, it becomes clear that the clique made preparations for engineering an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat over a long period of time.

— As far back as May 1966, Lin Biao collected a large quantity of material on coups d'etat of all kinds, ancient, modern, Chinese and foreign, and studied how to plot and engineer a counter-revolutionary power take-over.

— In August 1966, Lin Biao and Ye Qun, in collaboration with Jiang Qing, brought false charges against Liu Shaoqi, then Chairman of the People's Republic of China. They persecuted him as well as many other Party and state leaders and senior cadres.



Wu Faxian (left) taking his cues from Lin Biao.

— On May 13, 1967, Lin Biao and Ye Qun formed a small faction, the "three-service rebel group," and appointed Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo as its leaders. Wu was then commander of the P.L.A. Air Force, Li then political commissar of the P.L.A. Navy, and Qiu then director of the P.L.A. General Logistics Department. In 1968, Huang Yongsheng joined the faction after his transfer from Guangzhou to Beijing to become chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A. Lin Biao instructed these persons to scrape together a group of sworn followers to aid in the usurpation of state power. Lin Biao also brought in Chen Boda, leader of "the cultural revolution group under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," to serve as his "army adviser."

— In March 1967, Lin Biao sent his son Lin Ligu (a student in the physics department of Beijing University) to the P.L.A. Air Force. In 1969, Wu Faxian made Lin Ligu deputy director of the General Office and concurrently deputy chief of the Operations Department of the Air Force Command. Instructed by Lin Biao, Wu Faxian let Lin Ligu give a public lecture on studying Chairman Mao's works. Wu lauded him to the skies, saying that he was a "genius at grasping the overall situation" and announced that all Air Force matters were to be placed at Lin Ligu's disposal and under his command.

— Lin Biao directed his followers Chen Boda, Huang Yongsheng, Ye Qun, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and others to puff him up as an "extraordinary genius" and build memorial halls for him in Beijing, Hebei, Shanxi, Hubei and other places.

## Failure in Lushan

The Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee opened in Lushan on August 23, 1970. It was at a time when political life in the Party was abnormal. Lin Biao judged that the time was opportune for seizing political power. He took the field and led his sworn followers to launch a surprise attack at the meeting. Chairman Mao had more than once made clear that he himself would not again assume the post of chairman of the state. The Central Committee had already agreed to Chairman Mao's proposal, made again and again, that the Constitution be revised to abolish this post. But Lin Biao, turning a deaf ear to it, seized the floor as the first speaker at the August 23 opening session and insisted on the establishment of the post of Chairman of the People's Republic of China. This was in total disregard of the original agenda which had been set up. The very next day, Chen Boda, Wu Faxian, Ye Qun, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo all made speeches concerning the same topic in the group discussions. In the guise of a theoretician, Chen Boda quoted out of their contexts the expositions of the revolutionary teachers Marx and Engels on genius to serve the clique's political aims.

What was their purpose in making such a fuss? Earlier in July that year, Ye Qun and Wu Faxian said clearly in their confidential talks: "If there is no post of chairman of the state, what can Lin Biao do? Where can he be put?"

The Party Central Committee detected their intrigue. To deal with it, a meeting of the Politi-

cal Bureau was held on August 25. Chen Boda was criticized by Chairman Mao for the fallacies he was spreading at the session. Chairman Mao also had a talk with Lin Biao. Premier Zhou Enlai asked Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Hui-zuo to make self-criticisms to the Central Committee of the Party. Huang Yongsheng, who had stayed in Beijing during the early part of the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, went to Lushan and was quick to see that things were not going their way. He hurriedly destroyed the text of a speech he had prepared on Lin Biao's prompting.

The farcical power-seizure staged by Lin Biao and company folded up within only two and a half days. The session ended on September 6 and the Party Central Committee put Chen Boda under investigation also.

But Lin Biao did not reconcile himself to defeat. While at Lushan he had a talk with Wu Faxian: "What we cannot do with words we can do with the gun." Lin Liguo said to his sworn followers: "It seems that the struggle will be a long one." "We must gain control over the army and prepare to fight."



Lin Liguo and his cohorts plotting.

The "Project" Comes Out

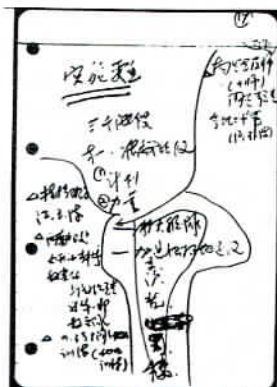
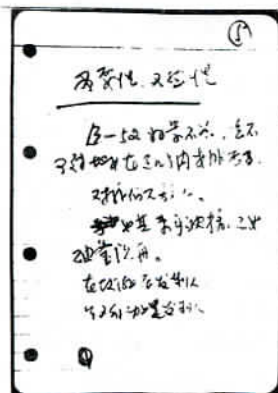
Relying on the position and power he had quickly seized, Lin Liguo gathered together a bunch of followers such as Zhou Yuchi, then deputy director of the General Office of the Air Force Command, Wang Fei, then deputy chief-of-staff of the Air Force Command and concurrently director of the General Office, and Liu Peifeng, then section head under the Air Force Command's General Office. They formed a special detachment, called the "investigation group," to do Lin Biao's bidding. Inspired by the Japanese films about the Second World War Admiral Yamamoto and *Gateway to Glory*, Lin Liguo said gleefully: "We are also a joint fleet, like the Admiral's, and must also have the same spirit of Edajima\*." After that they called the above-mentioned organization the "joint fleet."

In February 1971, Lin Biao, his wife Ye Qun and his son Lin Liguo went to Suzhou

where they began drawing up plans for an armed coup.

On March 21, 1971, on Lin Biao's orders, Lin Liguo summoned together the key members of the "joint fleet": Zhou Yuchi, Yu Xinye, then a deputy section head under the General Office of the Air Force Command, and Li Weixin, then a deputy section head under the Political Department of P.L.A. Unit 7341. They drew up a detailed plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup which they referred to as *Outline of Project "571."*

Lin Liguo told them at the time that their Official (Lin Biao) had three choices: First, a peaceful transition to power, which envisaged a five or six years' wait, or even more, and there would undoubtedly be great changes during that period. It was hard to say whether the Official could maintain his position. Secondly, his replacement by someone else in which he would be forced to step down. Thirdly, a seizure of power, which called for eliminating B-52 (a slanderous code name for Chairman Mao) and staging an armed coup. Lin Liguo demanded that they act in accordance with the "seizure of power" possibility, and added that "in view of the present situation, our Official wants to map out a plan." Lin Liguo also told Yu Xinye, "I have had a talk with our Official and he proposed that



Extracts from the "Outline of Project '571.'"

\*Edajima is the site of a Japanese military school for naval cadets. Here it refers to the Bushido spirit.

you should work out a draft plan."

Two days later, a plan for the coup was ready; its code name was *Outline of Project "571"* (571 is easily deciphered in Chinese as a cryptic allusion to armed uprising). In the plan, the plotters assessed the situation, worked out focal points for implementation and decided on the slogans and tactics. They held that "B-52 ... is suspicious of us." They called for "gaining the upper hand by striking first militarily and seizing nationwide political power" or bringing about "a situation of rival regimes." They stressed, "whether preparations are adequate or not, break the cauldrons and sink the boats—cut off all means of retreat" in order to kill Chairman Mao. The means of assassination included such actions as "plunge into the net—taking advantage of some high-level meeting to catch all in one net, execute the cat's-paw, present a fait accompli and compel B-52 to submit" or "force abdication, using special means such as bombs, the 543 (code name for a kind of guided missile), traffic accidents, assassination, kidnapping and urban guerrilla squads." The "project" also delineated a plot to "seek So-

viet help to tie down domestic and foreign forces." The followers were under an obligation to display the Bushido spirit of "Edajima" like Chiang Kai-shek's instruction: "succeed or die."

### Shanghai Secret Meeting

On March 31, 1971, while in Shanghai, Lin Liguo implemented the plan for establishing a "command team" as described in *Outline of Project "571."* He summoned Jiang Tengjiao (former political commissar of the Air Force of the P.L.A. Nanjing Units, who had been relieved from his post several years before on account of serious mistakes, but who was in Lin Biao's good graces), Wang Weiguo and Chen Liyun (then political commissars of P.L.A. Units 7341 and 7350 respectively), and Zhou Jianping (then deputy commander of the Air Force of the P.L.A. Nanjing Units) to a secret meeting which lasted the whole night. During the meeting, a command unit for the armed coup d'etat was established with Wang Weiguo made "head" in Shanghai, Chen Liyun in Hangzhou, and Zhou Jianping in Nanjing. Jiang Tengjiao was appointed the "frontline commander" "responsible for liaison between the three places with a view to co-ordination and concerted operation."

From then on, they stepped up their conspiratorial activities for the armed coup d'etat:

Lin Liguo directed Wang Weiguo to set up in secret a "dare-to-die corps" in Shanghai. All trainees were taught special skills in arresting people, hand-to-hand fighting, the use of various kinds of light and heavy weapons and how to drive motor vehicles.

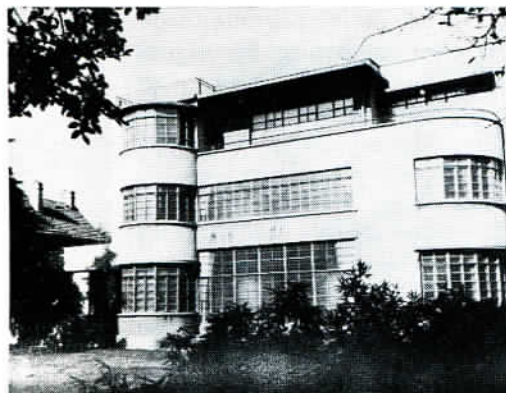
Lin Liguo instructed Mi Jia-nong (political commissar of the Guangzhou branch of the Civil Aviation Administration of China, CAAC for short) to organize a "combat detachment" in Guangzhou. Its members had to take an oath of allegiance to Lin Biao and Lin Liguo repeatedly. Signals and code words for communication were worked out, as was an anthem for the detachment.

Lin Biao also directed Lin Liguo, Zhou Yuchi and others to establish a dozen secret centres of activity in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Beidaihe to collect information, train backbone members and plot various conspiratorial activities. They created an intelligence network in Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou and Guangzhou, and made use of such espionage tactics as eavesdropping, tailing and shadowing people to collect information and spy out trends in the development of the situation.

A network of communications centred on Beijing was formed. For this purpose, the Lin Biao clique stole large quantities of communications equipment and secretly assigned several dozen pairs of special lines for their own use.

In Beidaihe, they secretly built a heliport, assigned and made amphibious motor vehicles for private use, and practised driving them on the sea.

From March to September 1971, the clique sent Lin Liguo, Zhou Yuchi, Jiang Tengjiao, Liu Jinping (former political commissar of CAAC), Wang Weiguo, Chen Liyun and several other sworn followers to Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Guangzhou, Wuhan, Chengdu and other places to drum up support for their coun-



Building on Julu Road, Shanghai, where the Lin Biao clique met to discuss plans.

ter-revolutionary plot and carry out conspiratorial activities.

### Chairman Mao's South China Tour

On August 14, 1971, Chairman Mao left Beijing by special train for an inspection tour of the southern part of China.

He arrived in Wuhan on August 16 and stayed there for ten days. He had five talks with Party, government and army leaders from Hubei and Henan. According to the Chairman's staff members, who were present, Chairman Mao stressed the significance of the struggle at the Lushan Meeting in August 1970 and criticized Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Ye Qun, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo by name for their surprise attack at Lushan. Chairman Mao said that they had done it "in a planned and organized way and with a programme," that "someone is overanxious to be chairman of the People's Republic and to seize power." He also said: "Though a working meeting was held in Beijing and the few big generals made a self-criticism, they hemmed and hawed." "If Lin Biao doesn't speak out, these people won't talk either." "The case at the Lushan Meeting is not finished and the problem hasn't yet been solved." "There is someone behind Chen Boda." And "I don't believe Huang Yongsheng himself can command the People's Liberation Army to rebel!" Chairman Mao also told them specially that they should not pass on what he had said to anyone else for the time being.

In Changsha and Nanchang from August 27 to September 2, Chairman Mao met Party, government and army leaders from Hunan, Guangdong and



four other places and had many conversations with them. Chairman Mao asked Ding Sheng (then commander of the P.L.A. Guangzhou Units) and Liu Xingyuan (then political commissar of the units) in the presence of others, "You have such a close relationship with Huang Yongsheng and have so many dealings with him—if Huang Yongsheng falls, what will happen to you?" Ding and Liu replied evasively and spoke about something else.

On September 3, Chairman Mao arrived in Hangzhou. According to his staff members, he asked Chen Liyun point-blank about his recent activities: "What about the relationship between you (Chen Liyun) and Wu Faxian? While at Lushan, Wu Faxian gathered together a few people, among them you, Wang Weiguo from Shanghai and someone from the Navy. What did you do?" Chen Liyun gave an irrelevant answer and appeared very ill at ease.

At that time, the Lin Biao clique used every means to get information about the route of Chairman Mao's south China tour and reports of his conversations in various places.

Chairman Mao's remarks in Changsha were secretly reported to Ye Qun and Lin Liguo late on the night of September 5 by Gu Tongzhou, chief-of-staff of the Air Force Headquarters of the Guangzhou Units of the P.L.A., via Yu Xinye, by telephone. A record of the remarks was prepared and sent to the "joint fleet" by a special messenger.

On the morning of September 6, taking the opportunity of accompanying some foreign guests to Wuhan, Li Zuopeng received a confidential report from Liu Feng (then political commissar of the P.L.A. Wuhan Units) on Chairman Mao's conversations with Hubei and Henan leading personnel. Returning to Beijing on the same day, Li briefed Huang Yongsheng and Qiu Huizuo. That very night Huang Yongsheng passed on the information by phone to Ye Qun.

These reports alarmed Lin Biao and Ye Qun in Beidaihe, and they discussed the matter into the small hours of the night. They decided that Chairman Mao should be assassinated on his inspection tour. It was

## SPECIAL FEATURE/LIN'S ABORTIVE COUP

September 6, 1971, when Chairman Mao was in Hangzhou.

### Written Order for an Armed Coup d'Etat

On September 7, Lin Biao instructed Lin Ligu to issue an order putting his "joint fleet" on first-degree combat readiness. Ye Qun phoned Huang Yongsheng, who then proceeded to call Li Zuopeng.

On September 8, Lin Biao wrote an order for the armed coup d'etat with a red pencil on a sheet of white paper: "Expect you to act according to the order transmitted by Comrades Ligu and Yuchi." Ye Qun prepared a sealed document addressed to Huang Yongsheng personally.

At 9:00 p.m. that day, Lin Ligu returned to Beijing by plane with Lin Biao's handwritten order and Ye Qun's confidential letter. He asked Wang Fei to give the letter personally to Huang Yongsheng.

At 11:30 p.m., Lin Ligu and Zhou Yuchi went to their secret



Plotters reading Lin Biao's orders.

centre in the Xijiao Airport of Beijing and with Jiang Tengjiao and Li Weixin plotted for Chairman Mao's assassination in a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat. Lin Ligu relayed Lin Biao's order to them and said, "Now the situation is very tense. We have decided to start from Shanghai." "We have discussed three ways: (1) To use flame throwers and 40-mm. bazookas to attack the train of B-52 (their code name for Chairman Mao); (2) to attack the train with reassembled 100-mm. anti-aircraft guns by firing point-blank; or (3) to have Wang Weigu carry out the assassination while being received by B-52 on the train."

Then, Lin Ligu gave Jiang Tengjiao the order: "You go to Shanghai to take up the unified command; only you are up to the job. When you make the start in Shanghai, Wang Fei will head the guards battalion of the Air Force Command to attack Diao Yu Tai\*."

Jiang Tengjiao was told that his code name was "Jianqi" (annihilator No. 7); then and there he forcefully expressed his determination to carry out the plan.

Lin Ligu went on to say: "Rewards and honours will be dispensed according to contributions this time. The Official (Lin Biao) has said that whoever fulfils this task is a founder of the state."

"If you accomplish this assignment, you may choose between the posts of vice-premier and political bureau member," Zhou Yuchi echoed.

Huang Yongsheng and Wu Faxian kept in close touch with Ye Qun and had a number of phone conversations with her the same day.

Early in the morning of September 9, Lin Ligu went from Xijiao Airport to the Air Force Academy and met Liu Peifeng (then a section head under the Air Force Command's General Office), Liu Shiyang (deputy director of the General Office) and Cheng Hongzhen (secretary of the office), all members of the "joint fleet." "Now, there are some people opposing Vice-Chairman Lin!" he said. "We must pledge to fight to death in defending him!" Then he showed them the handwritten order from Lin Biao and informed them that the code name for the whole operation was "Project '571,'" a slightly abbreviated homonym for "armed rebellion."

On September 9 and 10, Lin Ligu and the others held many secret meetings to work out a detailed plan to assassinate Chairman Mao. Apart from the three ways they discussed in the evening of September 8, they also discussed the following: (1) in Shanghai, to blow up the oil depot near which the special train of Chairman Mao would pull up, and assassinate the Chairman in the ensuing commotion; (2) to have Chen Liyun carry out the assassination in Hangzhou; and (3) to adopt "the method the Japanese used with Zhang Zuolin, i.e., create another "Huanggu Village Incident," which means dynamiting the Shuofang Railway Bridge near Suzhou when Chairman Mao's special train passed over it. They decided to send Lu Min (chief of the Operations Department of the Air Force Command) to carry out the task.

At the same time, Lin Biao and Ye Qun in Beidaihe were

\*The residence of some Political Bureau Members of the C.P.C. Central Committee.



busy maintaining direct and indirect "high level contacts" with Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo in Beijing through secret telephone calls.

On September 10, Lin Biao and Ye Qun instructed Zhou Yuchi and others to obtain maps from the Air Force Command showing where radar units were deployed in northern, north-eastern and northwestern China, frequency tables of the radio stations in neighbouring countries which could be used for navigation purposes, maps showing air lines leading from Beijing to Ulan Bator and Irkutsk and the location of their airports, and the latter's call signs and radio frequency tables. Also they wanted information concerning the airports in the Guangzhou and Fuzhou areas.

On the same day, Lin Biao wrote a personal letter to Huang Yongsheng. It reads: "Comrade Yongsheng, I miss you very much and hope that you will be optimistic at all times. Take care of your health. If you have any problems, consult Comrade Wang Fei directly." Here, "problems" refer to the armed coup d'etat and any other emergencies.

On September 10, Ye Qun had five conversations with Huang Yongsheng through confidential telephone calls. The longest one lasted 135 minutes.

On September 11, Ye Qun showed signs of impatience. She lost her temper in a phone call with Lin Ligu. Then she called Wang Fei. First, she tried to sway him by promises, then threatened him, saying: "Now, one piece of string has bound together our fate. Even if you want to retreat, you cannot do so. The only way out for us is to stick together through thick and thin!"



Ye Qun cheering up her fellow conspirators before the coup.

Lin Ligu, Wang Fei, Jiang Tengjiao and Zhou Yuchi continued plotting. They decided upon code names for Wang Fei and Zhou Yuchi and communication signals between Shanghai and Beijing: If "the battle has begun," they would say "Wang Weiguo is seriously ill"; if the assassination succeeded, they would say "Wang Weiguo has recovered"; and if it failed, they would say "Wang Weiguo is dangerously ill." Li Weixin noted down all this. They also called Guan Guanglie, a divisional political commissar in Henan Province, to their secret centre and asked him to send some flame throwers to Shanghai for use in the armed coup d'etat.

At eight o'clock the same evening, Lin Ligu, Jiang Tengjiao, Zhou Yuchi and Lu Min kept plotting their tactics at a secret centre in Beijing's Xijiao Airport. With a murderous look, Lin Ligu said: "The Deputy Commander-in-Chief has ordered us to launch an attack. First, get rid of B-52. You, 'Jianqi,' (code name of Jiang Tengjiao), will make the first move in Shanghai; do your best to get rid of him there. If you cannot, we'll depend on Chief Lu's (Lu Min) second attack at Shuofang. If this also fails, we'll ask Chen Liyun to send II-10 to bomb him." Lin Ligu kept encouraging his followers with promises of high posts.

### Chairman Mao Reaches Beijing Safely

On the night of September 11 when Lin Ligu and others were

anticipating their success, Wang Weiguo telephoned from Shanghai to report that Chairman Mao had already left Shanghai for the north.

During the days when Lin Biao and his followers were plotting the assassination of Chairman Mao, the Chairman was in Hangzhou. Had he already learnt of the plot? Nobody knows. But his movements were completely unexpected.

The Chairman did not stay in Hangzhou as long as they had anticipated. On the afternoon of September 10 when Chairman Mao was leaving Hangzhou, Chen Liyun hurried to the railway station to see him off, but, as he was harbouring sinister designs, he dared not go up to the Chairman and shake hands.

After his arrival in Shanghai, Chairman Mao spent the night on board the train and, the next morning, received some responsible cadres. Wang Weiguo, who was assigned to assassinate Chairman Mao at the meeting, was not allowed to board the train.

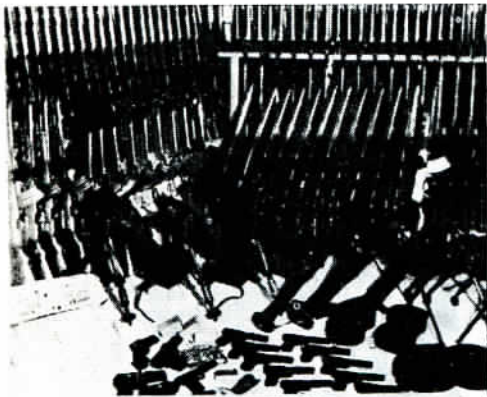
On the evening of September 11 while Lin Ligu and others were still preparing to dynamite the Shuofang Railway Bridge, Chairman Mao's train left Shanghai and safely passed Shuofang. The train did not stop until Fengtai, a railway station quite near the capital. When the train pulled in at the Beijing Railway Station on September 12, it was already dusk.

## SPECIAL FEATURE/LIN'S ABORTIVE COUP

### Lin Biao's Aborted Plan for Fleeing South

On September 12, after the plot to assassinate Chairman Mao fell through, Lin Liguo went to Beidaihe. He told Zhou Yuchi to prepare to flee south where they would set up a separate Party central committee. Ye Qun had already asked Wu Faxian to instruct Hu Ping (then deputy chief-of-staff of the Air Force Command) to prepare planes and crews for them.

That evening, Zhou Yuchi told Jiang Tengjiao, Wang Fei, Yu Xinye and Li Weixin: "Since Chairman Mao has already come back, the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee is about to open. An action against us will soon start. Vice-Chairman Lin has decided to shift forces to Guangzhou.



Part of the arms for the coup.

Huang (Yongsheng), Wu (Faxian), Li (Zuopeng) and Qiu (Huizuo) of the General Office under the Military Commission have been instructed to be in Guangzhou tomorrow. Make sure they board the plane safely." Zhou Yuchi also stated that upon their arrival in Guangzhou, an emergency meeting of officers from the division level upwards would be called. A separate Party central committee and another government would be set up—a southern

regime which would confront the northern one. The Guangzhou Broadcasting Station would be used for the new regime's broadcasting. He said: "We can obtain foreign assistance. Lin Biao still enjoys a high reputation in the Soviet Union." Zhou also announced the time of the takeoff and the route of the southward bound planes and assigned tasks. Wang Fei would telephone Huang Yongsheng to inform him of the plan; Jiang Tengjiao would take charge of the guard on the plane.

What a busy day! The name list of those who were to flee south with Lin Biao was prepared; pistols, machine-guns and cartridges were brought from the arsenal; eight planes were ready for their flight; and a great quantity of confidential state documents, films, tapes and foreign currency was hurriedly packed up by a handful of sworn followers.

At 20:15 hours on September 12, the Trident No. 256, piloted by Pan Jingyin, carried Lin Liguo and others to Shanhaiguan. There, Lin Liguo and Liu Peifeng went by jeep to Beidaihe.

In Beidaihe, while Lin Biao and his followers were busy preparing an escape, an "engagement" party was being held for Lin's daughter. People were told that Lin Liguo had come especially to congratulate his sister. But after Lin Liguo arrived, he only said to her: "Congratulations. I have to see the Official right away." He hurriedly left with Ye Qun to discuss their plans with Lin Biao.

Though this was all done surreptitiously, many of the staff members of Lin Biao's office still perceived that something unusual was happening. Some of the guards also became sus-

picious and reported these strange activities to the Party Central Committee.

At 22:30 hours that evening, Premier Zhou received a report from Beidaihe. He immediately instructed the guard unit there to keep the situation under close observation. Then he inquired through Wu Faxian about the Trident which had flown to Shanhaiguan Airport and ordered it to return to Beijing at once. Hu Ping, refusing to carry out the order, lied that the plane was on a training flight to Shanhaiguan and had developed engine trouble. Meanwhile, he telephoned Zhou Yuchi and tipped him off about what had happened.

Late that night, Hu Ping's secret report that Premier Zhou's inquiry about into the special plane No. 256 reached Beidaihe. Lin Biao decided to set out right away. When Lin Liguo called Zhou Yuchi who was then in Beijing, the guard secretary overheard, "The Official is leaving in a minute. You people there get ready as quickly as possible."

Lin Biao and his followers then decided to change their plan of defection from fleeing south to going north.

### Killed in Air Crash

As a bulletproof *Hongqi* (Red Flag) limousine sped away from Lin Biao's villa in Beidaihe with Lin Biao, Ye Qun, Lin Liguo, Liu Peifeng and Lin's guard secretary, the guards motioned the car to stop. Ye Qun yelled: "The guard unit is not loyal to Vice-Chairman Lin, charge!" The car darted away. Officers of the guard unit immediately pursued them.

In the *Hongqi*, Lin Biao's guard secretary was painfully

debating with himself what to do. "Stop," he called abruptly. The chauffeur was not on the alert against him and immediately stopped the car. The secretary got off the car and dashed away. Somebody fired at him and he returned the fire. In the confusion, Lin Biao's car escaped.

Having inquired about the plane No. 256 through Wu Faxian, Premier Zhou made inquiries through Li Zuopeng about Shanhaiguan Airport which was under the command of the Navy. He then gave this instruction: "Special plane 256 cannot take off without a joint order from four persons," namely, Zhou Enlai, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian and Li Zuopeng. However, when relaying this directive to the Navy's Shanhaiguan Airport, Li Zuopeng distorted it into: "The plane must not be allowed to take off unless one of the four leading officials gives the order." He added: "If anyone gives you such an order, you must report it to me. You will be held responsible for this."

At 00:20 hours on September 13, the airport leadership reported to Li Zuopeng that Lin Biao's car was approaching the plane and asked him what they should do if the plane was to take off forcibly. Instead of taking measures to prevent the takeoff, Li Zuopeng sought to gain time by evasively responding: "You may report directly to the Premier and ask for his instructions." The airport was not able to get in touch with the Premier at the time.

Zhao Yahui, deputy-director of Shanhaiguan Airport, and four others witnessed the scene on the runway. They later wrote:

"At 00:22 hours on September 13, 1971, Lin Biao and others rushed up to the Trident

in a *Hongqi* limousine. Before the car had come to a standstill, Lin and others tumbled out. Ye Qun, Lin Ligu and Liu Peifeng, with pistols in hand, shouted: "Be quick! Start taxiing! Start taxiing!" As the passenger ladder had not been fixed, they hurried to the ladder under the cockpit and scrambled into the plane. Liu Peifeng led the party, followed by Ye Qun and then by Lin Biao. The plane was ordered to start taxiing without waiting for the co-pilot, navigator and radio operator to board, the lights to be turned on and the door to be closed.

"Lin Biao's plane is heading north," the dispatcher's office of the Air Force Command reported to Premier Zhou.

Premier Zhou ordered: "Close all the country's airports and ground all planes. Have all air radar in operation." Then the Premier asked: "Can they hear us if we radio the special plane?"

"Yes, they can," the dispatcher answered.

"I want to speak to Pan Jingyin (the pilot). Please put me through," the Premier asked.

"No answer from him."

"In that case, please inform plane No. 256 that we want it to come back. No matter which airport they land at, either the Beijing Dongjiao Airport or the Xijiao Airport, I, Zhou Enlai, will go meet them."

No answer. But the plane changed its direction to the west over Inner Mongolia. Then, it suddenly turned north.

"The plane has passed our border and entered Mongolia. It has disappeared from the screen," reported the dispatcher. It was then 01:50 hours, September 13.

"Lin Biao has defected," Premier Zhou reported to Chairman Mao. The Chairman said angrily: "One cannot stop a



Premier Zhou inquiring about the special plane.

woman from marrying any more than one can stop the rain from falling. Let him do what he pleases."

At 03:15 hours, Premier Zhou received another report from the dispatcher's office of the Air Force Command: "Radar has detected that a helicopter has just taken off." Further investigations revealed that Zhou Yuchi, having received an order from Lin Ligu to flee, told Jiang Tengjiao, Wang Fei and Lu Min to destroy the list of names of those who would flee south and the notes from their meetings, and then hijacked helicopter No. 3685 at Beijing's Shahe Airport together with Yu Xinye and Li Weixin. Flying north with piles of confidential state documents and large amounts of U.S. dollars which they had got hold of illegally Zhou Yuchi ordered the pilot, Chen Xiuwen, to fly to Ulan Bator at gun point. Chen Xiuwen realized that they intended to defect, so he calmly and resourcefully deceived them by bringing the helicopter back to Huairou County on the outskirts of Beijing. When the helicopter landed,

## People Mentioned in This Article

in alphabetical order

<i>Name</i>	<i>Main Post Held at the Time</i>		
<b>Chen Boda</b>	Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee	<b>Liu Feng</b>	Political Commissar of the P.L.A. Wuhan Units
<b>Chen Liyun</b>	Political Commissar of P.L.A. Unit 7350	<b>Liu Jinping</b>	Political Commissar of the Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC)
<b>Cheng Hongzhen</b>	Secretary of the General Office of the Air Force Command	<b>Liu Peifeng</b>	Section head of the General Office of the Air Force Command
<b>Ding Sheng</b>	Commander of the P.L.A. Guangzhou Units	<b>Liu Shiyang</b>	Deputy Director of the General Office of the Air Force Command
<b>Gu Tongzhou</b>	Chief-of-Staff of the Air Force Headquarters of the Guangzhou Units	<b>Liu Xingyuan</b>	Political Commissar of the P.L.A. Guangzhou Units
<b>Guan Guanglie</b>	Political Commissar of a P.L.A. unit stationed in Henan	<b>Lu Min</b>	Chief of the Operations Department of the Air Force Command
<b>Hu Ping</b>	Deputy Chief-of-Staff of the Air Force Command	<b>Mi Jianong</b>	Political Commissar of the Guangzhou Branch of CAAC
<b>Huang Yongsheng</b>	Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A., Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee	<b>Pan Jingyin</b>	Pilot of special plane 256
<b>Jiang Qing</b>	Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee	<b>Qiu Huizuo</b>	Director of the P.L.A. General Logistics Department, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee
<b>Jiang Tengjiao</b>	Air Force Political Commissar of the Nanjing Units of the P.L.A. before being transferred to Beijing	<b>Wang Fei</b>	Deputy Chief-of-Staff and concurrently Director of the General Office of the Air Force Command
<b>Li Weixin</b>	Deputy section head under the Political Department of P.L.A. Unit 7341	<b>Wang Weiguo</b>	Political Commissar of P.L.A. Unit 7341
<b>Li Zuopeng</b>	Political Commissar of the P.L.A. Navy, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee	<b>Wu Faxian</b>	Commander of the P.L.A. Air Force, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee
<b>Lin Biao</b>	Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee	<b>Ye Qun</b>	Director of Lin Biao's office, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, (Lin Biao's wife)
<b>Lin Liguo</b>	Deputy Director of the General Office and concurrently Deputy Chief of the Operations Department of the Air Force Command, (Lin Biao's son)	<b>Yu Xinye</b>	Deputy section head under the General Office of the Air Force Command
		<b>Zhou Jianping</b>	Air Force Deputy Commander of the Nanjing Units of the P.L.A.
		<b>Zhou Yuchi</b>	Deputy Director of the General Office of the Air Force Command

Chen Xiuwen was killed by Zhou Yuchi.

The three hurried out of the helicopter but found themselves surrounded by local army men and civilians. They decided to commit suicide on the spot. Two shots sounded and Zhou

and Yu fell to the ground, dead. But Li Weixin, afraid of death, had fired into the air and was captured.

On the afternoon of September 14, Premier Zhou had just fallen asleep after over 50 hours of busy work when he was

awakened by the news that there was a telegramme from the Chinese Embassy in Mongolia saying that Lin Biao's Trident No. 256 had crashed near Undur Khan in Mongolia at 02:30 hours on September 13, and all those aboard were killed. □

### ● **Three Generations Of Bird Specialists**

The experiences of three generations of Chinese ornithologists over the last 20 years is an interesting story of friendship and perseverance.

Even as a boy, Kuang Bangyu had a great love for birds. When he grew older, he studied ornithology at Yunnan University, a subject seldom investigated in China. After graduation in 1960, however, Kuang was unexpectedly assigned to breed sheep in the Wumeng Mountain area of Yunnan Province.

Kuang later wrote and explained his situation to noted ornithologist Zheng Zuoxin at the Beijing Animal Research Institute. The scholar soon wrote back and told Kuang that no one had ever studied the birds of the Wumeng Mountain area. Zheng urged the young man to continue with his speciality and offered advice on how to carry out further investigations in his spare time.

Two years later, Kuang was transferred to teach in a nearby middle school. He continued his spare-time study of the Wumeng Mountain birds, however, and often sent his new records, specimens and papers to the ornithologist for advice. Zheng was glad to offer suggestions and report Kuang's findings in academic discussions with other scientists. Zheng also assisted Kuang in getting some of his data included in *Fauna of China*.

Kuang Bangyu taught his students with the same enthusiasm and concern that Zheng Zuoxin had shown

towards him. Under Kuang's guidance, the school organized a spare-time group to study birds. During the course of several years, the group conducted a comprehensive investigation of the habits and ecological conditions of the birds in the Wumeng Mountain area. They even wrote several scientific papers based on their collection of more than 1,500 bird specimens and their discovery of 34 new species of birds in the region.

In November 1979, seven members of the group graduated from the middle school and received new assignments. Some wrote to a newspaper in Beijing, expressing their love of nature and their desire to continue in the study of birds. The letter was forwarded to Zheng Zuoxin. The veteran ornithologist

said: "I know these young men, and I know their teacher, too. I am very fond of them all. China urgently needs to train successors in the field of ornithology now, especially young people like these who not only have great devotion to their work, but also a basic knowledge of the field already." With great love and concern, Zheng wrote to the seven young graduates as he had written to Kuang Bangyu 15 years earlier, offering encouragement, advice and hope.

Later, Kuang Bangyu was transferred to the Kunming Animal Research Institute to pursue his speciality full-time. Two of the seven young graduates have taken an examination and become assistants at the institute as well.

### People in the News



After 28 years of dedicated service in leading positions of the Ministry of Forestry, **Luo Yuchuan** stepped down from his ministership last August in order to allow younger leaders to take greater responsibilities for the ministry's work. The septuagenarian cadre has retained an advisory role at the ministry and continues to apply his vast experience to the development of China's forestry resources.

"It is not an official position, but rather the Party's cause, which is my life-long task. I will continue to devote all my energy and strength to the modernization drive," said the veteran revolutionary. Luo joined the revolution in 1930 and rendered distinguished service in the years of war.

Soon after taking the new post, Luo Yuchuan left Beijing to attend an important conference on afforestation and desert control in Shanxi Province. Between sessions and meetings, Luo spent much time exchanging opinions and experiences with other cadres and forestry experts from 11 provinces and autonomous regions. After the meeting, he insisted on inspecting the forests of northern Shanxi in spite of his poor health and the rough terrain. Throughout the trip, Luo solicited criticism and suggestions from peasants and grass-roots cadres, discussed with them how to improve forestry management and encouraged them to plant more trees.

In order to improve the function and benefit of advisers like himself, Luo has drawn up a programme with eight other advisers of the ministry for study and making suggestions.

**THEATRE**

**Romanian Play in Beijing**

*Fair Opinion* is the first Romanian play staged in Beijing by the Beijing People's Art Theatre. A comedy satirizing bureaucracy and other social malpractices, it has drawn a full house for every performance.

Written by the well-known Romanian playwright Aurel Baranga in 1967, *Fair Opinion* strikes a responsive cord among Chinese people because the problems it addresses are all so familiar.

The play concerns an honest journalist, Chitlaru, who is determined to work for reforms. He dares to say what he thinks and has close ties with the people. The plot revolves around his conflict with his newspaper chief Cristinoiu, an inept bureaucrat who plays up to leaders and rebukes subordinates. Chitlaru's supporters are upright, open and above-board, while Cristinoiu's cronies rely on flattery, deceit and trickery.

The theme of the play was clearly spelled out by a line spoken by one of Chitlaru's supporters: "During the transition from capitalism to communism,

all the most glorious things are beginning to flower while our sordidness and decadence are being exposed. Therefore, I act upon three principles: Do not get alarmed over trivialities, do not overly complain and do not be afraid."

The play also intrigues audiences by its novel staging. When audiences enter the theatre, the curtain is open and never drops during the entire performance. Two desks are on stage and one above the orchestra pit. At the opening and at critical junctures, a narrator offers some thought-provoking comments. All the characters go on and off stage freely, some from the audience, some from the orchestra pit. The head of the news bureau, who symbolizes the fair opinion of the public, comes on stage from the audience, creating bonds between the audience and this actor.

Commenting on the production, Fang Guande, a well-known Chinese comedian and director of the play, said: "The play touches upon all aspects of life. It reveals the playwright's love of life and high ideals. He has skilfully combined a eulogy of the good with criticism of the bad."

Ma Qun, who played the part

of Chitlaru, said: "The playwright has criticized life because he loves it. Many of the social phenomena reflected in the play also find expression in China. The reason we have put on this play is to improve things in our own country."

*Fair Opinion* has been performed by many Romanian troupes since its premiere more than 10 years ago. During rehearsals, the Beijing People's Art Theatre received support and assistance from the Romanian Embassy, the Romanian Council of Socialist Culture and Education, Romanian theatres and Romanian experts in Beijing.

**New Language Course  
On Radio Peking**

ON January 5th, 1981, Radio Peking (Beijing) is starting a new course in its Learn to Speak Chinese series.

The lessons on the air will be taught using Pinyin—the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet as the chief means. However, the texts (available on request) will also print the traditional characters. The course will start off with phonetics for beginners and will include grammar, selected everyday sentences and conversations for tourists as the lessons proceed. Those people with some knowledge of Chinese may find the course useful as a refresher.

A new lesson will be given every Monday which will be rebroadcast the following Wednesday. For the texts, write to Radio Peking (Beijing), Beijing, the People's Republic of China.



A scene from "Fair Opinion."

## BOOKS

### Excellent Short Stories

A Collection of the Best Short Stories of 1979

«一九七九年全国优秀短篇小说  
评选获奖作品集»

Edited by "Renmin Wenxue"  
(People's Literature),

Published by Shanghai Publishing  
House of Literature and  
Art,

Distributed by the Shanghai  
Publications Centre of Xinhua  
Bookstore,

Renminbi 1.55 yuan.

The publication of *A Collection of the Best Short Stories of 1979* has been well received by the public. The 25 selections reveal greater breadth and variety in themes and more sophisticated character development than those of past years.

The process of selection was quite complex, with public input constituting an important factor. The Chinese Writers' Association asked the staff of *Renmin Wenxue* (People's Literature) to oversee the selection of the best short stories of 1979. Initial recommendations were submitted by the public. Over 257,000 people throughout the country and abroad and 50 newspapers and magazines took part, recommending more than 2,000 pieces. The editorial staff of *Renmin Wenxue* then selected the best works after lengthy discussions. Their decisions were handed over to a committee of 25 famous writers and critics for the final appraisal.

The very best stories of 1979 were *Director Qiao Resumes His Post*, *The Cook in My Family* and *Because She Is Here*. They profoundly portray

different people's devotion to the four modernizations. The resolute, bold and unconstrained Director Qiao, for instance, drew a strong response from readers for his efforts and determination to work for the modernization drive.

*What Can I Do?*, *Tears and Blood in Luofu Mountain*, *Reunion*, *Memories*, *Speaking About Taoranting Park*, and *Old Man Nuerman and Hound Balisi* illustrate the sufferings of the Chinese people as a result of the ultra-Left line pursued by the gang of four. They share the theme of the agonies from forced separations and the joy of reunions.

*Who Has the Best Life?*, *Trust*, *Green Mulan River*, *Soldiers Pass Through Minefields*, *Uneasiness*, *A Unique Melody*, and *Teacher Lan in a Mountain Valley* expose a number of problems and wrongdoings in present-day society. The main characters are quite appealing with their own sharp individuality and noble spirits.

*Li Shunda Builds His House* and *A Wrongly Edited and Arranged Story* are historical fictions about the difficulties encountered by Chinese peasants in the last 17 years because of the deviation from correct policies. The author of the first story has an astonishing capability to depict the life of the peasantry.

*Traitor* by the late writer Fang Zhi lashes out at an opportunist who has sneaked into the Party. *A General in a Small Town* praises a veteran general who is concerned about the misery of the people and angry about wrongdoings.

Some of these writers are amateurs, such as workers, workshop directors, engineers and captains, and others are professionals. Two are from



minority nationalities and three are women. The youngest is only 26 years old.

— Wu Zhilan

### THE WONDER OF CHINESE BRONZES

by Li Xueqin

Chinese bronzes were not only the daily utensils, work tools and weapons of the people of ancient times, but also exquisite works of master craftsmen which have been handed down from generation to generation. Their beautiful forms, elaborate decorations and the moving stories that were cast on them have attracted the attention and aroused the interest of lovers of bronzes at home and abroad.

This book, copiously illustrated with colour pictures and sketches, is recommended to readers who wish to explore the wonder of Chinese bronzes. In language comprehensible to the layman, it supplies a basic knowledge on Chinese bronze art: its origin, periods of development and its value as regards the study of ancient history and ancient script. The author is a specialist who has researched into this subject for many years, and in this book he reports on the latest results of the study and excavations of Chinese bronzes.

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