

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

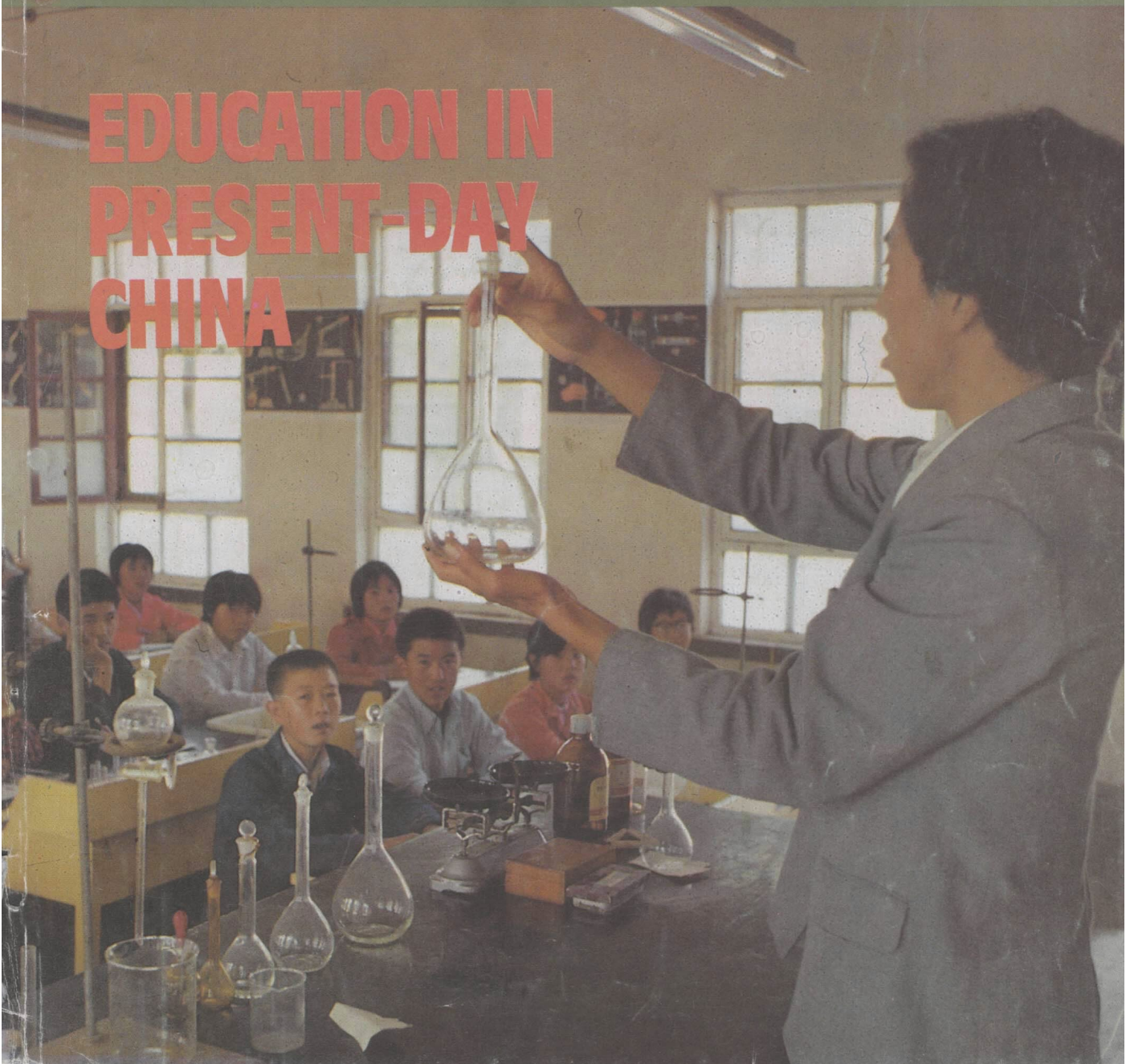
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Deng on Combating Bourgeois Liberalization

**EDUCATION IN
PRESENT-DAY
CHINA**





Granddad and grandson.

Photo by Shi Xinde

CONTENTS

EVENTS/TRENDS 4-9

- NPC Meeting Focuses on Rebellion
- Draft Law Opens for Discussion
- NPC to Probe Signature Incident
- Chinese Leader Meets Indian Guests
- Crackdown on Corruption Continues
- China Rejects US Protest
- Industrial Growth Better

INTERNATIONAL

- Federal Germany's Policy Towards the East 10
- Anti-China Clamour Cannot Intimidate Chinese People 14

CHINA

- Deng Xiaoping on Upholding the Four Cardinal Principles and Combating Bourgeois Liberalization 16
- Addenda to Party Leaders' Profiles 19
- Facts and Figures: China's Education 21
- Trade Unions: Strengthen Labour Protection 23

DOCUMENTS

- Mayor Chen Xitong's Report on Checking the Turmoil and Quelling the Counter-Revolutionary Rebellion Centrefold

BUSINESS/TRADE 25-27

CULTURE/SCIENCE 28-29

FROM THE CHINESE PRESS 30

COVER: Students of the Linjin middle school in Shanxi Province attending class.

by Fang Shaochu

NPC Backs Quelling of Rebellion

□ The NPC Standing Committee held its 8th session in Beijing June 29-July 6, with the focus on the quelling of the counter-revolutionary rebellion which erupted in early June. The meeting passed a resolution endorsing the measures taken by the Party and central government to crack down on the rebellion (p. 4). The committee has also published a draft law on demonstrations in order to obtain opinions throughout the nation (p. 5). During the session the "signature incident," relating to some members of the committee and the turmoil, has been hotly discussed and further investigations into the incident are being made (p. 6).

Beijing Mayor's Report on Quelling the Rebellion

□ At the NPC Standing Committee session, Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong reported on the quelling of the recent counter-revolutionary rebellion. The report, printed in full in this issue, is up to now the most informative and comprehensive document in revealing the origin and development of recent events in Beijing (Centrefold).

Deng on Opposition to Bourgeois Liberalization

□ Excerpts of speeches and other statements made by Deng Xiaoping in recent years on this subject. Bourgeois liberalization, a trend of thought emerging in China after the downfall of the gang of four, advocated the Western capitalist road and negated socialism. To oppose it, it is necessary to uphold the four cardinal principles. But because the four cardinal principles were not effectively implemented over the past few years, bourgeois liberalization has gained a hold in some places and among some people. This is a major cause of the recent counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing (p. 16).

Education in China Today

□ According to statistics from the State Statistical Bureau, China's educational achievements are dramatic but far from adequate to meet the growing demands of society. In fact, the backwardness of China's education has hindered the development of the reform and modernization programme (p. 21).

The Kohl Government's Eastern Policy

□ With the world situation changing, the Federal Republic of Germany is using this "historical opportunity" to strengthen its international position and attain the reunification of the two German states. However, Western countries are adopting different ways to halt this adjustment in Bonn's policy while Moscow is planning both to use and restrict its application (p. 10).

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NPC Meeting Focuses on Rebellion

The eighth meeting of the Standing Committee of the Seventh National People's Congress (NPC) closed on July 5 with a resolution on the quelling of the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing in early June.

After careful examination, the resolution said, the members attending the meeting expressed satisfaction with a report on the quelling actions delivered by State Councillor Chen Xitong, who is also Beijing mayor, and with the steps taken by the State Council during the crackdown.

The resolution also asked the State Council to continue improving economic order, deepening reform and stressing the policy of opening to the outside world, so as to promote economic development in a steady and coordinated way.

It also urged the State Council to take concrete measures to fight corruption, punish officials who have engaged in speculation and curb bureaucracy.

The eight-day-long meeting, which began on June 29 in Beijing, was presided over by Wan Li, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee.

A scene at the opening session of the eighth meeting of the Standing Committee of the Seventh NPC on June 29.



Wan Li, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, speaking at the opening session.

CUI BAOLIN

Speaking at the meeting, Wan said, "Stability represents China's highest interests."

He stressed that while exercising their freedom and rights, citizens must not infringe on the interest of the state, society and the collective, or on the legitimate freedom and rights of other citizens.

"Thus we can ensure the vitality, stability and unity of the country. Then the line, princi-

ples and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee (held in 1978) will be implemented smoothly."

From mid-April, Wan noted, a small number of people with ulterior motives took advantage of the student unrest to stir up planned, organized and premeditated political turmoil in Beijing and some other places, which later developed into a counter-revolutionary rebellion in the capital.

The Party Central Committee's decision on quelling the rebellion "represented the basic interests of people of all nationalities in the country and was legal, correct and necessary."

The meeting decided to dismiss Zhao Ziyang from his post as vice-chairman of the State Central Military Commission for his support of the political turmoil. The decision was made on a motion submitted by Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the commission.

Deng wrote in a letter to the

Standing Committee: "Since Comrade Zhao Ziyang has committed serious mistakes, I propose his dismissal from the vice-chairmanship of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China, according to Clause 10 of Article 67 of the Constitution."

At a July 3 full session the committee heard a report on the accounts for the 1988 fiscal year delivered by State Councillor Wang Bingqian, who is also finance minister.

According to the report, China's total state revenues last year amounted to 262.802 billion yuan, while overall state expenditures were 270.657 billion yuan.

The final state accounts show a deficit of 7.855 billion yuan for the year.

Wang said that the overall state revenues were more than the budgeted figures. This, along with the readjustment of financial expenditure, had guaranteed the smooth implementation of measures of reform and construction.

Budgetary investment in capital construction accounted for 98 percent of the budgeted figures, while expenditure with foreign loans in capital construction was above budget at 108.3 percent.

He pointed out that the deficit over several consecutive years was a major economic problem.

"From now on, strict measures must be taken by both central and local governments to gradually balance revenue and expenditure and to eliminate the deficits through rectification, readjustment and the deepening of reform," he said. □

tional unity should be permitted in China.

Organizers of rallies, parades and demonstrations must ask for permission from the public security departments.

They must also make clear their purpose, posters, slogans, the number of participants, hours and places of starting and ending, route, and the names, professions and addresses of the organizers.

The gatherings and demonstrations, once approved by the authorities, should be free from interference and hindrance from any units or individuals. Police should take measures, even by compulsion if necessary, to remove any hindrance or obstacles to approved demonstrations.

No demonstrations should be held within a certain distance of important state organs, major military installations, airports, ports, railway stations, state guest houses, foreign embassies and consulates in China or other diplomatic agencies.

The draft says that the law is also applicable to demonstrations held by foreigners in China. They are not allowed to participate in demonstrations by Chinese people without permission.

When explaining the draft to the meeting, Wang Fang, state councillor and also public security minister, said that the draft law, based on the Constitution, aims at safeguarding public order and stability, facilitating socialist modernization, and guaranteeing citizens' legitimate rights to hold rallies and demonstrations.

Chinese people are the masters of the country and enjoy various democratic rights empowered by the Constitution, Wang said.

Nevertheless, he noted, "as China is in the primary stage of

Draft Law Opens for Discussion

The Standing Committee of the NPC has decided to publish the draft law on demonstrations to consult the broad public opinion.

According to the decision made at the committee's eighth meeting held June 29-July 6, the committee will examine the draft after it has been further revised.

Legislators agreed that a law on demonstrations is very important in safeguarding public order and social stability, as well as guaranteeing the right of citizens to demonstrate.

Some members called for an early enactment of the draft law, which was submitted by Premier Li Peng. Other members, however, suggested that the committee should proceed with caution.

Wang Wei said that the purpose of drafting such a law should be based on ensuring the rights of citizens as spelt out in

the Constitution and give them legal substance.

His view won the support of Tao Dayong, who said that the time was not yet ripe to pass the law.

Yao Guang suggested the draft be published to collect public opinions before approval.

While ensuring the rights of citizens to hold rallies and demonstrations, the draft of China's first law on demonstrations stipulates that citizens exercising the right to demonstrate shall not impinge upon the interests of the state or society or on the legitimate freedom and rights of other citizens.

The 24-article draft says no protesters will be allowed to flaunt the basic principles of the Constitution, or go against the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, or the socialist system. No demonstrations advocating the splitting of the motherland or undermining na-

socialism and class struggle still exists to a certain extent, the construction of democratic politics can only be carried out in an orderly fashion through legal channels." □

NPC to Probe Signature Incident

Leaders of China's legislative body have decided to investigate the collection of signatures among legislators in an incident which they described as a plot linked to the recent turmoil.

The decision was made at a meeting attended by the chairman and vice-chairpersons of the NPC Standing Committee. A group, including four NPC Standing Committee members, has been set up to investigate the case.

Speaking on July 5 at the ongoing eighth Standing Committee meeting of the Seventh NPC, Song Rufen said that Hu Jiwei, also an NPC Standing Committee member, was responsible for the incident, which was part of the conspiratorial activities to stir up turmoil and an assault on the socialist legal system.

On May 21, Song said, Hu asked the Social Development Research Institute of the Stone Company, a Beijing-based computer firm, to collect signatures of NPC Standing Committee members on his behalf, calling for an urgent meeting of the NPC Standing Committee.

The Hong Kong newspaper *Wen Wei Po* reported on May 25 that the appeal to hold the urgent meeting included consideration of removing Li Peng as premier.

Song said that Hu's initiative of collecting signatures through the Stone Company was inseparable from his support of Zhao

Ziyang.

After the declaration of martial law on May 20, Song said, some people from organizations alleged to be "Zhao's think tank" emerged from behind the scenes to advocate "opposing martial law" and "down with the bogus government." They also demanded that "the inside story of the decision-making process among the top leadership and their divergence of opinions be publicized" and "a special session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress be convened." The next day, Zhao Ziyang also suggested that an emergency meeting of the NPC Standing Committee be held.

Song said that collecting signatures was aimed at coordinating the organizers and schemers of the turmoil who wanted to topple the legitimate government.

Zhang Chengxian, another NPC Standing Committee member and head of the investigation group, said that the Stone Research Institute played tricks while collecting signatures. Some members' names were usurped while others were misled.

Zhang said that Hu's activities in the incident of the signatures were not accidental and were inseparable from his stand during the turmoil.

He said that the editorial of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) on April 26 described the turmoil as "a planned conspiracy which, in essence, aims at negating the Party leadership and the socialist system, and a grave political struggle facing the whole Party and Chinese citizens of all nationalities."

However, Zhang said, Hu disagreed with this editorial. He said that Hu had said, "The editorial talked wantonly about the political struggle, which is

completely the writing style of Yao Wenyuan (one of the 'gang of four')."

Song Rufen criticized Hu as "going too far" and "taking sides with those who trampled on the legal system."

But Hu Jiwei, in a written statement distributed among the NPC Standing Committee members at the meeting, said that "Up to now, I still believe what I did was totally proper and lawful."

He said that 24 standing committee members jointly asked on May 17 for the convening of an urgent NPC Standing Committee meeting. On the following day, 12 more members aired the same demand. Nine noted legal experts also joined in the request. He himself signed the letter of May 17. The letter of May 21 was signed by 38 people, he said.

Hu said they had suggested in the letter that an urgent NPC Standing Committee meeting be held from May 24 to 26 to discuss the then grim situation and find out ways to settle the crisis in China through legal means. The letter had not carried the content of removing Li Peng as premier, he said.

Having collected signatures, he said the Stone Company had given the letter to Beijing's major news organizations and resident correspondent of *Wen Wei Po* in Beijing.

But, Hu noted the letter was not published nor broadcast by any news organizations in Beijing. While the full content of the letter was not published by the Hong Kong newspaper *Wen Wei Po*, it carried a news story written by its staff reporters, which indeed contained much inaccurate information.

Hu insisted that it was the right and sacred duty of an NPC Standing Committee member, alone or with fellow members,

to demand an urgent Standing Committee meeting. □

Chinese Leader Meets Indian Guests

Chinese leader Jiang Zemin confirmed again on July 6 that China will not change its policies because of the recent counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing.

When meeting G.N. Azad, general secretary of the Indian National Congress (Indira Gandhi), Jiang, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), extended a welcome to Azad upon his first visit to China.

Jiang said this was his first meeting with foreign visitors since China won a decisive victory in putting down the recent counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing and since he took office as general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

It was futile for some countries to attempt to force China to submit through economic sanctions, he said, adding that the Chinese people would never yield to any outside pressure.

Jiang said he appreciated the Indian government and the Indian National Congress's attitude of non-interference in China's putting down of the counter-revolutionary rebellion.

Azad said that developments in China were its internal affair and it was up to the Chinese people to choose their own road and future.

On behalf of Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister and president of the Indian National Congress (I), and himself, Azad extended congratulations to Jiang on having been elected CPC general secretary.

Azad and his wife arrived in China on July 5 from Pyongyang for a brief visit.

In a meeting with an Indian delegation led by S.K. Singh, secretary of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, on July 4, Chinese Premier Li Peng stressed that the Chinese government is willing to continue to improve and develop Sino-Indian relations on the basis of the achievements of Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi's visit to China last year.

Both China and India were big countries in Asia and as neighbouring states, they faced many common problems, Li said. The two countries held significant responsibility for stability in Asia. Therefore, it was important for them to improve and develop bilateral ties which were in the interests of the people of both countries.

The Indian delegation was in China to attend the first meeting of the joint working group on the Sino-Indian boundary question and consultations between vice-foreign ministers of the two countries. The meeting was held from June 30 to July 4.

Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Liu Shuqing and Indian Ministry of External Affairs Secretary Singh discussed the border issue in a friendly, frank and sincere atmosphere.

Both sides held that while seeking a solution to the boundary issue, the two countries should strive to promote bilateral ties in other fields and maintain peace and stability in the zones on both sides of the actual control line.

Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen met the Indian delegation.

Singh said since the visit to China by R. Gandhi last year, the friendly contacts between India and China had been satisfactory and India hoped this

trend would continue.

Qian said the continuous improvement and development of relations between China and India would play an important role in stabilizing the regional situation and safeguarding peace in Asia and the world as a whole. There were broad prospects for bilateral friendly cooperation, he said.

The two sides decided that the next meeting and consultations will be held in India next year. □

Crackdown on Corruption Continues

China's local governments at all levels are now paying great attention to cracking down on official corruption and being honest in performing their duties, thus winning public confidence.

The People's Procuratorate of east China's Zhejiang Province charged 162 Communist Party and government officials with corruption or bribery and disciplined them in the first four months of this year.

Of these, 17 are high ranking officials in important positions, six times the number of senior officials charged with corruption last year.

A chief procurator said that the rising number of officials charged with corruption "is the result of increased emphasis being placed on investigating major cases that involve Party and government officials." It did not mean an increase in the growth of new criminal cases.

The provincial people's procuratorate also reported the province's biggest case of bribery since the founding of the People's Republic.

The case involves alleged offi-

cial profiteering by Li Mingfu, a top official of the State Planning Commission's Foreign Trade Department, and Li Tianmin, a retired cadre who was hired as business manager of a trading company run by the Ministry of Agriculture.

They were accused of accepting a bribe of 160,000 yuan (about US\$40,000) for exercising their power to buy up 1,000 scarce colour television sets from a factory in Sichuan Province at a low price, and then helping resell them at a huge profit through two trading companies in Jinhua in Zhejiang and Chengdu in Sichuan.

According to the authorities, many people feel encouraged at the news that crooked officials are finally getting their punishment.

An unidentified professor from the Zhejiang Academy of Social Sciences boldly called the move "a signal that the Party and government are determined to take real action to uproot corruption."

"We used only to hear 'thunder without rain,'" he said, "so we have been sceptical that such 'tigers' (a local term for officials who engage in graft) would ever be brought to justice."

In the first four months of this year, the province investigated 714 economic criminal cases, 34 percent more than in the same period of last year. Of these, 195 involved more than 10,000 yuan each, a 95 percent increase on 1988.

Recently, the government of Henan Province issued 10 regulations on building honest and clean government.

The regulations stipulate that officials and staff members of governments at all levels must take the lead in observing the Party's and government's policies and laws, and seek no personal gain by any means.

They are not allowed to engage in trade directly or indirectly, or to help their relatives and children to make profit by buying cheap and selling dear.

In disaster and poverty-stricken areas, officials are forbidden to fit up office buildings and buy cars with public money.

Early this year, the Ministry of Supervision, jointly with Supervision Department of Henan and the Anyang Municipal Supervision Bureau, investigated a case of extortion.

Ding Runming, vice mayor of Anyang, took advantage of his position and power and extorted 8,000 yuan from the city's Pingyuan Pharmaceutical Factory to pay tuition fees for his son.

As a result of the investigation, the ministry and Henan provincial government proposed that the Anyang municipal government dismiss Ding from his post.

In February, Ding paid the tuition fees for his son and returned the extorted money to the factory. □

China Rejects US Protest

Chinese Assistant Foreign Minister Liu Huaqiu met US ambassador to China J.R. Lilley in Beijing July 6 and handed him a note stating that the Foreign Ministry "categorically rejects the US embassy's groundless accusation and strong protest against the Chinese government" contained in the embassy's note dated July 3.

The ministry's note states: "The Chinese government has always observed the norms of international law and attached great importance to security arrangements for foreign diplomatic missions in China. Facts

have shown that during the period of martial law in parts of Beijing, the safety of foreign embassies and their members was fully guaranteed so long as they strictly abided by the relevant decrees and regulations of the Beijing Municipal Government and the Martial Law Headquarters. What should be noted is that some people have used their embassy premises and the residences of their embassy personnel for purposes incompatible with the functions of an embassy and have even given refuge to offenders for whom arrest warrants have been issued by Chinese public security organs. It is these acts that are truly in gross violation of the norms of international law.

"In its note, the US embassy stated that the firing 'was probably deliberate and premeditated.' Basing political representations on such a groundless 'probability' is irresponsible and not at all a serious approach.

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has already begun dealing with the aftermath of the above incident. Yet at a time when the matter is being resolved fairly and reasonably, the US embassy has come out to complicate it and create problems. What gives rise to suspicion particularly is that on July 2, one day before it made representations to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at 4:00 pm, July 3, the US embassy had already leaked the information to the public through American correspondents.

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs solemnly states that it is entirely futile for the US embassy to attempt to exert pressure on the Chinese government by making a big fuss about an incident which has already been resolved."

There were also strong protests in China against the Voice of America (VOA) because it

broadcast July 3 another report that confuses black and white.

Quoting an official from the US embassy in China, the VOA said that evidence had been collected to show that Chinese troops had deliberately fired at the foreign diplomats' compound last month. It also said that it was an elaborately planned incident rather than an impulsive act by the army as China had claimed.

Sources in China say the VOA has again told a lie.

The Chinese sources say the fact is that when a group of martial law troops were marching from the east to the west along Changan Boulevard and approaching the flyover at Jianguomen at about 10:00 on the morning of June 7, they were fired at from two directions, one from a diplomats' apartment building and the other from the southern side of Changan Boulevard. One soldier was killed and two others were wounded. The troops were forced to fire back and besieged the diplomats' compound but soon withdrew. The Chinese media reported the incident on the same day.

The sources point out the fact that snipers in a diplomats' apartment building and a building on the opposite side of the street fired at the troops simultaneously proved the attack had been elaborately planned. It can be concluded the sniper in the diplomats' apartment building was either a resident or a ruffian who was hiding there. However, in its report, the VOA avoided mentioning the fact, especially that somebody fired shots at the Chinese troops from the diplomats' building. Instead, it said the incident was "elaborately planned" by the Chinese troops.

"Since the VOA has gathered enough evidence as it claimed, then why does it not bring such

evidence to the public?" the sources asked.

The martial law troops encountered an unexpected attack and suffered casualties. Under such circumstances, they had the right to fire in self-defence in the directions from where the snipers' shots came.

China had never said that the counter-attack by the martial law troops was "out of sheer impulse," the sources said.

They said that China is no longer a vassal of any foreign power but a sovereign state. They condemned the VOA for going too far in interfering in China's internal affairs in the past few months and urged it to show restraint. □

Industrial Growth Better

The country's industrial output in the first half of this year increased by 10.8 percent to 639.6 billion yuan over the same period last year despite the current austerity programme to cool down the economy, according to a State Statistics Bureau report.

Compared with the increase in the corresponding period last year, the economy slowed by 6.4 percent but was still 2.8 percent higher than the state-desired 8 percent increase set for the whole year.

The growth rates of 10.4 percent in the first quarter and of 11.1 percent in the second quarter show steady industrial development, according to the report.

Light industry increased by 11.3 percent to 323.6 billion yuan while heavy industry was up 10.3 percent to 316.0 billion yuan, keeping a ratio of 50.6:49.4.

Total energy production in this period increased by 5.9 per-

cent. And production of major mineral raw materials also increased.

Of raw material production, glass shot up by 16.8 percent and cement was up 4.3 percent to over 100 million tons.

But steel production dropped 2.8 percent to 29.15 million tons, chemical fertilizer 1.3 percent to 9.05 million tons, and timber 2.9 percent to 25.17 million cubic metres.

In consumer goods, the country produced 5.45 million colour television sets in the first half of this year, an increase of 34.2 percent; refrigerators were up 34.5 percent to 4.19 million; and washing machines increased by 9.1 percent to 5.41 million.

As far as origin is concerned, state-owned enterprises created goods worth 399.2 billion yuan, up 6.1 percent, and the value of goods produced by collectively-owned enterprises increased by 16.6 percent to 214.2 billion yuan.

The report said that internal structural contradictions within industry were still obvious as investment in raw materials, transport and post and telecommunications dropped, compared with the same period last year.

Industrial development in coastal provinces was still faster than in other places.

The top four are Guangdong, Fujian, Shandong and Hainan provinces, whose increases in industrial output ranged from 25.1 percent to 18.5 percent.

The development of the country's biggest industrial city, Shanghai, was up only 6.8 percent to over 51.2 billion yuan.

The Tibet Autonomous Region was the only area whose industrial output dropped—by 5.8 percent—according to the report. □

Federal Germany's Policy Towards the East

Taking the present situation as the "historical opportunity," the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) has shown both initiative and prudence in adjusting its policy towards the East so as to create conditions for eventually achieving the unification of the two Germans. It may take some major steps in developing its relations with the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and promoting the unification of the two sides. Western countries are using different ways to halt the adjustment of Bonn's policy while the Soviet Union is planning to both utilize and restrict Federal Germany's application of its policy.

by Zhu Weige

Federal Germany's policy towards the East changes along with the fluctuations in East-West relations and the situation in Europe. This will continue. All the changes will focus on how to get rid of its vulnerable position in the confrontation between the two military blocs in Europe, and end the situation of being under military guardianship imposed by the Cold War, strengthen its international position of independence, gain more room in dealing with East-West relations and create conditions for the eventual unification of the two Germans. The development of FRG relations with the Soviet Union and East European countries in recent years and the notable "short-range missile dispute" among the Western countries are all products of the adjustment of Bonn's policy. Where this policy will go has become a conspicuous question in the development of East-West relations and the situation in Europe.

The Main Adjustments

The present adjustments of FRG's policy towards the East are focused on the following aspects:

1. Participating positively in the process of East-West arms control and disarmament and promoting dialogue and cooperation between the two sides.

Since the Soviet Union and the

United States agreed on the intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) treaty, Federal Germany has been concerned about the possible ineffectiveness of the "flexible response strategy" of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the possibility of US policy bypassing its interests. In order to extricate itself from such a passive position, Federal Germany reassessed the situation and formulated appropriate policies.

In 1987, the Federal German government declared that it had decided to give up efforts to deploy Pershing-1a missiles within its homeland. This had helped to dismantle the last barrier to the signing of the INF treaty. In the face of the successive disarmament proposals put forward by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Bonn has been urging the Western countries to make up a comprehensive disarmament plan, seeking basic guarantees for European defence and to prevent the United States from taking independent action. On the other hand, making use of the anxiety of the Soviet Union to reduce its military burden and achieve some results in the disarmament talks, it put forward its own disarmament proposals, such as the Genscher Plan which is aimed at greatly decreasing the conventional weapons of the Soviet Union and pressing it to

make more concessions in eliminating offensive weapons so as to realize a low-level military balance in Europe. In addition, regardless of the support of the United States and Britain for the original plan of NATO to improve short-range nuclear weapons, it demanded talks with the Soviet Union as soon as possible to discuss reducing short-range missiles in Europe and declared that the issue of whether to deploy short-range missiles remained to be decided after 1992. This attitude of Federal Germany has greatly improved its image and position in East-West disarmament talks whose focus has been shifted from reduction of the strategic nuclear weapons of the United States and the Soviet Union to the disarmament of conventional forces of the two military blocs in Europe. Although Federal Germany has no right to say anything on the disarmament talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on reducing strategic nuclear weapons, it has been playing an important role in talks to reduce the conventional forces in Europe and its attitude and stance will have a great influence on the talks.

2. Supporting and encouraging Gorbachev's reform. In the early years after Gorbachev took office, both the government and public of Federal Germany had

many doubts about his domestic and foreign policies, considering it difficult to judge the advantages and disadvantages. Helmut Kohl's government then took a wait-and-see attitude towards Gorbachev's *perestroika*. But after the political situation in the Soviet Union became clear and the US government made a positive response to *perestroika* in 1987, the Federal German government began adjusting its policy and supported *perestroika*. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the foreign minister, was the first politician in the West to stress the grasping of the "historical opportunity" of Gorbachev's domestic and foreign policy adjustment. In recent years, the Kohl government has repeatedly stated that attention should be first devoted to developing its relations with the Soviet Union, the most important and strongest of the Eastern countries, when it was formulating its policy towards the East and pointed out that the development of relations between it and the Soviet Union would play a central role in the future of Europe and East-West relations. The two countries' relations in politics, economics, culture and trade have developed greatly because of their mutual needs.

3. Stressing the bilateral economic and technological relationship. The Soviet Union and East European countries used to be markets for Federal Germany's products. From 1970 to 1984, the volume of trade between Federal Germany and the Soviet Union and East European countries kept increasing, far ahead that of other Western countries. Trade between it and the Soviet Union increased from 2.8 billion marks in 1970 to 18.8 billion marks in 1986, a five-fold increase during the 16 years. Along with the practice of economic reform, the Soviet Union and the East European countries' interest in devel-



After signing the joint declaration, Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl exchange copies.

oping their economic and trade relations with Federal Germany and obtaining capital and technology from it has increased. Federal Germany has grasped the opportunity and, taking the long-term view of its interest, has seized the initiative in developing economic and trade cooperation with the Soviet Union and the East European countries and helping them to cope with their economic difficulties.

In 1988, it provided Moscow with loans of 3 billion marks to support the renovation of Soviet light industry and the food-processing industry. This resulted in a wave of West European loans to the Soviet Union. Up to now, the Federal German government has signed agreements on scientific and technological co-operation, environmental protection and investment safeguards with the Soviet Union and all the East European countries. Although this may not achieve obvious results in the

short term because of Eastern Europe's internal economic difficulties, the long-term influence cannot be underestimated. Bonn believes that economic and trade relations are the strongest means to influence changes in the Soviet Union and East European countries and in the external relations between Eastern and Western Europe. Although it does not agree with the US government in linking economic cooperation too rigidly with arms control and human rights issues, there is no substantial difference from the United States in its basic aim to promote peaceful evolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and to drive a wedge into the relationship between the Soviet Union and the East European countries.

4. Vigorously promoting relations between the FRG and the GDR. In recent years, Federal Germany has made use of the opportunity given by the Soviet Union easing its control over

East European countries to vigorously promote its relations with Democratic Germany. Senior leaders of the two countries have frequently exchanged visits, which climaxed in Erich Honecker's visit to Bonn in the autumn of 1987 after some setbacks. The two countries have strengthened their consultations on major current issues and jointly decided to set up a "destiny community" to take joint responsibility for avoiding a war breaking out again on German territory. They have strengthened economic, cultural, educational and environmental protection exchanges and co-operation, and personal contacts have increased greatly year by year. In 1988, residents of Democratic Germany who emigrated to Federal Germany reached 39,832, double the number in 1987. Last year, those who went to Federal Germany and West Berlin to visit relatives and friends numbered 6,780,000, more than one-third of the population. Federal German tourists going to Democratic Germany reached 5,550,000. With broad personal contacts, both peoples have increased the feeling that they belong to the same nation.

The relationship between the two Germanys has always been a sensitive question in the European situation. The Bonn government, making use of the current opportunity, deals with concrete matters when promoting the two-Germany relationship. This creates a political atmosphere which not only is helpful for mutual approaches between Eastern and Western Europe and the easing of East-West relations, pioneering co-operation between the East and the West which surmounts social systems and group concepts, but also lays out a new prospect for the long-term development of relations between the two Germanys.

International Responses

The above-mentioned adjustments of the Kohl government's Eastern policy are positive in action while steady in pace. On the one hand, great changes have taken place in the international situation. The Soviet Union and the United States, after a long-time military confrontation and large-scale arms race, both face serious economic and political difficulties and need a relaxed international situation to concentrate their efforts on resolving domestic problems. East-West relations have entered a new stage of relaxation. Federal Germany, located in the forward position in the confrontation between the two military blocs, is the area in Europe where there is the greatest concentration of nuclear weapons and conventional forces. Besides, it is a great economic power with the subtle ties of the German question. So, it naturally shows particular interest in disarmament and relaxation and makes positive responses.

On the other hand, the international situation is still changing. Perestroika in the Soviet Union, just started and meeting great resistance, will not achieve results in a short time. Although its foreign policy has been extensively adjusted, the Soviet Union's great military strength, especially its superiority in conventional armaments, still threatens the security of Western Europe. In addition, the situation in Eastern Europe also faces the danger of getting out of control. That is to say, the current situation still contains complex and indistinct factors, and some military, economic and political issues related to the basic structure still wait to be gradually resolved in the future. As a result, adjustments to Federal Germany's Eastern policy can neither fall behind the situation nor be rash.

In its contacts with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Federal Germany considers how to keep both relative stability in Eastern Europe and East-West relations relaxed, to positively support perestroika and guide it to develop favourably for the West, and exert some pressure on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe so as to encourage them to make more concessions on disarmament and human rights.

Changes in the international situation have deeply influenced the situation in Europe. The increase in the Europeans' concept of the whole and decline in the group concept have provided Federal Germany with unprecedented room for manoeuvre to promote its Eastern policy. Those in power and those not in power are both discussing how to promote the Eastern policy by taking advantage of the favourable opportunity which has appeared in the international situation at present.

The United States, Britain and France all have responded to the trend of Federal Germany's Eastern policy. Not long ago, Henry Kissinger and other people advanced a New Yalta Plan to the Bush administration, which aims at maintaining the US and Soviet military groups and spheres of influence in Europe with the premise of reducing US-Soviet military confrontation. The plan has been adopted by the Bush administration to a considerable extent. The possibility of reducing and finally withdrawing US troops from Europe or reducing US armaments in Europe by a big margin has been rarely mentioned in US government statements and officials' speeches recently. And the contrary view which stresses that the Soviet Union is still a serious military threat and the Western allies must keep a reasonable and co-ordinated safe defence has again been raised. The tough US

attitude on the short-range missile issue has shown people that the United States wants to contain Federal Germany's actions in this way. Besides exerting pressure on Federal Germany on the short-range missile issue together with the United States, the Thatcher government often warns about and restricts Federal Germany's actions through talking of the danger of Federal Germany's neutralism. Different from the United State and Britain, France relies on Federal Germany to match the United States and the Soviet Union while also preventing it from engaging in impermissible behaviour. So France wants to tie up Federal Germany through the unity of Western Europe, and by co-ordinating and pursuing a joint Eastern policy.

The Soviet attitude is rather ambiguous. On the one hand the Soviet Union has until now maintained that the German issue is a historical one and history will solve it, making no substantial concessions on its original stand. On the other hand, it is flexible tactically on this issue. For instance, Moscow calls the two Germanys one nation and has changed its past position of two German nations. On the issue of Berlin, the Soviet Union says that anything which is not clearly forbidden in the agreement signed by the four countries (the US, Britain, France and the Soviet Union) can be done, involving West Berlin in its agreement on co-operation with Federal Germany and breaking through a formerly "forbidden zone." Chairman of the Soviet News Agency Valentin M. Falin even considers that the four countries' 1971 agreement on separately controlling Berlin may not be a final historical conclusion. Although Soviet ambassador to Bonn Yuli A. Kvitsinsky denied the possibility that Gorbachev would offer any

proposal of German unification in exchange for the neutrality of Federal Germany, he admitted that the German division is not natural and will not exist for ever. What all these Soviet statements really mean will be answered by history. However, the Soviet immediate aim is to use the economic strength of Federal Germany to promote its domestic *perestroika*.

In mid-June this year Gorbachev paid a four-day visit to Federal Germany. The two sides signed a political joint declaration and 11 agreements. The Soviet Union wanted to use the strengthening tendencies towards independence in West Germany and win support and enlarge the rift between West Germany and the United States, thus weakening US influence in Europe.

Although the attitudes of East European countries differ, their opposition to the unification of the two German states is undoubtedly consistent. Furthermore, they remain vigilant against the increase in strength and the expansion of influence of Federal Germany.

Fundamental Target

Recent history shows that the Eastern policy of Federal Germany has undergone a major readjustment with the changes in East-West relations and in the European situation, but the fundamental target which it pursues is to finally achieve German national reunification and remove the rift in Europe and Germany.

Today relaxation of the international situation has reappeared, and it is different from that of the 1970s. The theme of this relaxation is arms reduction by the United States and the Soviet Union and the Eastern and Western blocs. Its background is that the economic strength of the two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union —

has been weakened and their capability to control allies and influence world affairs has declined. Under such circumstances they have to adjust their strategies to stress competition for superiority in their all-round strength, thus leading to a decline in the role of military strength in international relations and an increase in the role of the economy and science and technology. The outstanding point is that the Soviet economy cannot support its huge military burden. Its control of its allies in Eastern Europe is weakening with each passing day. Gorbachev's *perestroika* and new thinking is a major readjustment of Soviet strategy based on a clear appraisal of the internal and external situation. From the present process of East-West relaxation, large-scale arms reduction by the two big military blocs is both necessary and possible, and it will surely lead to a political loosening of the European blocs. This has provided a favourable opportunity for Federal Germany to get rid of the shadow of East-West conflict and remove rift in Europe and Germany. The Kohl government's so-called "historical opportunity" has a definite objective in view, namely to take the opportunity of a major change in the international situation to seek to further its fundamental interest. From the unfolding of Federal Germany's Eastern policy the following can be concluded:

First, Federal Germany is firmly safeguarding its security interests, and energetically promoting large-scale arms reduction between East and West so as to achieve equilibrium at a low level. It is pressing the Soviet Union to one-sidedly eliminate its offensive weapons and gradually withdraw its troops from East European countries. This is undoubtedly its main target. For this it requires the West to make

some corresponding concessions and especially to withdraw nuclear weapons and conventional arms from the territory of Federal Germany. While continuing to depend on the United States, Bonn keeps some distance from Washington. The main point of its Western policy has turned into the uniting of Western Europe, particularly to strengthen co-operation with France and push for the establishment of the European internal market. And this promotes the political and defence co-operation of Western Europe which it uses as a support for its Eastern policy.

Second, it fully uses the opportunity of the fact that the Soviet economic *perestroika* needs Western funds and technology and further strengthens economic co-operation with the Soviet Union so that it will make major political and military concessions. Federal Germany's great economic strength and its convenient geographic location place it in a position far superior to that of any of the other Western countries.

Third, it uses the tendency to-

wards political independence of the East European countries and their desire for economic links with the West to strengthen the policy of control through conciliation towards Eastern Europe and promote the dismemberment of this bloc step by step. With Eastern Europe gradually splitting up, Federal Germany's Eastern policy and especially its financial and economic aid towards East European countries differ according to the extent of their reforms and political pluralism. However, Federal Germany treats opposition groups in Eastern Europe with discretion and stresses its dealings with the governments.

Fourth, on relations between the two Germanys it considers what is necessary and possible. Apart from maintaining and developing present political and economic relations, it will probably adopt some action towards upsetting the post-war settlements, such as requiring the international community to make concrete arrangements for signing "two peace treaties."

Of course, the trend of Federal

Germany's Eastern policy is decided by the development of the international situation and also depends on whether its government judges the hour and sizes up the situation properly. Although today Federal Germany's position is much improved in comparison with that of post-World War II and the 1970s, the limitations on its foreign policy should not be underestimated. The four big victorious nations still have the power of decision on the issue of Germany and they do not want to see the appearance of a reunified and strong Germany to break up the balance of power in Europe. But Federal Germany will not give up its efforts to reunify the two Germanys. Both the Christian Democratic Union and the Social Democratic Party of Federal Germany energetically but with prudence pursue the Eastern policy and try for the final reunification of Germany.

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Anti-China Clamour Cannot Intimidate Chinese People

by 'People's Daily' Commentator

After the Chinese government's decisive victory in quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing, social life in the capital has basically returned to normal and the national situation has also rapidly stabilized. The truth about the turmoil and the counter-revolutionary rebellion is being gradually learned by the other countries.

It was at this time, on June 29, that the US House of Representatives, ignoring all the facts, ap-

proved a series of so-called new "sanctions" against China in a foreign-aid bill. We cannot but express our profound indignation that certain people within the US Congress flagrantly distort facts and grossly interfere in China's internal affairs.

As is well-known, the counter-revolutionary riot that occurred in Beijing not long ago was planned and engineered by a small number of people who are hostile towards the Chinese Communist Party and the social-

ist system. This riot was aimed at overthrowing the leadership of the Communist Party, subverting the socialist People's Republic of China and turning China into a bourgeois republic. In this extremely dangerous and grave situation, to safeguard the republic and the government established with the lives of countless martyrs, and to preserve the victorious results of China's construction and reform, the Chinese government resolutely took the necessary steps accord-

ing to the Constitution and laws to quell the rebellion. This is a justifiable and legitimate measure that any sovereign country in the world would take when faced with a similar situation. After being briefed about the riot and learning the truth, many foreign friends have come to understand China's steps in putting down the riot.

However, some people in the US Congress who are hostile towards China and socialism always choose to ignore facts and the truth. Proceeding from their anti-communist class instincts, they have orchestrated time and again one "sanction" after another against China, interfering in China's internal affairs by exerting pressure on the government and attempting to bring it to its knees.

Of course, we don't think that all the House legislators are anti-China. Some may be in the dark as to what has really happened. But undeniably, there are indeed certain people in the US legislature who are used to proclaiming themselves guardians of democracy and freedom and therefore interfere in other countries' internal affairs. Although they kept silent on their own government's armed suppression of black people struggling for basic human rights and the anti-Viet Nam War demonstrations staged by students, they nonetheless disguise themselves as guardians of human rights and without cause blame China for quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion as a "bloody suppression of a pro-democracy movement."

During the whole process of the student movement, then the turmoil and eventually the rebellion, some people in the United States have done their utmost to abet the rioters and add fuel to the flames. After the counter-revolutionary rebellion was put down, they one day hold so-called special hearings for the so-

called "Chinese democracy fighters" and on another provide so-called "refuge" for Fang Lizhi and his like, enthusiastically whipping up a new anti-China wave. Their only hope is that China will plunge into a state of national chaos. Looking back at these people's persistent, flagrant interference in China's internal affairs, such as on the question of Taiwan, the "Tibetan question" and the so-called "human rights question," one can see how deep is their hostility towards China. A prosperous, powerful and unified socialist China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party does not suit their taste; rather, under the guise of "democracy and freedom," a China practising bourgeois liberalization and taking a capitalist road will please them. The Chinese government and people naturally will not accept this. The dream of these people will never come true.

It is quite in vain for some American Congressmen to impose pressure upon China with new "sanction" measures. China has never submitted to any foreign pressure. We are willing to develop relations and increase exchanges with all other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. But we always carry out a policy of independence and self-reliance, developing and constructing our country chiefly through our own strength. Even under difficult conditions we do not compromise with principle, let alone in the present world situation which is no longer one for some Americans to do as they like. Facing either "sanctions" or "embargoes" in the past, the Chinese people have never bowed their heads, nor will they allow those with evil designs to succeed. China's policy of opening to the outside world will not change. At present, more and more foreign people with far-

sightedness are convinced that China's policy of reform and opening to the outside world will be implemented for a long time to come and China's foreign trade and economy will continue to develop further. Many foreign entrepreneurs and businessmen do not like to see economic relations with China interrupted, nor do they want to abandon a vast market with 1.1 billion people. It is unwise and shortsighted to attempt to ostracize China from the international community.

People have noticed that the Bush administration has stated that the set of resolutions passed by the US House of Representatives to "sanction" against China is "unacceptable." We deeply regret the US government's condemnation of China's putting down the counter-revolutionary rebellion and its unilateral "sanction" on China. However, we have noted the Bush administration's opinion that the United States should make a discreet response to events in China and that it is in accord with US national interests to keep good relations with China. Indeed, the prolonged endeavours of the two sides are responsible for the establishment of bilateral relations between China and America at the current level and this kind of relationship accords with the interests of both. We hope that the US government and the majority of American Congressmen will not do things which damage bilateral relations out of consideration for maintaining the fundamental interests of the Chinese and American people and the overall situation in Sino-US relations. If the US government is subject to the pressure of some people in the Congress and subsequently severely damages hard-earned bilateral relations, it will neither be favourable for the world stability nor will it bring benefit to the United States itself. □

Deng Xiaoping On Upholding the Four Cardinal Principles and Combating Bourgeois Liberalization

Upholding the four cardinal principles is an important part of the basic line of the Communist Party of China. It was first put forward by Deng Xiaoping in 1979. However, because it was not effectively implemented, the trend of bourgeois liberalization has gained a market in some places, some spheres and some people at home. This is also an important reason why the recent turmoil and the counter-revolutionary rebellion broke out. Deng Xiaoping's expositions on upholding the four cardinal principles reprinted in this issue from "Renmin Ribao" (People's Daily) may help our readers to understand the consistent stand of the Communist Party of China and Deng himself.—Ed.

What I want to talk about now is ideological and political questions. The Central Committee maintains that, to carry out China's four modernizations, we must uphold the four cardinal principles ideologically and politically. This is the basic prerequisite for achieving modernization. The four principles are:

1. We must keep to the socialist road.
2. We must uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat.
3. We must uphold the leadership of the Communist Party.
4. We must uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

As we all know, far from being new, these four cardinal principles have long been upheld by our Party. The Central Committee has been adhering to these principles in all its guidelines and policies adopted since the smashing of the gang of four, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee.

("Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles," March 30, 1979)

To sum up, in order to achieve



Deng Xiaoping.

YANG SHAOMING

the four modernizations we must keep to the socialist road, uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold the leadership of the Communist Party, and uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The Central

Committee considers that we must now repeatedly emphasize the necessity of upholding these four cardinal principles, because certain people (even if only a handful) are attempting to undermine them. In no way can such

Report on Checking the Turmoil and Quelling the Counter-Revolutionary Rebellion

Chen Xitong

The following is the full text of the speech authorized by the State Council and delivered by Chen Xitong, mayor of Beijing and concurrently a State Councillor, at the Eighth Session of the 7th NPC Standing Committee on June 30.—Ed.

Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Committee Members,

During late spring and early summer, namely, from mid-April to early June, of 1989, a tiny handful of people exploited student unrest to launch a planned, organized and premeditated political turmoil, which later developed into a counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing, the capital. Their purpose was to overthrow the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and subvert the socialist People's Republic of China. The outbreak and development of the turmoil and the counter-revolutionary rebellion had profound international background and social basis at home. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping put it, "This storm was bound to happen sooner or later. As determined by the international and domestic climate, it was bound to happen and was independent of man's will." In this struggle involving the life and death of the Party and the State, Comrade Zhao Ziyang committed the serious mistake of supporting the turmoil and splitting the Party, and had the unshirkable responsibility for the shaping up and development of the turmoil. In face of this very severe situation, the Party Central Committee made correct decisions and took a series of resolute measures, winning the firm support of the whole Party and people of all nationalities in the country. Repre-

sented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation played a very important role in winning the struggle. The Chinese People's Liberation Army, the armed police and the police made great contributions in checking the turmoil and quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion. The vast numbers of workers, peasants and intellectuals firmly opposed the turmoil and the rebellion, rallied closely around the Party Central Committee and displayed a very high political consciousness and the sense of responsibility as masters of the country. Now, entrusted by the State Council, I am making a report to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on the turmoil and the counter-revolutionary rebellion, mainly the happenings in Beijing, and the work of checking the turmoil and quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion.

One. The turmoil was premeditated and prepared for a long time

Some political forces in the West have always attempted to make the socialist countries, including China, give up the socialist road, eventually bring these countries under the rule of international monopoly capital and put them on the course of capitalism. This is their long-term, fundamental strategy. In recent years,

they stepped up the implementation of this strategy by making use of some policy mistakes and temporary economic difficulties in socialist countries. In our country, there was a tiny handful of people both inside and outside the Party who stubbornly clung to their position of bourgeois liberalization and went in for political conspiracy. Echoing the strategy of Western countries, they colluded with foreign forces, ganged up themselves at home and made ideological, public opinion and organizational preparations for years to stir up turmoils in China, overthrow the leadership by the Communist Party and subvert the socialist People's Republic. That is why the entire course of brewing, premeditating and launching the turmoil, including the use of varied means such as creating public opinion, distorting facts and spreading rumours, bore the salient feature of mutual support and coordination between a handful of people at home and abroad.

This report will mainly deal with the situation since the Third Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Last September, the Party Central Committee formulated the policy of improving the economic environment, straightening out the economic order and deepening the reform in an all-round way. This policy and the related measures won the support of the broad masses and students. The social order and political situation were basically stable. A good proof to this was the approval of Comrade Li Peng's government work report by an overwhelming majority (with a mere two votes against and four abstentions) at the National People's Congress in the spring of this year. Of course, the people and students raised many critical opinions against some mistakes committed by the Party and the government in their work, corruption among some government employees, unfair distribution and other social problems. At the same time, they made quite a few demands and proposals for promoting democracy, strengthening the legal system, deepening the reform and overcoming bureaucracy. These were normal phenomena. And the Party and government were also taking measures to solve them. At that time, however, there was indeed a tiny bunch of people in the Party and society who ganged up together and engaged in many very improper activities overtly and covertly.

What deserves special attention is that, after Comrade Zhao Ziyang's meeting with an American "ultra-liberal economist" on September 19 last year, some Hong Kong newspapers and jour-

nals, which were said to have close ties with Zhao Ziyang's "brain trust," gave enormous publicity to this and spread the political message that "Beijing is using Hong Kong mass media to topple Deng and protect Zhao." In his article entitled "Big patriarch should retire" published in Hong Kong's *Economic Journal*, Li Yi (alias Qi Xin), editor-in-chief of the reactionary *Nineties* magazine, clamoured for "removing the obstacle of super old man's politics" and "giving Zhao Ziyang enough power." Another article in the *Nineties* appealed to Zhao to be an "autocrat." Hong Kong's *Emancipation* monthly also carried a lengthy article, saying that some people in Beijing had "overt or covert" relations with certain persons in Hong Kong media circles, which "are sometimes dim and sometimes bright, just like a will-o'-the-wisp," and that such subtle relations now "have been newly proved by a drive of toppling Deng and protecting Zhao launched in the recent month." The article also said that "in terms of the hope of China turning capitalist, they settle on Zhao Ziyang." To coordinate with the drive to "topple Deng and protect Zhao," Beijing's *Economics Weekly* published a dialogue on the current situation between Yan Jiaqi (research fellow at the Institute of Political Science under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) who had close ties with Zhao Ziyang's former secretary Bao Tong, and another person. It attacked "the improvement of economic environment and the straightening out of economic order," saying that would lead to "stagnation." It also said that a big problem China was facing was "not to follow the old disastrous road of non-procedural change of power as in the case of Khrushchov and Liu Shaoqi." It said that "non-procedural change of power as in the 'cultural revolution' will no longer be allowed in China." The essence of the dialogue was to whip up public opinion for covering up Zhao Ziyang's mistakes, keeping his position and power and pushing on bourgeois liberalization even more unbridledly. This dialogue was reprinted in full or parts in Shanghai's *World Economic Herald*, Hong Kong's *Mirror* monthly and other newspapers and magazines at home and abroad.

Collaboration between forces at home and abroad intensified towards the end of last year and early this year. Political assemblies, joint petitions, big- and small-character posters and other activities emerged, expressing fully erroneous or even reactionary viewpoints. For instance, a big seminar "Future China and the world" was sponsored by the "Beijing University

Future Studies Society” on December 7 last year. Jin Guantao, deputy chief editor of the *Towards the Future* book series and advisor to the society, said in his speech “attempts at socialism and their failure constitute one of the two major legacies of the 20th century.” Ge Yang, chief editor of the fortnightly *New Observer*, immediately stood up to “provide evidence,” in the name of “the eldest” among the participants and a Party member of dozens of years’ standing, saying “Jin’s negation of socialism is not harsh enough, but a bit too polite.” On January 28 this year, Su Shaozhi (research fellow at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Fang Lizhi and the like organized a so-called “neo-enlightenment saloon” at the “Dule Bookstore” in Beijing, which was attended by more than 100 people, among them Beijing-based American, French and Italian correspondents as well as Chinese. Fang described this gathering as “smelling of strong gunpowder” and “taking a completely critical attitude to the authorities.” He also said “what we need now is action” and professed to “take to the street after holding three sessions in a row.” In early February, Fang Lizhi, Chen Jun (member of the reactionary organization Chinese Alliance for Democracy) and others sponsored a so-called “winter jasmine get-together of famed personalities” at the Friendship Hotel, where Fang made a speech primarily on the two major issues of “democracy” and “human rights,” and Chen drew a parallel between the May 4th Movement and the “democracy wall at Xidan.” Fang expressed the “hope that entrepreneurs, as China’s new rising force, will join force with the advanced intellectuals in the fight for democracy.” At a press conference he gave for foreign correspondents on February 16, Chen Jun handed out Fang Lizhi’s letter addressed to Deng Xiaoping and another letter from Chen himself and 32 others to the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress (NPC) and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC), calling for amnesty and the release of Wei Jingsheng and other so-called “political prisoners” who had gravely violated the criminal law. On February 23, the Taiwan *United Daily News* carried an article headlined “Beginning of a major movement — a mega-shock.” It said, “A declaration was issued in New York, and open letters surfaced in Beijing; as the thunder of spring rumbles across the Divine Land (China), waves for democracy are rising.” On February 26, Zhang Xianyang (research fellow at the In-

stitute of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Li Honglin (research fellow at the Fujian Academy of Social Sciences), Bao Zhunxin (associate research fellow at the Institute of Chinese History under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Ge Yang and 38 others, jointly wrote a letter to the CPC Central Committee, calling for the release of so-called “political prisoners.”

Afterwards, a vast number of big- and small-character posters and assemblies came out on the campuses of some universities in Beijing, attacking the Communist Party and the socialist system. On March 1, for example, a big-character poster entitled “Denunciation of Deng Xiaoping — a letter to the nation” was put up at Qinghua University and Beijing University simultaneously. The poster uttered such nonsense as “the politics of the Communist Party consists of empty talk, coercive power, autocratic rule and arbitrary decision,” and openly demanded “dismantling parties and abandoning the four cardinal principles (adherence to the socialist road, to the people’s democratic dictatorship, to the leadership by the Communist Party and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought).” A small-character poster entitled “Deplore the Chinese” turned up in Beijing University on March 2, demanding to overthrow “totalitarianism” and “autocracy.” On March 3, there appeared in Qinghua University and other universities and colleges a “Letter to the mass of students” signed by the “Preparatory Committee of the China Democratic Youth Patriotic Association,” urging students to join in the “turbulent current for ‘democracy, freedom and human rights’ under the leadership of the patriotic democratic fighter, Fang Lizhi.” On the campuses of Beijing University and other schools of higher learning on March 29, there was extensive posting of Fang’s article “China’s disappointment and hope” written for the Hong Kong *Ming Pao Daily News*. In the article, Fang claimed that socialism had “completely lost its attraction” and there was the need to form political “pressure groups” to carry out “reforms for political democracy and economic freedom.” But what he termed as “reform” actually is a synonym of total Westernization. The big-character poster, “Call of the times” that came out in Beijing University on April 6, questioned in a way of complete negation “whether there is any rationale now for socialism to exist” and “whether Marxism-Leninism fits the realities of China after all.” On April 13, the Beijing Institute of

Post and Telecommunications and some other schools received a "Message to the nation's college students" signed by the Guangxi University Students' Union, which called on students to "hold high the portrait of Hu Yaobang and the great banner of 'democracy, freedom, dignity and rule by law'" in celebration of the May 4th Youth Day.

Meanwhile, so-called "democratic saloon," "freedom forum" and various kinds of "seminars," "conferences" and "lectures" mushroomed in Beijing's institutions of higher learning. The "democratic saloon" presided over by Wang Dan, a Beijing University student, sponsored 17 lectures in one year, indicative of its frequent activities. They invited Ren Wandong, head of the defunct illegal "Human Rights League," over to spread a lot of fallacies about the so-called "new-authoritarianism and democratic politics." At one point they held a seminar in front of the Statue of Cervantes, openly crying to "abolish the one-party system, force the Communist Party to step down and topple the present regime." They also invited Li Shuxian, the wife of Fang Lizhi, to be their "advisor." Li fanned the flames by urging them to "legalize the democratic saloon," "hold meetings here frequently," and "abolish the Beijing Municipality's ten-article regulations on demonstrations."

All this prepared, in term of ideology and organization, for the turmoil that ensued. A *Ming Pao Daily News* article commented: "The contact-building and petition-signing activities for human rights initiated by the elite of Chinese intellectuals exerted enormous influence on students. They had long ago planned a large-scale move on the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement to express their dissatisfaction with the authorities. The sudden death of Hu Yaobang literally threw a match into a barrel of gun-powder." In short, as a result of the premeditation, organization and engineering by a small handful of people, a political situation already emerged in which "the rising wind forebodes a coming storm."

Two. Student unrest was exploited by organizers of the turmoil from the very beginning

Comrade Hu Yaobang's death on April 15 prompted an early outbreak of the long-brewing student unrest and turmoil. The broad masses and students mourned Comrade Hu Yaobang and expressed their profound grief. Universities and colleges provided facilities for the mourning

on the part of the students. However, a small number of people took advantage of this to oppose the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system under the pretext of "mourning." Student unrest was manipulated and exploited by the small handful of people from the very beginning and bore the nature of political turmoil.

This turmoil found expression first in the wanton attack and slanders against the Party and the government and the open call to overthrow the leadership of the Communist Party and subvert the present government as contained in the large quantity of big- and small-character posters, slogans, leaflets and elegiac couplets. Some of the posters on the campuses of Beijing University, Qinghua University and other schools abused the Communist Party as "a party of conspirators" and "an organization on the verge of collapse;" some attacked the older generation of revolutionaries as "decaying men administering affairs of the state" and "autocrats with a concentration of power;" some attacked by name the Chinese leaders one by one, saying that "the man who should not die has passed away while those who should die remain alive;" some called for "dissolving the incompetent government and overthrowing autocratic monarchy;" some demanded the "abolishment of the Chinese Communist Party and adoption of the multi-party system" and "dissolving of party branches and removal of political workers in the mass organizations, armed forces, schools and other units;" some issued a "declaration on private ownership," calling on people to "sound the death knell of public ownership at an early date and greet a new future for the Republic;" some went so far as to "invite the Kuomintang back to the mainland and establish two-party politics," etc. Many big- and small-character posters used disgusting language to slander Comrade Deng Xiaoping, clamouring "down with Deng Xiaoping."

This turmoil, from the very beginning, was manifested by a sharp conflict between bourgeois liberalization and the Four Cardinal Principles. Of the programmatic slogans raised by the organizers of the turmoil at the time, either the "nine demands" first raised through Wang Dan, leader of an illegal student organization, in Tiananmen Square or the "seven demands" and "ten demands" raised later, there were two principal demands: one was to reappraise Comrade Hu Yaobang's merits and demerits; the other was to completely negate the fight against bourgeois liberalization and rehabilitate the so-called "wronged citizens" in the fight. The essence of

the two demands was to gain absolute freedom in China to oppose the Four Cardinal Principles and realize capitalism.

Echoing these demands, some so-called “elitists” in academic circles, that is, the very small number of people stubbornly clinging to their position of bourgeois liberalization, organized a variety of forums during the period and indulged in unbridled propaganda through the press. Most outstanding among the activities was a forum sponsored by the *World Economic Herald* and the *New Observer* in Beijing on April 19. The forum was chaired by Ge Yang and its participants included Yan Jiaqi, Su Shaozhi, Chen Ziming (director of the Beijing Institute of Socioeconomic Science), and Liu Ruishao (head of Hong Kong *Wen Hui Po* Beijing office). Their main topics were also two: one was to “rehabilitate” Hu Yaobang; the other was to “reverse” the verdict on the fight against liberalization. They expressed unequivocal support for the student demonstrations, saying that they saw from there “China’s future and hope.” Later, when the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee made the correct decision on straightening things out in the *World Economic Herald*, Comrade Zhao Ziyang who consistently winked at bourgeois liberalization, refrained from backing the decision. Instead, he criticized the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee for “making a mess of it” and “landing itself in a passive position.”

This turmoil also found expression in the fact that, instigated and engineered by the small handful of people, many acts were crude violations of the Constitution, laws and regulations of the People’s Republic of China and gravely running counter to democracy and the legal system. They put up big-character posters en masse on the campuses in disregard of the fact that the provision in the constitution on “four big freedoms” (speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters) had been abrogated and turning a deaf ear to all persuasion; they staged large-scale demonstrations day after day in disregard of the 10-article regulations on demonstrations issued by the Standing Committee of the Beijing Municipal People’s Congress; late on the night of April 18 and 19, they assaulted Xinhuaamen, headquarters of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, and shouted “down with the Communist Party,” something which never occurred even during the “cultural revolution;” they violated the regulations for the management of Tiananmen Square and occupied the square by force several times, one consequence

of which was that the memorial meeting for Comrade Hu Yaobang was almost interrupted on April 22; ignoring the relevant regulations of the Beijing Municipality and without registration, they formed an illegal organization, “solidarity student union” (later changed into “federation of autonomous student unions in universities and colleges”), and “seized power” from the lawful student unions and postgraduate unions formed through democratic election; disregarding law and school discipline, they took by force school offices and broadcasting stations and did things as they wished, creating anarchy on the campuses.

Another important means that the small number of turmoil organizers and plotters used was to fabricate a spate of rumours to confuse people’s minds and agitate the masses. At the beginning of the student unrest, they spread the rumour that “Li Peng scolded Hu Yaobang at a Political Bureau meeting and Hu died of anger.” The rumour was meant to spear-head the attack at Comrade Li Peng. In fact, the meeting focused on the question of education. When Comrade Li Tieying, member of the Political Bureau, State Councillor and Minister in charge of the State Education Commission, was making an explanation of a relevant document, Comrade Hu Yaobang suffered a sudden heart attack. Hu was given emergency treatment right in the meeting room and was rushed to a hospital when his conditions allowed. There was definitely no such thing as Hu flew into a rage.

On the night of April 19, a foreign language student of Beijing Teachers’ University was run down by a trolley-bus on her way back to school after attending a party. She died despite treatment. Some people spread the rumour that “a car of the Communist Party’s armed police knocked a student down and killed her,” which stirred up the emotions of some students who did not know the truth.

In the small hours of April 20, policemen whisked away those students who had blocked and assaulted Xinhuaamen, and sent them back to Beijing University by bus. Some people concocted the rumour of “April 20 bloody incident,” alleging that “the police beat people at Xinhuaamen, not only students, but also workers, women and children,” and that “more than 1,000 scientists and technicians fell in blood.” This further agitated some people.

On April 22, when Li Peng and other leading comrades left the Great Hall of the People at the end of the memorial meeting for Comrade Hu Yaobang, some people perpetrated a fraud with

the objective of working out an excuse for attacking Comrade Li Peng. First they started the rumour that "Premier Li Peng promised to come out at 12:45 and receive students in the square." Then they let three students kneel on the steps outside the east gate of the Great Hall of the People for handing in a "petition." After a while they said, "Li Peng went back on his word and refused to receive us. He has deceived the students." This assertion fanned strong indignation among the tens of thousands of students in Tiananmen Square and almost led to a serious incident of assaulting the Great Hall of the People.

Rumourmongering greatly sharpened students' antagonism towards the government. Using this antagonism, a very small number of people put up the slogan: "The government pays no heed to our peaceful petition. Let's make the matter known across the country and call for nationwide class boycott." This led to the serious situation in which 60,000 university students boycotted class in Beijing and many students in other parts of China followed suit. The student unrest escalated and the turmoil expanded.

This turmoil was marked by another characteristic, that is, it was no longer confined to institutions of higher learning or Beijing area; it spread to the whole of society and to all parts of China. After the memorial meeting for Comrade Hu Yaobang, a number of people went to contact middle schools, factories, shops and villages, made speeches in the streets, handed out leaflets, put up slogans and raised money, doing everything possible to make the situation worse. The slogan "Oppose the Chinese Communist Party" and the big-character poster "Long live class boycott and exam boycott" appeared in some middle schools. Leaflets "Unite with the workers and peasants, down with the despotic rule" were put up in some factories. Organizers and plotters of the turmoil advanced the slogan "Go to the south, the north, the east and the west" in a bid to establish ties throughout the country. Students from Beijing were seen in universities and colleges in Nanjing, Wuhan, Xian, Changsha, Shanghai and Harbin, while students from Tianjin, Hebei, Anhui and Zhejiang took part in demonstrations in Beijing. Criminal activities of beating, smashing, looting and burning took place in Changsha and Xi'an.

Political forces outside the Chinese mainland and in foreign countries had a hand in the turmoil from the very beginning. Hu Ping, Chen Jun and Liu Xiaobo, members of the Chinese Alliance for Democracy which is a reactionary organization groomed by the Kuomintang, wrote

"An open letter" from New York to Chinese university students, urging them to "consolidate the organizational links established in the student unrest and strive to carry out activities effectively in the form of a strong mass body." The letter told the students to "effect a breakthrough by thoroughly negating the 1987 movement against liberalization," "strengthen contacts with the mass media," "increase contacts with various circles in society" and "enlist their support and participation in the movement." Wang Bingzhang and Tang Guangzhong, two leaders of the Chinese Alliance for Democracy, made a hasty flight from New York to Tokyo in an attempt to get to Beijing and have a direct hand in the turmoil. A number of Chinese intellectuals residing abroad who stand for instituting the Western capitalist system in China invited Fang Lizhi to take the lead, and cabled from Columbia University a "Declaration on promoting democratic politics on the Chinese mainland," asserting that "the people must have the right to choose the ruling party" in a bid to incite people to overthrow the Communist Party.

Someone in the US, using the name of "Hong Yan", sent in by fax "ten pieces of opinions on revising the Constitution," suggesting that deputies to the national and local people's congresses as well as judges in all courts should be elected from among candidates without party affiliation," in an attempt to keep the Communist Party completely out of the state organs of power and judicial organs.

Some members of the former *China Spring* journal residing in the United States hastily founded a China Democratic Party. They sent a "Letter addressed to the entire nation" to some universities in Beijing, inciting students to "demand that the conservative bureaucrats step down" and "urge the Chinese Communist Party to end its autocratic rule."

Reactionary political forces in Hong Kong, Taiwan, the United States and other Western countries were also involved in the turmoil through various channels and by different means. Western news agencies showed unusual zeal. The Voice of America, in particular, aired news in three programmes beamed to the Chinese mainland for a total of more than ten hours everyday, spreading rumours, stirring up trouble and adding fuel to the turmoil.

Facts listed above show that we were confronted not with student unrest in its normal sense but with a planned, organized and premeditated political turmoil designed to negate the Communist Party leadership and the socialist system.

It had clear-cut political ends and deviated from the orbit of democracy and legality, employing base political means to incite large numbers of students and other people who did not know the truth. If we failed to analyze and see the problem in essence, we would have committed grave mistakes and landed ourselves in an extremely passive position in the struggle.

Three. People's Daily's April 26 editorial was correct in determining the nature of the turmoil

From the death of Comrade Hu Yaobang on April 15 to the conclusion of the memorial service on April 22, Comrade Zhao Ziyang all along tolerated and connived at the increasingly evident signs of the turmoil during the period of the mourning, thus facilitated the formation and development of the turmoil. In face of the increasingly grave situation, many comrades in the central leadership and Beijing municipality felt that the nature of the matter had changed, and repeatedly suggested to Comrade Zhao Ziyang that the central leadership should adopt a clear-cut policy and measures to quickly check the development of the situation. But, Zhao kept avoiding making a serious analysis and discussion on the nature of the matter. At the end of the memorial meeting for Comrade Hu Yaobang, comrades in the central leadership again suggested to Zhao that a meeting be held before his visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 23. Instead of accepting this suggestion, Zhao went golfing as if nothing had happened. Owing to his such attitude, the Party and the government lost a chance to quell the turmoil.

On the afternoon of April 24, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and people's government reported to Comrade Wan Li. At his proposal, members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau met that evening, presided by Comrade Li Peng, to analyze and study seriously the development of the situation. A consensus was reached that all signs at that time showed we were confronted with an anti-Party and anti-socialist political struggle conducted in a planned and organized way and manipulated and instigated by a small handful of people. The meeting decided that a group for quelling the turmoil be established in the central leadership, requiring at the same time the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and people's government to mobilize the masses fully, to win over the majority so as to isolate the minority and to strive to

put down the turmoil and stabilize the situation as soon as possible.

In the following morning, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made an important speech, expressing his full agreement and support to the decision of the Political Bureau Standing Committee and making an incisive analysis of the nature of the turmoil. He pointed out sharply that this was not a case of ordinary student unrest, but a political turmoil aimed at negating the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system. Deng's speech greatly enhanced the understanding of the cadres and increased their confidence and courage in quelling the turmoil and stabilizing the overall situation.

The *People's Daily's* editorial on April 26 embodied the decision of the Political Bureau Standing Committee and the spirit of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech, and pointed out the nature of the turmoil. At the same time, it made a clear distinction between the tiny handful of people who organized and plotted the turmoil and the vast number of students. The editorial made the overwhelming majority of the cadres feel reassured. It clarified the orientation of their activities, thus enabling them to carry out their work with a clear-cut stand.

After the editorial of the *People's Daily* was published, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and people's government, under the direct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and the State Council, convened in quick succession a variety of meetings inside and outside the Party to uphold the principle and unify their understanding, then proceeded to clear up rumours and reassure the public by any means, render support to the leadership, Party and Youth League members and student activists in educational institutions, encourage them to work boldly, and persuade those students who took part in demonstrations to change their course of actions, and actively conduct a variety of dialogues to win over the masses. The dialogues, whether conducted by the State Council spokesman Yuan Mu and other comrades with the students or by leaders of relevant central departments with the students and principal leaders of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and people's government with the students, all achieved good results.

Meanwhile, earnest work was being carried out in the factories, villages, shops, primary and secondary schools and neighbourhoods to stabilize the overall situation and prevent the turmoil from spreading to other sectors of society. Various provinces, municipalities and autonomous

regions also did a good job in their respective localities according to the spirit of the editorial to prevent the influence of Beijing's situation from spreading to other parts of the country.

The clear-cut stand of the April 26 editorial forced the organizers and plotters of the turmoil to make an about-turn in strategy. Before the publication of the editorial, large numbers of posters and slogans were against the Communist Party, socialism and the Four Cardinal Principles. After the publication of the editorial, the illegal Beijing Federation of Autonomous Student Unions in Universities and Colleges, issued on April 26 "No.1 Order of the New Student Federation" to change their strategy, urging students to "march to Tiananmen under the banner of supporting the Communist Party" on April 27. The designated slogans included "Support the Communist Party", "Support Socialism" and "Safeguard the Constitution." It also, at the suggestion of Fang Lizhi, changed their subversive slogans as "Down with the Bureaucratic Government," "Down with the Corrupt Government," "Down with the Dictatorial Rule," etc. into those like "Oppose Bureaucracy, Oppose Corruption and Oppose Privilege," and other slogans that could win support from people of various circles.

The Japanese Jiji News Agency then dispatched from Beijing a news story entitled "Young officials form a pro-democracy group," describing some figures in the so-called "Zhao Ziyang's brain trust" as "young officials of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and the government," noting that they "made frequent contacts with representatives of the new autonomous student unions in Beijing's universities and colleges including Beijing University, Qinghua University, People's University and Beijing Teachers' University, which took part in the demonstrations, and offered advice to the students." It also said that during the mass demonstration on April 27, the students held "placards of 'Supporting Socialism' and 'Supporting the Leadership of the Communist Party' at the instruction of the same group."

Leaders of the student demonstrations originally planned to stage "a hundred-day demonstration and a student strike of indefinite duration." But the students lost such enthusiasm after the publication of the editorial.

Compared with the demonstration on April 27, the number of students taking part on May 4 dropped from over 30,000 to less than 20,000, and the on-lookers also decreased by a big margin. After the May 4 demonstration, 80 percent

of the students returned to class as a result of the work of the Party and administrative leaders of various universities and colleges. After the publication of the *People's Daily's* April 26 editorial, the situation in other parts of the country also became stabilized quickly. It was evident that with some more work, the turmoil, instigated by a small handful of people making use of the student unrest, was likely to calm down. A host of facts showed that the *People's Daily's* April 26 editorial was correct and played its role in stabilizing the situation in the capital and the whole country as well.

Four. Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech on May 4 was the turning point in escalating the turmoil

When the turmoil was about to subside, Comrade Zhao Ziyang, as General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, adopted a capricious attitude of going back on his words. At first, when members of the Political Bureau's Standing Committee solicited his opinion during his visit to Korea, he cabled back and explicitly expressed "full agreement with the policy decision made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping on handling the current turmoil." After he returned on April 30, he once again expressed at a meeting of the Political Bureau's Standing Committee his agreement with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech and the determination of the nature of the turmoil as made in the April 26 editorial, and maintained that the handling of the student unrest in the previous period was appropriate.

A few days later, however, when he met with representatives attending the annual meeting of the Asian Development Bank on the afternoon of May 4, he expressed a whole set of views diametrically opposed to the decision of the Political Bureau's Standing Committee, to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech and to the spirit of the editorial. Firstly, as the turmoil had already come to the surface, he said "there will be no big turmoil in China;" secondly, when a host of facts had proved that the real nature of the turmoil was the negation of the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system, he still insisted that "they are by no means opposed to our fundamental system. Rather they are asking us to correct mistakes in our work;" thirdly, although facts had shown that a tiny handful of people was making use of the student unrest to instigate turmoil, he merely said that it was "hardly avoidable" for "some people to take advantage of this," thus totally negating the correct

judgment of the Party's Central Committee that a handful of people were creating turmoil.

This speech of Comrade Zhao Ziyang's was prepared by Bao Tong beforehand. Bao asked the Central Broadcasting Station and CCTV to broadcast the speech that very afternoon and repeat it for three days running. He also asked the *People's Daily* to frontpage the speech the following day and to carry a large number of positive responses from various sectors. Differing views were held up and not even allowed to appear in confidential materials. Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech, publicized through the *People's Daily* and certain newspapers, created serious ideological confusion among the cadres and the masses and inflated the arrogance of the organizers and plotters of the turmoil.

The great difference between Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech and the policy of the Party's Central Committee not only evoked much comments at home but was also seen clearly by the media abroad. A Reuter dispatch said that Zhao's remarks constituted a sharp contrast to the severe condemnation of students a week earlier and that it was a major revision of the previous week's judgement. An article in *le Monde* on May 6 stated that it seemed that the Party chief (referring to Zhao Ziyang) remarkably turned the development of the situation to his advantage.

After the speech was thrown into the open, leading officials at various levels, the Party and Youth League members and the activists among the masses, particularly those working in universities and colleges all became confused. They were at a loss what to do and many voiced their objection. Some asked, "There are two voices in the central leadership. Who is right and who is wrong? Whom are we supposed to follow?" Some queried, "We are required to maintain identical views with the central leadership, but with which one?" Others complained, "Zhao Ziyang plays the good guy at the top while we play the villains at the grassroots." Cadres in universities and colleges and student activists as a whole felt being "betrayed" and troubled from a laden heart, some even shed tears. Work at the universities and colleges fell completely into a passive position.

At that time, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and people's government were also in a wretched plight. Although they knew opinions differed in the central leadership, they had to say against their will that the central leadership was unanimous and they only stressed different points. They had to ask the central leadership for

instructions on many things, but Comrade Zhao Ziyang, as General Secretary, was reluctant to call a meeting. Under the strong demand of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and people's government, a meeting was convened on May 8. But Zhao refused to hear the briefing of the Beijing authorities. At the meeting some comrades said Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech on May 4 was not in accord with the spirit of the April 26 editorial. Zhao sternly retorted, "I'll be responsible for what was wrong in my speech." At another meeting, when some one said that comrades at the grassroots, complained that they "had been betrayed", Comrade Zhao Ziyang rebuked, "Who betrayed you? People were betrayed only during the "cultural revolution". In those days, quite a few people echoing Hong Kong and Taiwan newspapers, repeatedly attacked the comrades in Beijing Municipal Party Committee and people's government who were working at the front lines. Hooligans yelled in the demonstrations: "The Beijing Municipal Party Committee is guilty of making false reports to deceive the central leadership." In face of the worsening situation, certain contemplated measures could not be implemented.

In contrast to the above, organizers and plotters of the turmoil were encouraged by Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech. Yan Jiaqi, Cao Siyuan (director of the Research and Development Institute of the Stone Company) and others said that "things have turned for the better. It is necessary to mobilize the intellectuals to support Zhao Ziyang." Zhang Xianyang said: "Aren't we supposed to make use of the students? Zhao Ziyang is now doing just this."

Egged on by Comrade Zhao Ziyang and plotted by a few others, leaders of the Autonomous Student Unions of Beijing University and Beijing Teachers' University declared resumption of class boycott that night. Many other universities followed suit and organized "pickets" to prevent students from going to the classroom.

After that, a new wave of demonstrations surged ahead. On May 9, several hundred journalists from more than 30 press units took to the streets and submitted a petition. About 10,000 students from a dozen universities including Beijing, Qinghua and People's universities, Beijing Teachers' University and the University of Political Science and Law, staged a demonstration, supporting the journalists, distributing leaflets and calling for continued class boycott and a hunger strike.

Henceforth, the situation took an abrupt turn for the worse and the turmoil was pushed to a

new height. Influenced by the situation in Beijing, the already calmed down situation in other parts of China became tense again. Shortly after Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech, a large number of student demonstrators assaulted the office buildings of the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee and Provincial Government in Taiyuan on May 9 and 10. They also assaulted the ongoing International Economic and Technological Co-operation Fair, the Import and Export Commodities Fair and the Folk Arts Festival. The above incidents exerted very bad influence both at home and abroad.

Five. Hunger strike was used as coercion to escalate the turmoil

Good and honest people asked if the lack of understanding, consideration and concession on the part of the government had brought the students to make so much trouble?

Facts are just the opposite.

From the very beginning of the turmoil, the Party and government fully acknowledged the students' patriotism and their concern about the country and people. Their demands to promote democracy, promote reform, punish official profiteers and fight corruption were acknowledged as identical with the aspirations of the Party and government, which also expressed the hope to solve the problems through normal democratic and legal procedures.

But such good aspirations failed to win active response. The government proposed to increase understanding and reach consensus through dialogues of various channels, levels and forms.

The illegal student organization, however, put forward very strict conditions as terms of the dialogue. They demanded that their partners to the dialogues "must be people holding positions at or above the Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, vice-chairman of the NPC Standing Committee and vice-premier"; "a joint communique on every dialogue must be published and signed by both parties"; and dialogues should be "held in locations designated in turn by representatives of the government and students."

These bore nothing like a dialogue but stage-setting for political negotiations with the Party and government.

Especially after Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech on May 4, the very small number of people took this as an opportunity, regarding the restraint on the part of the Party and government as a sign of weakness. They put forward

harsher terms, adding increasing heat to the turmoil and escalating it.

Even under such circumstances, the Party and government still took the attitude of utmost tolerance and restraint, with the hope to continue to maintain the channels for the dialogue in order to educate the masses and win over the majority.

At two o'clock on the early morning of May 13, leaders of the Federation of Autonomous Student Unions in Universities and Colleges raised the demand for a dialogue, which was accepted two hours later by the General Office of the Party Central Committee and that of the State Council.

However, the students ate their own word and cancelled the dialogue at daybreak. On the morning of May 13, the bureaux for letters and visits of the general offices of the Party Central Committee, the State Council and the NPC Standing Committee again notified them of the decision to hold the dialogue with students on May 15.

Despite their agreement, the students began their manoeuvring in the number of participants in the dialogue.

After the government agreed to their first proposed name list of 20 people, they then demanded the number be raised to 200.

Without waiting for further discussion, they went to accuse "the government's insincerity for dialogue." Only four hours after they were informed of the dialogue, they hastily made public the long-prepared "hunger strike declaration," launching a seven-day fasting that involved more than 3,000 people and a long occupation of the Tiananmen Square since.

May 13 was chosen as the starting date of the hunger strike "to put pressure on them by way of Gorbachev's China visit," said Wang Dan, leader of the "federation."

The very small number of people who organized and plotted the turmoil used the fasting students as "hostages" and their lives as a bet to blackmail the government by vile means, making the turmoil more serious.

During the student hunger strike, the Party and government maintained an attitude of utmost restraint and did everything they could in various aspects. First of all, staff members of various universities and leading officials at all levels and even Party and state leaders went to the Tiananmen Square to see the fasting students on many occasions and gave them ideological advice.

Secondly, efforts were made to help the Red

Cross Society mobilize more than 100 ambulances and several hundred medical workers to keep watch at the fasting site day and night; 52 hospitals were asked to have some 2,000 beds ready so that students who suffered shock or illness because of the hunger strike could get first-aid and timely treatment.

Thirdly, all sorts of materials were provided to alleviate the sufferings of the fasting students and ensure their safety.

The Beijing Municipal Party Committee and people's government mobilized cadres, workers and vehicles to provide the fasting students with drinking water, edible salt and sugar via the Red Cross Society day and night.

The Municipal Environment Sanitation Bureau sent sprinklers and offered basins and towels for the fasting students.

Adequate supplies of medicine preventing sunstroke, cold and diarrhoea were provided by pharmaceutical companies and distributed by the Red Cross Society.

The provisions department sent a large amount of soft drinks and bread to be used during emergency rescue of the students.

A total of 6,000 straw hats were provided by commercial units and 1,000 quilts were sent by the Beijing Military Area Command, in response to the city authorities' request, to protect the fasting students from heat in the day and cold at night.

To keep the hunger strike site clean, makeshift flush toilets were set up and sanitation workers cleaned the site at midnight. Before the torrential rain on May 18, 78 coaches from the public transport company and 400 thick boards from the materials bureau were sent to protect the fasting students from rain and dampness. No fasting student died in the seven-day hunger strike.

But all this failed to get any positive response. Facts told people time and again that the very small number of organizers and plotters of the turmoil were determined to oppose us to the very end and that the problem could not be solved even with tolerance on 1,000 occasions and 10,000 concessions. It needs to be pointed out in particular that Comrade Zhao Ziyang did not do what he should have done when the situation quickly deteriorated, but instead stirred up the press with a wrong guidance for the public opinion, making the deteriorated situation more difficult to handle.

In his May 6 meeting with Comrades Hu Qili and Rui Xingwen, both then in charge of propaganda and ideological work in the Central Com-

mittee, Comrade Zhao Ziyang said, the press "has opened up a bit and there have been reports about the demonstrations. There is no big risk to open up a bit by reporting the demonstrations and increase the openness of news." He even said: "Confronted with the will of the people at home and the progressive trend worldwide, we could only guide our actions according to circumstances."

Here, he even described the adverse current against the Chinese Communist Party and socialism as "will of the people at home" and "progressive trend worldwide."

His instructions were passed on to major news media units in the capital the same day and many arrangements were made afterwards.

As a result, the *People's Daily* and many other national newspapers and periodicals adopted an attitude of full acknowledgement and active support to the demonstrations, sit-in and hunger strike, devoting lengthy coverages with no less exaggeration. Even some Hong Kong newspapers expressed their surprise over this unique phenomenon.

Under the wrong guidance of the public opinion, the number of people who took to the streets to support the students increased day by day as their momentum grew since May 15. The number of people involved grew from tens of thousands to a hundred thousand and several hundred thousand in addition to the 200,000 students who came from other parts of the country to show their support for the fasting students.

For a time, it looked as if refusal to join in the demonstrations meant "un-patriotic" and refusal to show support was equal to "indifferent to the survival of the students."

Under such circumstances, the fasting students were put on the back of the tiger and found it difficult to get off. Many parents of the students and teachers wrote to or called leading organs, press organizations, radio and TV stations, asking them not to force the fasting students on to the path of death and show mercy in saving the children and stopping this kind of "killing by creating public opinion."

But this did not work. The students' hunger strike and the residents' demonstrations threw social order in Beijing into a mess and seriously disrupted the Sino-Soviet summit which was closely followed worldwide, forcing some changes on the agenda, with some activities even cancelled.

Meanwhile, demonstrations in various major cities throughout China and even all provincial capitals registered a drastic increase in the num-

ber of people involved, while people also took to the streets in some small and medium-sized cities, producing a large scale of involvement and a serious disturbance never seen since the founding of the People's Republic.

In order to back up the students and add fuel to the flames of turmoil, some so-called "elitists" who took a stubborn stand for bourgeois liberalization threw away all disguises and came out to the front.

On the evening of May 13, the big-character poster "We can no longer remain silent," written by Yan Jiaqi, Su Shaozhi, Bao Zunxin and others, appeared at Beijing University urging intellectuals to take part in the big demonstrations they had sponsored to support the students' hunger strike.

On May 14, "Our urgent appeal for current situation" was jointly made by 12 people including Yan Jiaqi, Bao Zunxin, Li Honglin, Dai Qing (reporter with *Guangming Daily*), Yu Haocheng (former director of the Mass Publishing House), Li Zehou (research fellow at the Philosophy Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Su Xiaokang (lecturer at the Beijing Broadcasting Institute), Wen Yuankai (professor at the China University of Science and Technology), and Liu Zaifu (president of the Literature Institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). They demanded that the turmoil be declared "patriotic democratic movement" and the illegal student organization be declared legal, saying that they would also take part in the hunger strike if these demands were not met.

This appeal was published on *Guangming Daily* and broadcast on the China Central Television. These people also went to Tiananmen Square many times to make speeches and agitation. They slandered against our government as "an incompetent government," saying that through the fasting students, "China's bright future can be envisioned."

Then these people formed the illegal Beijing Union of Intellectuals and published the "May 16 Declaration," threatening with counter charges that "a promising China might be led into the abyss of real turmoil" if the government did not accept the political demands of the very small number of people.

As the situation became increasingly serious, Comrade Zhao Ziyang used the opportunity of meeting Gorbachev on May 16, deliberately directing the fire of criticism at Comrade Deng Xiaoping and making the situation even more worse.

Right at the beginning of the meeting, he said:

"Comrade Deng Xiaoping's helmsmanship is still needed for the most important issues. Since the 13th National Party Congress, we have always reported to Comrade Deng Xiaoping and asked for his advice while dealing with the most important issues." He also said that this was "the first" public disclosure of the "decision" by the Communist Party of China.

On the following day, Yan Jiaqi, Bao Zunxin and others published their most furious and vicious "May 17 Declaration." They made such swears: "because the autocrat controls the unlimited power, the government has lost its own obligation and normal human feelings"; "despite Qing Dynasty's death 76 years ago, there is still an emperor in China though without such a title, a senile and fatuous autocrat." "General Secretary Zhao Ziyang declared publicly yesterday afternoon that all decisions in China must be approved by this decrepit autocrat." They said without any disguise in their hoarse voices, "Gerontocratic politics must end and autocrat must resign."

Some newspapers and periodicals in Hong Kong and Taiwan echoed their reactionary clamour. The Hong Kong newspaper *Express* published an article on May 18 entitled "Down with Deng and Li but not Zhao," it said, "Zhao Ziyang's speech was full of hints that the foul atmosphere at home now was caused by Deng Xiaoping's helmsmanship"; "at present the masses are eager to get rid of Deng and Li, while Zhao's role is almost open upon calling." It also added, "It is a good news for Hong Kong if Deng could be successfully ousted and China's reform embark on the path of legal rule with the realization of democracy."

Against the backdrop of such screams, slogans smearing Comrade Deng Xiaoping and attacking Comrade Li Peng were all around. Some demanded "Deng Xiaoping step down" and "Li Peng step down to satisfy the people." Meanwhile, slogans like "Support Zhao Ziyang," "Long live Zhao Ziyang" and "Zhao Ziyang be promoted chairman of the Central Military Commission" could be seen and heard in the demonstrations and at Tiananmen Square.

Plotters of the turmoil attempted to use the chaos as an opportunity to seize power. They distributed leaflets, proclaiming the founding of the Preparatory Committee to the People's Conference of All Circles in Beijing to replace the Municipal People's Congress. A call was made to establish "Beijing regional government" to replace the legal Beijing Municipal People's Government. They attacked the State Council, which

was formed in accordance with the law, as "pseudo-government." They also made rumours saying that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a dozen other ministries already "declared independence" from the State Council and that about 30 countries in the world broke diplomatic relations with our country. After the rumour that "Deng Xiaoping has stepped down" was made, some went to demonstrations carrying a coffin, burned Comrade Xiaoping's effigy and set off firecrackers on Tiananmen Square to celebrate their "victory."

The situation in Beijing became increasingly serious, with anarchism viciously spreading and many areas sinking into complete chaos and white terror. If our Party and government did not take resolute measures under such circumstances, another vital chance would be missed and further irredeemable, great damages could be done. This would by no means be permitted by the broad masses of the people.

Six. The Government had no alternative but to take the correct measure of declaring martial law in parts of Beijing

To safeguard the social stability in the city of Beijing, to protect the safety of the lives and property of the citizens and ensure the normal functioning of the Party and government departments at the central level and of the Beijing Municipal Government, the State Council had no alternative but to declare martial law in parts of Beijing as empowered by Clause 16 of Article 89 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and at a time when police forces in Beijing were far inadequate to maintain the normal production, work and living order. This was a resolute and correct decision.

The decision on taking resolute measures to stop the turmoil was announced at a meeting called by the central authorities and attended by cadres from the Party, government and military institutions in Beijing on May 19. Comrade Zhao Ziyang, persisting in his erroneous stand against the correct decision of the central authorities, neither agreed to speak at the meeting together with Comrade Li Peng, nor agreed to preside over the meeting. He even didn't agree to attend the meeting. By doing so, he openly revealed his attitude of separating himself from the Party before the whole Party, the whole country and the whole world.

Prior to this, members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee met to discuss the issue of de-

claring martial law in parts of Beijing on May 17. On the same day, a few people who had access to top Party and state secrets gave the information away out of their counter-revolutionary political consideration. A person who worked at the side of Comrade Zhao Ziyang said to the leaders of the illegal student organization: "The troops are about to suppress you. All others have agreed. Zhao Ziyang was the only one who was against it. You must get prepared."

On the evening of May 17, Bao Tong summoned some people from the Political Structural Reform Research Centre of the Party Central Committee for a meeting. After divulging the secret on declaring the martial law, he made a "farewell speech" in which he warned the attendants not to reveal the schemes worked out at the meeting, saying that anyone who revealed them would be a "traitor," a "Judas." On May 19, Gao Shan, deputy bureau director of this Political Structural Reform Research Centre, hurried to the Economic Structural Reform Institute to pass on to those who were holding a meeting the so-called instructions from the "above." After that, the meeting, presided over by Chen Yizi, the institute director, drafted a "six-point statement on the current situation" in the name of the Economic structural Reform Research Institute, the Development Institute of the China Rural Development Research Centre under the State Council, the Institute on International Studies of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation and the Beijing Association of Young Economists. The statement, which was broadcast at the Tiananmen Square and distributed widely, demanded "publicizing of the inside story of the decision-making of the top leadership and the divergence of opinions" and "convening of a special session of the National People's Congress" and "a special congress of the Chinese Communist Party." It also urged the students on the Tiananmen Square to "end their hunger strike as soon as possible," hinting that the government "would adopt an extreme action (military control)." Soon after that, some people, who identified themselves as employees of the State Commission for Restructuring the Economy, went to the Tiananmen Square to deliver a speech in which they said: "With deep grief and extreme anger, we now disclose a piece of absolutely true news—General Secretary Zhao Ziyang has been dismissed from the post." The speakers called on the workers, students and shopkeepers to carry out nationwide strikes and instigated the masses

to "take immediate actions to fight a life-and-death struggle." The speech was soon printed in the form of "*People's Daily extra*" which was widely distributed. On the same evening, leaflets entitled "several suggestions on the tactics of the student movement" were found at the Beijing railway station and other public places. It said that "at present, hunger strike and dialogues should no longer be our means and demands. We should hold peaceful sit-ins and raise clear-cut new political demands and slogans: 1. Comrade Ziyang mustn't be removed; 2. A special National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party be convened immediately; 3. A special session of the National People's Congress be held immediately." It also said that people "shouldn't be terrified by the coming troops" and that "this attitude should be explained time and again to the students before their coming." Some leaders of the Autonomous Students Union of Beijing Universities and the Beijing Autonomous Workers Union who had been arrested also confessed that at about four o'clock in the afternoon of May 19, someone, holding a piece of paper and identifying himself as a staff worker of a certain organization under the Party Central Committee, went to the "Tiananmen Square headquarters" and revealed the news that martial law was about to be declared.

As a result of the close collaboration between a small number of people who had access to top Party and state secrets and the organizers and schemers of the turmoil, the organizers made timely adjustment to their tactics. That night, 45 minutes before the meeting called by the central authorities and attended by cadres from the Party, government and military institutions in Beijing, they changed the hunger strike to a sit-in in a bid to give people the false impression that since the students had already ended their hunger strike it was not necessary for the government to declare martial law. By so doing they also gained time to organize people and coerce those who were in the dark to set up roadblocks at major crossroads to stop the advance of the troops and to continue to mislead public opinion and confuse people's mind. While cursing viciously Comrade Deng Xiaoping and other proletarian revolutionaries of the old generation, saying that "we don't need Deng Xiaoping's wisdom and experience," they lavished praises on Comrade Zhao Ziyang by saying that "the country is hopeless without Ziyang as the Party leader" and that "give us back Ziyang." They also plotted to rally forces for greater turmoil, claiming that they were going to mobilize 200,

000 people to occupy the Tiananmen Square and to organize a citywide general strike on May 20. Concerting with Comrade Zhao Ziyang's three-day sick leave which started on May 19, they spread the word that a "new government" would be established in three days.

Under the extremely urgent circumstances, the Party Central Committee and the State Council decided resolutely to declare martial law in parts of Beijing, starting from 10 am, May 20, to prevent the situation from worsening and grasp the initiative to stop the turmoil so as to give support to the broad masses who were opposed to the turmoil and longed for stability. However, as the organizers and schemers of the turmoil had learnt of our decision before it was implemented, there were tremendous difficulties and obstacles to the troops' entry into the city.

On the eve of declaring the martial law and in the first two days after it was declared, all major crossroads were blocked up. More than 220 buses were taken away and used as roadblocks. Transportation came to a standstill. Troops to enforce the martial law were not able to arrive at their designated places. The headquarters of the Party Central Committee and the State Council continued to be surrounded. Demagogic speeches could be heard anywhere on the street. Leaflets spreading rumours could be seen anywhere in the city. Demonstrations, each involving thousands of people, took place in succession and Beijing, our capital city, fell into total disorder and terror. In the following few days, the martial law troops managed to enter the city by different ways. Meanwhile, the armed police and security force continued to perform their duties by overcoming tremendous difficulties. Urban and suburban districts organized workers, residents and government office workers, as many as 120,000 people altogether, to maintain social order. The outer suburban counties also sent out militiamen. The concerted efforts of the troops, police and civilians helped improve the transportation, production and living order in the capital and people felt much at ease. But the very small number of people never stopped for a single day their activities to create turmoil and never changed their goal of overthrowing the leadership of the Communist Party. Things were developing day by day towards a counter-revolutionary rebellion.

One of the major tactics of the organizers and schemers of the turmoil after martial law was declared was to continue to stay on the Tiananmen Square. They wanted to turn the square into a "centre of the student movement and the

whole nation." Once the government made a decision, they planned to make "strong reaction" at the square and form an "anti-government united front." These people had been planning to stir up blood-shedding incidents on the square, believing that "the government would resort to suppression if the occupation of the square continues" and "blood can awaken people and split up the government."

To ensure that the situation on the square could be maintained, they used funds provided by reactionary forces both at home and abroad to improve their facilities and install advanced telecommunications devices, spending 100,000 yuan a day on an average. They even started illegal purchase of weapons. By using the tents provided by their Hong Kong supporters they set up "villages of freedom" and launched a "democracy university" on the square, claiming they would turn the university into "the Huangpu military school of the new era." They erected a so-called goddess statue in front of the Monument to the People's Heroes. The statue was formerly named the Goddess of Freedom but was later renamed Goddess of Democracy, showing that they took American-style democracy and freedom as their spiritual pillar.

Fearing that the students who took part in sit-in could not hold on, Liu Xiaobo and other behind-the-scene schemers went up to the front stage and performed a four-man farce of a 48-to-72 hour hunger strike so as to pep the students up. They said: "As long as the flags on the square are still up, we can continue our fight and spread it to the whole country until the government collapses."

Taking advantage of the restraint that the government and the troops still exercised after martial law was declared, the organizers and plotters of the turmoil continued to organize all kinds of illegal activities. Following the establishment of the Autonomous Students Union of Beijing Universities, the Beijing Autonomous Workers Union, the Fasting Contingent, the Tiananmen Square Headquarters and the Union of Capital's Intelligentsia, they set up more illegal organizations such as the patriotic Joint Conference of People from All Walks of Life in the capital for upholding the Constitution and the Autonomous Union of Beijing Residents. In the name of Research Institute for Restructuring Economic System, the Development Institute of the China Rural Development Research Centre under the State Council and the Beijing Association of Young Economists, they openly sent telegrams to some of the troops in an attempt to

incite defection. They were engaged in such underground activities to topple the government as organizing a special team in charge of moulding public opinion and making preparations to launch a underground newspaper.

They organized their sworn followers in taking a secret oath, claiming "under no condition should we betray our conscience, yield to autocracy and bow to the emperor of China in the 1980s." Wan Runnan, general manager of Stone Company, listed the following six conditions for retreating from the Tiananmen Square when he called together some leaders of the Autonomous Students Union of Beijing Universities in the International Hotel: "To withdraw the troops, cancel the martial law, remove Li Peng, ask Deng Xiaoping and Yang Shangkun to quit and let Zhao Ziyang resume his post." During the meeting, they also planned to organize "a great march to claim victory at midnight." Moreover, as they believed that there was almost no hope of solving problems within the Party after Comrade Zhao Ziyang asked for sick leave, they pinned their hope on an emergency meeting by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Yan Jiaqi, Bao Zunxin and others sent a telegramme to the leaders of the NPC Standing Committee, saying that "as the Constitution is being wantonly trampled by a few people, we hereby make an emergency appeal to hold an emergency meeting by the NPC Standing Committee immediately to solve the current critical problems."

Inspired by a certain member of the NPC Standing Committee, the Stone Research Institute of Social Development issued an opinion-collecting letter on the suggestion to convene such an emergency meeting. After getting the signature of several members of the NPC Standing Committee, it sent urgent telegrammes to the NPC Standing Committee members outside Beijing. Conspiratorially, they said nothing about their true purposes in those letters and telegrammes in an attempt to deceive those comrades who did not know the truth. They even went so far as to usurp the names of those comrades to serve their ulterior motives.

After doing all this, Yan Jiaqi and Bao Zunxin published an article on Hong Kong's *Ming Pao Daily News*, entitled "Solve China's Present Problems in a Democratic and Legal Way—also a letter to Li Peng," which called "every member of the NPC Standing Committee and every deputy to the NPC to cast a sacred vote to abolish martial law and dismiss Li Peng as premier."

Organizers and instigators of the turmoil also agitated and organized action of violence in an unbridled fashion. They hooked up local hooligans, ruffians and criminals from other parts of the country, ex-convicts who did not turn over a new leaf and people who have deep hatred on the Communist Party and the socialist system to knock together so-called Dare-to-Die Corps, Flying Tiger Teams, Volunteer Army and other terrorist organizations, threatening to detain and kidnap Party and state leaders and "seize state power by means of storming the Bastille." They distributed leaflets to stir up counter-revolutionary armed rebellion, advocating "a single spark can start a prairie fire" and calling for establishing "armed forces that might be called the people's army," for "uniting with various forces including the Kuomintang in Taiwan" and for "a clear-cut stand to oppose the Communist Party and its government and not sparing to sacrifice lives."

They declared they would settle accounts with the Party and the government after the event and even prepared a blacklist of cadres to be suppressed. The Hong Kong-based *Ming Pao Daily News* published a "dialogue" on June 2 between Liu Xiaobo, one of the organizers and planners, and "a mainland democratic movement leader," in which Liu said: "We must organize an armed force among the people to materialize Zhao Ziyang's comeback."

The activities of the instigators of the riots have strong financial backing. In addition to the materials worth some hundreds of thousands of yuan from the Stone Company and others, they also got support from hostile forces overseas and other organizations and individuals. Some people from the United States, Britain and Hong Kong offered them nearly 1 million US dollars and millions of Hong Kong dollars. Part of the money was used for activities to sabotage the martial law enforcement. Anyone who took part in establishing obstacles to stop traffic and block army vehicles could get 30 yuan a day. Also they set high prices to buy off rioters to burn military vehicles and beat soldiers, promising to offer 3,000 yuan for burning one vehicle and more money for capturing or killing soldiers.

A high-ranking official from Taiwan launched a campaign to "send love to Tiananmen" and took the lead of donating 100,000 Taiwan dollars. A member of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang in Taiwan suggested that 100 million Taiwan dollars be donated to establish a "fund to support mainland democratic movement." Some people of the Taiwan arts and

cultural circles also launched "a campaign supporting the democratic movement on the mainland." A letter by the Autonomous Students Union of Beijing Universities to "Taiwan friends in art circles" said that "we heartily thank you and salute you for your material and spiritual support at this crucial moment."

All this shows that the turmoil planned, organized and premeditated by a few people could not be put down merely by making some concessions on the part of the government or just by issuing an order to impose martial law, contrary to the imagination of some kind-hearted people.

They have made up their minds to unite with all hostile forces overseas and in foreign countries to launch a battle against us to the last. All one-sided good will would lead only to their unscrupulous attack against us and the longer the time the greater the price.

Seven. How did a small minority of people manage to stir up the counter-revolutionary rebellion?

The Chinese People's Liberation Army undertakes not only the sacred duty of "strengthening national defence, resisting aggression and defending the motherland" but also the noble responsibility of "safeguarding the people's peaceful labour, participating in national reconstruction and working hard to serve the people," which are provided for in Article 29 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. It was exactly to carry out the tasks entrusted to them by the Constitution that the troops entered the city proper and safeguarded social order.

After the announcement of martial law in some areas of the capital May 20, the troops, despite repeated obstructions, were mobilized to march towards the city proper in accordance with a deployment plan and by different ways to take up appointed positions.

The handful of organizers and plotters of the rebellion were well aware that they would not be able to continue their illegal and counter-revolutionary activities and their conspiracy would come to nothing if the martial law troops took up positions in the centre of Beijing. Therefore, they started to create trouble deliberately and did their best to aggravate the unrest, which eventually developed into a counter-revolutionary rebellion.

On June 1 the Public Security Bureau detained a few of the ringleaders of the illegal "Federation of Autonomous Workers' Unions." The agitators of the rebellion then took advan-

tage of this opportunity to incite some people to surround and attack the offices of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, the Municipal Party Committee and Government and the Ministry of Public Security.

On the evening of June 2 a police jeep on loan to the Chinese Central TV Station was involved in a traffic accident in which three people died. None of the victims was a student. This was deliberately distorted as a provocation by martial law troops. The conspirators attempted to seize the bodies and parade them in coffins, stirring up the people and making the atmosphere extremely tense. After this incitement and uproar they lit the fire of the counter-revolutionary rebellion.

In the small hours on June 3, while the martial law troops were heading for their positions according to schedule, agitators urged crowds to halt military and other motor vehicles, set up roadblocks, beat soldiers and loot trucks of materials at Jianguomen, Nanheyuan, Xidan, Muxidi and other road crossings. Some 12 military vehicles were halted by crowds near Caogezhuang. Soldiers marching past the Yangjing Hotel were stopped and searched by rioters, and military vehicles parked in front of the Beijing Telegraph Office had their tires slashed and were surrounded with road dividers.

About dawn, military vehicles on the Yongdingmen Bridge were overturned, others at Muxidi had their tires slashed and some 400 soldiers in Chaoyangmen were stoned. In the Liubukou and Hengertiao areas, military vehicles and soldiers were surrounded by unruly crowds.

Around 7:00 am, some rioters swarmed over military vehicles which had been halted at Liubukou and snatched machine guns and ammunition. From Jianguomen to Dongdan and in the Tianqiao area, martial law troops were surrounded and beaten. On the Jianguomen flyover some soldiers were stripped and others severely beaten.

Later in the morning, troops in the Hufangqiao area were beaten by rioters and some were blinded. The mob prevented some injured soldiers from reaching hospitals by deflating ambulance tires and the victims were dragged from the vehicles. From Hufang Road to Taoranting Park, 21 military vehicles were surrounded and halted. Policemen escorting the soldiers were beaten by the rioters.

From noon onward, many of the soldiers trapped by mobs and barricades at the southern end of the Fuyoujie, the northern end of the Zhengyilu, Xuanwumen, Hufangqiao, Muxidi

and Dongsu crossroads were injured and their equipment was taken away. At Liubukou policemen tried several times to recover a military truck loaded with arms and ammunition from an enraged mob but failed. They were then forced to use tear gas to disperse the rioters and recapture the dangerous cargo.

About the same time, mobs began to surround and assault buildings housing state organizations and establishments of vital importance, including the Great Hall of the People, the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television, as well as the west and south gates of Zhongnanhai, the seat of the Party Central Committee and the State Council. Dozens of policemen and guards there were injured.

As the situation rapidly deteriorated, the instigators of the upheaval became more vicious. At about 5:00 pm, the ringleaders of the illegal "Beijing Federation of Autonomous Students Unions of Universities" and "Colleges and Federation of Autonomous Workers' Unions" distributed knives, iron bars, chains and sharpened bamboo sticks, inciting the mobs to kill soldiers and members of the security forces. In a broadcast over loudspeakers in Tiananmen Square, the "Federation of Autonomous Workers' Unions" urged the people "to take up arms and overthrow the government." It also broadcast how to make and use Molotov cocktails and how to wreck and burn military vehicles.

A group of rioters organized about 1,000 people to push down the wall of a construction site near Xidan and stole tools, reinforcing bars and bricks, ready for street fighting.

They planned to incite people to take to the streets the next day, a Sunday, to stage a violent rebellion in an attempt to overthrow the government and seize power at one stroke.

At this critical juncture, the Party Central Committee, the State Council and the Central Military Commission decided to order troops poised on the outskirts of the capital to enforce martial law and quell the counter-revolutionary rebellion.

Eight. How did the counter-revolutionary rebels injure and kill People's Liberation Armymen?

Since the enforcement of martial law in Beijing, the martial law troops heading for Beijing proper tried their best to avoid conflicts, exercising great restraint in accordance with instructions of the Party Central Committee. After the

June 3 riot happened and before the troops entered the city, the Beijing municipal government and the headquarters of the martial law enforcement troops issued an emergency announcement at 6:30 pm, which said, "All citizens must heighten their vigilance and keep off the streets and not to go to Tiananmen Square as of the issuing of this notice. Workers should remain at their posts, and other citizens must stay at home to ensure their security." The announcement was broadcast over and over again on TV and radio.

About 10 pm on June 3, most of the martial law troops heading for Beijing proper from various directions had been halted at barricades set up at the main crossroads. Even so, the troops were still quite restrained, while the counter-revolutionary rioters took advantage to beat and kill soldiers, to seize military materials and burn military vehicles.

From 10 pm to 11 pm the same day, at Cuiweilu, Gongzhufen, Muxidi and Xidan, 12 military vehicles were burned. Some people threw bricks at soldiers. And some rioters pushed trolleybuses to the crossroads, set them on fire and blocked the roads. When some fire engines got there, they were also smashed and burned.

Around 11 pm three military vehicles were wrecked and one jeep was overturned at Hufangqiao, and military vehicles on Andingmen overpass were surrounded. In Chongwenmen Street, a regiment of soldiers were surrounded, and on Jianguomen overpass, 30 military vehicles were halted by barricades, and another 300 military vehicles were halted to the west of the Beijing Coal Industrial School.

Trying to persuade the rioters to let them through, PLA men from warrant officers to generals were beaten up or kidnapped.

To avoid conflicts, the barricaded military vehicles in Nanyuan Sanyingmen made a detour. When they reached the southern gate of the Temple of Heaven, they were halted again and many of these vehicles were wrecked and burned. One military vehicle was halted in Zhushikou and a group of people swarmed over it. When a man looking like a cadre came up and tried to persuade them to leave it alone, he was severely beaten and no one knows whether he died or not.

Just after dawn on June 4, more military vehicles were burned. Several hundred military vehicles on dozens of road crossings in Tiantan Dongche Road, northern gate of Temple of Heaven, western exit of the subway in Qianmen, Qianmen Donglu, Fuyou Street, Liubukou, Xidan, Fuxingmen, Nanlishilu, Muxidi, Lianhu-

achi, Chegongzhuang, Donghuamen, Dongzhimen, Dabeyao, Hujialou, Beidougezhuang and Jiugongxiang in Daxing County were attacked with Molotov cocktails. Some soldiers were burned to death, and some others were beaten to death. In some areas, several dozens of military vehicles were burning at the same time.

At the Shuangjing crossroad, more than 70 armoured personnel carriers were surrounded and machine guns ripped from 20 of them.

From Jingyuan crossroad to Laoshan crematorium, more than 30 military vehicles were burning at the same time. Some rioters with iron bars and gasoline drums, waiting on the crossroads to burn passing motor vehicle. And many military vehicles carrying food, bedding and clothing were hijacked.

Several mobs drove snatched armoured personnel carriers along the Fuxingmen overpass area firing its guns. The "Federation of Autonomous Workers' Unions" claimed in their own broadcast that they had taken away a military transceiver and a cipher code book.

The mobs also assaulted civilian installations and public buildings. Shop windows including those of the Yanshan Department Store in Xicheng District were broken. Pine trees in front of Tiananmen gate and the western part of Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall were burned. Some public buses, fire engines, ambulances and taxis were also wrecked and burned. Some people even drove a public bus loaded with gasoline drums towards the Tiananmen rostrum and attempted to set fire to it. They were stopped by martial law troops on the southern side of Golden Water Bridges.

The mobs also murdered soldiers in various bestial ways. About dawn on June 4, some mobs beat up soldiers with bottles and bricks at Dongdan crossroad. In Fuxingmen, a military vehicle was surrounded and 12 soldiers were dragged off the vehicle. They were searched and severely beaten. Many of them were badly injured. In Liubukou, four soldiers were surrounded and beaten up, and some were beaten to death. In the Guangqumen area, three soldiers were severely beaten. One was rescued by some bystanders and the other two have not been found yet. In Xixingsheng lane of the Xicheng District, more than 20 armed policemen were beaten up by mobs; some were badly injured, and the others' whereabouts are unknown. In Huguosi, a military vehicle was halted, and soldiers on it were beaten up and detained as hostages. Submachine guns were snatched. A truck full of bricks drove from Dongjiao Minxiang to Tiananmen Square, and

people on the truck shouted "if you are really Chinese, attack the soldiers."

After dawn, a police ambulance-carrying eight injured soldiers to a hospital was halted by mobs. They beat a soldier to death and shouted that they would do the same to the other seven. In front of a bicycle shop in Qianmen Street, three soldiers were severely beaten by hooligans, who threatened anyone who tried to rescue them. On Changan Avenue a military vehicle broke down suddenly, and was attacked right away by about 200 rioters. The driver was killed inside the cab. About 30 metres to the east of Xidan crossroad, another soldier was beaten to death. Then the mob poured gasoline over his body and set fire to it. In Fuchengmen, another soldier's body was hung over the overpass after he had been savagely killed. In Chongwenmen, a soldier was thrown from the overpass and burned alive. Near the Capital Cinema on West Changan Avenue, an officer was beaten to death, disembowelled and his eyes plucked out. His body was then strung up on a burning bus.

In the several days of the rebellion, more than 1,280 military vehicles, police cars and public buses were wrecked, burned or otherwise damaged. Of the vehicles, over 1,000 were military vehicles, more than 60 were armoured personnel carriers and about 30 were police cars. More than 120 public buses were destroyed as well as more than 70 other kinds of motor vehicles. During the same period, arms and ammunition were stolen. More than 6,000 martial law soldiers, armed police and public security officers were injured and the death toll reached several dozens. They sacrificed their blood and even their precious lives to defend the motherland, the Constitution and the people. The people will remember their contributions.

Such heavy losses are eloquent testimony to the restraint and tolerance shown by the martial law troops. The PLA is an army led by the Chinese Communist Party and serves the people whole-heartedly. They are ruthless to the enemy but kind to the people. They were able to defeat the eight million Kuomintang troops armed by US imperialism during the war years and able to defeat US imperialism which was armed to the teeth, and to effectively safeguard the sacred territory and territorial waters and air space of our country. So why did they suffer such great casualties in quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion? Why were they beaten and even killed, even when they had weapons in their hands. It is just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "It was because bad people mingled

with the good, which made it difficult for us to take the firm measures that were necessary." It also showed that the PLA love the people and are unwilling to injure civilians by accident.

The fact that they met death and sacrificed themselves with generosity and without fear fully embodies the nature of the PLA. Otherwise how could there be such a great number of casualties and losses? Doesn't this reflect that the army defends the people at the cost of its own life?

In order to quell the counter-revolutionary rebellion and to avoid more losses, the martial law troops, having suffered heavy casualties and been driven beyond forbearance, were forced to fire in the air to open the way forward after repeated warnings.

During the counter-attack, some rioters were killed. Because there were numerous bystanders, some were knocked down by vehicles, some were trampled on or were hit by stray bullets. Some were wounded or killed by ruffians who had seized rifles.

According to the information we have so far gathered, more than 3,000 civilians were wounded and over 200, including 36 college students, died during the riot. Among the non-military casualties were rioters who deserved the punishment, people accidentally injured, and doctors and other people who were carrying out various duties on the spot. The government will do its best to deal with the problems arising from the deaths of the latter two kinds of people.

Due to a rumour spread by the Voice of America and some people who deliberately wished to spread rumours, people talked about a "Tiananmen bloodbath" and "thousands of people massacred." The facts are that after the martial law troops reached Tiananmen Square at 1:30 am, the Beijing municipal government and the martial law headquarters issued an emergency notice, which stated: "A serious counter-revolutionary rebellion occurred in the capital this evening" and "all citizens and students in Tiananmen Square should leave immediately to ensure that martial law troops will be able to implement their tasks." The notice was broadcast repeatedly for three hours through loudspeakers. The sit-in students gathered around the Monument to the People's Heroes in the southern part of the square. At around 3:00 am, they sent representatives to the troops to express their desire to withdraw from the square voluntarily and this was welcomed by the troops.

At 4:30 am, the martial law headquarters broadcast the following notice: "It is time to

clear the square and the martial law headquarters accepts the request of the students to be allowed to withdraw." At the same time, another notice on quickly restoring normal order to the square was issued by the municipal government and the headquarters and broadcast. After hearing this, the several thousand students organized hand-in-hand pickets and started to leave the square in an orderly manner, carrying their own banners and streamers.

At about 5:00 am the troops vacated a wide corridor in the southeastern part of the square to ensure the smooth and safe departure of the students. At the same time, a few students who refused to leave were forced to leave by martial law troops. By 5:30 am, the clearing operation of the square had been completed.

During the whole operation no one, including the students who refused but were forced to leave, died. Tales of "rivers of blood" in Tiananmen Square and the rumour-mongers themselves "escaping from underneath piles of corpse" are sheer nonsense. The counter-revolutionary rebellion was put down with Tiananmen Square returning to the hands of the people and all martial law enforcement troops taking up their assigned positions.

During the quelling of the counter-revolutionary rebellion, the PLA, the armed police and the public security police fought valiantly and performed immortal feats. And many people gave first-aid to the wounded and rescued besieged soldiers, rendering their co-operation and support to the martial law enforcement troops.

Due to the turmoil and the counter-revolutionary rebellion, Beijing has suffered heavy losses in its economy and losses in other fields can not be counted with money. Workers, peasants and intellectuals are now working hard to retrieve the losses. Now, order in the capital has fundamentally returned to normal and the situation throughout China is also tending to become calm, which shows that the correct decision made by the Party Central Committee has benefitted the Chinese people of all nationalities. Yet, the unrest and the rebellion are not completely over, as a handful of counter-revolutionary rioters refuse to recognize defeat and still indulge in sabotage, and even dream of staging a comeback.

In order to achieve thorough victory, we should mobilize the people completely, strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship and spare no effort to ferret out the counter-

revolutionary rioters. We should uncover instigators and rebellious conspirators, and punish the organizers and schemers of the unrest and the counter-revolutionary rebellion, that is, those who obstinately stuck to the path of bourgeois liberalization and conspired to instigate rebellion, those who colluded with overseas and other foreign hostile forces, those who provided illegal organizations with top secrets of the Party and state, and those who committed the atrocities of beating, smashing, grabbing and burning during the disturbances. We should make a clear distinction between two different types of contradictions and deal with them accordingly, through resolute, hard and painstaking work. We must educate and unite people as much as possible and focus the crackdown on a handful of principal culprits and diehards who refuse to repent. On this basis, we will retrieve all the losses suffered in the unrest and the counter-revolutionary rebellion as soon as possible. For this, we must rely on the people, try to increase production, practice the strict economy and struggle arduously.

Chairman, vice-chairmen and Standing Committee members, our country's just struggle to quell the unrest and the counter-revolutionary rebellion has won the understanding and support of governments and people of many countries. We extend our wholehearted gratitude for this. However, there are also some countries, mainly the US and some West European countries, which have distorted the facts, spread slanderous rumours and even uttered so-called condemnations and imposed sanctions on our country to set off an anti-China wave and wantonly interfere in our country's internal affairs. We deeply regret this. As for the outside pressures, our government and people have never submitted to such things, not this time nor any time. The rumours will be cleared away and the truth and facts will come out.

Our country will unswervingly take economic construction as the central task and persist in the Four Cardinal Principles and in economic reform and opening up to the outside world. Our country will, as always, adhere to our independent foreign policy of peace, continue to develop friendly relations with all countries in the world on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and make our contributions to the safeguarding of world peace and the promotion of world development. □

attempts be tolerated. No Party member and, needless to say, no Party ideological or theoretical worker, must ever waver in the slightest on this basic stand. To undermine any of the four cardinal principles is to undermine the whole cause of socialism in China, the whole cause of modernization.

("Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles," March 30, 1979)

A trend of thought emerged in China after the smashing of the gang of four; it is called bourgeois liberalization, which worships the "democracy" and "freedom" of the Western capitalist countries and negates socialism. This won't do. China is working for modernization, under no circumstances should it practise liberalization or take the Western capitalist road. With regard to those who practise bourgeois liberalization and violate the law, it won't do not to deal with them seriously. Because what they go in for is nothing more than those practices left over from the "cultural revolution," speaking out freely, airing their views fully, writing big character posters, putting out illegal publications, —which in fact amounts to a form of turmoil. This gust of wind must not be allowed to blow. Since China needs to uphold the socialist system, develop the socialist economy and achieve the four modernizations, it won't do to lack ideals, nor will it do to lack discipline. If, instead of a stable environment, there is political turmoil or instability, it will be impossible to proceed with socialist construction.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee decided to pursue an open policy and at the same time called for checking the wind of liberalization; these are interrelated questions. If this gust of wind is not checked, it will be impossible to implement the

open policy. The liberalization mentality exists at present not only in society, but also in our Communist Party. To go in for the four modernizations and carry out the open policy, one must not practise bourgeois liberalization. Once the trend of liberalization develops, our cause would be undermined. In short, our goal is to acquire a stable political environment, without which everything else will be out of the question. To administer a country is a major principle which governs many minor principles. These minor principles may contain some truth, but it won't do without the major principle.

("Practising Bourgeois Liberalization Means Taking the Capitalist Road," May-June, 1985)

With regard to the question of opposing bourgeois liberalization, I am the one who has talked about it most often and most insistently. Why? First, because there is now a trend of thought —that is, liberalization—among the masses, especially among the young people. Second, because this trend has found support from the sidelines. For example, there have been some comments from people in Hong Kong and Taiwan who are all opposed to our four cardinal principles and who think we should introduce the capitalist system lock, stock and barrel, as if that were the only genuine modernization. What in fact is this liberalization? It is an attempt to turn China's present policies in the direction of capitalism. The exponents of this trend are trying to lead us towards capitalism. That is why I have explained time and again that our modernization programme is a socialist one. Our decision to apply the open policy and assimilate useful things from capitalist societies was made only to supplement the development of our socialist productive forces.

We all remember that in 1980, after the defeat of the gang of four, the National People's Congress adopted a resolution to delete from the Constitution the provision concerning the right of citizens to "speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and put up big-character posters." Why did we do this? Because there was an ideological trend of liberalization. If that trend had been allowed to spread, it would have undermined our political stability and unity, without which construction would be out of the question.

Liberalization itself is bourgeois in nature—there is no such thing as proletarian or socialist liberalization. Liberalization by itself means antagonism to our current policies and systems and a wish to revise them. In fact, exponents of liberalization want to lead us down the road to capitalism. That's why we call it bourgeois liberalization. It doesn't matter if the term has been used elsewhere in other contexts, for our current politics demands that we use it in the resolution, and I am in favour of it.

It seems to me that the struggle against liberalization will have to be carried on not only now but for the next 10 or 20 years. If we fail to check this trend, it will merge with undesirable foreign things that will inevitably find their way into China because of our open policy and become a battering ram used against our modernization programme. This is something we cannot afford to ignore. If you have read some of the comments that have been made by people in Hong Kong and by bourgeois scholars in foreign countries, you will see that most of them insist that we should liberalize, or say that there are no human rights in China. These commentators oppose the very things we believe in and hope that we will change.

But we shall continue to raise problems and solve them in the light of the realities in China.

("Remarks at the 6th Plenary Session of the Party's 12th Central Committee," September 28, 1986)

We have to keep on opposing bourgeois liberalization for at least 20 years. Democracy can only be developed gradually. Western practices should not be copied and there will definitely be disorder if we do so. Our socialist construction must be carried out with proper guidance, in an orderly way, and under conditions of stability and unity, and this is why I especially stress having ideals and enforcing discipline. If we practise bourgeois liberalization, the nation will be thrown into turmoil again. Practising bourgeois liberalization will nullify the Party's leadership, and our 1 billion people, without a cohesive force, will lose their combat capacity. By that time, such a Party will not even have the status of a mass organization, how can it lead the people to go in for construction?

("Opposing Bourgeois Liberalization With a Clear-Cut Stand," December 30, 1986)

A Small number of intellectuals incite students to create disturbances. Their proposition is actually to oppose the socialist system and go in for bourgeois liberalization. Bourgeois liberalization, as it is called, means to adopt all-round Westernization and take the capitalist road. In the light of its own experience, China cannot take the capitalist road. The explanation is very simple. Its population of one billion is now still in a backward state. If it takes the capitalist road, a few people in certain areas might get rich quickly, form a new capitalist class and produce a batch of millionaires. But, at the utmost, they will

make up less than 1 percent of the population, while large numbers of people will still be unable to get rid of poverty or even solve their problems of food and clothing, and serious unemployment will ensue. The trouble with China is that there are too many people, and each year the newly employed youth number 7 million to 8 million, a problem which cannot be resolved according to Western methods. Of course, in opening to the outside world today, we have also absorbed some management methods which have proved effective in capitalist society and are similarly applicable in socialist society. We have opened multiple channels to provide employment opportunities for our youth. Anyhow, only the socialist system can solve this problem fundamentally. Therefore, we will not tolerate some people's opposition to socialism. The socialism we refer to is socialism with Chinese characteristics and it is impossible to build a Chinese-type socialism without the leadership of the Communist Party. Our history has proved this.

("China Can Only Take the Socialist Road," March 3, 1987)

Political structural reform includes democracy and the legal system. Our democracy is related to the legal system. People often link democracy with the United States and believe that the American system is the most ideal system of democracy. We cannot copy yours. I believe you can understand this. If China copies your tripartite balance of power and general elections (we don't have the conditions for this), it will definitely bring on turbulence throughout the country. If some people take to the streets today, others take to the streets tomorrow how can we put up with life like that? What energy will we have to carry out construction? Therefore, China's

problems cannot be handled according to your approach.

("Talks With Former US President Jimmy Carter," June 29, 1987)

China's main goal is to develop the country, extricate itself from backwardness, increase its strength and gradually improve the living standards of the people. It would be impossible to achieve these aims in the absence of a stable political environment; nothing can be accomplished without a stable political environment. If this or that group of people are allowed to take to the streets, with China's population of 1 billion and 365 days in a year, something will happen every day. China has its own actual conditions and I believe that we know somewhat more about them than our international friends. With regard to China's political structural reform, attention should be paid to socialist democracy as well as the socialist legal system. While stressing the development of democracy, it should be emphasized that our people, particularly the younger people, should be taught to have ideals and observe disciplines.

("Talks With Former US President Jimmy Carter," June 29, 1987)

The need for stability overrides all other problems in China. Everything will fall through without a stable environment and achievements that have already been scored will also be lost. Reforms should be conducted in our country and this definitely requires a stable political environment. Failing this, nothing will be accomplished.

We have made speedy and appropriate evaluations of historical events and figures. Evaluations should not be excessive or go too far because the negation of a historical figure would mean

the negation of a whole historical period of our country. China is in the process of developing its economy. If we only hanker after formal democracy, the result will be that democracy cannot be realized, and neither can the economy achieve development; only a situation of national chaos will emerge and the morale of the people will be undermined. We have a deep understanding of this because we have the experience of the "cultural revolution" and have seen the disastrous effects with our own eyes. China must persevere in the policy of reform and opening to the outside world as the hope for solving China's problems. But a stable political environment will be needed. China has a huge population and everyone has his or her own views. If there is this demonstration today, that one tomorrow, if for 365 days there are demonstrations every day, then economic construction will

be out of the question. The Chinese people, generally speaking, support the policy of reform and the majority of students favour stability. They know that without the stability of the country, there will be no reform and opening to the outside world. Our ultimate aim is to develop socialist democracy, but it will not do if we rush ahead with it. The United States has had experience in elections for 100 to 200 years. If we were to run elections among China's 1 billion people now, chaos such as prevailed during the "cultural revolution" would certainly ensue. If young people all stick to their own views, then the kind of "all-round civil war" mentioned by Chairman Mao will occur. Civil war does not necessarily require guns, fists and wooden clubs will do. Democracy is our goal, but the state must maintain stability.

("Talks With US President George Bush," February 26,

1989)

In the past ten years China has achieved satisfactory progress. Our biggest mistake is in the field of education; ideological and political work has weakened and education has not been developed enough. The most important point is that while the economy has scored heartening progress and the living standards of the people have improved, we have failed to tell the people, including the Party members, that we should keep up the tradition of plain living and hard struggle. With this fine tradition, we can resist corruption and veteran cadres can help their children to behave themselves. After sober-minded consideration, we feel that the mistake in this respect is more serious than the problem of inflation.

("Talks With Ugandan President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni," March 23, 1989)

Addenda to Party Leaders' Profiles

In our last issue, some profiles of Communist Party leaders were incomplete. The following gives their up-to-date biographies.—Ed.

Li Peng

Li Peng, who had served as China's acting premier for almost five months, was appointed premier of the State Council at the first session of the Seventh National People's Congress on April 9, 1988,

Li, 61, entered the highest leading body of the Chinese Communist Party at the 13th National Party Congress in November 1987 and became one of the five Standing Committee members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee.

Li is a specialist in the energy industry and has worked for most of his life in this field.

He was sent to study at the

Moscow Power Institute in 1948, one year before the founding of the People's Republic. He was an outstanding student at the institute and served as chairman of the Chinese Students Association there.

After returning to China in 1955, he was chief engineer and director of two major power plants in Northeast China and a deputy chief engineer in the Northeast China Electric Power Administration.

In 1966, he became director of the Beijing Electric Power Administration and ensured a normal power supply to Beijing and Tianjin despite the turmoil of the "cultural revolution" (1966-76).

He served as vice-minister and

minister of Power Industry and first vice-minister of Water Resources and Electric Power in 1979-83.

He became a member of the Party Central Committee at the 12th National Party Congress in 1982, and was elected a member of the Political Bureau at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee in 1985.

In 1983, he became a vice-premier of the State Council and a member of the leading group under the Party Central Committee in charge of finance and economy to supervise such industrial sectors as energy, transportation and raw material supply. He served concurrently as

minister of the State Education Commission starting in 1985.

Li was born in October 1928. His father, Li Shuoxun, joined the Communist Party in its early years and took part in the 1927 Nanchang Uprising, an armed revolt led by the Communist Party. He died a martyr in Hainan Island, after he was arrested by the Kuomintang when he went to chair a meeting of the local guerrillas in the autumn of 1931.

The late Premier Zhou Enlai and his widow Deng Yingchao had the 11-year-old Li sent to Chongqing in 1939 to study at the Yucai School run by Tao Xingzhi, a leading Chinese educator. Li also attended the Yan'an Academy of Natural Sciences and an industrial school in Zhangjiakou. He joined the Communist Party in 1945.

Qiao Shi

Qiao Shi was elected member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the 13th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1987, as well as secretary of the Party's Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

Born in 1924 in Dinghai County, Zhejiang Province, Qiao Shi joined the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai in 1940 at the age of 16 and soon served as the secretary of a district student committee under the local underground Party organization. In 1945 he became one of the organizers of the students' movement in Shanghai.

After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, Qiao first did Party and political work and then switched to technical work before returning to Party duties. In the post-liberation years, he was secretary of the youth subcommittee under the city Party committee of Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, and was also in

charge of youth work in the East China Bureau of the Party Central Committee.

From 1954 through 1962, Qiao worked on the industrial front. He was technical division chief for construction for the Anshan Iron and Steel Works, then the largest enterprise of its kind in China, and later served as director of the Design Institute of the Jiuquan Iron and Steel Company in Northwest China's Gansu Province.

Qiao was transferred to the International Liaison Department of the Party Central Committee in 1963 and worked there until 1982. During this period, he served as deputy bureau chief, bureau chief, deputy head and head of the department.

After 1982, he was an alternate member and then full member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, director of the General Office of the Central Committee, head of the Organizational Department of the Central Committee and secretary of the Political Science and Law Committee under the Central Committee.

Qiao was elected a member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee in 1985, and was appointed vice-premier of the State Council in 1986.

Yao Yilin

Yao Yilin, a senior economic planner, was reappointed vice-premier of the State Council at the first session of the Seventh National People's Congress on April 12, 1988.

He was also reappointed minister of the State Planning Commission. He first became a vice-premier in 1978 and retained the position after the restructuring of the State Council in 1982.

Yao was elected one of the five members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the 13th Party Central Committee at its first plenary session in

November 1987.

After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, Yao worked in commerce and foreign trade, serving successively as vice-minister of Foreign Trade, vice-minister of Commerce and deputy director of the office under the State Council in charge of finance and trade. He served as minister of commerce for seven years beginning in 1960.

Born in 1917 in Guichi County, Anhui Province, Yao was graduated from Qinghua University with a degree in chemistry. He joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1935. As secretary of the Communist Party section of the Beiping Students' Federation, he was one of the organizers of the Beiping students' patriotic movements against Japanese aggression and for democracy.

During the 1937-45 War of Resistance Against Japan, Yao did underground work for the Party, serving as secretary of the Tianjin City Party Committee and secretary-general of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Bureau of the Party Central Committee.

For a period after 1979, he served as deputy secretary-general of the Party Central Committee and director of the General Office of the Party Central Committee.

He was elected an alternate member of the Party Central Committee at the Eighth National Party Congress in 1956 and the 10th Party Congress in 1973, a full member of the Party Central Committee at the 11th Party Congress in 1977 and a member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee at the third plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee held the following year.

Yao was elected an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the 12th Party Central Committee in 1982, and elected a full member of the Political Bureau in 1985. □

FACTS & FIGURES

Education in Present Day China

by the State Statistical Bureau

In the past decade, China's educational undertakings have scored marked success, with varying degrees of increases in the number of schools built, students enrolled and teachers recruited as well as the scale of investments and operational expenses. However, these advances have been inadequate, particularly in relation to the continual growth of social demand to the extent that the progress of reform and modernization is being handicapped.

World position reveals backwardness. In regard to the educational level of China's population, the proportion of people aged over 25 who have received higher or secondary school education ranks 60th among 122 countries and regions in the world;

The entrance rate of Chinese secondary school children ranks 80th among 139 countries and regions in the world;

Ye Deguan, principal of the Beijing No. 7 Middle School discusses with teachers how to use educational funds.

The entrance rate of China's higher education and the number of college students in every 100,000 people occupy the 110th place among 137 countries and regions in the world. Even including the number of adult college students, the number of Chinese college students in every 100,000 people still ranks 90th in the world;

In proportion to gross national product (GNP), China's educational expenses (including educational outlays of non-educational departments) rank 100th in the world, and China's per-capita educational expenses come to only 25 percent that of the developing countries.

Rural education lags behind urban. Following are the major expressions:

The illiteracy rate in the countryside is higher than that in urban areas. According to the 1 percent sample survey conducted in 1987, the illiteracy rate of rural

people above the age of 12 was as high as 29.34 percent, or 13.55 percentage points higher than that of city people.

The cultural level of farmers who have received an education was lower than that of their city counterparts. In 1987, only 22.2 percent of the farmers had attained a junior middle school cultural level, equivalent to 26.1 percentage points lower than the urban population. Only 3.8 percent of the urban population and 0.06 percent of the rural had attained a college education; 15.7 percent of the urban population as compared with 3.8 percent of the rural, had a senior middle school cultural level.

The quality of education received by rural youngsters is still low.

The following figures give the proportion of youngsters between the ages of seven and 12 at school or having a cultural level above primary school in 1987:

In the rural areas (counties), 61.2 percent, age seven; 81.5 percent, age eight; 88.3 percent, age nine; 90.8 percent, age 10; 91.7 percent, age 11; and 91.7 percent, age 12.

In the cities and towns, 70.2 percent, age seven; 90.9 percent, age eight; 95.1 percent, age nine; 96.1 percent, age 10; 96.5 percent, age 11; and 96.3 percent, age 12.

At the same time, the illiteracy rate of rural youngsters between the ages of 12 and 19 was as high as 10 percent, or three times higher than that of urban people of the same age. This means that the cultural level of the new generation of rural labourers is far lower than that of their urban



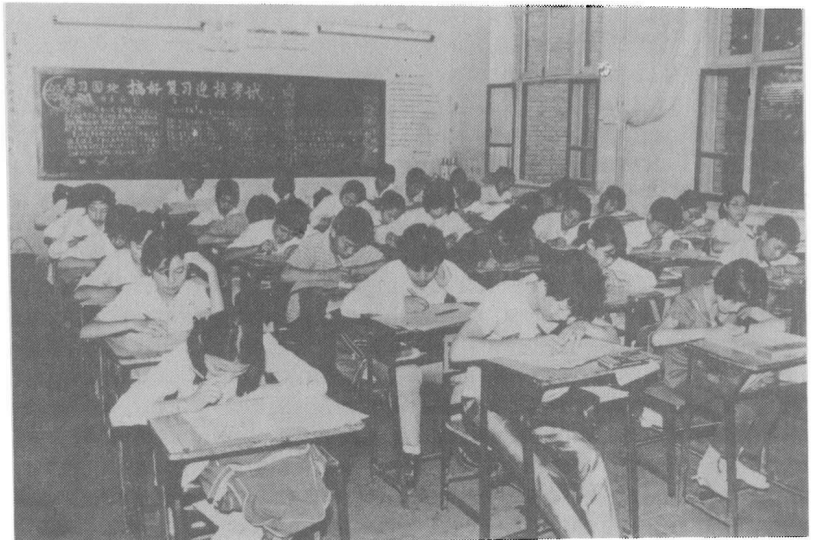
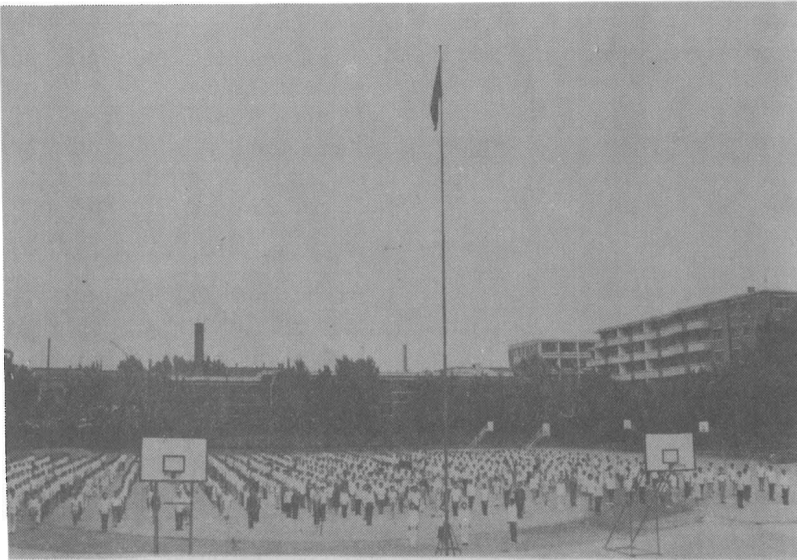
counterparts.

Cultural backwardness in the countryside makes for low efficiency in social reproduction (of the means of production) and a high birth-rate, which have retarded the economic and social development of the rural areas.

Seriousness of students drop-outs and unsound educational development mechanisms. Statistics show that in 1988, the number of student drop-outs from ordinary schools countrywide totalled 7.577 million, the highest figure ever in recent years. The drop-out rate accounted for 4.1 percent of all the students. Of all school-leavers, the number of student drop-outs from agricultural and secondary vocational schools was the highest of the various kinds of schools, reaching 8.8 percent; from junior middle schools, 6.9 percent; from primary schools, 3.3 percent; from senior middle schools, 2.2 percent; graduate schools, 1.8 percent; college, 0.32 percent; and from technical secondary schools, 0.15 percent. The number of drop-outs from primary and junior middle schools accounted for 94.5 percent of the total.

In respect to region, the situation of primary school drop-outs

Each week on Monday there is a flag-raising ceremony at No.7 Middle School.



First grade students (junior) of No. 7 Middle School take their final examination.

Photos by XUE CHAO

is fairly serious in the interior, while the occurrence of student drop-outs in the field of secondary education and from senior middle schools is striking in coastal areas. These are different manifestations in different regions reflecting the impact of an overheated economy and consumption on education. The extent of primary school drop-outs is serious in Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou and Guangxi.

For college and graduate students to leave school is a new happening in recent years. Al-

though the figure is not high, it has increased at an accelerated pace and had a great impact on society and the entire undertaking of education. In 1988, over 6,000 college students and 2,000 graduate students discontinued their studies, at a drop-out rate of 0.32 percent and 1.8 percent respectively. Drop-outs among college and graduate students involved suspension and expulsion as well as discontinuation of schooling.

While the cultural level of the general population is low, the discontinuation of their studies by large numbers of college students is taking place. Thus, China's education faces the challenges of the transition from a natural economy to a growing commodity economy, and the tasks of optimizing the external environment for education and establishing its internal developmental mechanisms.

The teaching force needs. In recent years, the number of teachers has increased somewhat. Compared with 1978, in 1988 the number of full-time teachers at all levels went up by 569,000. This included 187,000 university and college teachers, 107,000 secondary school teachers and

275,000 primary school teachers. But the qualifications of the teachers are not high. According to records of their formal schooling, 11 percent of the college teachers, 58.66 percent of the senior middle school teachers, 64.39 percent of the junior middle school teachers and 31.87 percent of the primary school teachers are not adequately prepared for their teaching post. The qualification rate of teachers has been on the decline in some localities.

The allocation of specialized teachers is irrational. According to estimates of the 1987 statistics, each middle school on an average had 1.4 physical culture teachers, two political science teachers, 0.2 teacher of physiology and public health, 0.3 art

teacher and 0.4 music teacher, while 50 middle schools had to share one computer teacher. According to the statistics provided by the department concerned on the proportion between the number of classes and the number of art teachers, in 1987 there was a shortage of 128,000 music teachers and 137,000 fine arts teachers for primary and junior middle schools in China. The situation was more serious for primary and middle schools in villages and towns, and the result was that youngsters were deprived of an all-round training in physical culture and fine arts.

Few are attracted to teaching with its low pay and meagre benefits. Statistics in 1988 showed that teachers ranked third from the bottom among workers and

staff members in state-run units, and their housing was even more inadequate. Owing to lack of housing, some young teachers could not get married, or had to live separately after marriage. There is an acute shortage of funding for teachers' medical care. The teaching profession lacks appeal among young people. In recent years, the quality of students enrolled in teachers colleges and normal schools has been dropping and in some instances the enrolment plan itself could not be fulfilled.

There are two major reasons for the backwardness of China's education: first, the educational foundation has all along been weak and second, the state in its policy has not really placed enough importance on education. □

Trade Unions: Strengthen Labour Protection

by Our Staff Reporter Wu Naitao

Millions of workers in the world suffer from industrial accident and occupational diseases every year. China, where the level of industrialization is rising daily, is no exception. And even though China's labour protection system was affirmed by the Asian and Pacific Workers' Education Symposium on Labour Protection, Working Conditions and Trade Unions held in Beijing last April, China is facing increasingly difficult and complex problems. According to incomplete statistics, prior to 1983 less than 200 serious accidents (in which more than three people died in one accident) occurred annually in national industrial

and communications enterprises. This figure had risen to 307 cases in 1987.

There are about 100 million members in the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. They are distributed in some 530,000 grassroots trade union organizations, most of whom work in industrial and communications enterprises. According to Ni Zhifu, vice-chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, China's trade unions perform a valuable duty in labour protection as they fight against the sometimes invisible murderer of industrial accidents and occupational diseases.

Help Enact Laws

China has promulgated more

than 170 types of laws, rules and regulations on labour protection. A relatively complete set of state standards on labour safety and health requirements has also been laid down. From 1981 to 1985, for example, some 55 standards were drafted. These included standards for guidelines, methods, technology and tools of production, safety of equipment and special installations, apparatuses and individual protection. Trade unions all participated in the drafting work or raised suggestions in the process of establishing these rules and standards.

Trade unions have their representatives in various organizations of the National People's

Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. They are also active in airing their views and putting forward their suggestions in the area of labour protection policy.

In 1984 and 1985, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions made a careful investigation and analysis of 304 typical casualty accidents, and then put forward to the State Council suggestions on "focus on production safety and control of casualty accidents." The Trade Unions also raised suggestions about strengthening safety management and strictly curbing infractions of work regulations. Approved by the State Council, the suggestions are currently in force throughout the country and thus play a positive role in controlling accidents. The Trade Unions also made a country-wide investigation into and conducted research on the harmful effects of powder dust and other occupational diseases, voicing their opinions to the State Council about the best way to solve these problems.

Supervisory System

In China's enterprises, a system for labour protection and safety inspection is being widely practised. As of this date, 1,627 inspectors have been licensed by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions; 422,000 grassroots (workshops) commissions of trade union labour protection, supervision and examination have been established; and more than 3.1 million inspectors in trade union groups for labour protection have been appointed. The Rules for Labour Protection and Supervision laid down by the Trade Union give clear qualifications, such as a person's professional knowledge, and work capacity for inspectors at all levels as well as their respective functions and powers, giving in-

spectors the authority to curb the activity of any person who works in violation of the laws and regulations. Inspectors also have the power to approve employees' right not to work after discovery of clearly dangerous occupational hazards on a site and to organize their evacuation from the work area.

Safety inspectors active in production usually have high skills and rich experiences which enable them to discover unsafe and hidden dangers and instantly adopt effective measures to prevent catastrophes. For example, safety member Xiao Xinqiu of the Niumasi Mine in Hunan Province found a dangerous situation during work hours. He immediately warned his 20 or so colleagues off the mine. As the workers had run barely 20 metres away, the face caved in. Fortunately, all the workers were saved.

In recent years, some 20 important projects at the state and ministerial levels were examined and approved by the safety supervision inspectors dispatched by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and the National Committee of the Industrial Trade Unions. According to state stipulations, such major projects are not allowed to enter into production without the examination and endorsement of the trade unions.

Trade unions should deal with industrial accidents, particularly large accidents, such as the powder dust explosion accident in Harbin Flax Factory which occurred several years ago, and the serious 1988 train overturn accident. At the time, the trade unions sent their own experts to participate in the investigation.

Training

Although the labour protection membership within China's trade unions is large, the educa-

tional level of inspectors needs to be raised. According to 1987 statistics, labour safety inspectors with a college education and holding a card of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions accounted for only 66.67 percent of the total. As for the individual trade union group's inspectors, their educational and technical levels were still lower. For this reason, the trade unions are making greater efforts to implement their education and training plans.

At present, two workers' movement colleges and five workers' universities under the trade unions have set up a labour protection department and speciality. Nearly one thousand students have graduated or are studying in such departments. In recent years, about 100 regional educational centres of labour protection speciality and 3,000 education offices of enterprise labour protection have been established throughout the country. From 1982 to 1983, about 5,000 classes of various types were held, training more than 500,000 people. According to Li Yongan, head of the Economic and Technical Labour Protection Department of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the Trade Unions plans to spend three years training 600 middle- and high-level inspectors of trade union labour protection and supervision, and to publish teaching materials for trade union groups, so that up to 2 million inspectors can be given training. Li expressed the hope that, in facing an increasingly serious industrial accidents and occupational diseases situation, the Trade Unions will be able to independently carry out labour protection and supervision, work for the control of casualty accidents, prevent occupational diseases and improve the work environment. □

Favourable Situation in Foreign Trade

On June 15, Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Zheng Tuobin said that the decline in China's exports during the first quarter of the year had been basically stopped. From January through May, exports were valued at US\$15.64 billion, nearly equal to those in the same period last year. Imports totalled US\$14.01 billion, up 14.5 percent on last year. Exports in May reached US\$3.5 billion, up 7.3 percent on the same period of the previous year, and the imports were US\$3.17 billion, an increase of 11.9 percent.

Zheng said that the work on foreign investments had made good progress. From January through April negotiated foreign investment totalled US\$4.53 billion with US\$2.79 billion actually used, up 47.5 percent and 30.1 percent respectively compared with the same period last year. Included in the total were loan credits of US\$2.12 billion with US\$1.99 billion actually used, up 23.9 percent and 22.2 percent respectively on last year. Newly-approved, foreign-funded enterprises numbered 2,001 with US\$2.15 billion of negotiated foreign investment and US\$720 million actually used. These were respective increases of 88.6 percent, 82.1 percent and 60.2 percent on the same period last year. Foreigners' investment in other field also had increased.

In late April and May, China checked and approved some important joint ventures, such as the Shenzhen Seg-Hitachi Colour Indicator Equipment Co. Ltd. with a US\$140 million investment, the Shenzhen Cnedc-conic Glass Co. Ltd. with US\$175 investment (possessing an annual production capacity of 4.3 million colour display glass bulbs) and Haiya 13-1 Natural Gas

Field in Yingge Bay of the South China Sea jointly developed with the United States Arco Corp. In addition, projects using foreign funds to import technology include the Jiangsu Ligang Power Plant constructed with a US\$180 million credit provided by the Italian government and the Beilungang Thermal Power Plant in Ningbo City using French equipment financed by a World Bank loan. Contracts for some major projects, such as the Beijing Airplane Maintenance Centre jointly undertaken with the Lufthansa German Airline and the production of high-grade cement with Japan's Onoda Cement Co. Ltd., are being examined before approved.

Zheng said overseas projects

contracting and co-operation of labour services were progressing steadily. From January through April, though the value of newly signed contracts had decreased compared with the same period of the previous year, business tax had increased 8.9 percent.

Zheng said that the recent counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing had impeded China's foreign economic activities. However, since the quelling of the riot on June 4, the situation had returned to normal. The Chinese government was stable and China's policy of opening to the outside would not change. Investment in China was both safe and profitable. He hoped that some countries and foreign businessmen would have foresight and return to the path of developing beneficial co-operation with China.

by Yao Jianguo

Volkswagen Plans Expansion in China

The four partners of the Sino-German Shanghai Volkswagen Automotive Co. have decided to reinvest their dividends from 1988 in the local manufacture of the Santana car and in expanded production. This is the message from the company's recent board meeting at Volkswagen's headquarters in Wolfsburg, West Germany.

The meeting reviewed the report on the initial feasibility study of the company's second phase of expansion, which is due to start in 1993, and reached general agreement on the report's conclusions.

According to the expansion scheme, the company will modify the design of the present Santana and introduce a new model of the variant. Auto production capacity is expected to jump from the current 30,000 a year to 100,000 a year in the second phase, according to Hans-Joachim Paul, the company's executive techni-

cal director.

Catering to the company's expansion plan, the board agreed to set up a personnel development centre in Shanghai for personnel training, car parts and body design modification and development. The "creativity centre" will cover an area of about 10,000 square metres, and will be equipped with computer design and data processing systems.

Meanwhile, the company will merge with a local car plant to produce the new variant. Reliable sources said the merger plan has been accepted by the municipal government in principle and is expected to go ahead once the details are worked out.

The meeting also approved the setting up of service centres in Beijing and Shanghai to reinforce the company's market in China.

Inaugurated in late 1985, the 25-year contract establishing the Shanghai Volkswagen Automotive Co. is the largest equity joint-

venture project between West Germany and China. After four years of operation in Shanghai, the company has made steady strides towards its localization and market goals.

By the end of last year, local enterprises have been approved by Volkswagen to supply 30.6 percent of the parts for the Santana cars. By the end of this year, local components are expected to make up 50 to 60 percent of the car's parts.

Meanwhile, the fast-growing popularity of the Santana has posed a serious challenge to the dominance of Japanese cars.

"We won't change our policy. We'll stick to the contract, because it's part of our global strategy. For a company like Volkswagen, we can't confine ourselves to one place or one country," Paul said when talking about the impact of China's recent unrest on foreign investors.

Paul said his company's production returned to normal as soon as traffic barriers were removed. Construction on the company's engine plant, press shop and paint shop went on as usual even during the citywide breakdown of transportation in early June.

He said the company's expansion scheme relies heavily on the success of the localization of Santana car. "I'm very confident of this year's localization target of 50 percent, and will strive for 60 percent," he said.

As an important part of its localization efforts, the company's engine plant will officially go into operation on January 2, 1990. By then, the plant will turn out 180,000 engines a year. Of these, 100,000 engines will go to local production of the Santana car, and the remaining 80,000 will be exported to Volkswagen.

Another two major projects are also going on smoothly. The press shop with 11 pressing machines is expected to be completed by the

end of this year to localize chassis production.

In August, the paint shop will start operating with a processing capacity of 60,000 cars a year. And by next year, the paint will have been replaced by local products. □

Lift Venture Seeks Foreign Sales

China has an abundant supply and a falling market in elevator production due to the government's decision to cut down on capital construction and the random development of the elevator industry.

According to official statistics, China produces 16,000 elevators each year, but the domestic need is only 10,000 annually.

The situation has caused the industry to look into the overseas market.

The Sino-Swiss China-Schindler Elevator Co. Ltd. (CSE), China's first joint venture elevator business, is making efforts to expand overseas sales, said Wang Jiantong, the firm's general manager and director of the board.

Established in 1980, the company is operated by the China Construction Machinery Corp., Swiss Schindler Holdings AG and Jardine Schindler (Far East) Holdings SA of Hong Kong.

The company, with two factories in Beijing and Shanghai, sold US\$230 million worth of elevators last year. About 20 percent were exported.

In the first several years of operation, elevators manufactured by the company were in short supply on domestic markets. Now the company has to seek buyers, Wang said.

Some domestic customers failed to pay for their elevators according to contracts due to a shortage of funds. Such money amounted to about 50 million yuan.

"As the domestic market for elevators is shrinking and will continue to fall, the only way for the industry to get out of the tight corner is to open foreign markets," Wang said.

Beijing Schindler's elevators are sold in Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and Pakistan.

Wang said the company is now seeking buyers in Europe and Australia.

"Our company enjoys advantages in expanding foreign markets," Wang said.

Switzerland's elevator technology is the most advanced in the world. Elevators manufactured by the Beijing Schindler company with technology introduced from Switzerland will be more than acceptable to the foreign market.

However, to tap into European markets is not easy, Wang said. One of the reasons is the high price of steel on the domestic market, he said. Thus elevators manufactured in some European countries are cheaper than those produced in China, according to a recent market survey. Chinese lifts will face heated competition on the world market, Wang said.

To solve the problem, Wang proposed that the government urge steel enterprises to plow back their profits to expand production instead of putting their money in other businesses. With more steel, the price of the material would be lower and products using steel as a raw material would be competitive on the world market.

In order to increase exports, the company will also produce elevators according to foreign customers' needs.

At the same time that the company is emphasizing exports, it is also striving to win domestic orders, Wang said.

The supply of elevators has exceeded demand in China because of the cutback in capital con-

struction projects and fast growth of the elevator industry, Wang said.

At present, there are more than 200 elevator plants in China, 11 times as many as in 1979. Fourteen are large enterprises, including five Sino-foreign joint ventures. Apart from the Beijing China-Schindler with Switzerland, they are Tianjin Otis with the United States, Shanghai Mitsubishi and Guangzhou Hitachi with Japan and Suzhou Schindler with Switzerland.

Some joint venture companies are selling not only elevators produced by themselves but also those assembled with imported spare parts. "So even on the domestic market, our elevators are in heated competition with foreign ones," Wang said.

Despite the difficulties, Wang said his company's staff, including both Chinese and foreigners, is confident in the business. Its foreign staff members said that they will continue co-operating with China even though some foreigners lost confidence in China and left when unrest broke out in Beijing in May and June.

Uli Sigg, vice-chairman of the company's board, said recently in an interview with a Swiss television station that in the long run the turmoil will not hamper co-operation between the two sides and he is optimistic about the relationship.

What he said has greatly encouraged Swiss who have invested or intend to invest in China.

The Jardine Schindler (Far East) Holding SA of Hong Kong, the company's partner responsible for marketing, expressed that it will do its best to help China-Schindler fill its orders, and deliveries will not be delayed.

Factory workers are working without days off to make up the loss caused by transportation inefficiency during the turmoil.

Wang said this year the company's emphasis will be on im-

proving management. The responsibility system and dispensing of rewards and punishment will be reinforced to increase efficiency and improve quality to meet the demands of the overseas markets, Wang said. □

Good Sales of Woollen Yarn

Jinzhong brand woollen yarn produced by the Nanjing Suvi Woollen and Knitting Co. Ltd. is very popular with foreign businessmen. In the first four months of this year, the company received orders valued at US\$2 million from the United States, France, Japan and Hong Kong. It expects to earn US\$4.8 million in foreign exchange this year.

Co-funded by the Nanjing Wool Mill, the China National Textile Import and Export Corp., the Jiangsu Knitting and Cotton Goods Co. and the Australian P & V Investment Group, the company is the only woollen spinning joint venture in Nanjing.

According to Deputy General Manager Quan Liangjie, since the company began operations in February, it has made full use of the spinning equipment it imported from abroad. Now, it can not only produce lamb's wool yarn, shirley yarn, angora yarn, wool-ramie blendings, sheep's wool and wool-synthetic fibre blending yarn as well as other middle- and high-grade woollen knitting yarns but also supply 8- to 16-count single-ply or multiple-ply white and coloured yarn.

In addition it has produced 18-count woollen yarn badly needed on the international market. It is expected to be sold soon both in China and abroad. The total investment in the company is US\$3.5 million with a co-operative term of 12 years. Investment is expected to be recovered in six or seven years.

Good profits and bright market prospects give both Chinese and foreign partners confidence in co-operation. Nanjing regards the company as an export-oriented enterprise and has given it preferential treatment. The Australian side decided not to participate in the management and leave it to the care of the Chinese side. During a visit to the company, the Australian consul said it was one of Australia's two better joint ventures in China.

by Yao Jianguo

Sino-British Contract on Course

The latest information shows that the ever biggest economic agreement between the Group of 48 British Traders and the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade (CCPIT) signed in May will be implemented continuously.

The recent situation in China has made some people anxious about the fate of the agreement, but a letter from the British side has dispelled their anxiety.

The total sum of US\$5.4 billion involves 100 British companies and six Chinese provinces and cities. The agreement provides for the two sides to jointly run foreign-funded enterprises from 1990 to 1995, carry on technological exchanges, and import and export. Liaoning Province will share US\$1 billion, Jiangsu US\$1 billion, Shanghai US\$1.3 billion, Tianjin US\$800 million, Wuhan US\$600 million and Sichuan US\$700 million. The fields of co-operation include chemical industry, iron and steel industry, energy and communications.

In order to put the agreement into effect, an official British trade delegation will visit China this October. At that time, the one hundred British companies and the six Chinese provinces and cities will hold talks on specific projects.

by Li Ming

Jiang Kun: China's Star of Laughter

The English language *China Daily* once described Jiang Kun as the comedian who 700 million Chinese have turned to quench their thirst for laughter.

Jiang is China's star of cross talk, a form of comedy that resembles the wit and humour dialogues by Bob Hope.

In China, where language is an intrinsic part of culture, the comedy style of cross talk has a long history that can be traced back to Beijing, the capital of many Chinese dynasties.

Cross talks usually involve a dialogue between two people that encompass every form and manner of speech and sound. These include singing, mimicry and humorous dialogue and exaggeration that all come together to provide a happy and relaxing release for the audience.

Beijing has also had a strong influence upon cross talk star Jiang Kun who absorbed the capital's culture, customs and spirit while growing up here and which also shaped his optimistic and cheerful character.

At the end of the 60s Jiang settled down in Heilongjiang Province where he worked as a farm labourer for nearly a decade. It was there that he met a boy who came from a cross talk family who began teaching him the skill.

The two paired up to begin a cross talk team until 1976 when Jiang was transferred to Beijing's China Broadcasting Art Troupe and became a professional.

Possibly Jiang Kun's greatest moment came in 1978 when working along with his teacher Li Wenhua, when he managed to awe the nation with "*Taking a Photo Like That*," a cross talk that evoked repercussions throughout the country.

The warmly welcomed satire lampooned the formalism of the "cultural revolution." It was Jiang and his play that became known for helping to break the shackles of

that "lost decade."

Since that historical skit Jiang's artistic production has borne fruit many times. He has created and performed dozens of cross talks, the most famous of which are "*Poem and Love*," "*The Passengers and I*," "*Disturbance on the Lift*" "*Indulgence in Fantasy*," "*A Story of a Nose*," "*Watching TV*" and "*Special News*."

Jiang's humour often ruthlessly dares to satire official bureaucratic malpractice in the often taboo area of political jokes. One such skit, "*Disturbance on the Lift*" directly lowers the guns at the nation's cadre system and much that goes with it.

His "*Special News*" satirizes the many twisted and false official news reports that have led many to rely upon the rumour mill for being an even more reliable information source than the nightly news.

But cross talks also encompass almost every topic. There's the one about watching tigers in the zoo and another about young people chatting about their love affairs and even one on clothing styles.

But Jiang is more than a wisecracker. When people hear his talks he manages to enter into the audience's imagination almost as if he were an old and trusted uncle.

The Chinese have praised his performances as brilliant, interesting and animated regardless of the subject or atmosphere he has to create.

One after another his different tones and gestures create new characters for the audience. There's the contemptible cad and laughable wit, or there's the loveable laughter. Whatever the person portrayed, they are real people that the audience can relate to in their own lives.

Jiang sometimes sings, and at times whispers. He's sometime naughty or foolish. But whatever the case he ends up filling his audience with laughter.

It was no wonder that Jiang was warmly welcomed by Chinese speakers when he toured Japan, Canada, Singapore, Hong Kong, the United States and Mexico.

When he visited Hong Kong at the start of this year his performance of "*Disturbance on the Lift*" was devoured by the region's worldly-wise audience who strongly lent their applause, laughter and heats.

Jiang's wish is to get the art of cross talk to Chinese speakers throughout the world. Several years ago one of his tours throughout Southeast Asia attracted large audiences. Later Singapore, then Malaysia invited him back to be a judge in their national cross talk competitions.

"People's esthetic levels have grown with their increase in knowledge which has made them expect more sophisticated cross talks," says Jiang.

Jiang says he hopes that his humour will have a social influence that will amount to more than just stimulating people to laughter.

"Efforts should be taken to make the best use of the audience to exert the greatest influence on politics, journalism, drama, film and advertizing," says Jiang. "After laughing the people should gain enlightenment."

Jiang has published two collections of cross talks and further plans to make a tape covering the complete collection of his work.

Recently Jiang resigned his China Broadcasting post so he could concentrate on producing even better cross talks.

Across millions of TV screens Jiang's face is also known as the TV host on CCTV's special Spring Festival evening party. For the past seven years it has been Jiang who has brought cheer to China's most watched programme that comes once a year on Chinese New Year's Eve.

by Feng Jing

Sacrificial Horse Pit Opens in Shandong

A big sacrificial horse pit found in the capital of ancient State of Qi was opened to Chinese and foreign tourists recently. The pit is said to offer possible enlightenment on why the famous Mausoleum of Qinshihuang, first emperor of the Qin Dynasty, at Xian, Shaanxi, has a great number of terra-cotta figures of warriors and horses.

The ancient city was located in present-day Linzi District of Zibo City in Shandong Province. Two thousand years ago, it was the capital of Qi which had jurisdiction over the northeast of present-day Shandong. Now, only remnants of the city walls can be seen.

Some cultural relics have been unearthed in the ruins. But the most interesting is a pit of sacrificial horses beside the mausoleum of Jing Gong, the 25th king of the Qi State. It is 215 metres long, five metres wide and two metres below the surface, bordering the mausoleum on the east, west and north. So far, 228 sacrificial horses have been dug out. But, according to the way they are arranged, it is inferred that there should be more than 600 war-horses. One can see from the remains that they were in two lines with heads up and facing outwards. Five war-horses in the front with copper bells around their necks are poised as though ready for battle.

Historians have established that King Jing Gong reigned for 58 years. He was very fond of battle steeds and, from his point of view, the number showed the state's strength. Examination of the remains shows that all the horses were geldings and, before they were buried alive with the dead king, people had got them drunk.

Qi was a big eastern state enfeoffed by the Zhou Dynasty (1100 B.C.-221 B.C.). It spanned the Eastern Zhou Dynasty (770 B.C.-256 B.C.), the Spring and Autumn Period (770 B.C.-476 B.C.) and the Warring States Period (475 B.C.-221 B.C.)—638 years altogether before it was destroyed by the

Qin Dynasty (221 B.C.-207 B.C.).

According to archaeologists, the sacrificial horse pit is a wonder in itself as it was hundreds of years

A Kingdom of Brown-Eared Pheasants

In China's Shanxi Province, there is the world's largest habitat for a rare kind of bird, the brown-eared pheasant. More than 3,200 of them are living peacefully in a state nature reserve there, raising their offspring.

Brown-eared pheasants, famous for their splendid and treasured tail feathers, are classified as one of China's protected animals of first importance. They are also regarded as Shanxi's provincial bird, for they mainly live in Shanxi's Luya Mountain and Pangquan Gully, where the forest is very thick and the streams flow all year long—an ideal place for the pheasants. In 1980, Luya Mountain and Pangquan Gully were declared by the prov-

before the Qinshihuang terra-cotta figures. It is possible that the custom of Qi nobles influenced the Qinshihuang who replaced real horses in his mausoleum with terra-cotta figures of artistic significance. □

ince as its first nature reserve mainly on account of the pheasants. In 1986, Pangquan Gully was declared a state nature reserve. In addition, Hebei's Lesser Wutai Mountain is also a habitat for the bird.

The brown-eared pheasant lives in mountainous areas. They look for food in the bushes during the day and at night they roost in the trees. Spring is the breeding period. Generally speaking, they reproduce once a year with 9-12 eggs for each brood. Having found out the life cycle of the birds, scientists have taken care of them to such good effect that the number of brown-eared pheasants within the reserve has risen from some 1,000 to 3,200. □

Music Industry Suffers Setback

China's music industry suffered a general output decline during the first half of this year, according to statistics released by the Ministry of Light Industry.

The output of all major music instruments except Western wind and brass instruments showed declines in the first four months of the year.

Among them, the production of harmonicas decreased by 22.6 percent compared with the same period of last year, pianos dropped by 6 percent, copper percussion instruments were down by 31.7 percent, violins down by 41.7 percent, guitars down by 31.4 percent and electronic organs down by 72 percent.

Production in May and early June showed little recovery because of the nationwide social and political unrest, which has just begun to let up, but remains influential economically, according to Wang Huapu, chief of China National Music

Instrument Association under the ministry.

Wang said that specific figures for this period of production were not yet available.

Wang blamed the general decline of the music industry on the shortage of materials, energy and the circulation fund as a result of the credit cutback under the austerity programme which the government introduced last year.

In addition, the domestic demand for some popular music instruments such as pianos also saw a decrease this year due to price hikes and people's increasing demands for other items, Wang said.

A piano costs as much as 5,000 yuan (US\$1,351), which many people, for example, will now save up for buying houses, he said.

The drop in market demand caused by high prices is the main reason piano production has declined, he said.

by An Weihong

Features of Law-Breaking by Cadres

RENMIN RIBAO
(People's Daily)

The Liaoning Provincial Department of Supervision has recently analysed 737 cases of illegalities which were placed on file for investigation and prosecution in 1988. The results indicate that the illegal activities of cadres have the following features.

Cases of corruption and bribery increased sharply and there was an amazing number of losses caused by dereliction of duty. Of a total of 737 unlawful cases placed on file for investigation and prosecution, cases of corruption, taking bribes, seeking personal gains by exercise of authority or through extravagance amounted to 333, or 45.1 percent. Bureaucratic actions and dereliction of duty accounted for 112, or 15 percent. As an example, losses caused by seven dereliction of duty cases reached 2.301 million yuan.

Illegal acts by government officials with supervisory and judicial organs and units administering projects, quotas, funds and the supply of materials increased. Take Dalian City for example. Of unlawful acts put on record for investigation and prosecution, the number committed by officials in public security organs and supervisory departments for taxation, industry and commerce, and technology amounted to 41, or 36 percent. Cases involving officials with organizations administering projects, quotas, funds and the supply of materials were 26, or 23 percent.

The proportion of cases involving leading and middle-aged cadres of units was high. Of 737 cases in the province, the proportion committed by leading cadres of units was fairly high. Offences against the law by leading cadres of units amounted to 74 percent

of the total in Liaoyang City; 63 percent in Jinzhou City; 64 percent in Fushun City; 60.8 percent in Tieling City; 72.2 percent in Fuxin City; and 73 percent in Benxi City. The proportion in other cities was roughly the same. Most of the offenders were middle-aged.

The nature of corruption is to exchange power for money. Of 365 economic cases recorded for investigation, the number in which cadres took advantage of their position and power to ask for money and materials from units and individuals was 242. Although these economic cases had different manifestations, they had a common feature -- exchanging power for money and

materials or seeking personal gains at public expense.

The practice of illegal activities is marked by greater efforts at concealment and is becoming more complex. At present, illegalities by government officials show various manifestations: 1. Deals are clinched in private and there is a multitude of names for people to line up their pockets. 2. Some cadres try hard to avail themselves of loopholes in present policies to carry on illegal activities under the cloak of legality. 3. Some cadres collude with individual traders in illegalities. 4. Units or organizations violate the law and discipline. On the face of it, no one is lining their pockets, but the funds are distributed as money rewards, in goods or as subsidies.

(May 7, 1989)

China's Major Natural Resources

ZHONGGUO HUANJING BAO
(China's Environmental News)

The per-capita share of key resources in China is much lower than the world average.

Water resources. The total volume of water resources in China is 2,800 billion cubic metres, which gives sixth place in the world. The per-capita share is 2,700 cubic metres, compared to the world per-capita average of 11,000 cubic metres. China's per-capita share is 88th in the world.

Cultivated land. China has around 100 million hectares of cultivated land, about 7 percent of the world total and fourth in the world. The per-capita share is 0.14 hectare, less than one-third of the world average. Due to various reasons, China's cultivated land reduces by an annual average of nearly 700,000 hectares. Among countries with a population of 50 million or more, China's per-capita share of cultivated land is third from the bottom.

Forest resources. The per-capita share of forest area in China is 0.12 hectare, about one-fifth of the world average. The percentage of forest cover is 12 percent, or 120th in the world. It is falling at an average of 0.9 percent every five years.

Grassland resources. At present, 220 million of 300 million hectares of grasslands are utilized in China. The per-capita share is 0.2 hectare, about one-fourth of the world average. In addition, grassland problems are grave. The area in desertization or degeneration amounts to 51 million hectares, 17.4 percent of grassland resources.

The area suffering from soil erosion is 1.6 million square kilometres, one-sixth of the total territory. Moreover, the area afflicted by flood and drought in recent years amounts to 31 million hectares. In short, China's per-capita share of key resources is very low.

(Issue No. 617, 1989)



Forest Dwellers.



A Family Carpet-Weaving Business.



Dancing.

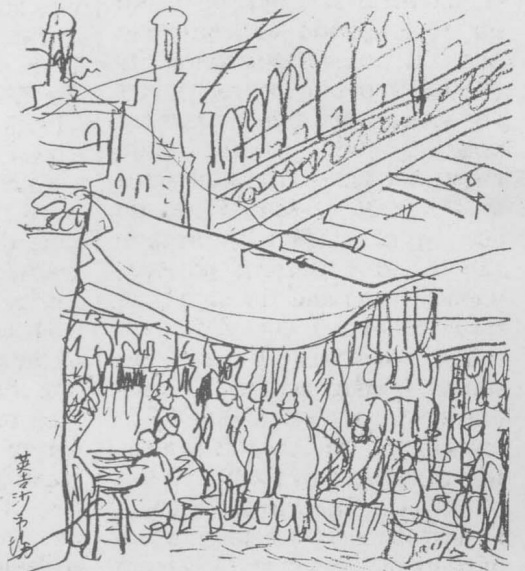
ART PAGE

Sketches by Tan Quanshu

Tan Quanshu was born in Inner Mongolia's Baotou in 1936. Now a professor with the wood-cutting department in the Central Academy of Fine Arts, Tan made these sketches while he was staying in northwest China.



The Pamir Plateau.



A Market.

Chinese Trumpet Creeper: Trueran Gauze



Cloth woven and made by good-quality trueran and natural cotton yarn:
Pure terylene products include two-ply, three-ply and four-ply skein and cheese;
Trueran blended gauze has a variety of mixed ratios;
Trueran yarn includes varied counts of carded, combed single-ply and two-ply as well as the waxed-cheese;

Trueran yarn includes grey cotton, bleached cloth, dyed cloth printed or dyed shirting. Our variety of fabrics include fine cloth, fine spun, poplin, voile, seersucker, lineri, Oxford spun, yarn spun fabric, drills, khaki drills, jacquard, brocade and corduroy.

The printed and dyed products made from trueran are rich in colour, bright, original and beautiful in style. Through resin finishing, they are durable, crease-resistant, waterproof and have as beautiful imitation silk treatment. Being smooth, soft and comfortable to wear, they are a favourite with customers and sell well throughout the world.

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