

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

# Beijing Review

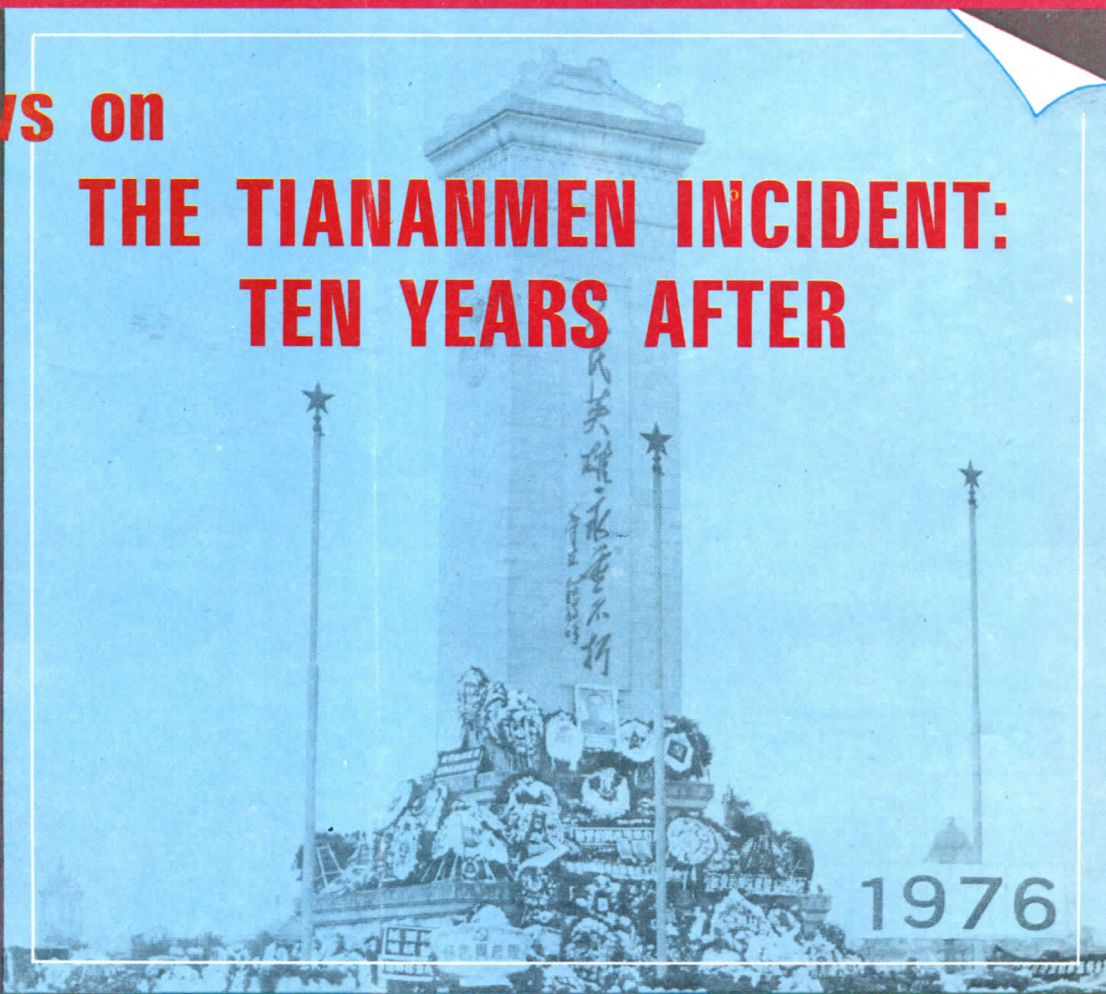
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Hanoi's Rejection of Kampuchean Proposal Unjustified

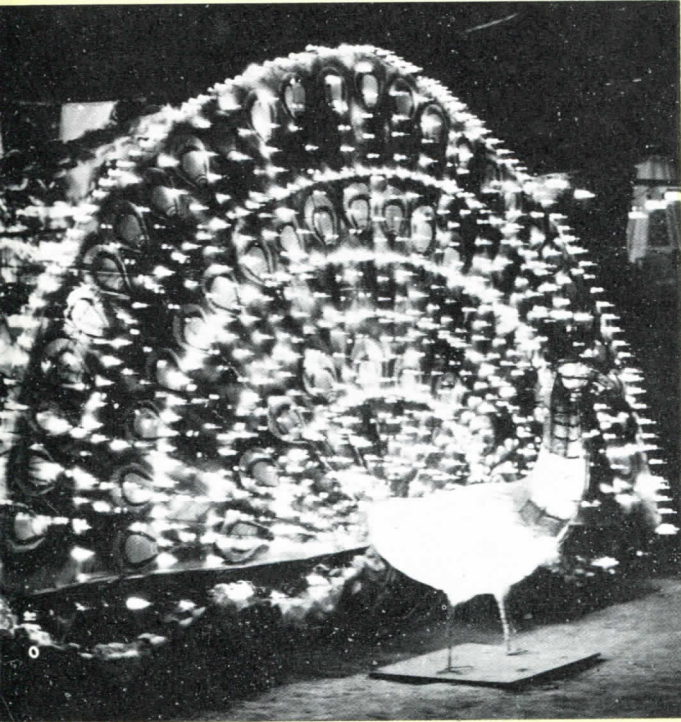
Views on

## THE TIANANMEN INCIDENT: TEN YEARS AFTER



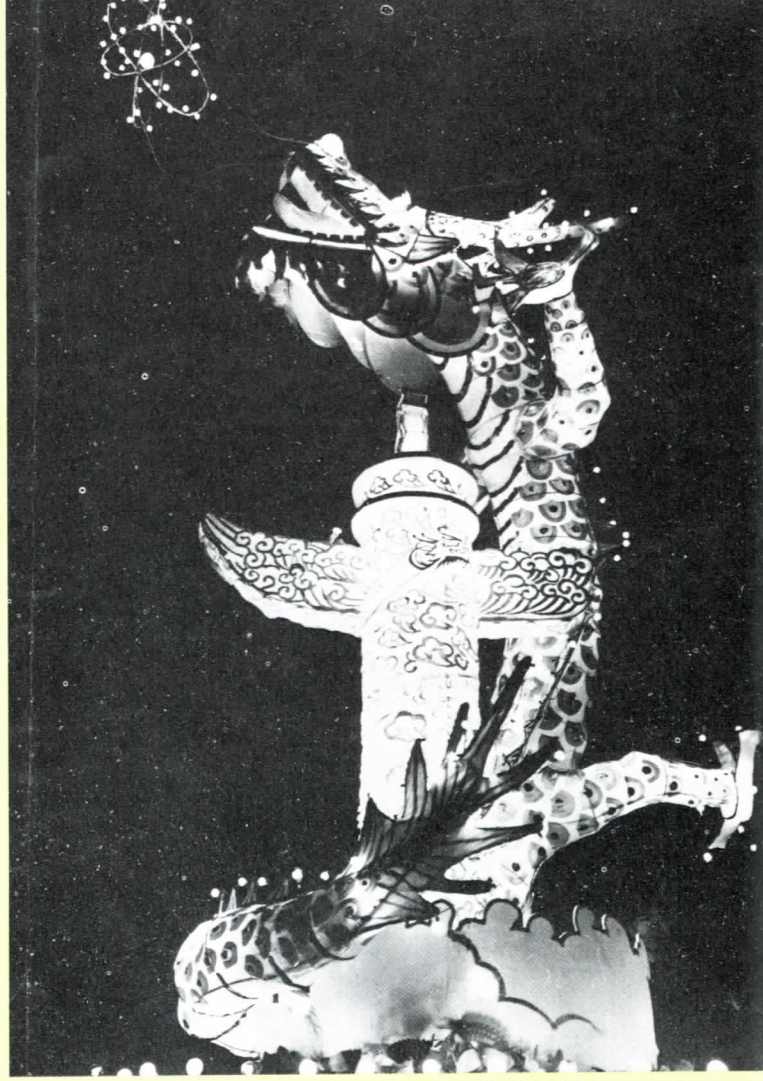
# The Lantern Festival

The 15th day of the first lunar month is China's traditional lantern festival. During the festival varieties of colourful handmade lanterns were exhibited throughout the country.



Peacock lantern.

by Xu Xiangjun



Dragon lantern symbolizing the take-off of the Chinese nation.  
by Xu Xiangjun

## SPOTLIGHT

The Honeybee No.6 lantern, made by the Beijing Aeronautical Engineering Institute, and which can carry passengers, combined aeronautical and lantern-making kills.

by Xu Xiangjun

Tiger lantern.

by Zhang Jinlai





VOL. 29, NO. 14      APRIL 7, 1986

## CONTENTS

### NOTES FROM THE EDITORS      4

Why Hanoi Refuses Peace in  
Kampuchea

### EVENTS/TRENDS      5-11

Putting Economy on Even Keel  
'Horizontal' Links Key to Urban  
Reform  
NZ Prime Minister Calls on China  
Deng, Zhao Greet Danish Leader  
President Li Ends Five-Nation Tour  
Water Pollution: No Laughing  
Matter

### INTERNATIONAL      12-15

US-Libya: Serious Feud Ignites in  
Gulf  
World Concern About Clash  
The Soviet Union: Economic Struc-  
ture Under Reform  
Britain: Auto-Makers Break Off  
Talks

### THE TIANANMEN INCIDENT: Ten Years After      16-27

### Major Economic Indexes      27

### BUSINESS/TRADE      28-29

### CULTURE/SCIENCE      30-31

### BOOKS      32-33

**COVER:** Tiananmen Square, April 1976,  
and witnesses to the events that helped  
transform China's destiny.

## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### Hanoi Rejects Peace In Kampuchea

■ By turning down Democratic Kampuchea's latest peace proposal, Viet Nam has shown that its talk about a political solution in Kampuchea is but a propaganda ploy to deceive the world. Withdrawal of Vietnamese occupation troops from the country remains the central issue (p. 4).

### The Tiananmen Incident — Ten Years After

■ Who were the participants? What motivated their actions? How were they affected by them? These questions are answered by eight witnesses to the Tiananmen Incident of April 1976. Their accounts, along with a résumé of the events that led up to and took place during the incident, reflect the rugged course that China took through the "cultural revolution" and the path she is currently paving for herself towards modernization (p. 16).

### Striving for Steady Progress in 1986

■ China will slow down the pace of economic reform in 1986 to concentrate on consolidating and complementing the economic reforms already adopted so as to ensure a steady development of the national economy, according to the reports of two top economic leaders at the National People's Congress (p. 5).

### China's Economic Indexes for 1986-90

■ The draft of the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1986-90) on national economic and social development will be examined and approved by the ongoing 4th Session of the 6th National People's Congress. It sets the total output value of industry and agriculture in 1990 at 1.677 billion yuan, or a 38.2 percent increase from the 1985 figure, averaging an annual increase of 6.7 percent (p. 34).

### Soviet Union's Nationwide Economic Reform

■ The Soviet leaders have decided to launch a radical economic structural reform across the country. The government has promised that more autonomy will go to enterprises and farms. Top officials who stuck by old lines have been replaced, and old ideology considered harmful to the economic process will be re-examined (p. 13).

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# Why Hanoi Refuses Peace In Kampuchea

by Zheng Fangkun

**M**uch diplomatic shuttling on behalf of a solution to the Kampuchean problem has been evident in recent months in Southeast Asia.

Vietnamese authorities have recently done some posturing on the Kampuchean issue. The gestures have included a promise to withdraw their troops and advocating dialogue with other Southeast Asian nations and talks among the Kampuchean factions. In so doing they have given the world the false impression that Hanoi is ready for a peaceful settlement.

The anxiety of the Kampuchean people, who wait for a political solution and for peace in the region, is understandable. Kampuchea has suffered under the Vietnamese invaders for more than seven years. The number of Kampuchean killed by the occupying troops, and civilians pushed to the wall by the Vietnamese immigrants who have rushed into the country, now stand in the hundreds of thousands. Kampuchea must have the right to exist, and Southeast Asia should have peace for its preparation to enter the century of development in the Pacific.

However, this hope has been shattered by Hanoi's outright rejection of the recent Democratic Kampuchea's peace initiative, which was lauded by China, the Southeast Asian countries and the international community as fair and reasonable after its publication on March 17. Hanoi's negative response has shown that it lacks sincerity, and that its so-called desire for a political solution is nothing but a sham.

As the term suggests, a political solution implies an end to military force. Therefore, if Viet Nam

really wants a political solution, it would first pull its troops from Kampuchea. This has consistently been requested by relevant United Nations resolutions in the past seven years, and by the International Conference on the Kampuchea Declaration in 1981.

Based on these appeals by the international community and on the aspirations of the Kampuchean people, the tripartite Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) has called on Viet Nam to join the CGDK in discussions on troop withdrawals. The CGDK does not demand that Vietnam pull out all its forces at once. It would accept a two-phase Vietnamese withdrawal.

Hanoi too talked about troop withdrawal. In fact, it even set a deadline for this — 1990. But there is a hitch here because Hanoi has imposed a precondition for its withdrawal — its troops would leave Kampuchea only when the stability of the Heng Samrin regime is assured and, should the regime be in danger after the withdrawal, it would dispatch troops to Kampuchea again. This kind of withdrawal, if there were one, which allows the Vietnamese to move freely into Kampuchea, has no meaning.

Thus, to the Vietnamese, the term "political solution" is merely a tactic to supplement its military conquest. When it failed to achieve the desired result, Hanoi would immediately call back its army in another move of military repression.

If any withdrawal of Vietnamese troops is to be meaningful, an agreement must be signed by the concerned parties and the process of withdrawal put under the supervision of a UN observers

group. These stipulations were written into the eight-point proposal of the CGDK, no doubt a major reason why the Vietnamese turned it down.

Democratic Kampuchea made a concession by agreeing to enter negotiations with Heng Samrin, ready to recognize his faction as a force on the Kampuchean political scene. Hanoi, however, asserts that the Heng Samrin regime is the sole legal representative of Kampuchea.

By preventing the Kampuchean patriotic forces from participating in the political solution, and by sowing discord among the tripartite coalition government, Hanoi hopes to render the latter impotent and subordinate it to the Heng Samrin regime.

The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry has stated that the conflict in Kampuchea should be resolved by the various factions within the country. This is, however, a misrepresentation of facts. What is happening in Kampuchea is not a civil war but a war of resistance to foreign invasion. In this war, the patriotic united front is broadening so that at times, even the Heng Samrin soldiers who cannot tolerate Vietnamese bullying and domination are fighting the invaders. The true intention of Hanoi's statement was to evade the real issue of Vietnamese troop withdrawal.

The Heng Samrin followers are only puppets imposed on the Kampuchean people. To this day, it is the CGDK whose representatives are sitting for Kampuchea at the United Nations.

According to the CGDK proposal, the coalition would negotiate with Heng Samrin only after an agreement on Vietnamese withdrawal had been reached and



the first phase of the troop withdrawal had been completed. But the Vietnamese maintain that a political solution would have nothing to do with this withdrawal. Yet, if the Vietnamese troops do not pull out, what meaning would the negotiations have even if the four parties in Kampuchea did manage to iron out their differences? Their reconciliation would not in the least alter the reality of Vietnamese occupation.

Clearly, the so-called political solution is a ploy meant to encourage those concerned to acquiesce to Vietnamese occupation. If its "solution" were followed, Hanoi would be able to split and eventually to extinguish the resistance forces without resorting to military strength.

Hanoi has asserted that the CGDK's proposal has hampered the dialogue that is allegedly developing in Southeast Asia. The CGDK proposal, however, is consistent with the demands and

*(Continued on p.34)*

### Forthcoming....

*Our next issue will carry a report about Liu Yutian, the first explorer to walk the full length of the Great Wall, and an article describing how China copes with juvenile delinquency.*



WU JIGUO, LIU SHAOSHAN

**Top: Wang Bingqian (right) delivering his report on the 1986 economic plans. Bottom: Song Ping (left) discussing economic reforms for the coming year.**

## Putting Economy on Even Keel

**C**hina will continue to balance supply and demand to ensure a steady development of the national economy and to match state revenue and expenditure in 1986, according to reports from two top economic leaders at the Fourth Session of the Sixth National People's Congress in Beijing on March 27.

"Efforts will continue to be

made in reforming the economic structure, further invigorating the economy and formulating effective measures to overcome the difficulties on the way forward, so as to ensure the steady and coordinated development of the national economy." Song Ping, state councillor and minister in charge of the State Planning Commission, said in his report on

the 1986 draft plan for national economic and social development.

Total agricultural output value this year will increase by 3 percent (6 percent if village-run enterprises are included) over last year, Song said, while total industrial output value grows by 8 percent, as against last year's 18 percent.

While ensuring the steady growth of grain output, it is necessary to develop a diversified rural economy in accordance with local conditions, Song stressed. "The state plans a moderate increase in agricultural capital investment and will adopt economic policies to offer favourable terms to grain growers and grain-growing areas," he said.

In industry, efforts will be concentrated on ensuring product quality while reducing the consumption of energy and raw materials, Song said. On the premise of strictly controlling the overall scale of investment in fixed assets, measures will be taken to improve the investment structure, strengthen the construction of basic industries such as energy resources, transportation, telecommunications and raw materials. Efforts will be made to ensure the supply of commodities and to keep the prices relatively stable, so as to improve the people's living standards. Greater efforts will be made to develop education, science, culture, public health services and sports, Song said.

Song also called for effective measures to boost exports and develop economic and technological exchanges with other countries. The total volume of imports and exports for 1986 will be US\$56.8 billion, according to the draft plan, with an increase in exports and a slight decrease in imports.

"The key to keeping the balance between the general social demand and supply and the steady growth of the economy is overall economic management," Song said. Therefore, he said, efforts

should continue to be made to strictly control the scale of investment in fixed assets and the increase in consumption funds, and to improve the management of credits, foreign exchange, and the planning system.

While achieving a balance between state revenue and expenditure, China gained a surplus of more than 2.8 billion yuan in 1985, Wang Bingqian, state councillor and minister of finance, said in his report. The draft state budget for 1986 balances total revenues and expenditures at 214.1 billion yuan.

The state budget for 1985 projected a deficit of 3 billion yuan, Wang said, but to eliminate the deficit and stabilize the economy, China has adopted a series of measures to expand production, develop financial resources, increase revenue and restrict expenditure, resulting in the balance between revenue and expenditure.

To ensure the fulfillment of the state budget for 1986, and continue to match state revenue and expenditure, Wang suggested the implementation of the following measures:

—To increase production and practise economy, raising the economic efficiency so as to ensure the steady increase of financial revenue;

—To continue boosting overall economic control, making efforts to control and cut down financial expenditures;

—To complement the economic reforms already adopted, and improve the financial and taxation systems; and

—To strengthen financial supervision, enforce financial and economic discipline and curb unhealthy tendencies.

## 'Horizontal' Links Key to Urban Reform

China's urban economic reform in 1986 will focus on broad economic co-operation, as is

indicated by a recent national conference on urban economic reform.

At a seven-day conference on national urban economic reform last month, two top Chinese leaders, Premier Zhao Ziyang and Vice-Premier Tian Jiyun, stressed "horizontal economic co-operation" among different regions, departments and enterprises.

"From now on, we should promote horizontal economic co-operation as an important part of the current economic reform," said Premier Zhao in his conference speech. "Co-operation among enterprises helps raise economic efficiency and promotes reform," he said.

Such co-operation covers a wide spectrum of endeavours—between industrial enterprises, in commodity circulation, and between producers and researchers, Zhao said.

Through such co-operation, the premier said, enterprises will have quicker access to information and become able to reduce investment, promote technological advancement, develop high-quality products and raise their overall economic performance. He emphasized that such co-operation would enable successful enterprises to do still better and those on the verge of bankruptcy to get on their feet once again. In a word, he said, economic co-operation among enterprises is the impetus behind socialist commodity economy.

Under China's current system of economic management, enterprise officials are answerable only to their superiors or local authorities. The resultant barriers between different trades and regions have impeded the growth of a socialist commodity economy, the premier said.

The efforts at co-operation will inevitably clash with the old management system, particularly where planning, finances, the supply of raw materials and distribution of commodities are

concerned. "But this is nothing bad," Zhao said, "the whole reform will forge ahead during the course of discovering and solving contradictions."

But the premier warned against any attempt to force enterprises into "mass action." Nor should any efforts be made to coerce enterprises into unnecessary links, he added.

Zhao's keynote speech at the national conference was preceded by Vice-Premier Tian Jiyun's report on China's 1986 task in urban economic reform. According to this report, the major tasks this year were to improve overall economic control and co-operation while continuing to implement current economic reform policies.

"This year's reform is designed to consolidate and build on the achievements already made in the last few years, and at the same time prepare for further reform in 1987," Tian said.

Efforts will be made to invigorate and open more markets while strengthening controls on them. Policies on price reform already adopted will be further implemented so as to keep the prices relatively stable, the vice-premier said. Meanwhile measures will be taken to carry through wage reform in government offices and undertakings, he said.

To strike a balance between supply and demand and ensure steady economic growth, overall controls will be tightened up in the fields of finance, taxation and legislation, Tian said.

Strides will also be made to promote policies and laws to protect inter-departmental and inter-regional co-operation. He warned, however, that precautions must be taken against blind expansion and overlapping capital construction. He suggested diverse forms be taken in co-operation and warned against undue administrative interference.

"This year's economic reform in the urban areas is of great significance to not only the

reforms in 1987, but to the accomplishment of the reform task prescribed in the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1986-90)," Tian said. He called on all departments and local governments to proceed from their own conditions, continue their explorations in unknown fields and push forward the reform.

Commenting on the new problems surfacing from the current economic reforms, Tian pointed out that during the course of reform it was inevitable that old and new systems would co-exist for some time to come, and that some imbalance and contradictions would arise in the drive to revitalize local economies while enforcing central planning.

"It is of vital significance to understand the new situation correctly and solve the new problems," he said. "The economic restructuring is a wide, profound and complicated transformation; it is impossible that it would meet no setbacks."

Much has been achieved in economic reform over the last few years, Tian said. They are reflected in six areas: Enterprises have become stronger and more prosperous as they have been given more decision-making power, and the distribution systems are being adjusted. Ownership structures, including public, collective and individual, have been initially readjusted to better suit China's productivity. Socialist commodity markets have developed rapidly, and the law of value is playing an ever-expanding role in regulating production and demand. Economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries and co-operation at home have developed rapidly. Big and medium-sized cities have begun to function as economic centres, playing more important roles in leading and co-ordinating economic development. And finally, initial reforms have made some headways in the state's economic management.

"As the reform goes deeper,"

## News in Brief

**C**hina's national income will grow 38 percent in the next five years to reach 935 billion yuan by 1990, according to the draft economic and social plan being discussed at the current NPC session. The latest draft for the Seventh Five-Year Plan shows that income will rise at an annual average rate of 6.7 percent. The per capita level of consumption will increase to 517 yuan annually by 1990 from 404 yuan in 1985.

■ ■ ■  
**T**hree senior officials were arrested in Northeast China on charges of taking bribes, a Harbin public security bureau official said on March 27. The three officials have been expelled from the Communist Party and removed from their official posts. They will face prosecution when investigations have been completed.

■ ■ ■  
**C**hen Yonggui, once a national labour hero and leader of the Dazhai production brigade in Shanxi Province, which was once China's agricultural pace-setter, died of lung cancer on March 26 at the age of 72. He was advisor to the Dongjiao (East Suburbs) Farm of Beijing before he died. He was appointed to the post by the Party Central Committee in 1983. From 1975 to 1980, he was one of China's vice-premiers.

Tian stressed, "a socialist economic system is taking shape with pronounced Chinese characters, and the prospects for the reform are becoming brighter and brighter."

## NZ Prime Minister Calls on China

**C**hina and New Zealand can diversify their forms of co-operation to develop exchanges in trade and textile and other light industries, said Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang while meeting New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange at his Forbidden City home in Beijing on March 28. But economists in Beijing pointed out that this could be possible only when China's trade deficit to New Zealand was well tackled.

That question did not escape the New Zealand prime minister, who told Premier Zhao Ziyang the day before he left for the Philippines that his country would do what it could to help China expand its exports to New Zealand. The prime minister called on China from March 22 through 28 to reciprocate Hu's New Zealand visit last year.

Both Lange and his hosts were satisfied with the growing ties between China and New Zealand. The exchange of visits by leaders, scholars and experts over the last few years has helped promote friendship and understanding between the two countries. Their two-way trade has expanded steadily and their co-operation in the fields of animal husbandry and light industry has scored encouraging progress. Last year alone, trade between the two countries reached US\$185 million.

"Two thoughts strike me when I reflect on our bilateral relations," said Lange at a banquet given by Premier Zhao in his honour on March 25. "First, how pleasing it is that we have come so far in the relatively short time—little more

than 13 years—since the establishment of diplomatic relations between us—and secondly, how much the relationship has flourished despite the many contrasts between our two countries and people." He suggested that the two countries work to strengthen the economic co-operation by running joint ventures and using other flexible methods.

To pave way for broader ties, both sides agreed to open negotiations as early as possible on the signing of agreements on avoiding dual taxation, the protection of investment and scientific and technological co-operation.

The cordial bilateral relations lead to much common ground between the two countries on a number of international affairs of common concern.

During a talk with Zhao, Lange expressed his appreciation for China's decision to support the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in South Pacific and its decision not to conduct any nuclear test in the atmosphere. While China hopes that the dialogue between North and South Korea would continue, Lange said his country is also concerned about the stability of the situation on the Korean Peninsula. And both sides were eager to see the Kampuchean issue resolved at an early date.

**Meeting with Deng.** Lange became the second head of government to meet with Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping since the beginning of this year. Deng discussed with Lange about China's domestic situation and then went on to declare that China's independent and peaceful foreign policy was conducive to world peace. The more China develops, Deng said, the more it benefits world peace, and he is sure China will become a major force against war.

Deng stressed that two factors were involved regarding China's

role in world peace. China should stick to its current policies, and in this regard, the Seventh Five-Year Plan that began this year will be crucial to China's stability and progress for the next several decades. Furthermore, China needs a long-term stable and peaceful environment in order to further develop. This is why China upholds its independent foreign diplomacy, Deng said.

## Deng, Zhao Greet Danish Leader

**A**fter a three-month absence from the public scenery, China's top leader, Deng Xiaoping, greeted visiting Danish Prime Minister Poul Schluter in Beijing on March 25. The public appearance by the 82-year-old Deng dispelled recent rumours in Hong Kong and by the foreign press that the leader had been seriously ill.

"You are the first foreign friend I have seen this year," Deng said, looking his buoyant self. "My appearance here today will scotch those rumours."

Then, still smiling, Deng told the visiting prime minister that China's policies did not depend on himself alone. That was why he had deliberately tried to disengage himself from the day-to-day affairs of the government and let other comrades take more responsibility. "I am now considering when to retire," he said.

"Even after my retirement, China's policies will continue. That should assuage international concern about whether China's policies will continue without Deng," he added.

Deng, who is chairman of the Central Advisory Commission of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out at the 45-minute meeting with the Danish prime minister that China's policies were worked out collectively and



enjoyed the wide support of the people and cadres who desire reforms.

He went on to say that the current economic reforms in urban areas were much more complicated than in rural areas, but were expected to be fully implemented in about five years. "Though we have to explore ways that have never been tried before, I am confident that we will succeed," he said.

The Danish prime minister arrived in the Chinese capital on March 23 for a week-long official visit at the invitation of Premier Zhao Ziyang. The two met each other the second day and expressed satisfaction over the development of trade and co-operation between their countries.

They reached agreement on a wide range of international issues and on ways of expanding bilateral relations.

During their talks, Zhao said tension in east-west relations had relaxed to some degree following the US-Soviet summit. While China welcomed this, he said, the two superpowers have made no substantial progress on key issues, and had not changed their attitudes towards their rivalry for military superiority.

"China welcomed the willingness expressed by the United States and the Soviet Union to reduce nuclear arms drastically," he said. "However, since they still have great differences, we demand that they carry out serious negotiations and reach agreement, drastically reducing nuclear weapons, without sacrificing the interests of any third country," he added.

Zhao warned there was danger the arms race would escalate, saying that China opposed the militarization of space. "Although the danger of war still exists, we are not pessimistic because the forces for world peace are also growing," he said.

Responding to Schluter's remark that both China and

Western Europe were playing important roles in world affairs, Zhao said the strengthened co-operation between China pursuing an independent policy and a united and powerful Western Europe could act as a significant factor in the promotion of world peace and stability.

Zhao spoke highly of the Danish government's just demands for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

At the meeting the premier reiterated China's policy to develop trade and economic and technical co-operation with West European countries.

Schluter responded by noting that Denmark was "willing not only to exchange products with China, but also to work together with China to explore new fields of co-operation."

Since 1978, the volume of Sino-Danish trade had increased tenfold, and co-operation between the two countries is proceeding smoothly, according to *People's Daily*.

During Schluter's stay in Beijing, the two governments signed three agreements concerning the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income, co-operation regarding a biomedical programme and a seed development project, which is co-financed by the World Bank and the Danish government.

## President Li Ends Five-Nation Tour

President Li Xiannian left Tananarive, the capital of Madagascar, for home on March 27, after concluding his five-nation tour of Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Egypt, Somalia and Madagascar.

On March 24, Li arrived in Madagascar from Somalia, on the last leg of the 77-year-old Chinese president's Asian and African trip. During his seven-day stay in the

## China & the World

■ **Attack on Libya Condemned.** The recent US attack on the territory of Libya was in violation of the norms governing international relations, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said in Beijing on March 26. "It has been the Chinese government's consistent position to oppose and condemn any act that violates the norms of international relations and encroaches upon the territory and sovereignty of other countries," he said.

■ **China to Launch Swedish Satellite.** An agreement has been reached between a Swedish space company and the Ministry of Astronautics Industry of China to launch a postal satellite for Sweden by the Chinese Long March-2 carrier rocket. This is the first agreement China has signed to launch a satellite for another country, signifying that Chinese carrier rockets are ready to enter the international market and provide a launching service for foreign countries.

■ **Consortium Agrees on Oil Contract.** A group of foreign oil companies signed a contract on March 28 for oil exploration in the Pearl River estuary of the South China Sea despite the world slump in oil prices. The contract was signed in Beijing by the China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) and a group of oil companies formed by the Occidental Eastern Inc., UNOCAL Pearl River Inc. and Japan Petroleum Exploration Co. Ltd. The slump in oil prices has had "no effect on co-operation between China and Occidental in the country's offshore areas," according to an Occidental official.



HUA AI

## Stroke Victim Saved in Wuchang

**T**omosaburo Nashimoto never knew his recent trip to China would have become a narrow escape from death. Shortly after the 71-year-old Japanese tourist boarded a train on his way from Yichang to Wuchang in Hubei Province on March 22, he was struck down by a stroke and lost consciousness instantly. Doctors at the next stop were immediately informed and jumped on board to save his life when the train arrived. In the above photo, doctors give Nashimoto first aid; the picture below shows train conductors escorting the patient out of the train at Wuchang Railway Station.

two countries, he exchanged views with his counterparts on bilateral and international issues of common concern. Talking about the situation in South Africa, the Chinese president said that long-standing upheaval and tension have appeared owing to the intervention of the superpowers and the perverse acts of the South African authorities. This has turned the region into one of the "hot-spots" endangering international peace and security.

Li denounced Pretoria for stubbornly insisting on the system of apartheid, obstructing the independence of Namibia and sabotaging the sovereignty and stability of its neighbours. "These actions, which go against historical trend, have aroused strong condemnation and opposition from the international community," he pointed out.

Referring to Africa's history of poverty and slow development, he said China, as a developing country, fully understood and firmly supported the efforts of the African nations to develop their national economies and to improve their living standards. Li also expressed the hope to consolidate and develop the current friendly relations and co-operation between China and the two countries.

An agreement on Sino-Somalian economic and technological co-operation was signed in Mogadishu on March 23. Four days later, three documents were signed between China and Madagascar. In one, China offered to donate 2,000 tons of cement to help the Malagasy people in cyclone-ravaged areas rebuild their homes. Another agreement calls for the creation of a mixed commission on fishing and aquatic products.

Li visited a stadium and a hospital in Mogadishu, which China helped to build in 1977. Addressing more than 400 Chinese residents in Madagascar, on behalf of President Li, State

Councillor Chen Muhua urged them to observe local law and customs and live on good terms with the local people. Madagascar, with more than 6,000 Chinese residents, has the largest Chinese community among African nations. The Chinese began travelling to the Indian Ocean island country in 1896.

## Water Pollution: No Laughing Matter

**T**he Changjiang (Yangtze) River will be totally polluted by the year 2000 if waste disposal problems along its banks are not quickly resolved, according to recent reports from the press.

The 6,300-km-long Changjiang is the longest river in China, and its basin reaches nearly 2 million square kilometres, one-fifth of China's total territory. More than 20 large and medium-sized cities are located on its banks.

A recent survey indicated that cities along the Changjiang tributaries now dump 16 million tons of liquid waste into the rivers every day. Even if there is no further escalation of pollution sources, the river will drain off 30 billion tons of liquid wastes per year by 2000.

This is only part of the current problem facing China's waterways. According to a survey, the country's liquid waste dumped has reached 31.4 billion tons a year, including industrial waste water of 24 billion tons, and 85 percent of that waste was not properly disposed of. Meanwhile, one-fourth of China's total water sources have been polluted to varying degrees. This has become especially serious in the sections of the rivers that pass through cities. It was discovered that water in 86 percent of the rivers was not clean enough for drinking and fish breeding.

In addition, a survey showed that the amount of harmful materials in the groundwater of 80

cities had gone beyond the limits set by the government. Furthermore, with the mushrooming of village and town enterprises in recent years, water pollution has been spreading from city to rural areas.

The condition, however, has been improving since China's water technicians stepped up their work to clean the rivers a few years ago. In November 1984 China enacted its first laws regarding water treatment, so that law enforcement department can have something to go by in environmental protection.

For example, the Huangpu River, which joins the Changjiang where it empties into the sea, became seriously polluted from 20 years of neglect. In February this year, a comprehensive plan of pollution treatment for the river was drawn up. Technicians from 60 research institutes, including experts from Australia, Great Britain and the United States, have completed the programme to clean up the river in the past four years.

Lanzhou, the capital of Gansu Province, is located on the bank of the Huanghe (Yellow) River, China's second longest river. By the end of 1985, a great number of waterfowl had returned to the river near the city to nestle for winter, a natural process that had disappeared for years because of

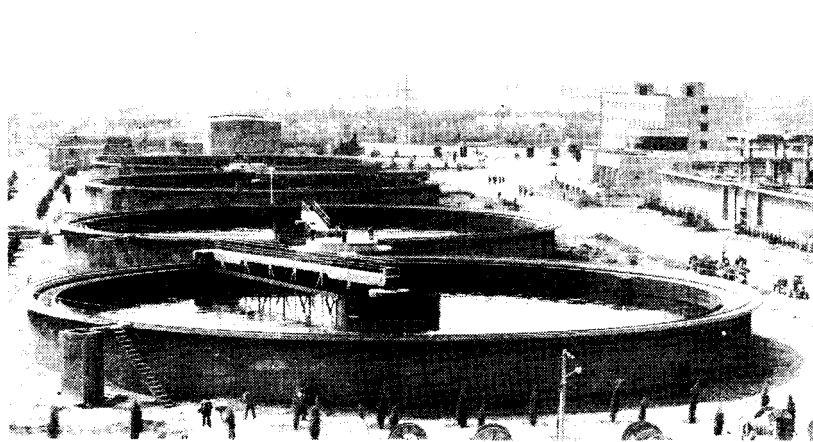
water pollution. The city has spent more than 10 million yuan on treatment of river pollution since 1977.

Since 1979, the local government of Guilin, China's famous scenic city, has ordered more than 20 factories that were seriously polluting the city's water sources to either shut down, move or switch to other fields of production. Now Lijiang River, which runs through the city, has cleared up and fish are back in abundance again.

But these measures are only the first steps towards the control of the country's water pollution problem. According to statistics, the investment involved in controlling environmental pollution now only accounts for 0.28 percent of the gross national product. Only 14 percent of the sewage is properly disposed of in the cities, far below the desired standards. Environmentalists are calling for redoubled efforts in environmental protection as an integral part of the development of the nation's economy. They demand that stern measures be taken against factories and enterprises that have contaminated the environment and water sources, and that no factory be built without submitting tangible waste disposal plans. ■

**The Jizhuangzi sewage treatment plant of Tianjin, one of China's largest, disposes of 26 tons of liquid waste every day.**

YANG BAQUN





**A US fighter jet taking off from the aircraft carrier "Saratoga."**

**US-LIBYA**

## **Serious Feud Ignites in Gulf**

*The tensions that had been mounting between Libya and the United States burst wide open on March 24 into a military clash that has provoked concern and condemnation from around the world.*

**T**he Mediterranean again became a grisly scene of regional conflict as a United States navy fleet fired at four Libyan patrol boats on March 24, sinking three and damaging the other. US navy jets also bombed a Libyan missile base and a radar base.

The US-Libyan confrontation flared up on March 23 when the United States announced that three US aircraft carriers would begin military exercises within the Gulf of Sidra. Libya considers the gulf within its territorial waters, while the United States says the gulf is in international waters 12 nautical miles off the Libyan coast.

White House Spokesman Larry Speakes said the US fleet launched the attack after Libya fired six missiles at US aircraft. Libya, however, condemned the US encroachment into its territorial waters and air space.

What happened was no accident. The United States has been at odds with Libya over the Gulf of Sidra for 13 years. Their hostility came to a head as the United States was flexing its muscles on the doorsteps of the North African state.

In 1973 Libya declared the whole area of the Gulf of Sidra under its jurisdiction, and Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi threatened to attack any forces daring to cross what he called the "line of death" in the gulf.

But the United States and other Western nations have ignored Gaddafi's warning and have insisted on recognizing only a 12-nautical-mile territorial limit. In their view, the Gulf of Sidra is part of the high seas that allow free passage by any country.

Clashes flared as US navy forces moved into the disputed gulf in August 1981. The outcome was that two Libyan aircraft were shot down by US jet fighters.

For five years, almost from the very beginning of his presidency, US President Ronald Reagan has tied Gaddafi to world wide terrorism. This accusation has been denied in most cases by the Libyan leader. Since then, US policy towards Libya has been a blend of economic sanctions and military threats.

President Reagan, in his first State of the Union message to Congress on January 26, 1982, vowed to "act with firmness" towards Libya, Cuba or any other nation that would "export terrorism and subversion." He depicted Gaddafi as "enemy No. 1" of the Western world on many later occasions.

Hostilities between the two

**Libyans demonstrating against the United States in Tripoli on March 25.**



countries heated up after Reagan blamed Libya for plotting the attacks on Rome and Vienna international airports last December in which 20 people were killed and more than 100 were wounded.

Although Libya denied any involvement in the attacks, Washington imposed economic sanctions on Libya, barred all business with Tripoli and froze Libyan assets in the United States.

The Reagan Administration has never abandoned its plan for retaliation as demonstrated by the four military manoeuvres carried out by the US navy off the Libyan coast. In January this year, a US fleet was sent to the Gulf of Sidra to begin a "demonstrative" war game. This action provoked strong condemnation from Libya and many other Arab nations.

The US government, which has always tried to find ways to punish Libya, was encouraged by its rival's military constraint. So, three US aircraft-carriers steamed into the Gulf of Sidra on March 23 for 10 days of exercise, which at last stirred up the exchange of fire between the two nations.

While the United States declared that its navy would continue the manoeuvres, which were to run from March 23 to April 1, the Libyans were on a nationwide alert. Gaddafi vowed on March 24 that his country would "brave confrontation" with the United States as hundreds of thousands of Libyans took to the streets to protest the US attack. Then the Pentagon announced on March 27 it was ending its manoeuvres in the Gulf of Sidra, but refused a Soviet offer to withdraw its warships in the Mediterranean in exchange for a US pullout.

The escalating tension between the United States and Libya threatens peace and stability in a region where the peace process has been stalled and the Iran-Iraq war is still raging despite repeated mediation efforts.

by Bao Guangren

## World Concern About Clash

**T**he latest US-Libyan clash in the Mediterranean has commanded the world's attention. China's permanent representative to the United Nations Li Luye stated on March 27, "The recent attack by the United States on the territory of Libya, a sovereign state, constitutes a violation of the norms governing international relations." He said that it is the consistent position of the Chinese government to oppose and condemn all acts that violate the norms guiding international relations and encroach upon the territorial sovereignty of other countries.

Syria, Algeria, the Arab Republic of Yemen and the Palestine Liberation Organization have condemned the United States for its military provocation and have expressed their support of Libya. Democratic Yemen held a mass rally in Aden on March 27, denouncing US military action against Libya.

The Organization of African Unity urged the United States to use restraint and expressed its "unwavering and total solidarity with Libya." The 85th meeting of the Arab League Council held in Tunis unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the United States for its military action against Libya. The Organization of Islamic Conference in a press statement condemned the use of forces by the United States in violation of the United Nations

Charter by destroying Libyan naval vessels, radar installations and causing the loss of life.

India, Pakistan, Korea, Iran and Peru, Brazil, Cuba and Nicaragua have also expressed concern about the US-Libyan clashes.

The Soviet Union, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia accused Washington of compromising Libyan sovereignty.

Former Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit appealed to the Turkish government to halt the US from using any military bases in Turkey for aggressive actions against other countries.

Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi told parliament that the Italian government "does not want war on its doorsteps."

The Greek government said it was worried by events in Libya and that provocations and clashes could endanger peace in the eastern Mediterranean.

The Spanish government in a statement called for restraint in the US-Libyan conflict.

The Bonn government hoped US-Libyan confrontation would not escalate. Great Britain has kept a low profile throughout the entire affair. France, while neither supporting nor condemning US action, offered to mediate between the two countries.

### THE SOVIET UNION

## Economic Structure Under Reform

*Moscow is applying itself to the overall reform of its economic structure, founded more than 50 years ago, in order to promote high social productivity.*

**T**he recent 27th Soviet Communist Party Congress has set off an overall economic reform throughout the Soviet Union. "The situation today is such that

we cannot limit ourselves to partial improvements in management. A radical reform is needed," said Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Based on this guideline, the

Congress adopted resolutions, a revised Party Programme and basic tenets of economic and social development for the coming five years and for the years up till the end of the century.

The Soviet decision to radically reform its economic structure came as no surprise. What is now operating in the Soviet Union was set up in 1930s and has gradually evolved into an economic model which is clearly holding back the growth of the country's social productivity. Over the past 15 years, the Soviets have failed to fulfil their three five-year plans; agriculture, and industry have turned out little profits, and scientific and technological development has dragged along sluggishly. The national economy has grown at the lowest rate since World War II.

Stagnant, rigid administration methods and an enormous bureaucracy within which there is little work incentive have incurred heavy losses, the Soviet leaders said. Unfavourable trends left over from the 1970s have degenerated rapidly and in the early 1980s the government did little to ameliorate the situation. Therefore the leaders have determined to modify the economy in the second half of the decade.

The economic reform was first seriously suggested in 1982 when former Soviet leader Yuri Andropov came into office. The idea was further strengthened by Gorbachev when he became general secretary in March 1985, affirming that the perfection of the economic mechanism and the overall administration system must be unswervingly carried out.

In recent years, large-scale personnel shake-ups have been carried out at the Kremlin and in the localities. Those who either refused to break with their traditional work methods, served as obstacles to solving new problems or counted on returning to the old lines were replaced or dismissed from their posts. About

150 top officials have had to step down from their positions in the past year alone. The recent Party Congress also saw a major reshuffling of the Party Central Committee, with new full and alternate members accounting for up to 44 percent and 59 percent of the body, respectively. Considerable changes were also made in both the Politburo and the Central Secretariat.

The guidelines for organizing the current Soviet reform embrace the reinforced role of the central authorities in fulfilling economic strategies, determining the rates and proportions of national economic growth and curbing their interference into the activities of lower economic links. Officials stressed that enterprises should be granted greater autonomy and be held responsible for their gains and losses and pooling of capital, with income levels of collectives dependent on their own working efficiency. National economic departments at all levels must improve their management techniques and the systems of supply of materials, pricing and credit. While the existing organizations need modernizing, different types of economic associations and companies are to be established to comply with the tendency towards centralization, specialization and co-operation in production. All departments and regions must be co-ordinated and democratic management implemented.

At the Party Congress, Gorbachev called on the Soviets to

abandon outdated behaviour and modes of thinking and managing, and called for a re-examination of certain theoretical viewpoints and concepts. He criticized the prejudice of some officials in their handling of the questions of the interrelationship between productive forces and relations of production, ownership, commodity and currency, the expansion of enterprise autonomy and the increased function of commodity producers.

Reform experiments are now underway in all fields of the national economy and new methods have been adopted. Experiments with expanded enterprise autonomy and increased responsibility were set up in 1984 and have found their way to industrial enterprises, whose production value adds up to one half of that of the national industrial output. The rest of the industrial enterprises will follow their track next year. Reform is also going on in the service, postal and construction trades.

In agriculture, management organizations in charge of both industry and agriculture have been set up in the centre and at the localities, providing greater autonomy to collective and state-run farms. The contract responsibility system involving teams, groups and households is flourishing in the countryside and the means of production and land are offered to them according to the contracts.

Wang Chongjie

## BRITAIN

### Auto-Makers Break Off Talks

*Talks between US General Motors Corp. and the British government halted in late March as the bargaining began to threaten the unity of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party and create another political crisis before the upcoming elections.*

The British government broke off talks in late March with US auto giant General Motors Corp. (GM) over the sale of Britain's last

major state-owned auto manufacturer, British Leyland (BL), in an apparent bid to avoid a new political crisis that could cost the Conservative Party its next election.

The breakdown of talks stems from the severe criticism from both opposition and Conservative members of Parliament and comes at the heels of the political crisis at the beginning of this year over the sale of Westland, the country's only helicopter designer and manufacturer, to an American company.

British Leyland was nationalized 10 years ago and ranked the seventh among British manufacturing companies. Last year it put out 90,000 cars, Land Rovers and trucks.

However, as a part of the failing British manufacturing industry, BL had conceded to significant losses and has been propped up by billions of pounds in government subsidies during the past decade. As a result, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has regarded the company as a prime candidate for privatization since she came to power in 1979.

Early last month when the news that the government was negotiating with American companies on the sale of BL's Land Rover, Austin Rover and truck divisions leaked out, the opposition Labour Party and the trade unions called the government policies concerning industrial development "impotent" and charged that the sale of BL would result in more lost jobs.

Former Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath said the government "wanted [Westland] to go to the Americans, and now they want British Leyland to go to Americans.

"Not for one moment, I cannot understand why," Heath argued, "a Conservative government above all should want to behave this way... The British just don't want their industries taken over completely by the United States."

Michael Heseltine, former defence secretary who resigned in January because of his disagreement with Mrs. Thatcher's

support for the American takeover of Westland, said the decline of British industry was partly caused by the sale of enterprises to foreigners.

Heseltine noted that one out of every eight jobs in British manufacturing sectors was created by foreign investment. "If, every time we run into industrial difficulties, we seek foreign buyers," he said, "then we are on a one-way, downward path."

More than 50 Tory members of Parliament joined the revolt against the government and vocally expressed opposition to the sale of Britain's last major automobile manufacturer to American companies.

GM, Ford and Daimler-Benz motor companies have already bought three of the four major auto companies in Britain. If the sales to GM and Ford had succeeded, foreign companies would virtually have been in full control of Britain's automobile industry.

Many British are puzzled by the government's moves towards selling to foreign hands companies such as BL, which recently had showed signs of recovery. They remain unconvinced by Trade and Industry Secretary Paul Channon's explanation that BL may be more effectively developed under the protection of GM's giant umbrella and break into the US market for the first time.

The government broke off talks with Ford shortly after the

opposition to the sale of the Austin Rover division came out.

The 18-month negotiations with GM came to a halt when the government said it could not accept the company's terms, which would allow GM to assume full control of BL's lucrative Land Rover division in return for purchasing the sinking truck division.

The British government said it could part with no more than 49 percent of Land Rover shares although it had earlier agreed their full control by the US company.

The row over BL is reminiscent of the political crisis over Westland, in which the popularity of the Conservative Party and Mrs. Thatcher plummeted to a new low since before the Falkland (Malvinas) war in 1982.

As local elections and parliamentary by-elections are approaching, Mrs. Thatcher desperately needs the support of British voters and unity within her party. According to political observers in London, this may be the main reason why the government is bowing to political pressure and breaking off negotiations with Ford and GM.

The BL board of directors has declared it still favoured a merger with GM. Some cabinet members also expressed their belief that the US company might eventually accept the British government's offer of 49 percent of Land Rover shares.

by Li Zongyang

## Beijing Review



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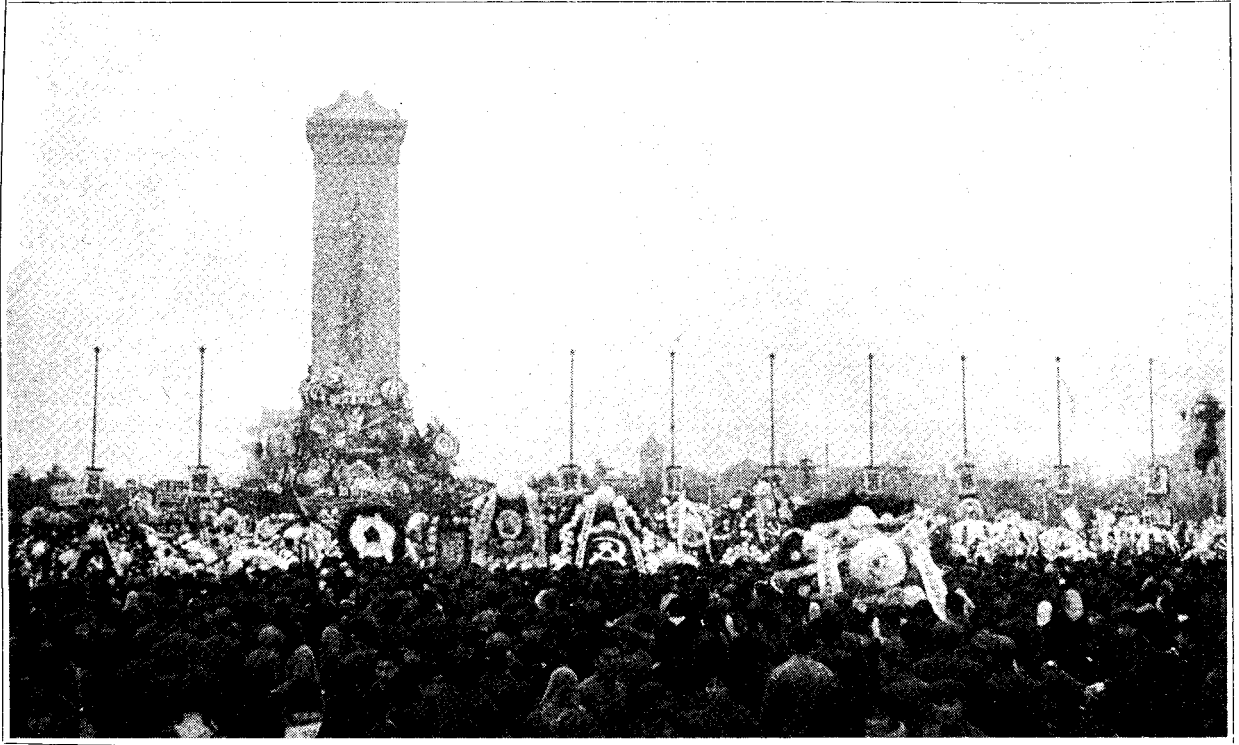
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THE TIANANMEN INCIDENT

## Ten Years After

*The Tiananmen Incident was significant as a popular movement which accelerated the ultimate demise of the gang of four and, thereby, the termination of China's tragic "cultural revolution." (See "The Tiananmen Incident—A Résumé" on pp. 18-19.) It was important also in that it augured an age of economic resurgence and political democracy. In the following pages, we listen to eight witnesses to the events of April 1976: What motivated their actions? How were they affected by them? And ten years later, how do they envisage their role as successors to China's socialist revolution?*

by Our Special Correspondent Wei Xia

### A Question of National Dignity

**Y**e Qingchun was one of a few to use a flash when he took photographs of the events at Tiananmen Square in 1976. That, together with his tape-recorder, aroused the suspicion of ordinary people around him who thought he was a plain-clothes detective from the Public Security Bureau,

and the security police themselves who guessed he might be a trouble-maker. "But I wasn't afraid," Ye asserted. "I had an intuition that this was history in the making and I had to document it somehow." One of his photographs was subsequently awarded a Third Prize at the

Tiananmen Incident Photo Exhibition held in 1979.

During the earlier years of the "cultural revolution," Ye tagged along after his elder brother and sister, both of whom were Red Guards, blindly copying what they did. Thinking back to those years, he described their behaviour as "laughable, simply ridiculous... we were all so naive." His family was relatively untouched by the



political chaos of the times, "but still," Ye claims, "I learnt a great deal... as much as those who actually suffered." I think we all learnt something from it and

slightly different with the generation below us, because they have not inherited this tradition in the same way that we did. That's why I feel they're lacking in many

Ye Qingchun



matured through it. That's why, even though it was a painful experience, it was also an invaluable one."

***"There's no use in simply giving up and fretting. Despair is totally meaningless."***

Ye joined the Communist Party in 1972 when he was in the army; he was only 18 at the time. "Being a Party member was the highest ideal then. No one questioned the Party." Swept up by the ideological hysteria of the times, many youngsters did indeed join the Party in the sincere belief that they were thus demonstrating their absolute dedication to the revolution.

"We were brought up in a tradition of learning... of how to educate ourselves and develop an awareness of the country and the country's needs. Things are

ways, and especially lacking in the ability to judge themselves."

Ye suggested that this lack of judgment underlay their political naivety and introverted attitude towards life. "Some of these people are only concerned about their personal affairs; how they, as individuals, are suffering. During the Tiananmen Incident, we took a much broader view of things. We were concerned about the country. We knew that our fate was tied up with the country's fate, so whatever happened to the country would happen to us."

Ye still maintains an interest in politics. "But," he hastened to add, "I'd never want to be a politician!" He broke into laughter and slapped his thigh. Whether he'll admit to it or not, however, Ye's current profession as a director of drama at China Central Television, the state television network, is inextricably bound with discussing and reflecting political issues. "Many people feel television should tone down the propaganda and be



more objective. Obviously politics will feature in it. That's only natural. It's just a question of how you handle it." What sort of themes are covered? "Themes in television dramas have been more daring—the 'cultural revolution,' present reforms—and they discuss quite openly questions that are pertinent to modern society. That's good, because only when we confront our problems can we solve them. There's no use in simply giving up and fretting. Despair is totally meaningless. That's precisely what we were trying to prove during the Tiananmen Incident."

***"Shouting slogans at the top of your voice is not going to get you anywhere."***

**A**mong the hundreds of wreaths at Tiananmen Square, there was one which was distinct from the rest: It was forged of solid metal. Made by steelworkers from Beijing's Heavy Duty Electrical Machinery Plant, it was placed at the foot of the Martyrs' Memorial on April 4th, Qingming Day.

"We'd heard that all the paper wreaths put there on previous days had been hauled off to Wukesong and Babaoshan (in the western suburbs of Beijing) and burnt," said Guo Youwang 45, who was head of the smelting section of the factory at the time. "So we made one out of steel, as an open challenge to see if they could carry this off and burn it."

Towering to a height of 6.5 metres and weighing over 500 kg, the wreath was made of scrap metal lying in the factory yard and

*(Continued on p. 20)*

# The Tiananmen Incident—A Résumé

by Xiao Lan

**T**hunder erupts from amid silence," warned Lu Xun, the great Chinese writer and thinker, in a poem written in 1934, condemning the corrupt and repressive rule of the Kuomintang, and predicting that the thunder of revolution would soon strike. His words came true. The tempest raged over the years and finally came to a head in 1949 with the War of Liberation, which utterly transformed the course of Chinese history. However, Lu Xun could not have anticipated that he would be quoted in connection with another event to take place more than forty years later in the heart of Beijing. After several years under the harsh control of Jiang Qing and her confederates, citizens of the capital gave vent to their wrath: a new revolutionary storm, which was to help shape China's history once again, broke out on 5th April, 1976. The focus of worldwide attention, it became known as the "Tiananmen Incident."

As the "cultural revolution" unfolded, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen gained increasing preponderance within the Party by taking advantage of leftist tendencies already existent in the Party and adding to these their own potent ultra-leftist rhetoric. After the 10th Party Congress of August 1973, their political status was assured, as each made a spectacular ascent in the Party hierarchy. Together they formed a faction within the Political Bureau and, through astute political manoeuvring, made preparations to seize supreme power as Chairman Mao Zedong's physical and mental faculties deteriorated. But their main obstacle was Zhou Enlai, and as time passed, their attacks on the Premier and Deng Xiaoping, then a vice-premier supported by Zhou Enlai and put in charge of the affairs of the Party and the government when the latter was seriously ill, were intensified.

The decision to resurrect Deng, who had fallen into disgrace soon after the outbreak of the "cultural revolution,"

was made in 1973 at the suggestion of Chairman Mao. As Zhou's surrogate throughout most of 1975, Deng managed to revive the tottering national economy by making significant changes to the extremist policies then in practice. But Mao would not tolerate these changes, which he regarded as a negation of the "cultural revolution." In late 1975, he again withdrew his trust in Deng and launched a campaign to have him criticized. The gang of four (a term used by Mao himself in 1974 when criticizing Jiang Qing and her group for their factional activities) seized the opportunity to unleash fresh attacks against Deng, Zhou and other veteran leaders who backed them. This caused much public discontent at the time and was one of the major factors underlying the incident at Tiananmen Square a few months later.

On 8th January, 1976, Zhou Enlai died. During his lifetime, the gang of four had slandered and harassed him; after his death, they tried to erase all memory of him. The wearing of black armbands and white flowers, common symbols of mourning, were forbidden; commemoration meetings were prohibited. Nevertheless, in defiance of the gang's orders, on January 11, a million people stood in the winter cold on both sides of Beijing's main avenue to watch the Premier's hearse go by.

A couple of months later, in March, two articles appeared in the Shanghai newspaper *Wen Hui Bao*, then under the control of the gang, which refuted Zhou Enlai's policies and alluded to him as a "capitalist roader." This provoked instant reaction. In Nanjing, posters promptly went up in the streets calling for action to prevent the four from usurping Party leadership and seizing state power. Similar slogans were painted on the sides of a train bound for Beijing. Many wrote letters of protest to *Wen Hui Bao*; others distributed leaflets condemning the gang. News of these occurrences spread like wildfire and sparked off the events that culminated in the mammoth demonstrations in Tianan-

men Square. The weapons used were flowers and poems.

The first wreath to Zhou Enlai appeared before the Monument to the People's Heroes on 19th March. This was followed by more wreaths and streamers. A bowl of water and a small heap of earth were placed at the base of the monument to represent the scattering of his ashes in the fields and rivers of the nation. On March 30, the first eulogy appeared. People flocked to the square to put up or copy poems and elegies; wreaths were presented, including one fashioned of steel so that it could not be easily removed.

Sunday, 4th April, was Qingming, the day when the Chinese traditionally remember the dead, visit their ancestors' graves and sweep them clean. Since the founding of New China, it has also been a customary day for honouring revolutionary martyrs. In an attempt to discourage people from mourning the Premier, the gang tried to bar them from going to the square by calling Qingming a "festival of ghosts," an outdated convention which should no longer be observed. Despite this, around two million people had by now been to the square which was already transformed into a mountain of wreaths surrounded by a sea of wailing mourners. Individuals, families and organized groups from various local schools, offices and factories, and visitors from other cities and provinces who were in

**On January 11, 1976. Mutely watching Zhou Enlai's hearse go by.**



the capital on business, had gathered there to pay their respects.

Meanwhile, several Politburo members then in Beijing assembled under Hua Guofeng to examine the latest developments at Tiananmen Square. Through the intervention of Jiang Qing and her supporters, the incident was proclaimed to have been instigated by counter-revolutionaries. A report was subsequently filed with Mao's approval; this included a decision to adopt certain emergency measures.

Plainclothes men were sent to the square to shadow those who were delivering eulogies and to take photographs of poems that had been pasted onto the balustrades of the monument. A number of people were later arrested. Deep in the night, two hundred trucks were dispatched to remove all wreaths, flowers and commemorative poems from the square.

On the morning of the 5th, people once again went to Tiananmen, only to find it devoid of all tokens of mourning. By now, the monument had been cordoned off by three circles of guards. Indignant crowds began to surge towards the Great Hall of the People where it was thought the gang's followers were stationed, and demanded the return of their wreaths and poems and the release of those who had been detained the previous day. Enraged by the rebuttals thrown back at them, they overturned and set on fire government and military vehicles which had carried those in charge of quelling the rally and food for the militiamen on duty, and later burnt down a command post from which the troops and police were receiving their orders. Late in the evening the lights in the square were suddenly turned on. Police and militia armed with clubs encircled the mourning throng and began a bloody and ruthless assault. Unable to escape, many innocent victims were brutally battered. Over two hundred were seized that evening and more arrests were made in the ensuing days.

Almost immediately, the Tiananmen Incident was denounced "counter-revolutionary." Yao Wenyuan produced a lengthy news report, stating that the incident had been engineered to sidetrack the anti-Deng campaign. Presented with this distorted version of the facts, Mao proposed that Deng be dismissed from all his official posts and allowed to retain only his Party membership.

This was subsequently approved and carried out by the Politburo. Meanwhile, witchhunts were carried out in all places of work to find out who had played an instrumental part at the square during the incident; several hundreds were interrogated and put under surveillance. The entire capital was paralysed with fear.

People had been temporarily silenced, but they could not be made to forget so easily. Aware of the possible consequences, thousands preserved the poems they had copied or the photographs they had taken at the square by concealing them in flowerpots, hollowed-out candles, the linings of coal stoves, or burying them in the countryside. These were subsequently published as anthologies

**Qingming, three months later. Grief turned into anger.**



and albums.

The poems and photographs, together with the wreaths, were the seeds of revolution which were to prove more powerful than any sword or gun, and more effective than any ultra-leftist eloquence.

The gang of four was eventually overthrown in October 1976, and two years later, on 15th November, 1978, the Tiananmen Incident was officially declared "entirely revolutionary." Near on three years of doubt and suspicion were at an end. Those who had been wrongfully committed to prison during the interim period were eventually released and their names cleared.

The events at Tiananmen Square were neither an accident of fate, nor an act of capriciousness, but a sponta-

neous mass outpouring of popular sentiment and protest. They helped to conclude ten years of political frustration and harassment and saved the nation from being subjected to further upheaval under an oligarchy of power-hungry politicians.

In the ten years that have since elapsed, China has not been totally

devoid of political frictions or ideological conflicts. Debates on the criterion for truth have had a profound impact on recent developments. At the same time, there has been a major shift in emphasis from class struggle to socialist construction and a call to the entire population to concentrate on economic reform and a technological revolution that should modernize the country within the next few decades. This radical change, backed by her past experiences, should enable China to avoid repeating the tragedies of the "cultural revolution" and thus create, within the context of socialism, a prosperous, stable and democratic nation as prescribed by the protagonists of the Tiananmen Incident.

(Continued from p.17)



XU XIANGJUN

**Guo Youwang**

needed more than twenty people to carry it out of the workshop. It was then heaved onto two tricycles and pushed a distance of 15 km from the western suburbs of the capital to Tiananmen Square. Xu Changcheng, a steelworker in Guo's section who was only 24 at the time of the incident, said, "We had no political motives. We're just ordinary workers; we didn't know what was happening at the top." For him, as for a great many factory workers in Beijing, Qingming Day was more an expression of grief and reverence towards Zhou Enlai. As Shi Xuelan, a female co-worker, put it, "We did it out of a sense of pride and dignity."

When asked whether they kept up with political issues now, ten years after the incident, Guo said, "We read about them and hear about them. Many of them we support in theory, but demonstrations and marches—we don't take part in these, because this is not the time. Right now, we need to get on with our work, increase production and raise the standard of living. Shouting slogans at the top of your voice is not going to get you anywhere." What did Guo think of strikes as a means of protest? "What's the point?" came the blunt reply. "It's only the workers who suffer in the end. In China, if we have a problem, we can discuss it. We don't have to go on strike to be heard."

While Guo and Shi are both Party members and Xu a member of the Youth League, they all agreed that the younger members of the factory are not much interested in politics. In their work, too, some are slack and irresponsible. So how can these young people be made to change their attitudes? "Education," Guo said, "Education in the home and at school. Education is very important, but it must be carried out properly. You have to know how to deal with a child. Often, scolding is not enough. A good spanking is much more effective. But then, if you overdo the spanking, you make the child rebellious." Guo suggested that the present economic reforms also provided a practical solution to the problem. "Give them a material incentive. That's possible now with the responsibility system. It makes them conscientious towards their work and this way, we gradually break the 'communal rice pot' (a phrase referring to people's dependence on the state for their livelihood and the complacency that they develop towards their work as a result.) Basically what we need is good management."



**Xu Changcheng**



XU XIANGJUN

**Shi Xuelan**

The state recognizes this fact and has been emphasizing the need for a system of management which will ensure quality of production through proper use of qualified personnel. But if a generation of academics is groomed for this purpose, will not

the gap between workers and intellectuals widen and cause possible discontent? "The gap is only natural," Guo admitted. "We have to depend on academics to develop the technology which we workers can then apply. As it is, the state's not paying enough attention to our intellectuals. If, for example, an engineer makes an invention that boosts production, then he should be rewarded for it. We workers wouldn't complain; in fact, we'd gain from it. What we're doing in effect is working together with them, not against them."

*After a decade of momentous change, her naivety towards politics remains untouched.*

On the question of education, among those who grew up during the "cultural revolution," the majority admit it was a valuable lesson in life: It helped to mature their outlook and developed in them a keen ability to compare, analyse and evaluate. But what about the younger generation of teenagers who have not undergone, and hopefully will not have to undergo, such an experience? How will they learn to distinguish good and bad, right and wrong?

Wang Yanjun, 32, is a teacher of politics at Guandongdian Secondary School in the eastern part of the capital. "Yes, it's very difficult," she explained, "because teenagers in our school aren't very interested in politics." (Guandongdian is a newly established school which caters mainly for children from the nearby industrial estate. The professional level of the teaching staff is poor, and with the current shortage of qualified teachers in Beijing, the school is unlikely to improve in the immediate future.) Wang put their apathy down to the fact that "the slogans of the 'cultural revolution' were all empty. People talked



Wang Yanjun

XU XIANGJUN

about this ideal and that ideal, but none of them were ever realized. . . Recently in the Party rectification campaign, we've learnt that a number of Party members have committed crimes of one sort or another, and when our children hear this, they start asking questions. They equate those Party members with the Party itself. . . These doubts in turn develop into a lack of interest in politics."

In China, political study in secondary school is considered not so much an academic discipline as a general instruction course in moral values and social and political awareness. Naturally, certain basic political doctrines are taught too, although there has been a deliberate move away from the heavy theoretical inculcation of former years.

So how does Wang manage? "I have a prescribed textbook and I teach from that." But can a textbook clearly explain such abstractions as "communism" and "capitalism" to thirteen-, fourteen-year-old children? "That's the problem, and we've discussed this many a time. Teaching out of a book has its limits. On the other hand, if you don't have a written guideline, you have no criteria upon which to test

the children's knowledge. Ideally, we should first teach the coursebook and then discuss specific examples, but. . ." Wang broke off mid-sentence, for she too realized that this was easier said than done.

So how was it that Wang herself had developed an interest in politics when she was younger? "From when I was a little girl, I'd always had this dream of being a heroine because I'd read and heard so much about different heroines." This was one of the reasons why she went to Tiananmen Square in the spring of 1976. "On the 4th, wreaths were hanging everywhere from the edges of the square right up to the monument. I was tremendously encouraged and inspired." She copied down poems and helped to read some aloud. The following night, she went again. "It was dark, but a few people switched on their torches while I read a poem to them. It was an elegy paying the writer's last respects to Premier Zhou. By the time I got to the third line, though, everyone around me started reading in unison. It was a stirring moment."

It seems, however, that domestic life has since dampened Wang's desire to be a heroine. "I have a family now, and my responsibilities as a wife and a mother take up too much of my time." She added later that, for the same reason, she would probably not involve herself so deeply in politics as she had ten years ago. But had she realized the full implications of the movement she had taken a part in? Or had she merely been caught up in the furore of the time? And if, after a decade of momentous change, Wang Yanjun's naivety towards politics had still remained untouched, could she really expect her pupils to understand any better?

The last question put to Wang was whether she felt she could instil the same fervour in her pupils now as she herself had once demonstrated at Tiananmen Square? "Perhaps not," she said



with her eyes cast down. "That's why I feel sometimes that I've failed as a teacher."

**"Newspapers should not only reflect official policy, but should also present public opinion. . ."**

**S**hengli le! Shengli le!" ("Victory! Victory!") These were the words He Yanguang shouted from his prison cell when he heard a radio announcement in October



He Yanguang

XU XIANGJUN

1976 that the gang of four had fallen. His words echoed throughout the prison as inmates of neighbouring cells repeated it in incredulous excitement. But He and the others were soon silenced when guards warned them that they would be in trouble if they made any more noise.

He Yanguang had been im-

prisoned for organizing a group of eighty people or so to go to Tiananmen Square over Qingming. At the time, he was a deputy-head of a factory in Beijing's southeast district and also vice-chairman of the factory's Revolutionary Committee. As a political administrator, he should have been responsible for organizing the anti-Deng Xiaoping campaign within the factory when Deng was ousted from office in 1976. "but I couldn't do it," he said. "It would have been hypocritical of me. As a result, I was later accused of having committed a political crime."

He's major 'political crime' was his involvement in the events at Tiananmen. When questioned by the Public Security Bureau if he had taken part with the full knowledge that the movement was counter-revolutionary, he answered, "I went to Tiananmen, but I did not engage in any counter-revolutionary activities." During subsequent cross-examinations—49 in all—in trying to force a confession out of He that he was a counter-revolutionary, his interrogators were inevitably given the reply: "If you say Zhou Enlai is a counter-revolutionary, then you can accuse me of being a counter-revolutionary too."

After the downfall of the gang, He was quietly released, and only two years later, when the Tiananmen Incident was officially declared "revolutionary," was his name cleared. But his term of solitary confinement is negligible in comparison with the arbitrary and gross manner in which political prisoners were treated during the "cultural revolution." Some of the more serious offenders were interned in labour camps or exiled to the provinces to die in oblivion. Could this happen now? "The new legal system was introduced as a safeguard against that," He answered. "Of course, there are still problems with the actual implementation of our laws, but on the whole, I think we're going in the right direction."

After his release from prison, He had two job transfers, neither of which he was skilled for. He was finally posted in 1983 to *China Youth Daily* (a newspaper coming under the auspices of the Chinese Communist Youth League), where he is presently head of the Photographic Section. As a newspaper photographer, in view of the fact that all printed material was tightly controlled by the gang while they were in power and was used quite explicitly by them as a



Wang Liping

means of propaganda, what did He think the present role of the newspaper medium should be: the mouthpiece of the Communist Party or the voice of the people? "Ideally, there shouldn't be any difference. Newspapers should not only reflect official policy, but should also present public opinion, in addition to supplying facts... The reforms that we're currently advocating should also include reform in news reporting. There has been some improvement, but not enough." Still, though there may not have been as many changes as He had hoped for, the few that have emerged seem to be proving effective. Second only to the *People's Daily*, *China Youth Daily* presently has a circulation of 2.5 million, of which 60 percent are private subscriptions.

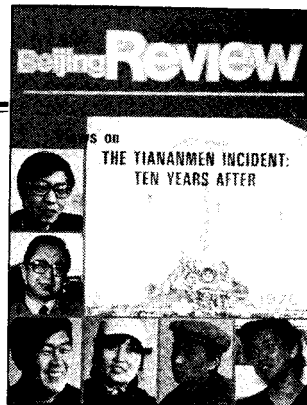
He, now 36, like a number of other young journalists in Beijing, turned to photography professionally as a result of the Tiananmen Incident. As to what purpose a photograph should serve, He commented, "We photographers have a responsibility to history and society. So first of all, a photograph must depict reality; secondly, it must have meaning. Without these two, it cannot hold any appeal or have any purpose."

***"...Whether or not you're concerned about politics, politics will always be concerned about you."***

Wang Liping was another of hundreds of amateur photographers at Tiananmen. He had been a Red Guard in 1966, but began to retreat from his faction when the violence started. "The 'cultural revolution' was based on a wrong theory, and used wrong methods... That's why it was a wrong movement."

Later a victim of political harassment, Wang was determined never to involve himself in politics again, "because occasionally you'll find that, in politics, there's only a thin line between what's right and wrong." Still, he took part in the Tiananmen Incident in 1976. "It was a question of self-respect," Wang said. "It was the only chance we had to voice our discontent against those in authority. The square was our territory and that's why it drew so many people. If ever there was a feeling of national pride, then that was it."

Wang, now 43, is presently chairman of the Chinese Film Philharmonic. What does he think of art being used as a political tool, as was advocated by Jiang Qing? "Absolutely wrong," he said emphatically. "Art is art. It's a social thing. If it is used purely for political motives, then it risks



losing its artistic value." With regard to music, he continued, "Music must be for the people. If it isn't, then you won't have an audience. And if you don't have an audience, how can you make music?" Wang dismissed as totally negative all the revolutionary songs of the "cultural revolution," although he did admit that certain model Peking operas were of very high artistic merit. "The only trouble was that there was nothing else." (And there were only eight model operas, at that.) He illustrated this by going through the action of tuning a radio: "'Back home...' (tuning), '... I have...' (tuning), '...countless uncles...' (from the model opera *The Red Lantern*). That's what it was like: every station broadcasting exactly the same thing. You give someone too much of a good thing and they soon get fed up."

On the other hand, you don't give them enough, and they'll only want more. This was certainly the case a few years ago, when China started implementing her open policy: along with the science and technology that was introduced from the West came an influx of Occidental thoughts and behaviour, many of which were considered disruptive to China's socialist system. Not long after, there ensued a campaign to fight "spiritual pollution," an offshoot of which was to clamp down on the illegal entry of decadent material, such as pornographic books and videotapes. Unfortunately, certain over-zealous officials interpreted 'spiritual pollution' as encompassing even pop-songs, disco and the like. Many feared it was the genesis of a second cultural revolution. Realizing that the whole campaign was getting out of hand, Party leaders put an end to it a few months later. Wang commented on the campaign: "There was a basis to it, yes, but it went wrong because of the intervention of minor officials who don't know where to draw the line. Of course we must try to eradicate all that's

harmful, but it's like selecting with a sieve. Sometimes the grit is bound to get through. On the whole, though, the good outweighs the bad." He went on: "Besides which, you have to give people more credit. They have the ability to judge and the power to resist. Sooner or later, they'll be able to decide for themselves what's worth keeping and what's not."

Wang enjoys a fairly high reputation as a composer today, having written scores for numerous successful films. Of his own work, he said: "I don't compose for money or for politics. Music for me is an inner discovery and I hope that I can convey this to my audience so that they can share the experience." His criteria for a good piece: "It must have truth, feeling and beauty."

A number of Wang's contemporaries have left China in the last few years in search of more lucrative earnings abroad. Has Wang never been tempted by the same desire? "No. I can sympathize with those who have left, though," Wang said, "and it must have been difficult for them to leave, because I think that in the final analysis, everyone has a deep-rooted affection for his native land. That's why I could never leave." He recalled an incident down in Yunnan during a visit there, when he saw a blind man playing one of his violin

pieces on the *erhu*." I was very moved. And I thought to myself I couldn't possibly leave the people who love my music. I belong here. I'm born of this earth."

In retrospect, has the "cultural revolution" affected Wang personally in any way? "Yes, it has. It's opened my eyes... It has made me realize people's worth as human beings." And artistically? "I've been told that my music is beautiful. Well, that's because I lived through the "cultural revolution" and have come to appreciate beauty for what it is. Naturally, I would have preferred not to have undergone such an experience at all," he smiled. And what did he feel about politics now? "I have very sincere beliefs. And one of them is that no one can exist without politics. Some may say that they don't like discussing politics or even that they're not concerned about politics. But in the end, whether or not you're concerned about politics, politics will always be concerned about you."

## Wu Peng, Unperturbed by the Wind

**H**e compiled a photographic collection which sold 150,000 copies. He's currently a senior director of the Chinese Photographers' Association. And he's deputy director of the Beijing Arts & Crafts Publishing House. Impressive credentials for a man who's only just reached his thirty-seventh year. With this scant background information, which also included the fact that he had been a prominent figure in the

Tiananmen Incident, I set off for my interview with Wu Peng, expecting to see an awesome, larger-than-life paragon of Chinese virtue. Arriving at his publishing house, a renovated single-storey courtyard house located in Huashi, one of the older residential districts of Beijing, I was quite surprised, if not momentarily disappointed, to meet a not so tall, not so distinguished man, wearing a



Wu Peng

simple beige down jacket, blue trousers and a grey peaked cap tightly pulled over his forehead. His complexion was dark and his features plain. But his eyes had a fixed gaze that gave away nothing and I was struck by the impassive look that dominated his face throughout our conversation.

"Why do you want to write about the Tiananmen Incident?" Wu Peng asked abruptly, before I could even get my pen and pad ready. "To tell you the truth, I'm disillusioned about the whole thing." Astounded by this devastating remark, I asked him to explain. "Because even after the gang of four had fallen, no full, no satisfactory analysis of the incident was made." He put a cigarette to his lips, then continued in a dry, steady monotone. "The affair was surrounded by contradictions."

Wu Peng didn't bother to elaborate, but it was clear to whom and what he was alluding. In December 1978, shortly after the Tiananmen Incident was officially declared "entirely revolutionary," Wu compiled an album entitled *In Commemoration of Our Premier*, containing photographs that he and others had taken at Tiananmen Square

two years previously. As it was about to go to press, the editorial department of the Beijing Publishing House (which was in charge of the publication) told Wu that Hua Guofeng, then Chairman of the CPC Central Committee, would write an inscription on the title page in his own hand. Wu was furious. "It would have been contradicting historical facts to have Hua Guofeng inscribe the book. He was much to blame for what happened at Tiananmen Square." Wu was referring to the fact that in 1976, Hua was minister of public security; it was with his sanction that police and militia launched their violent attack on the thousands of mourners at the square. Wu had told his editors he hoped the album could have a longer life, as though presaging that sooner or later, Hua Guofeng would be removed from office, in which case the value of the book would correspondingly diminish. But his protestations were of no avail; the album was published with the said inscription. Almost five years later, Hua Guofeng was stripped of all major official titles and made a quiet exit from the political arena.

I asked Wu Peng whether his disillusion had carried into these

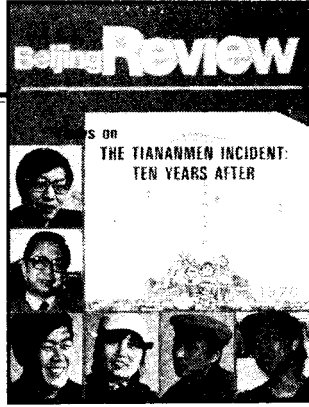
last ten years. "Not at all," he said. "I've been very optimistic about all that's happened since then. Politically and economically, we've come a long way." But Wu still had reservations about the actual implementation of certain policies. He quoted the present economic reforms as an example. "They're good and have a solid basis to them, and in theory everyone supports them, or at least claims that they do. But in reality, there are hitches—the bureaucratic attitudes of some of our officials, for instance." He lit another cigarette.

But then one is faced with the unenviable choice of either divesting these leaders of their power and creating much personal pain by doing so, or working alongside them at the risk of having one's own talents smothered. "That's exactly the dilemma we're in. To make changes, you have to pay a high price. It's always the reformists who sacrifice the most." It was a poignant remark, but not a trace of emotion escaped that impervious face.

***"If a person doesn't possess self-respect, then there can be no purpose to his life. And if a people do not have dignity, then they cease to exist as a people."***

Still, wasn't there a genuine fear shared by some leaders that the younger generation lack experience? "Yes, but young people must be given a chance. Otherwise, how will they learn? If, for example, you tell a youngster to repair a refrigerator and he makes a mess of it the first time, you must let him try again. It's very important to show young people that you trust them and treat them as equals." Wu applies this principle in his own publishing house. Over the last couple of months, he has been working on a





special notice board displaying the speeches and photographs of service-men who performed outstanding deeds of bravery and were maimed in the process during the recent clashes in Laoshan along the Sino-Vietnamese border. The whole idea was Wu's and most of the material was compiled by him, but credit for the work will be given to the younger employees. "By doing this, I feel it'll inspire confidence and a sense of responsibility in them. We must encourage the young by showing them our support."

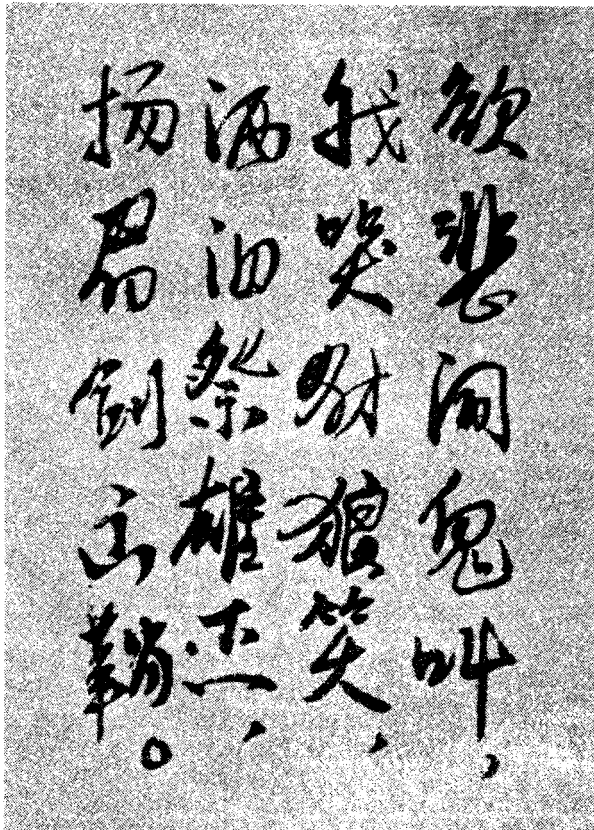
Having mentioned the Laoshan soldiers, I asked Wu whether he thought the youngsters of today could be moved by such courageous acts and thereby to increase their own social and political awareness. "Oh, yes, I think so. We've overused 'models' in the past, and some not particularly worth emulating at

that. But these Laoshan heroes are truly great men, and I think they have gained the respect of many young people and cultivated in them a spirit of national pride. If a person doesn't possess self-respect, then there can be no purpose to his life. And if a people do not have dignity, then they cease to exist as a people."

Did Wu think it was this same spirit of national pride, then, which spurred on the Tiananmen Incident? "That was certainly the case for me," Wu said, with an even more serious mien. "I felt I had a mission, a moral obligation towards the country. On a broader scale, it roused mass feeling which contributed in bringing down the gang of four and guiding the nation towards modernization." And democracy? "If by that, you mean 'freedom of speech', yes, to a degree. If you were to criticize Deng Xiaoping's policies, say, he

wouldn't be so narrow-minded as to think you were making a political incrimination against him, but rather that you were showing genuine concern for the country. Ironically," and here he took a long puff at his cigarette (I'd lost count of the number by now), "it's often officials at the lower levels who take it as a personal offence when you raise a criticism."

Wu made it clear, however, that he didn't particularly support



## Two Tiananmen Poems

*In my grief I hear demons shriek;  
I weep while wolves and jackals laugh.  
Though tears I shed to mourn a hero,  
With head raised high, I draw my sword.*

*This poem was considered by the gang of four as the most counter-revolutionary. A search was made throughout the country for its writer, a young factory worker in Shaanxi Province, but he was never traced.*

## Commemoration Without a Monument

*For you no monument is raised.  
For you no plinth for statue laid.  
Yet the monuments to you are legion,  
Deeply rooted in the people's hearts.  
Nine thousand strokes of lightning  
cannot strike them down,  
Nor a twelve-force typhoon topple.  
Deeply rooted in the people's hearts,  
Your monument, more enduring than any man-made!*

demonstrations as a means of voicing one's complaints, nor the writing of posters at Democracy Wall. "It was senseless,"—he was talking about the latter—"because people used it to air petty grievances. Very few major issues were touched upon.... Although I feel that people should be able to express themselves freely, they should go about it sensibly, with a bit of thought."

***“I lived through the ‘cultural revolution.’ I matured through it. And I know the harsh realities of life. A person can say what he feels, but he should also know how.”***

Thus ended my first interview with Wu Peng. Later that evening, as I recollected what he'd said and how, I couldn't help wondering what sort of person lay concealed behind that impenetrable shield of frigidity. My curiosity got the better of me and I decided to go and see him a second time. Perhaps his reluctance to show his emotions was a result of the "cultural revolution." Both his parents (his father was an accountant and his mother a doctor) had been publicly criticized. Wu Peng himself was branded a 'fledgling revisionist' (he was only in his teens). "I felt I'd been wronged," he said, "and on one occasion, I wept in front of my schoolmates. Later, I was branded for 'playing safe' and not wanting to commit myself politically. I could join neither the 'Conservatives' nor the 'Rebels' (both Red Guard factions), as neither of them dared have me." So Wu was shoved to one side and left to his books. He read avidly; he also developed an interest in photography. After reading Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China*, he dreamed of being a reporter. "I had my own views about the 'cultural revolution' and wanted

to write a book on it. So I started taking a lot of pictures of different events that took place during that time." Needless to say, the book never materialized.

It was 7 o'clock by now. Wu Peng suggested we go and have something to eat. As we weaved through the narrow lanes on our bicycles past the rows of *pingfang* (single-storey houses), Wu told me that his home was also a small *pingfang* lost in a maze of alleyways. "Are you married?" I asked. "No," came the short reply. After a moment's silence (it was the only time he hesitated in giving an answer), he said, "If I were to get married, it'd mean forcing my two younger sisters out of the house.... I have a duty towards them." I later discovered that Wu's father had died two years ago. He had been a man of some wealth before 1949, when the family had lived in a courtyard house. During the frenzy of the "cultural revolution," their house was ransacked, their property confiscated and their living space reduced to two and a half rooms, where Wu, his mother and two sisters are still living.

We went into a nearby restaurant and as we ate, I, hoping that the bustling atmosphere would put him more at ease, remarked lightly that earlier in the day, as we were sorting out the photos of all the interviewees in the office, our photographer had made the comment that Wu Peng's expression was too stern. His superior, who is a member of the Photographers' Association, said, "That's just Wu Peng." An involuntary smile broke through the shield. As though in self-confession, Wu Peng said, "He means I'm dead-pan!" "Well, are you always like that?" I asked, half in jest, but really trying to draw a truthful answer from him. "Under the circumstances (referring to the solemn topic of our interview), I'm hardly going to crack jokes with you all the time now, am I?" he laughed, but with effort.

So I turned to the less serious

subject of photography and asked him about the association and the part he played in it. "Oh, I was chosen to build up a 'United Front!'" he declared. "I suppose because of my age and my character, they (meaning the Executive Board of Directors) thought I'd be the right person to close the generation gap!" This time, he broke out into genuine laughter.

I mentioned the names of a few young professional photographers I knew and he commented on each one as I went through the list. "...Yes, he's talented .... She's come out with some good photos recently.... No, his works have no life in them...." We then started to discuss the concept of "art for art's sake," and I described how I'd once seen in a London gallery a whole line of canvasses, each painted in a single colour and accordingly captioned: *Blue Square, Yellow Square, Red Square*, etc. Wu found this quite amusing and commented wryly, "Yes, well, if this is called 'freedom of expression,' then I suppose you can say they're more democratic in the West!"

At this point, I was suddenly reminded of the New Stars Exhibition back in 1980, in which a trendy group of photographers, painters and sculptors displayed their works, some of these being very explicit attacks against the "cultural revolution." (There was, for example, a wooden sculpture of a headless body, from whose neck stretched a hand clutching a book of Mao's *Quotations*.) "That was so naive," Wu Peng retorted. "I saw the exhibition and no doubt there were many interesting and highly creative works. But some were totally meaningless, not to say crude."

I turned to Wu Peng with a look that implied he was being perhaps a little too hard, whereupon he said in that same low, dry tone, "I lived through the 'cultural revolution.' I matured through it. And I know the harsh realities of life. A person can say what he feels, but

he should also know how." A brief silence elapsed, during which he just stared into space.

"Are you a Party member?" I asked. Without shifting his gaze, he said, "Yes. I joined only a few months back." "Why so late and especially at a time like this?" "I know there are problems within the Party, and I have my criticisms of the behaviour of certain Party members too. But I still have great respect for the Party and I'm convinced it's the only one that could ever lead China." I then ventured to ask him how he envisaged his duty as a member of the new generation to carry on China's socialist revolution. He looked up. "Can I be considered a successor of the revolution?" Then, after a moment's reflection, he said, "Well, if I were given such a task, I suppose I'd try to do something towards raising the cultural level of our nation. I'd assume a sense of responsibility towards my country and my people. ... I'd be strict with myself and set high standards for myself, in the hope that others would do the same." I studied his eyes: there was a powerful depth in them which seemed to intensify the gravity of his words.

The sudden clatter of dishes made me start. Looking around, I saw that, apart from the two of us, there were only a couple of stragglers left. It was time to leave. Wu Peng picked up his belongings; I too stood up, but with some reluctance.

Outside, the wind had risen. Wu Peng accompanied me to the next set of traffic lights from where we'd go our separate ways. Before riding on, I turned to glance at him once more. In the dim glow of the streetlamp, I saw the same impassive look on his face as he stood by his bicycle, unperturbed by the blustering wind.



## SEVENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

# Major Economic Indexes

**T**he ongoing fourth session of the Sixth National People's Congress will examine and approve the draft of the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1986-90) on national economic and social development. The plan, totalling 100,000 Chinese characters, covers introduction and ten parts in 56 chapters. Major economic indexes of the plan are as follows:

**Economic Growth Rate.** The total output value of industry and agriculture in 1990 is scheduled to reach 1,677 billion yuan, or a 38.2 percent increase from the 1985 figure, averaging an annual increase of 6.7 percent. Among them, the agricultural output value will total 353 billion yuan, or an increase of 21.6 percent from the 1985 figure, averaging an increase of 4 percent annually; the industrial output value will reach 1,324 billion yuan, or an increase of 43.4 percent, averaging an increase of 7.5 percent annually.

China's GNP in 1990 is scheduled to reach 1,117 billion yuan, or an increase of 43.6 percent from the 1985 figure, averaging an increase of 7.5 percent annually.

**Production and Distribution of National Income.** The national income in 1990 is estimated to reach 935 billion yuan, up 38 percent from the 1985 figure of 676.5 billion yuan, averaging a rise of 6.7 percent annually.

In the next five years, the consumption fund will total 3,007 billion yuan, with the annual consumption accounting for 70 percent of the national income; while the accumulation fund will total 1,315 billion yuan, with the annual accumulation accounting for 30 percent.

By the year 1990, the per-capita consumption level will rise from 404 yuan in 1985 to 517 yuan, increasing 5 percent annually.

In the next five years, the investment in social fixed assets is planned to reach 1,296 billion yuan, of which the investment in the fixed assets of the state-owned enterprises will reach 896 billion yuan.

**Financial Income and Expenditure.** In 1990 China's revenue will amount to 256.7 billion yuan, an increase of 71.3 billion yuan from the 1985 figure, averaging an increase of 14.26 billion yuan annually, or a 6.7 percent increase. The state revenue in the next five years will reach 1,119.4 billion yuan, an increase of 437.6 billion yuan from the figure set forth in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, or a 64 percent increase.

The state expenditure in 1990 will be 256.7 billion yuan and that of the five years will amount to 1,119.4 billion yuan. In this case, China will be able to make both ends meet.

In the next five years, the allocation of funds for capital construction (including foreign loans) will reach 349.9 billion yuan, or 31.3 percent of the total financial expenditure. Money used for the development of education, science, culture, public health and physical culture will reach 201.6 billion yuan. The annual average increase rate will be 8 percent and its share in total financial expenditures will reach 18 percent.

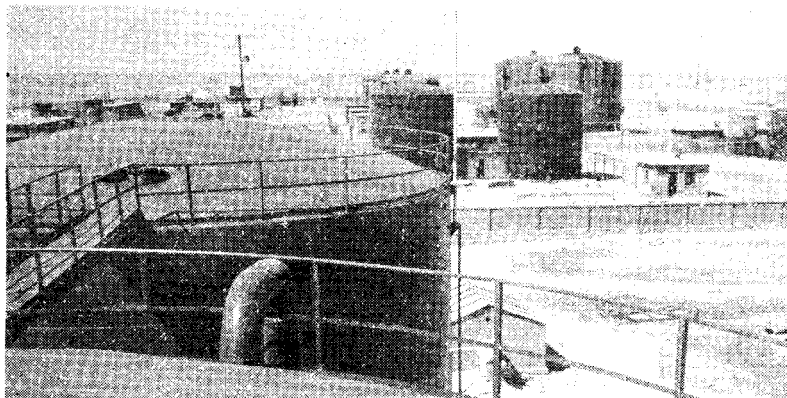
About 102.1 billion yuan will be earmarked for national defence, which will account for 9.1 percent of the country's total financial expenditure, as against the 13.1 percent figure set in the previous five-year plan period (1980-85).

*(Continued on p.34)*

## No Increase in Oil Exports

China's 1986 petroleum exports will remain at the 1985 level, said Tan Wenbin, a departmental head of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry.

Tan said China's petroleum output reached 124.88 million tons in 1985, and that China plans to produce 150 million tons of oil by 1990. The new oilfields in east China will contribute significantly



WU ZENGXIANG

The Wangzhuang Oilfield at the Shengli Oilfield, opened in April 1985, produced 830,000 tons of crude oil by the end of the year.

to this output, and the deposits in west China will be developed as reserve oilfields, he said.

Tan said the Shengli Oilfield in Shandong Province is expected to become China's largest, while production in the Daqing Oilfield in northeast China will continue after 1990.

Three new oil producing centres, each with an annual output capacity of 10 million tons, will be built within a few years along Bohai Bay. Output of thick oil will be increased considerably at Shengli, Liaoning and Xinjiang oilfields, Tan said.

Some foreign businesses have expressed concern about the progress of offshore prospecting in 1985. Their worries and pessimism, however, are groundless. H.L. Bilhartz Jr., vice-president of the US ARCO Oil Producing, Inc., recently said

ARCO had drilled a few dry wells, but that China's offshore territories were large and their topography complicated. He said ARCO still has great hopes.

Tan Wenbin made his remarks in mid-March at the International Petroleum Equipment and Technology Exhibition, in which 300 foreign firms from 11 countries participated. At present, China has great potential for importing oil equipment, since it still uses backward technology in locating reserves, management, oil and gas treatment and oilfield simulation.

## Sino-New Zealand Trade Mounts

Preparations for China and New Zealand's joint venture in prawn breeding are well underway. The first group of Chinese technicians arrived in New Zealand last February, and the first shipment of breeding prawns is on its way from China to New Zealand. An agreement has also been reached on a joint venture wool washing plant to be built in New Zealand, said a foreign trade official in a recent interview with *Beijing Review*. He said the two countries have set up a number of enterprises in China, including an agricultural demonstration farm in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, the expansion of a woollen yarn workshop in Nantong, Jiangsu

Province, and a fine-strain fodder grass farm in Guizhou Province.

He said negotiations are underway on other joint items, including a pulp factory, a grassland improvement project, dairy cow breeding, milk products processing, sheepskin tanning, afforestation, and timber production.

Trade between China and New Zealand has been increasing steadily and climbed from its US\$5.75 million level in 1971 to US\$10 million right after the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two nations in 1972. In October 1973, the two countries signed a trade agreement, which was followed by the conference of most-favoured-nation treatment on shipping and trade marks by the two. In October 1978, New Zealand granted Chinese export goods generalized preferential treatment, and in 1979 bilateral trade amounted to more than US\$100 million. According to Chinese customs, trade between the two was US\$185 million in 1985, 19 times more than 1972. The Chinese import value was US\$153 million, and the export value, US\$31.58 million, a rise of 39 percent and 4.6 percent respectively over 1984.

China's main import items are wool, rolled steel, suet and tallow, pulp and paper, fodder grass seeds and breeding stocks. Imported New Zealand wool reached US\$91.95 million, or 60 percent of total imports.

In 1985 China exported to New Zealand textiles, garments, grain, cooking oil, food, handicraft articles, light industrial articles, local products, animal by-products, machinery and medicine. The most important items were textiles and garments, which amounted to US\$12.44 million, occupying 40 percent of total exports.

The increase of exports to New Zealand has been much slower than the increase of exports. In 1974, China's unfavourable balance was US\$9.92 million.

However, by 1985, it came to US\$122.05 million, and the cumulative total is now US\$770 million. This is quite a problem for China, a nation with an underdeveloped economy and backward technology. Consequently, both countries should now try to reduce the unfavourable balance: Such a reduction is an important prerequisite for the sustained development of China and New Zealand's bilateral trade.

## Tourism, Service: High Returns

China's tourism and service industries earned US\$5.1 billion in 1985, making up 20 percent of the year's total export value and a favourable balance of trade in these areas was maintained.

The nation's foreign exchange surplus is used for importing needed goods, and advanced technology and equipment. The surplus was US\$1.739 billion in 1983, US\$1.574 billion in 1984, and US\$3.49 billion in 1985.

Endowed with rich tourism resources, China has great potential for developing its tourism and service sectors that cater to foreigners. Between 1983 and 1985 its annual foreign exchange earnings increased by 18.5 percent, 20.2 percent and 10.5 percent respectively. In addition, earnings from labour, banking and insurance have also been considerable.

During its Seventh Five-Year Plan period (1986-90) China aims to improve its services, in order to offset the inadequacy of its technology and facilities. Tourism and services for foreigners should continue to be a reliable source of foreign currency.

Because China lacks foreign exchange needed for its modernization, trade in this sector is of strategic importance to its economic well-being. Such trade is also, however, important to many

other countries. In 1984, Britain, for example, made £38.9 billion sterling from its tourism and

service. The sum was 55.3 percent of its total export value for the year.



XUE CHAO

A 1100/72 computer system from the Sperry Corp. at work in China's Institute of Petroleum and Chemical Research.

## News in Brief

■ Considerable increases in China's exports of building machinery have been registered in recent years; the 1985 export earnings exceeded US\$10 million, while the 1979 figure stood at US\$800,000. China's exports of 800 road rollers to Pakistan account for two-thirds of the rollers in that country. More than 700 Chinese concrete mixers dominate the Cuban market.

■ The Sperry Corp., one of the world's largest computer companies sold to China last March a 1100/72 type computer system. Up to 1980s international standards, the system has been installed in the China Institute of Petrochemical Research.

The US corporation has received orders for the same type of computer from the Civil Aviation Administration of China, China International Trust and Investment Corp. and the

Beijing document Service. The CAAC booking office will be equipped with a 1100/74 computer towards the end of 1986.

■ The Japanese Pooqa Co. recently signed a sales contract with China's Hebei Province for 30 tons of Weili soft drink concentrates. The Japanese firm has declared 1986 the "Weili year of China," and recommends all-round co-operation with its Chinese partner to open markets outside Japan.

Composed of 25 natural ingredients, Weili is a favourite drink with Chinese athletes and garnered much of its popularity during the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics.

**CORRECTION:** In issue No. 13, page 30, first column, second paragraph, the fifth line, the words "Chairman of the People's Republic" should read "Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic."

## New Progress In Cancer Research

Chinese doctors have successfully separated cancer genes known as oncogenes from stomach cancer cells. The accomplishment is a significant one in China's cancer research and in the search for methods of prevention and treatment.

Oncogenes have become crucial to the world's study of cancer. The cell and genetic engineering that developed in the 1970s provided scientists with techniques for genetic transformation and reformation that help separate the degenerative genes from cancer cells. Since 1982, American scientists have separated such genes from bladder, lung, colon and breast cancer cells. Research of this kind has also been undertaken in Britain, Japan and France.

Oncogene research began in China in 1982. The sequence analysis of transforming genes from stomach cancer shows these genes, in comparison with other cancer genes, have a principal unit, or base, that changes.

In 1982 scientists in the United States published an article on separating oncogenes from bladder cells. Their work sparked a hypothesis about cancer that created a huge stir in science circles. According to the hypothesis, the protogene of cancer in the human body could be activated and "cancerized" when a base in a specific spot changes due to the influence of a chemical carcinogen or another outside factor.

China's study of stomach cancer genes further supports this hypothesis. Scientists from the Tumour Research Institute under the Chinese Academy of Medical Science and from the Institute of Liver Cancer Prevention and Treatment in Qidong County, Jiangsu Province, have made joint epidemiological research in Qi-

dong, where many residents suffer from liver cancer. The researchers discovered that the trace element selenium helps a body resist cancer, and that the incidence of liver cancer is low in rich selenium areas, while liver cancer is high in low selenium areas. Their study was also confirmed in a random blood analysis of residents in 24 cities of eight provinces.

meant a new approach to the diagnosis and cure of early cancers.

In the last 30 years, Chinese doctors have devoted a great deal of time and effort to conquering cancer. Since the 1960s, China has sponsored nationwide campaign for the prevention and treatment of tumours and has established a network for cancer prevention in



Zhang Yaozhi

**Tu Lianying (left), head of the pathology department of the Shanghai Tumour Research Hospital, helps a postgraduate with his research subject — pathological categories of malignant lymph tumours.**

Further research has shown that selenium can raise an organ's ability to fight cancer, and to prevent the liver cancer cells from proliferating. Selenium, they also noted, does no harm to the normal cells.

Researchers from the Shanghai Research Institute of Cytobiology under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, in co-operation with the Shanghai Second Medical University, have discovered five monoclonal antibodies that can detect human cancer cell. They have also devoted two years to pinpointing five cells, from more than 2,000 hybridized tumours that kill liver cancer cells and leave normal cells unharmed. The findings have

urban and rural areas. This network provides diagnoses and treatment for cancer in its earlier stages.

China now has 21 tumour hospitals with more than 5,300 beds and 8,790 doctors and medical staff. Traditional Chinese medicine has also concentrated on its cancer research. Combining Western and traditional Chinese medicine in treating liver, stomach, breast and cervical cancers has meant prolonging lives of patients with life expectancies of only one to five years. The use of radiotherapy with certain traditional therapies has also been proven to alleviate rhinopharynx cancer. ■

## Simple and Practical Chopsticks

**H**ave you ever used chopsticks? Can you manipulate them as easily as you do a fork and knife? If you can, then you are almost half Chinese.

In Beijing there are many shops selling chopsticks. But many prefer to go to a shop in Xidan that specializes in chopsticks and other utensils.

In ancient times primitive man used twigs and wooden sticks to gather food, the vice-manager of the shop, 35-year-old Guan Zhiqiang said. These might be the predecessor of the chopsticks, he added. In China the use of chopsticks dates back to the Shang and Zhou dynasties more than 3,000 years ago. These seemingly simple implements actually employ the principle of using levers as an extension of human fingers. In practised hands, the sticks can be used for all the delights of eating, such as pressing, pulling, breaking and picking away at food.

Aside from the Chinese, the Japanese and Koreans also use chopsticks. But vice-manager Guan said there are two major types of chopsticks, Chinese and Japanese. Both are thicker at the upper part and thinner at the ends, but the Chinese chopsticks have flat ends while the Japanese chopsticks take on a conical shape with slightly pointed ends. The length of sticks ranges from 22 to 27 cms with the longer ones used at larger tables. Some sticks are square at the upper part so as to prevent them from rolling on the table, although round ones are more comfortable to hold. Children's chopsticks are usually only 19 cms long, when they first begin to use them at the age of four or five.

These ancient eating utensils are mostly made of wood, bamboo, animal bone or ivory.

Wooden sticks can be made from ebony, padauk (red wood), Chinese ilex or birch. The black, hard ebony chopsticks wrapped

with silver on the tips and the upper part, or red wood chopsticks inlaid with silver threads take the user back to ancient times. The cheapest are Chinese ilex chopsticks. The natural colour is slightly beige, baked with brown design of landscape, flower or bird. To prevent them from bending, the finished chopsticks are steamed under high temperature and then dried naturally.

Lacquer chopsticks made from bamboo or wood are coated with seven or eight layers of natural lacquer. The quality ones have up to 15 layers of lacquer and are sometimes inlaid with pearl shell. Not only are the lacquered chopsticks nice to look at, but they are easy to clean as well.

The most commonly used bone chopsticks are made from camel, ox, elephant or deer bone.

Ivory chopsticks are among the best. They are hygienic and often considered the most beautiful and prestigious in China. But the price is high, about 72 yuan (US\$25) a pair, while the price of Chinese ilex sticks is only 20 fen (less than US\$0.10). Vice-manager Guan said not long ago he was quite surprised when he saw a farmer buy two pairs of ivory chopsticks.

Lacquer chopsticks are produced mainly in Fujian Province, the southeast region famous for its lacquer articles. There are hundreds of lacquer chopstick factories in the province, the most famous brand being Orchid and Jasmine. Chinese ilex chopsticks, used widely in China, are mainly produced in Henan, Shaanxi and Hubei provinces.

The use of chopsticks is not limited to eating. The Mongolians, one of China's minorities, use a bunch of chopsticks for their dancing. The dancers strike different parts of their bodies with the sticks as part of an artistic dancing style. Chopsticks also were once used for military

planning. Zhang Liang, a commander-in-chief more than 2,000 years ago, used chopsticks to outline his strategy for the Han emperor Liu Bang. One emperor used chopsticks to select his prime minister. He put the names of several candidates into a jar and the first one picked up by chopsticks became the prime minister. It is said emperors preferred using silver chopsticks, for silver would immediately change colours upon touching poisonous food.

A Japanese researcher recently claimed the use of chopsticks had physical benefits. He said the action of handling chopsticks involved the movement of more than 30 joints and 50 muscles including fingers, palms, arms and shoulders. Therefore, he said, the handling of chopsticks was a good exercise to stimulate the brain.

Although Chinese people have been using chopsticks for centuries, there have been recent changes in the manner of using the sticks. For instance, on trains or where fast food is served, a pair of disposable chopsticks are used, a hygienic practice that is spreading. Traditionally, people have sat around the table using his or her chopsticks to pick food from common dishes. Many families now use serving chopsticks and then eat with individual chopsticks.

Knives and forks are also challenging the chopsticks, especially when a whole chicken or fish is served. But while these dishes may be divided with a knife and fork, people still often prefer to eat the pieces with sticks. The delicate task of eating noddles is easier with chopsticks than other utensils.

Chopsticks can also be works of art. Apart from the commonly used chopsticks, there are chopsticks made of gold, silver, jade, copper or cloisonne.

The chopsticks, simple and practical eating tools that they are, are sure to hold as great a future as they have a past. ■

# Personal Account of a War Criminal

"A KMT War Criminal in New China"

Written by: Shen Zui

published by: Foreign Languages Press, 1986

Distributed by: China International Book Trading Corporation

This is a biographical story by Shen Zui, a former Kuomintang army official who later became a patriot of modern China.

Shen Zui joined the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of the Military Council of the Kuomintang, or, the MIB (Military Investigation Bureau), at the age of 18, and was promoted to the rank of major general to serve as director of the General Affairs Department of the MIB, when he was 27. In 1949 before China was liberated, he was the Chief of the Yunnan Agency of the MIB.

Shen was captured by the People's Liberation Army while serving in this last post and was known to have persecuted and killed a number of Communists. In November 1960, Shen was granted a special pardon and assigned work as a historical research specialist. Shen, now 70, is a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

In his book, Shen recounts his experiences and thoughts of the past 30 years since liberation. His initial apprehension, his study and labour reform, his astonishment at the humane treatment he received, his gradual sense of guilt, and his sincere desire to reform under the influence of the Communist Party's leniency policy are all described in detail.

In the book, Shen tells of the meeting by the end of 1959, during which the first group of war criminals were granted special pardons. As the meeting began, Shen says, he strained forward and listened with his whole being.

The judge, seated at the centre of the platform, began to call out the names of the war criminals who would be released. When the list ended, Shen says, his heart sank and that he felt everything go black for his name was not called.

In the days that followed, he says, he carefully analysed the reasons for his not being among those pardoned. He says he discovered many weaknesses in himself during this time, and that he made up his mind to change and to qualify for the next round of special pardons.

November 28, 1960 was an unforgettable day in his life, Shen says, for on that day the judge did call his name—twice. Though he heard his name each time, Shen says, he could not move. It was only when the guard sitting beside him gave him a nudge that he stood up and hurried to the stage. He says, when assured of his pardon, a wave of warmth passed through his heart, and his eyes filled with tears.

Soon after the 1961 Spring Festival, the late Premier Zhou Enlai received the second group of people given special pardons. When Zhou talked with Shen, the first thing Shen did was beg his forgiveness. When Zhou was working in Shanghai, Chongqing, Nanjing and other places, Shen says, he and other secret agents had tailed Zhou. Hearing Shen's confession, Premier Zhou said, not without humour, that spies never effected him and that he thought of them as his volunteer retinue.

Premier Zhou told Shen that when he was in Shanghai he would often rendezvous with his men at the cinema. The KMT spies, Zhou said, would guard the doors to the theatre on all sides in order not lose Zhou should he leave from a door different from the one through which he entered. Little did they know that seated on all sides of him would be people with

whom Zhou had made appointments. When the films would begin, it would so dark inside that the spies could not see him; all they could do was waiting outside until the film was over. And when it was, Premier Zhou said he was always the first to leave, drawing the attention of the secret agents to himself, thus making it easy for the other comrades to get away unnoticed.

After finishing the story, Premier Zhou told Shen that Communists do not hold personal grudges. He also said he hoped Shen would write an insider's account of the MIB and record the brutality of the counter-revolutionaries and arduousness of revolution.

At the dinner, Shen took his seat in a corner against the wall. Unexpectedly, Premier Zhou came over and sat down beside him. In the past Shen had served for Chiang Kai-shek and Dai Li in their intrigues against the Communists and the people, but they had treated him like a bond servant, particularly Chiang Kai-shek, who sometimes did not even ask him to sit down when Shen went to see Chiang. But the Premier received him and the others in such an easy manner.

The author also says that during a reception for the fourth group of people granted special pardons in 1963, Premier Zhou said he had read all of Shen's works including *The Dai Li I Know*. He told Shen he hoped Shen would write more. Shen said he was greatly encouraged by the Premier's words. "I never thought that Premier Zhou, who had innumerable affairs to attend to everyday, would find time to read what I had written," Shen said.

In 1967, Shen was once again imprisoned under directives from the "gang of four." Shen says his article *The Dai Li I Know* had mentioned a correspondent, Cui Wanqiu, who worked directly





The author speaks at a press conference in November 1984 after becoming a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

under the MIB's Shanghai special district. Shen, however, says he never said anything about Cui's relation with Jiang Qing and others. At that time, Jiang Qing was known by her stage name, Lan Ping. Cui was then editor of *The Torch*, a supplement of the *Shanghai Grand Evening Post*, and often wrote flattering reviews of Jiang Qing. Shen says he often met Jiang Qing at Cui's home, and that she had even poured tea for him. Shen also says he met a man at Cui's, called Di Ke. He later identified this man as Zhang Chunqiao after the fall of the "gang of four." During the "cultural revolution," both Jiang and Zhang used their power to arrest Shen for fear that he might reveal their unsavoury past.

Shen says he could not understand why they waited until 1967 to blame him for material from his book, which was published in 1962. Seeing through their intrigue, Shen deftly handled three plainclothesmen sent by Jiang Qing to interrogate him. Although they used both hard and soft tactics to force him to confess, Shen stuck to his insistence that he could not remember any women who used to visit Cui.

Shen says that although he regards his handling of the situation as intelligent, he learned later that he had been deluding himself. After Shen had said he did not know those women, Xie Fuzhi, then minister of Public Security, in order to curry favour with the two intimates of Cui

Wanqiu, had already signed Shen's death warrant. However, because many wanted Shen to write his memoirs and testify to his crimes with the KMT, it was proposed to Xie Fuzhi that Shen be allowed to finish writing before being executed. Xie agreed. Shen says those "memoirs" served as a stay of his execution, and that he drag them on until 1972, when Premier Zhou ordered his release.

During his second imprisonment, Shen says, he became friends with other inmates, many of whom were veteran revolutionaries. One, he says, was a civil official who had been an underground worker during the War of Resistance Against Japan. While the man was working for the revolution in Shanghai, Shen was engaged in counter-revolution. When Shen was leader of the French Concession Group of the Shanghai Special District in the Secret Agent Department, the man was under his surveillance. The old Party member had known Jiang Qing long before in Shanghai. Fearing that he and his wife might reveal her past, Jiang had them both put in prison on trumped-up charges, and they were unceasingly tormented. The man said he was told to write false statements against veteran cadres during his imprisonment. Once he told Shen he could never betray others: "I don't care what charges they lay against me, I would rather in prison than frame other people with even a single word, or the smallest deed. I will not

sacrifice other people for my own freedom."

Shen says this man was also quite generous in other ways. In prison he would often go with less food and water so that others might have more. The consistency of his behaviour made Shen feel he was truly worthy of being called great.

Even after his second prison experience, Shen Zui remained firm in his commitment to New China, and when he travelled to Hong Kong in late 1980 to visit family and friends, he rejected all entreaties that he remain. Some people, he says, even wrote articles advising him to flee "the bitter sea," "to realize his errors, repent and swim to shore." Not having time to say goodbye to many old friends before he left, Shen says he wrote them letters of farewell. Each letter contained a few lines similar to these: "I rejoice that I did not stray, that I could still find my way back. The bitter sea is infinite; into its depths I dare not plunge again. I turn around and there is a shore. The shore is Beijing."

Through reading about author's travels from a high-ranking MIB secret agent to a patriot, readers are also given a personal account of the political changes that have taken place on the mainland in the past 30 years. Shen's story is important in understanding not only China's politics, but its policy of transforming war criminals as well.

The Chinese edition of the book was reprinted last year, and early this year, the English edition was published by Foreign Languages Press and the Hunan People's Publishing House. It was printed in Hong Kong.

*A KMT War Criminal in New China* also includes 30 colour and black-and-white photographs of the author's first wife and family, his second family and his important social activities in past 30 years.

**Zhou Shu**

*(continued from p.27)*

**Production of Farm Crops, Livestock, Aquatic Products and Forestry.**

**Grain:** The annual production of grain will reach 415 million tons and the 1990 production has been set at an amount between 425 million and 450 million tons, an increase of 12 percent from the figure set forth in the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The national acreage under grain cultivation will remain at about 110 million hectares.

**Cotton:** The annual production of cotton will be about 4.25 million tons, slightly lower than the levels set in the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

**Oil-bearing crops:** The annual production of these is planned at about 17.12 million tons and the 1990 production should reach 18.2 million tons, an increase of 42 percent from the annual average level set forth in the previous plan.

In 1990, meat production should have reached 22.75 million tons, up about 19.7 percent from the 1985 level.

Milk production will have climbed to 6.25 million tons, slightly more than doubling the 1985's figure. And egg production will shoot up 65 percent to 8.75 million tons. The output of aquatic products is expected to reach 9 million tons, up 29 percent from 1985.

**Forestry:** In the next five years China intends to plant 27.67 million hectares of trees and by 1990 the forestry rate should rise to 14 percent of the country's land from 12 percent in 1985.

**Raw Materials Industry.** The planned target for major products by the year 1990 will be as follows:

**Steel:** About 55 million to 58 million tons of steel will be produced in the next five years, up from 17.9 percent to 24.3 percent; rolled steel, from 44 million to 46.5 million tons, up from 19.6 percent to 26.4 percent; chemical fertilizer, 16.3 million tons, up 22.1 percent; soda ash, 3.5 million tons, up 7.5 percent; polyethylene, 1.2 million to 1.4 million tons, up between 84.3 percent and 115 percent; timber, 68.18 million to 72 million cubic metres, up between 8 percent and 14 percent.

In the five years, the newly constructed steel-melting capability will reach 15 million tons; iron-melting capability, 12 million tons; steel rolling capability, 14.5 million tons; iron ore mining capability, 42 million tons; polyethylene production capability, 930,000 tons; soda ash production capability, 2.6 million tons, and timber production capability, 3.04 million cubic metres.

**Energy Industry.**

**Electric power:** By the year 1990, China will have generated 550 billion kwh of electricity, an increase of 142.7 billion kwh from 1985, or an annual average hike of 6.2 percent.

**Coal:** By 1990, national coal production will have reached 1 billion tons, an increase of 150 million tons from 1985, or an increase of 3.3 percent annually.

**Petroleum:** The 1990 national oil production is scheduled to reach 150 million tons, an increase of 25 million tons from 1985, or an annual average increase of 3.7 percent. ■

*(Continued from p.5)*

interests of the Southeast Asian countries, which also want Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned government be restored there. If Hanoi really wants a good relationship with its neighbors in Southeast Asia, it should accept the CGDK proposal and immediately enter into negotiations.

The CGDK's proposal takes into full consideration the interests of the Vietnamese people. Accepting it and using it to negotiate an end to a war that is unpopular at home and abroad,

Viet Nam will benefit both politically and economically. Peace is precious for the Vietnamese as well, and development is all the more urgent for them. But, if Hanoi does not act logically and ignores the proposal, it can anticipate only greater isolation ahead. Because of its magnanimity, the CGDK will, on the other hand, win more friends and support.

Until recently the Soviets were saying that they actively supported Viet Nam in seeking a political solution to the Kampuchean issue, but when the CGDK made public its proposal, they altered their tone by declaring that

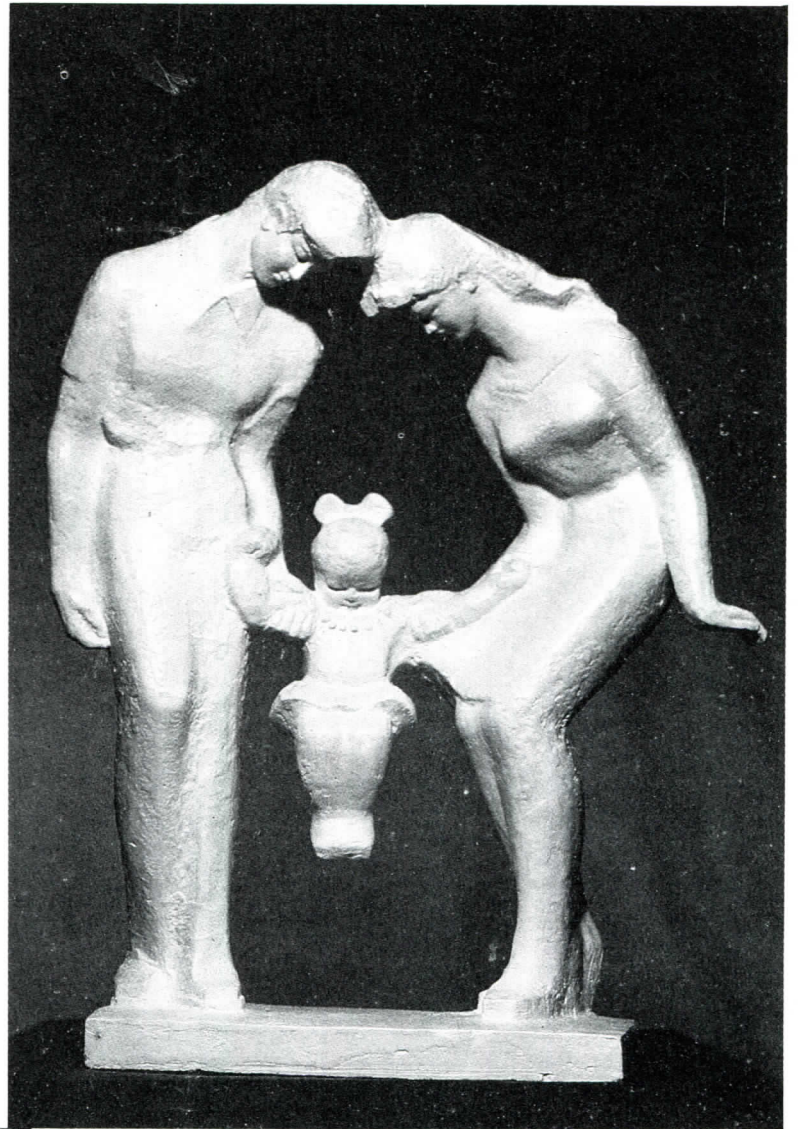
the issue had been irreversibly resolved. Can Moscow afford to contradict itself by blindly backing its ally in the region?



## ART PAGE



Fantasia.



Holiday.



African Girl and Elephant.

### **Sculptures by Yang Yi**

Yang Yi, born in Zhongshan County, Guangdong Province, in 1939, is a sculptor with the Tianjin Art studio. His pieces depict people's daily lives with expression and realism.



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