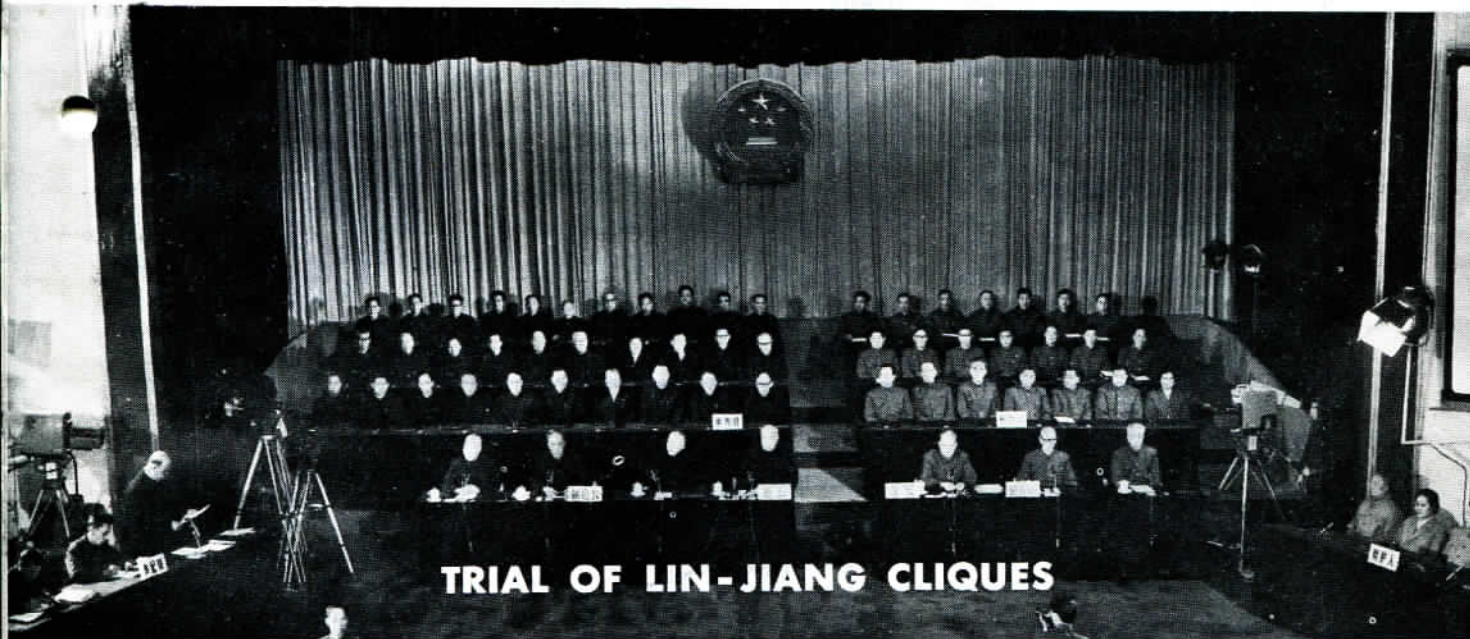


BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS



TRIAL OF LIN-JIANG CLIQUES

THE TEN ACCUSED (see p. 2)



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Trial of Ten Begins

Special Court starts trial of Jiang Qing and nine others (p. 3). Full text of the indictment was delivered by Chief of the Special Procuratorate Huang Huoqing (pp. 9-28). Reports from the court (pp. 29-31).

ANNOUNCEMENT

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Deng on Inter-Party Relations

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equal and no Party is to impose its own views on others (p. 6).

Ties With Spanish C.P.

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COVER: (Top) The Special Court starts the trial of the principal culprits of the Lin-Jiang cliques. (Bottom) The ten accused: (1) Jiang Qing, (2) Zhang Chungqiao, (3) Yao Wenyuan, (4) Wang Hongwen, (5) Chen Boda, (6) Huang Yongsheng, (7) Wu Faxian, (8) Li Zuopeng, (9) Qiu Huizuo and (10) Jiang Tengjiao.

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POLITICAL

Trial of Lin-Jiang Cliques Begins

ON November 20 the Special Court under the Supreme People's Court started trying the ten principal defendants of the case of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques. They are Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen, Chen Boda, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao.

The Special Court was held at No. 1 Zhengyi Road, Beijing.

After Jiang Hua, President of the Special Court, declared the court in session at 15:00 Beijing time, the bailiffs on duty led Jiang Qing and the nine other defendants to the dock.

Huang Huoqing, Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate and concurrently Chief of the Special Procuratorate, then read out the Indictment of the Special Procuratorate under the Supreme People's Procuratorate of the

People's Republic of China, which runs to over 20,000 words (see p. 9 for the full text).

The indictment pointed out that the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques acted in collusion during the "cultural revolution" and, taking advantage of their positions and the power at their disposal, framed and persecuted Communist Party and state leaders in a premeditated attempt to usurp Party leadership and state power and overthrow the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They did this by resorting to all kinds of intrigues and using every possible means, legal and illegal, overt and covert, by pen and by gun. The two cliques brought untold disasters to the country and nation.

After listing 48 specific offences in four major crimes

committed by the two counter-revolutionary cliques, the indictment noted that their felonies had been proved by a host of conclusive evidence.

"In accordance with the provisions of Article 9 of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China with regard to the application of law," the indictment says, "this procuratorate affirms that the ten principal culprits have violated the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China and have committed the offence of attempting to overthrow the government and split the state, the offence of attempting to engineer an armed rebellion, the offence of having people injured or murdered for counter-revolutionary ends, the offence of framing and persecuting people for counter-revolutionary ends, the offence of organizing and leading counter-revolutionary cliques, the offence of

The court in session.



conducting demagogical propaganda for counter-revolutionary ends, the offence of extorting confessions by torture, and the offence of illegally detaining people, and that they should be duly prosecuted according to their criminal liability."

Also present at the court session were Wu Xiuquan, Zeng Hanzhou, Huang Yukun, Vice-Presidents of the Special Court, and the entire panel of judges of the Special Court, as well as Yu Ping and Shi Jinqian, both Deputy Chiefs of the Special Procuratorate, and all other procurators of the Special Procuratorate for the public prosecution.

The defence lawyers attending the court session were Gan Yupei, Han Xuezhong, Zhang Sizhi, Wang Shunhua and Ma Kechang.

After the indictment was read, President of the Special Court Jiang Hua declared that the ten defendants in the case would stand trial in the First and Second Tribunals separately. The defendants to be tried at the First Tribunal are Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen and Chen Boda. The defendants to be tried at the Second Tribunal are Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao.

Jiang Hua also announced to the defendants that they must obey the orders of the court during the trial and must not violate the rules and regulations of the court, and that they had the right of defence and the right of presenting the last word.

The president of the court declared the session adjourned at 17:20 Beijing time.

In the public gallery were 880 representatives from various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government, departments under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, state organs, people's organizations, democratic parties and the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Many of the representatives had been framed and persecuted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques.

CCTV televised parts of the trial to the rest of the world via satellites.

(See p. 29 for reports of court proceeding of the First and Second Tribunals.)

Ten Lawyers Act as Defence Counsel

Ten lawyers have agreed to act as defence counsel at the request of five of the ten defendants involved in the case of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques.

The accused who have entrusted their defence to lawyers are Chen Boda, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Jiang Tengjiao, and the court has assigned two defence lawyers for Yao Wenyuan at his request.

When copies of the indictment were served on Jiang Qing and

the nine other accused on November 10, the Special Court, in accordance with the provisions on the right of defence of the Law of Criminal Procedure, informed them that they had the right to defend themselves or entrust their defence to advocates.

Chen Boda, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Jiang Tengjiao turned in their applications for calling in lawyers, and Yao Wenyuan asked the court to assign lawyers for him. The Special Court recommended a number of experienced lawyers from Beijing, Shanghai, Wuhan and Xian, some of whom have done judicial work for more than 50 years. Beginning from November 13, the lawyers called in or assigned by the court have made contacts with the accused.

Jiang Qing at first wanted to call in lawyers for her defence, and the Special Court recommended three lawyers on two occasions. In her interviews with the lawyers, Jiang Qing demanded that they act as her substitute in speaking and answering questions in court. The lawyers rejected her demands which contradicted the law, telling her that the responsibility of the defence lawyer was to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the accused according to facts and law, and not to act as the defendant's substitute and an-



Five of the ten defence lawyers at the opening session.

swer the questions that she herself should answer in court. Jiang Qing then said she did not want defence lawyers.

The four other defendants in the case did not apply for defence counsel.

The defence lawyers for Chen Boda are Gan Yupei (lawyer, Associate Professor of Law at Beijing University) and Fu Zhiren (Secretary-General of the Beijing Lawyers' Association); the defence lawyers for Wu Faxian are Ma Kechang (lawyer, Associate Professor of Law at Wuhan University) and Zhou Hengyuan (lawyer, lecturer of law at the China People's University); the defence lawyers for Li Zuopeng are Zhang Sizhi (Vice-President of the Beijing Lawyers' Association) and Su Huiyu (lawyer, lecturer at the East China Institute of Political Science and Law); the defence lawyers for Jiang Tengjiao are Wang Shunhua (lawyer, assistant research fellow at the Institute of Jurisprudence under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) and Zhou Kuizheng (leading member of the Beijing Lawyers' Association); the defence lawyers for Yao Wenyuan are Han Xuezhong (Vice-President of the Shanghai Lawyers' Association) and Zhang Zhong (lawyer of the Shanghai Lawyers' Association).

SOCIAL

Two Foreigners Stabbed By a Schizophrenic

Two members of an Australian business mission were knifed by a mentally ill Chinese youth in Beijing at 16:00 hours on November 17. The two injured are Keith John Henley, Manager of

the Geological Division of the Australian Mineral Development Laboratory (AMDEL), and Walter James Howarth, Technical Director of AMDEL.

The attack took place while Mr. Henley and Mr. Howarth were waiting for their car outside the Nationalities Hotel in central Beijing. The assailant was caught and overpowered by two taxi drivers on the spot.

The assailant's name is He Lianyong. A 26-year-old worker, he was diagnosed a schizophrenic at Beijing's Anding Psychiatric Hospital in 1975 and has suffered many relapses since then.

The two injured were taken to a nearby hospital immediately after the attack for treatment and then transferred to the Capital Hospital. They will be discharged from the hospital soon.

Lu Yu, Vice-Mayor of Beijing, and leading members of the departments concerned went to the hospital and paid Mr. Henley and Mr. Howarth a visit on the day of the attack.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Talks Between the Chinese And Spanish Parties End

During the Spanish Communist Party Delegation's stay in China (November 10-25), General Secretary Carrillo and General Secretary Hu Yaobang held three rounds of talks. They had identical views on many major issues.

During their talk on November 23, they agreed to expand the relations between the

two Parties which had just resumed and expressed the hope that these relations would grow satisfactorily on the basis of independence, complete equality and mutual respect and trust.

The two sides also agreed to work harder to restore the lofty prestige of the international communist movement and Marxism in the world.

In their three talks, the two General Secretaries explained their Parties' internal and external policies and their views about the international workers' and communist movements and important international issues, and reached agreement on a broad range of subjects.

They agreed that the elements which brought the two Parties together were far more than their differences. They held that the minor divergencies arising from the different approaches of various Communist Parties to the same subjects not only were not harmful but would enable these Parties to benefit from one another's perspective.

The two sides also discussed matters related to the exchange of delegations and increase of contacts.

Deng Xiaoping Meets With Carrillo and Spanish Reporters

Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping met with General Secretary Carrillo and his delegation from the Spanish Communist Party. During their cordial talks, the two sides expressed pleasure at the resumption of relations between the two Parties.

Relationship Between Communist Parties. Vice-Chairman

Deng said that relationship between Communist Parties should be equal and comradely and not like those between "father and son." All countries, big or small, have their own characteristics. The affairs of any country should be judged by the Marxist-Leninists and Communists of that country and their errors should be corrected by themselves. No one should regard their views and revolutionary experience as a "model" and impose them on others.

Carrillo said that the relationship between our two Parties was marked by mutual respect, independence, mutual support and joint study of international issues. This was a new type of relationship in the international communist movement and it would serve as an example in relations of Parties.

Prior to the meeting, Deng Xiaoping had an interview with Spanish reporters. Answering a question about Sino-Spanish relations, he said that he was satisfied with the recent development of relations between the two countries. He said that these relations had grown still further since King Carlos' visit to China. He also expressed belief that the relations between the two countries would continue to develop.

Referring to the significance of the resumption of relations between the two Parties, Deng Xiaoping said it had a very important bearing on current international politics and was beneficial to the international communist movement. He stressed that the Spanish Communist Party was popular in Spain and that in recent years Spain had played a more and more important role in European affairs. "The resumption of relations between our two Par-

ties shows that our cause is advancing," he said.

Asked about China's attitude towards Spain's joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Deng Xiaoping said: "We have no objection to Spain becoming a member of NATO. We have always hoped to see an allied, united and powerful Europe."

Prospects of Sino-Soviet Relations. Answering a question about the prospects of Sino-Soviet relations, Deng Xiaoping said: "Whenever I am asked about this, I always reply with a query: Will the Soviet hegemons and social-imperialists ever change their policy of aggression and expansion? So long as this policy remains unchanged, Sino-Soviet relations will not change. And you can study if the Soviet policy will change."

Carrillo's Press Conference

Santiago Carrillo called a press conference in Beijing on November 24, at which he stated that during his talks with the Chinese leaders he found that the cause of communism and world peace was the most fundamental thing linking the Communist Parties of Spain and China.

He said: "Inter-Party relations should be established on the basis of equality, mutual respect, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Our two Parties are agreed on this point."

Carrillo said: "Every Party has the right to formulate its own strategy and model of socialism. Although various Parties have different views on certain questions, this should not be an obstacle to the establishment of comradely relations."

Discussing the prospects of the unity of the Communist Parties in Western Europe, Carrillo said: "They still have different views on the current issues. But I think that all Parties have the right to think things out with their own brains. We respect views that are different from ours."

Impressions of His Visit to China. Asked if the issue of human rights in China was mentioned during his talks with Chinese leaders, Carrillo said: "In my view, the smashing of the two cliques of Lin Biao and the gang of four represented an essential step towards the respect for human rights in China."

Speaking of his impressions of his three visits to China, he said: "When I came to China to attend the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1956, I saw that the Chinese people were full of enthusiasm and confidence.

"During my second visit to China in 1971, I noted that the Chinese people were in a state of confusion and crisis and at a difficult moment. My impressions of this visit to China are that the Chinese people have recovered their spirit which I witnessed in 1956."

China's Reforms. He said: The reforms now being made in China are correct. This is because China indeed needs modernization and needs to improve the present economic situation. In order to develop China's economy, I think it is correct to encourage the enthusiasm of individuals and make use of foreign funds and technology. At the same time, it is also correct to encourage the masses in enterprises and other units to take part in management, which means a more extensive practice of economic democracy."

By an Overwhelming Majority

— U.N. General Assembly calls for an immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan

THE 35th Session of the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution on Nov. 20 calling for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and a political settlement of the Afghan issue.

The resolution was approved by a vote of 111 to 22, seven more supporters than for a similar resolution passed at the Special Emergency Session on the Afghan question in January this year. It is a crushing blow dealt the Soviet Union by countries which treasure justice and abhor aggression.

Soviet Setback. After the draft resolution was put forward by Pakistan and 41 other countries, the Soviet Union worked hard behind the scenes and throughout four days of heated debates to torpedo the motion. It stubbornly maintained that Soviet "contingents" went into Afghanistan to "assist" Afghanistan against "foreign armed aggression." Soviet troops were "invited," Moscow claimed, and it would pull out its troops only if countries neighbouring Afghanistan gave a guarantee of non-intervention. Moscow was asking the world to approve and acclaim its aggression, to acknowledge it as a "hero resisting foreign aggression." This is strange logic, but consonant with Soviet thinking. By Moscow's reasoning, the Afghan problem is merely a matter of improving relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours, not Moscow's armed interven-

tion. The problem could be solved easily through talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and Afghanistan and Iran. Moscow also declared that if the U.N. adopted the resolution it would hurt efforts to get these bilateral talks going. It warned that those who voted for the resolution would be considered by the Soviet Union as committing an "unfriendly" act.

Voice of Justice. The Soviet argument was torn to shreds during the debate by representatives from many countries. Speakers roundly condemned the Soviet invasion and called on the Soviet Union to pull its troops out of Afghanistan. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan involves a principle, they pointed out. Does it uphold or does it violate the U.N. Charter? It is also a question of supporting aggression or opposing aggression. It concerns the vital interests of every member of the United Nations and not merely Afghanistan's relations with Pakistan and Iran.

The Chinese Permanent Representative to the U.N. Ling Qing noted that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan marked a new phase in Moscow's aggression and expansion. It was not a regional action; it was a major component of its global strategy. China favoured a just and reasonable settlement of the Afghan issue, but it was "firmly opposed to any political settlement based on the acceptance of

the fait accompli created by the aggressors."

He reiterated what China considered as the three basic principles for the settlement of the Afghan question, namely, the Soviet Union must withdraw all its forces from Afghanistan immediately and unconditionally in compliance with the relevant U.N. resolution; the Afghan people should be free to decide their own destiny without any outside interference; and Afghanistan should be restored to its independent and non-aligned status.

Next Step. The adoption of the resolution does not mean that the struggle has come to an end. Instead of carrying out the U.N. January resolution, the Soviet Union has increased its troops in Afghanistan from 50,000 to 100,000, stepping up its suppression and posing a further threat to international security and stability.

Moscow is not noted for its willingness to carry out U.N. resolutions and it is not reasonable to hope that it will comply to the current U.N. General Assembly resolution which it opposed from the start. The world must now work for the implementation of the resolution passed by such an overwhelming majority. The Soviet aggressors have to be taught by constant pressure that it does not pay to ignore world opinion.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst *Zhong Tai*

CORRECTION: On page 31 in our issue No. 47, the book *History of China: New-Democratic Revolution Period*, Vol. I, was edited by Li Xin, Peng Ming, Sun Sibai, Cai Shangsi and Chen Xulu.

Soviets Moving Into Wakhan Area

OVER the last six months, the Soviet Union has been working quietly to annex the Wakhan salient of Afghanistan, charged the Associated Press of Pakistan on November 4, quoting reliable information from Afghanistan.

The annexation is being carried out through the large-scale introduction of Russian troops mostly from neighbouring Soviet Tajikistan. The Russians have been upgrading communications from the Soviet Union into Wakhan, which is a part of Afghanistan's Badakhshan Province, bounded on the north by Soviet Tajikistan, on the east by the Xinjiang Uygur

Autonomous Region of China and on the south by Pakistan.

Many Pakistan papers have condemned this Soviet move. In its editorial of November 6, *Jang* pointed out that the annexation of the Wakhan salient was part of a Soviet plan to ensure permanent control of various major strategic areas. The editorial noted that this Russian action was aimed at obtaining a strategic edge over Pakistan and China. *Nawa-i-Waqt* said that the Soviet annexation of the Wakhan area enables the Russians to penetrate into Pakistan's northern border area to gravely imperil the security of Pakistan.

Economic Cold Front Sweeps Western Europe

Report From Brussels

REPORTS and statistics about Western Europe's economy from E.E.C. headquarters in Brussels are as bleak and cold as the approach of winter.

In early October, E.E.C.'s bureau of statistics announced that its nine members' total output value rose 4.8 per cent in the first quarter but fell 5.2 per cent in the second to end the record of slow growth started in 1976.

In mid-October, the E.E.C. commission pointed out in its economic report for 1980-81 that the economic growth rate for the nine countries will only be 1.3 per cent, the lowest since 1975. This was followed by another report: Unemployment in the nine was 7.1 million in September, or 6.5 per cent of

the total workforce. This is the highest in E.E.C. history and continued the trend for the past three months.

The economic decline is also reflected in the new wave of inflation. The E.E.C. commission said that the growth rate of consumer prices in the nine countries would rise again to two digits, this time 12 per cent, almost the same as during the 1974-75 crisis.

E.E.C. trade outside the bloc is not heartening, either. Oil consumption in the nine has fallen but the E.E.C. will still spend 110,000 million U.S. dollars on oil imports as the price of crude oil on the international market goes up. It should be noted that Western Europe is unfavourably placed in fighting with the United States and

Japan for markets. Estimated E.E.C. trade deficit this year could be a record 30,000 million U.S. dollars.

On October 30, the E.E.C. Council of Ministers declared after an urgent meeting that Western Europe's iron and steel industry was clearly in a critical state and moved to cut back steel production and imports.

This flood of bad tidings has washed away any doubt about whether Western Europe is confronted with a new recession or not. People are now wondering about the severity of this recession.

The economic situation in Western Europe is indeed serious. Although the economic might of the nine vary, the cold front has swept them all and has brought each into varying degrees of difficulty. The chronically ill British economy is in worse shape than ever. Economic growth rates for Denmark, Ireland, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, which used to do quite well, would be lucky to attain even half that of last year. The normally strong economy of West Germany is not its usual self. Five major economic research institutes in West Germany predict that 1981 will be a bleak year, and economic growth rate in West Germany will be zero.

In the E.E.C. press conference hall where people are always discussing economic prospects, opinions vary, but they all agree that the immediate outlook for the West European economy is not too bright. To be more exact, for the West European economy this winter and spring the forecast is cold and cheerless.

— *Xinhua Correspondents*
Lu Hengjun and Yang Yuanhua

Trial of Lin-Jiang Cliques

Indictment of the Special Procuratorate

The Special Court under the Supreme People's Court started trying the ten principal culprits of the "Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques" on November 20. The following is the full text of the indictment drawn up by the Special Procuratorate under the Supreme People's Procuratorate of the People's Republic of China. — Ed.

November 2, 1980

To the Special Court under the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China:

The Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China, after concluding its investigation, has referred the case of the plot by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques to overthrow the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the Supreme People's Procuratorate of the People's Republic of China for examination and prosecution.

Having examined the case, the Special Procuratorate under the Supreme People's Procuratorate confirms that the principal culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, namely, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen, Chen Boda, Xie Fuzhi, Ye Qun, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo, Lin Ligu, Zhou Yuchi and Jiang Tengjiao, acted in collusion during the "great cultural revolution" and, taking advantage of their positions and the power at their disposal, framed and persecuted Communist Party and state leaders in a premeditated way in an attempt to usurp Party leadership and state power and overthrow the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They did this by resorting to all kinds of intrigues and using every possible means, legal or illegal, overt or covert, by pen or by gun. In September 1971, after the failure of the plot to murder Chairman Mao Zedong and stage an armed counter-revolutionary coup

d'etat by Lin Biao, Ye Qun, Lin Ligu, Zhou Yuchi and Jiang Tengjiao, Lin Biao and others fled the country in defection, and the counter-revolutionary clique headed by him was exposed and crushed. The counter-revolutionary gang of four of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen, with Jiang Qing at the head, carried on its counter-revolutionary conspiratorial activities until it was exposed and smashed in October 1976. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques brought untold disasters to our country and nation.

The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques committed the following crimes:

Frame-Up and Persecution of Party and State Leaders and Plotting to Overthrow The Political Power of the Dictatorship Of the Proletariat

To overthrow the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques framed and persecuted Party and state leaders and leading cadres in all walks of life in a premeditated way.

(1) They instigated the persecution of Party and state leaders at all levels in an attempt to seize leadership. On January 23, 1967, Lin Biao plotted the usurpation of power, saying, "All power, be it at the top, middle or lower levels, should be seized. In some cases, this should be done soon, in others later." "This may be done at the top or lower levels, or done in co-ordination at both levels." He also instigated the persecution of leading cadres. He said, "Put some of them in custody, cap some with



Huang Huoqing, Chief of the Special Procuratorate, reading out the indictment.

tall paper hats, and search and ransack the homes of others." "It is necessary to use measures such as the 'jet aircraft' (forcing a person to bow with both hands raised over the back like the swept-back wings of a jet plane — Tr.) against people like Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi and Yang Shangkun."

Zhang Chunqiao said in Shanghai on January 22, 1967, "Our aim in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has always been to seize power, from the grass roots to the central organizations, including powers of the Party, the government, as well as in the financial, cultural and other fields." "We must seize power everywhere." With regard to veteran cadres he said in Shanghai in April, "All of them are bad" and "None shall be spared!" From 1967 to 1975, he said on many other occasions in Shanghai and Beijing that "the great cultural revolution" meant "a change of dynasty." In plotting to usurp power and effect a "change of dynasty," the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques laid bare their counter-revolutionary objective of overthrowing the political power of the proletarian dictatorship.

(2) They brought false charges against and persecuted Liu Shaoqi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (C.P.C.). In August 1966, when Liu Shaoqi was still Chairman of the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.) and was re-elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Lin Biao instructed Ye Qun to summon Lei Yingfu twice, on

August 11 and 12, to her presence. Lei Yingfu was then deputy director of the Operations Department of the Headquarters of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (P.L.A.). She provided him verbally with material containing false charges fabricated by Lin Biao and herself against Liu Shaoqi and instructed him to put these charges in writing. On August 13, Lin Biao read what Lei had written. At his residence, Lin told Lei the next day that "it will look more political" if Lei would write an accompanying letter addressed to Lin Biao and Chairman Mao Zedong, so that Lin could write his comments on the letter before forwarding it to the Chairman. On the same day,

Lin Biao sent Lei Yingfu's letter together with his material incriminating Liu Shaoqi to Jiang Qing for her to "consider forwarding" them to the Chairman.

On the afternoon of December 18, 1966, Zhang Chunqiao met privately with Kuai Dafu, a student of Qinghua University, in the reception room at the west gate of Zhongnanhai, Beijing. He said, "That couple of persons in the Central Committee who put forward the reactionary bourgeois line have not yet surrendered. . . . You young revolutionary fighters should unite, carry forward your thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit and flog the cur that has fallen into the water. Make their very names stink. Don't stop half way." Incited by Zhang, Kuai organized a demonstration in Beijing on December 25. The demonstrators put up slogans and big-character posters, handed out leaflets and shouted demagogically, "Down with Liu Shaoqi!" and "Down with Deng Xiaoping!"

In July 1967, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda decided without authorization that Liu Shaoqi should be repudiated and struggled against. Qi Benyu, a member of the "Cultural Revolution Group under the C.P.C. Central Committee," organized a "rally for repudiating and struggling against Liu Shaoqi" on July 18 of the same year; the residence of Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei was searched and ransacked and the two were persecuted physically. During July and August 1967, Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi and Qi Benyu incited people to organize a "frontline for getting Liu Shaoqi out of Zhongnanhai," surround the place and attempt to break into the State Council.

Jiang Qing assumed direct control of the "group for inquiring into the special case of Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei" and directed its work in collusion with Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi. They resorted to extorting confessions through torture and rigging up false evidence in order to vilify Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei as "renegades," "enemy agents" and "counter-revolutionaries." From May to October 1967, acting on her own, Jiang Qing made the decision to arrest and imprison Yang Yichen, Deputy Governor of Hebei Province; Yang Chengzuo, a professor of

the China People's University in Beijing; Wang Guanggen, a citizen of Tianjin (originally assistant manager of the former Fengtian Cotton Mill); Liu Shaoqi's former cook Hao Miao; and seven others. When Yang Chengzuo was critically ill, Jiang Qing said to the group for inquiring into the special case, "Step up the interrogation to squeeze out of him what we need before he dies." Yang Chengzuo died of afflictions. Wang Guanggen was also persecuted to death. On October 23, 1967, Xie Fuzhi said to the special case group, "It is necessary to be firm and ruthless in interrogation. . . . It is necessary to carry out group interrogation for hours at a time until confessions are obtained." In order to frame Wang Guangmei as an "enemy agent," Jiang Qing and Xie Fuzhi ordered the interrogation and torture of Zhang Zhongyi, a professor of the Hebei Provincial Normal College in Beijing who was critically ill. Zhang was tortured to death. In order to frame Liu Shaoqi as a "renegade," they extorted confessions from Ding Juequn, who worked with Liu Shaoqi in the workers' movement in Wuhan in 1927, and Meng Yongqian, who was arrested with Liu Shaoqi in Shenyang in 1929. On September 25, 1967, Ding declared in prison that the confession he was compelled to write "does not strictly conform to facts." Between June 15, 1967 and March 18, 1969, Meng wrote 20 statements in prison declaring that what he had written about Liu Shaoqi under duress "was mere fabrication" and should be withdrawn. But all their requests for correction and appeals were withheld and not allowed to be submitted to higher authorities. Liu Shaoqi was persecuted to death.



Jiang Hua, President of the Special Court, on the first day of the trial.

(3) Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng cooked up false charges to persecute Members of the Eighth C.P.C. Central Committee. On July 21, 1968, Kang Sheng wrote a strictly confidential letter. On the envelope he wrote "Important. To be forwarded immediately to and personally opened by Comrade Jiang Qing." In the letter, he wrote, "Enclosed please find the name list you have asked for." On this list drawn up by Kang Sheng in his own handwriting, 88 of the 193 Members and Alternate Members of the Eighth C.P.C. Central Committee were falsely charged as "enemy agents," "renegades," "elements having illicit relations with foreign countries" or "anti-Party elements." Another seven were classified as having been temporarily "removed from their posts but not yet included in the special cases" and 29 were classified as "having committed mistakes or needing to be subjected to investigation for their historical records." Later, the great majority of them were also framed and persecuted by Kang Sheng and others.

Among the Party and state leaders and the first secretaries of the regional bureaus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party who were thus framed were:

Members and Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee: Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, Chen Yun, Deng Xiaoping, Peng Zhen, Chen Yi, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Li Xiannian, Tan Zhenlin, Li Jingquan, Tao Zhu, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, Ye Jianying, Ulanhu, Zhang Wentian, Lu Dingyi, Bo Yibo and Song Renqiong.

General Secretary of the C.P.C. Central Committee Deng Xiaoping; Members and Alternate Members of the Secretariat of the C.P.C. Central Committee: Peng Zhen, Wang Jiaxiang, Tan Zhenlin, Li Xiannian, Lu Dingyi, Luo Ruiqing, Tao Zhu, Ye Jianying, Liu Ningyi, Liu Lantao, Yang Shangkun and Hu Qiaomu.

Vice-Premiers of the State Council: Chen Yun, Deng Xiaoping, He Long, Chen Yi, Ulanhu, Li Xiannian, Tan Zhenlin, Nie Rongzhen, Bo Yibo, Lu Dingyi, Luo Ruiqing and Tao Zhu.

Vice-Chairmen of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee: He Long, Nie Rongzhen, Chen Yi, Xu Xiangqian and Ye Jianying.

First secretaries of the regional bureaus of the C.P.C. Central Committee: Song Renqiong, Liu Lantao, Li Jingquan and Wang Renzhong.

Other Members and Alternate Members of the C.P.C. Central Committee: Xiao Jingguang, Su Yu, Xiao Ke, Chen Shaomin, Wang Zhen, Zeng Shan, Ouyang Qin, Wang Shusheng, Wang Enmao, Deng Hua, Deng Zihui, Tan Zheng, Liu Xiao, Li Weihai, Yang Xiufeng, Zhang Jichun, Cheng Zihua, Wu Xiuquan, Qian Ying, Wang Congwu, Ma Mingfang, Li Baohua, Xu Guangda, Lin Tie, Zheng Weisan, Xu Haidong, Xiao Hua, Hu Yaobang, Xi Zhongxun, An Ziwen, Lu Zhengcao, Zhang Jingwu, Liao Chengzhi, Ye Fei, Yang Xianzhen, Zhang Dingcheng, Shu Tong, Pan Zili, Yang Yong, Huang Huoqing, Chen Manyuan, Su Zhenhua, Feng Baiju, Fan Wenlan, Li Jianzhen, Gao Kelin, Zhong Qiguang, Jiang Hua, Li Zhimin, Yang Chengwu, Zhang Hanfu, Shuai Mengqi, Liu Ren, Wan Yi, Zhou Yang, Xu Zirong, Liu Lanbo, Kui Bi, Ou Mengjue, Zhu Dehai, Zhang Qilong, Ma Wenrui, Wang Shitai, Liao Hansheng, Hong Xuezhi, Zhang Yun, Xu Bing, Liao Luyan, Song Shilun, Zhou Huan, Chen Pixian, Zhao Jianmin, Qian Junrui, Jiang Nanxiang, Han Guang, Li Chang, Wang Heshou, Chen Zhengren, Zhao Yimin, Kong Yuan, Zhang Su, Yang Yichen, Zhao Boping, Zhang Aiping, Yao Yilin, Wang Feng, Fang Yi, Wang Shangrong, Liu Zhen, Zhang Jingfu, Li Jiebo, Liao Zhigao, Jiang Weiqing, Tan Qilong, Zhang Zhongliang and Zhang Pinghua.

(4) Chen Boda, Xie Fuzhi and Wu Faxian made use of the case of the "Extraordinary Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" leaflet, which had been unearthed in Tianjin in November 1967, to frame and persecute Party and state leaders under the pretext of tracking down the "behind-the-scenes bosses."

On April 28 and August 19, 1968, when they received Zhao Dengcheng, then a member of the leading group of the Ministry of Public Security, and others, Chen Boda said that the unearthing of the case was merely "the beginning." And he added, "It is not the end. The bosses are hidden behind the scenes, and they are no ordinary persons, for ordinary people aren't capable of doing such a thing. It isn't the act of one individual. Very likely, there's an organization behind all this." Xie Fuzhi cut in saying, "Yes, it's merely the beginning, not the end." "Somebody from the notorious Liu-Deng headquarters is at the root of it all." Wu Faxian said, "Who else can it be but Capitalist Roader No. 2?" In December 1968, while tracking down the "behind-the-scenes bosses," Xie Fuzhi, Zhao Dengcheng and others cooked up the false case of a "Chinese Communist Party (M-L)," with Zhu De alleged as "secretary" of its central committee, Chen Yi as "deputy secretary and concurrently minister of defence," and Li Fuchun as "premier." Its members allegedly included Dong Biwu, Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian, He Long, Liu Bocheng, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, Tan Zhenlin, Yu Qiuli, Wang Zhen and Liao Chengzhi, who were falsely accused of having "illicit relations with foreign countries," "making preparations for an armed insurrection" and attempting to "stage a coup." Even up to August 21, 1969, Xie Fuzhi told those who were responsible for inquiring into the case, "Be firm and keep up your inquiries, for some evidence is still lacking. Verbal confessions made by those jailed can be used as evidence, too."

(5) Kang Sheng and his wife Cao Yiou instructed Guo Yufeng, who was in charge of the Organization Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, to provide on August 23, 1968 a fabricated "Report on the Political Background of Members of the Control Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee." In the report, 37 of the 60 Members and Alternate Members of the Control Commission of the Eighth C.P.C. Central Committee were falsely labelled "renegades," "enemy agents" or "counter-revolutionary revisionists." They were: Liu Lantao, Wang Congwu, Qian Ying, Liu Xiwu, Shuai Mengqi, Li Yunchang, Wang Weigang, Yang Zhihua, Li Shiyong, Li Chuli, Ma Mingfang, Gong Zirong, Chen Shaomin, Fang Zhongru, Liu Yaxiong, Zhang Ziyi, Wang Hefeng, Liu Shenzhi, Li Peizhi, Zhou Zhongying, Chen Peng, Chen Zenggu, Zheng Ping, Xue Zizheng, Gao Kelin, Ji Yatai, Wang Shiyong, Qiu Jin, Wu Gaizhi, Ma Guorui, Zhang Dingcheng, Wu Defeng, Zhang

Jiafu, Liao Suhua, Gong Fengchun, Li Jingying and Xiao Hua.

(6) Kang Sheng and Cao Yiou instructed Guo Yufeng to fabricate on August 27, 1968 a "Report on the Political Background of Members of the Standing Committee of the Third National People's Congress," which was subsequently revised and finalized by Kang Sheng himself. In the report, 60 of the 115 Members were framed as "renegades," "suspected renegades," "enemy agents," "suspected enemy agents," "counter-revolutionary revisionists, capitalist roaders or anti-Party, anti-socialist and anti-Mao Zedong Thought elements" and "highly dubious characters." They were: Chairman of the Standing Committee Zhu De; Vice-Chairmen Peng Zhen, Li Jingquan, Lin Feng, Liu Ningyi and Zhang Zhizhong; and Members Chen Shaomin, Yang Zhihua, Shuai Mengqi, Zhao Yimin, Qian Ying, Liu Yaxiong, Li Da, Xu Liqing, Wang Shitai, Hu Ziang, Liu Lanbo, Xu Bing, Xu Zirong, Zhang Jingwu, Yang Shangkun, Li Yanlu, Han Guang, Mei Gongbin, Wang Kunlun, Nan Hanchen, Gong Yinbing, Cao Mengjun, Shi Liang, Tang Shengzhi, Kong Yuan, Hu Yaobang, Xie Fumin, Luo Qiong, Wu Lengxi, Zhang Su, Wu Xinyu, Ma Chungu, Yu Aifeng, Liu Changsheng, Gu Dacun, Zhou Li, Zhao Shoushan, Hu Yuzhi, Hu Qiaomu, Liang Sicheng, Tong Dizhou, Ye Zhupei, Chen Qiyou, Wang Weizhou, Ye Jianying, Lin Qiangyun, Guo Jian, Yang Yunyu, Hua Luogeng, Zhao Zhongyao, Chen Shaoxian, Zhao Jiuzhang, Mao Yisheng and Hu Juewen.

(7) Kang Sheng and Cao Yiou instructed Guo Yufeng to fabricate on August 27, 1968 a "Report on the Political Background of Members of the Standing Committee of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference," which was subsequently revised and finalized by Kang Sheng himself. In the report, 74 of the 159 Members were falsely accused of being "renegades," "suspected renegades," "enemy agents," "suspected enemy agents," "Kuomintang agents," "counter-revolutionary revisionists," or "having illicit relations with foreign countries." They were: Vice-Chairmen Peng Zhen, Liu Lantao, Song Renqiong, Xu Bing and Gao Chongmin; and Members Wang Congwu, Liu Xiwu, Ping Jiesan, Yang Dongchun, Li Chuli, Wang Weigang, Zhang Ziyi, Li Yunchang, Gong Zirong, Li Chulee, Cao Ying, Liu Qingyang, Kong Xiangzhen, Ma Huizhi, Zhang Youyu, Zhang Yun, Wang Zhaohua, Zhou Yang, Wu Gaizhi, He Changgong, Lin Xiude, Tang Tianji,

Zhu Yunshan, Su Ziheng, Gong Tianmin, Zou Dapeng, An Ziwen, Chu Tunan, Wang Jinxiang, Li Lisan, Zeng Xianzhi, Sa Kongliao, Zhang Xiuyan, Ji Yatai, Yu Yifu, Ha Fenga, Wang Shiying, Liu Xiao, Yan Baohang, Yang Qiqing, Sun Qimeng, Zhao Puchu, Che Xiangchen, Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain, Wang Jiaxiang, Wu Xiuquan, Zhang Zhizhong, Sun Xiaocun, Shi Liang, Chu Xuefan, Liu Fei, Zhang Xiaoqian, Cun Shusheng, Yu Dafu, Zheng Weisan, Chen Guodong, Gao Wenhua, Wang Zigang, Zhang Bangying, Hu Keshi, Li Chang, He Cheng, Zhong Huilan, Wu Hongbin, Fu Lianzhang, Jin Rubai, Chen Qiyou, Xiong Qinglai and Zhang Jingfu.

(8) The frame-up and persecution of Zhou Enlai, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Premier of the State Council. In October 1974, Jiang Qing falsely accused Zhou Enlai and others of conspiracy, saying, "Those people in the State Council often maintain illicit contact with each other on the pretext of discussing work. . . . The Premier is the boss behind the scenes." On October 17, 1974, the gang of four, namely, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan and Wang Hongwen, hatched a plot in Building No. 17 at Diao Yu Tai in Beijing and the following day sent Wang Hongwen to Changsha to make a false and insinuating report to Chairman Mao Zedong there. He said, "Although the Premier is ill and hospitalized, he is busy summoning people for talks far into the night. Almost every day someone goes to his place. Deng Xiaoping, Ye Jianying and Li Xiannian are frequent visitors." And he added, "The atmosphere in Beijing now is very much like that of the Lushan Meeting." He was falsely accusing Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and others of engaging in activities to usurp power as Lin Biao had been during the 1970 Lushan Meeting. In 1974, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan instructed Chi Qun, then secretary of the C.P.C. Committee of Qinghua University, Xie Jingyi, then secretary of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the C.P.C., Lu Ying, editor-in-chief of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily), Zhu Yongjia, then head of the Shanghai Writing Group, and others to make use of the media to stir up nationwide criticism of the "big Confucian of our time," the "chief minister" and the "Duke of Zhou," thus attacking Zhou Enlai by innuendo.

(9) The frame-up and persecution of Zhu De, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. From

September 1966 to December 1968, Lin Biao, Zhang Chunqiao, Wu Faxian, Qiu Huizuo and others slandered Zhu De and falsely accused him of being a "sinister commander," an "old-line opportunist" and a "warlord" and of "harbouring wild ambitions to become the leader."

At the end of January 1967, at the instigation of Qi Benyu, some people from the China People's University put up large-size slogans in Beijing, which read "Down with Zhu De." Presently the "Liaison Centre for Ferreting Out Zhu De" was set up and a plot was under way to hold meetings to repudiate him. On March 4, Qi Benyu received some people from the China People's University and incited them to continue with their persecution of Zhu De. He said, "If you do it yourselves, you will succeed. But if you tell people that I'm behind all this, you won't succeed. You think you're smart. Actually you're a bunch of fatheads. It's up to you to decide whether you go on or not."

(10) The frame-up and persecution of Deng Xiaoping, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, General Secretary of the Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council. On December 6, 1966, Lin Biao slandered Deng Xiaoping as a "member of a sinister gang" and an "anti-Party element." And on January 29, 1967, Kang Sheng vilified Deng Xiaoping, saying that he was a "Khrushchov-type person."

On October 4, 1974, Chairman Mao Zedong proposed that Deng Xiaoping be First Vice-Premier of the State Council. In an attempt to prevent Deng Xiaoping from taking office, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen conspired together on October 17 in Building No. 17 at Diao Yu Tai in Beijing and had Wang Hongwen go to Changsha the following day to report to Chairman Mao Zedong with the false charge that Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and others were engaged in activities to seize power.

From February to May 1976, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Mao Yuanxin, another key member of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique, went a step further in their false accusations against Deng Xiaoping. The C.P.C. Central Committee's Document No. 1 of 1975 had carried the appointment of Deng Xiaoping as Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and concurrently Chief of the General staff of the P.L.A. and the C.P.C. Central Committee's Document No. 1 of 1976 had carried the appoint-

ment of Hua Guofeng as Acting Premier of the State Council. Regarding these two documents, Zhang Chunqiao wrote on February 3, 1976, "Here is yet another Document No. 1. Last year there was a Document No. 1. This is truly a case of inflated arrogance at an upturn in fortune. Moving up so fast and so hurriedly spells a downfall that will be just as rapid." and he quoted a classical poem:

*A year ends amidst the crepitation of
firecrackers,*

*An easterly breeze has warmed the New
Year's wine.*

*The doors of every household are bathed in
the sunshine,*

*A new peach-wood lintel charm invariably
replaces the old.*

This again revealed Zhang Chunqiao's counter-revolutionary ambition to effect a "change of dynasty." On February 22, Mao Yuanxin said to Ma Tianshui and Xu Jingxian, then vice-chairmen of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, and others that Deng Xiaoping "worships things foreign and sells out the sovereignty of the country" and that he "represents the interests of the comprador bourgeoisie," was trying to bring about an "all-round retrogression" and so "there would be a change in the nature of the state." On March 2, at a forum of the leading members from a number of provinces and autonomous regions, Jiang Qing maligned Deng Xiaoping, calling him a "counter-revolutionary double-dealer," the "general manager of a rumour-mongering company," a "fascist," a "big quisling" and a "representative of the comprador bourgeoisie." On April 26, Jiang Qing falsely charged that Deng Xiaoping, like Lin Biao, had "big and small fleets" (gangs formed to carry out plots and assassinations — Tr.) and that "their fleets operated in about the same way in some cases, and differently in others. Deng's small fleets are, however, more active." On April 5, Zhang Chunqiao slanderously accused Deng Xiaoping of being a "Nagy." On May 16, in an article entitled "There Is Really a Bourgeoisie Within the Party — Analysis of the Counter-Revolutionary Political Incident at Tian An Men Square," which *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) sent him for finalization, Yao Wenyuan added that Deng Xiaoping "is the chief boss behind this counter-revolutionary political incident."

(11) The frame-up and persecution of Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Vice-Premier of the State

Council and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee. On August 7, 1967, Wang Li, a member of the "Cultural Revolution Group under the C.P.C. Central Committee," said, "Picking on Chen Yi is of course correct in orientation." He added, "What's wrong with the slogan 'Down with Liu (Shaoqi), Deng (Xiaoping) and Chen (Yi)?" He was agitating people to usurp leadership over foreign affairs. In November 1968, upon Zhang Chunqiao's instruction, Wang Hongwen, Xu Jingxian and others compiled a *Collection of Chen Yi's Reactionary Views and Utterances* while nominally preparing documents for the forthcoming C.P.C. Ninth National Congress. This fabricated *Collection* was distributed in the study class of deputies from Shanghai to the Ninth National Party Congress and in it Chen Yi was falsely accused of "capitulating to imperialism, revisionism and reaction" and "whipping up public opinion for restoring capitalism." At the same time, they collected and compiled another 76 copies of material, running to a total of 1,163 pages, which carried false charges against Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Chen Yi, Nie Rongzhen, Li Fuchun, Tan Zhenlin and others.

(12) The frame-up and persecution of Peng Dehuai, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee. In July 1967, when Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and Qi Benyu received Han Aijing and other students of the Beijing Aeronautical Engineering Institute, Qi Benyu made arrangements with them for the repudiation and persecution of Peng Dehuai. On November 3, 1970, Huang Yongsheng examined and approved a report prepared by the special case group, which contained the proposal that "Peng Dehuai be dismissed from all posts inside and outside the Party, expelled from the Party for good, sentenced to life imprisonment and deprived of civil rights for life." Peng Dehuai was persecuted to death.

(13) The frame-up and persecution of He Long, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee. In the summer of 1966, at a students' rally at the Beijing Normal University and at meetings of the "Cultural Revolution Group under the C.P.C. Central Committee," Kang Sheng falsely charged He Long and Peng Zhen with "secretly deploying troops to stage a February mutiny." In August 1966, Lin Biao instructed Wu Faxian to fabricate material accusing He Long of plotting to usurp leadership in the Air Force. On

September 3, Wu Faxian sent Lin Biao the material he had prepared. Between late August and early September, Ye Qun spoke to Song Zhiguo, then chief of the Guards Division of the General Office of the C.P.C. Central Committee's Military Commission, giving an oral account of what she had fabricated in order to frame He Long. Then she directed him to put the material in writing, saying, "Make it sound as if you were giving me the information yourself, and not as if I had directed you to do so." From September 7 to 24 Song Zhiguo sent Lin Biao four collections of material which he had prepared for framing He Long. On May 16, 1968, Kang Sheng went a step further in maligning He Long by saying, "Judging He Long's present behaviour in the light of his betrayal of the revolution and surrender to the enemy in the past, it is inconceivable that he is not now engaged in active counter-revolutionary activities. The past provides the clue to the present." He Long was persecuted to death.

(14) The frame-up and persecution of Xu Xiangqian, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of its Military Commission. In April 1967, Kuai Dafu, at Ye Qun's instigation, sent people to collect material for framing Xu Xiangqian and Ye Jianying and published a slanderous article entitled "Bombard Xu Xiangqian — Down With Xu Xiangqian, the Military Counterpart of Liu (Shaoqi) and Deng (Xiaoping)." In June that year, Qiu Huizuo instructed Wang Xike, then director of the "cultural revolution office" of the P.L.A. General Logistics Department, and some others to concoct material vilifying Xu Xiangqian and to edit and print leaflets slandering him as a "big time-bomb" planted in the Party and army and a "typical careerist and conspirator" and putting forward the slogan "Down with Xu Xiangqian."

(15) The frame-up and persecution of Nie Rongzhen, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Vice-Premier of the State Council, and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee. In April 1968, Lin Biao ordered the Beijing Units of the P.L.A. to convene an enlarged Party committee meeting so as to engineer the repudiation of what they called "mountain-stronghold mentality of northern China." He then sent Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian and Xie Fuzhi to the meeting. Jiang Qing and Chen Boda falsely charged Nie Rongzhen with being the boss behind those with the "mountain-stronghold mentality of northern China" and plotted to overthrow him.

In November of the same year, Huang Yongsheng slandered Nie Rongzhen, saying that "he has never done anything good all his life" and that "these people will never give up. Whenever the climate is right, they're up to something." On January 5, 1971, Jiang Qing slandered Nie Rongzhen and others, saying that they had been "bad people in the saddle" in northern China.

(16) The frame-up and persecution of Ye Jianying, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of its Military Commission. On June 23, 1967, Huang Yongsheng approved the "Report for Instructions on Investigation for the Purpose of Rounding Up Renegades," submitted by the head of the military control commission stationed in the Guangzhou Municipal Public Security Bureau, and its appendix, "Plan for Investigation, No. 1," which was directed against Ye Jianying, whom they were scheming to persecute. In June 1968, making use of the false charges he concocted in Guangzhou against Deputy Commander Wen Niansheng and others of the Guangzhou Units of the P.L.A., Huang Yongsheng launched an investigation concerning the so-called "sinister line." He later submitted to Ye Qun extorted confessions, charging Ye Jianying and others with having called "covert meetings" and "trying to usurp Party and state leadership by plotting a counter-revolutionary coup."

On April 3, 1968, Li Zuopeng, together with Wang Hongkun, then second political commissar of the Navy, and Zhang Xiuchuan, then director of the Navy's Political Department, wrote material in which they trumped up charges alleging that "He (Long) and Ye (Jianying) attempted to seize the command of the armed forces to oppose the Party" in co-ordination with Liu (Shaoqi), Deng (Xiaoping) and Tao (Zhu).

(17) The frame-up and persecution of Lu Dingyi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Member of its Secretariat, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Director of the Propaganda Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee. In May 1966, Lin Biao trumped up charges against Lu Dingyi, labelling him a "counter-revolutionary." Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda, Xie Fuzhi, Wu Faxian and others slandered him as a "renegade," "hidden traitor" and "special agent of the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of the Kuomintang Government's Military Council." Chen Boda said that Lu

Dingyi should be "handed to the Red Guards for trial." At the instigation and under the direction of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, nine deputy directors of the Propaganda Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee were slandered as being "renegades," "enemy agents" or "Kuo-mintang elements."

(18) The frame-up and persecution of Luo Ruiqing, Member of the Secretariat of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A. Lin Biao, Ye Qun, Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and others trumped up charges against him, alleging that he had "illicit relations with foreign countries," was a "hidden traitor" and a "counter-revolutionary who has committed heinous crimes" and had "hatched a major scheme" against the Navy.

(19) Besides those people mentioned in Items (3), (4), (5), (6) and (7), others who were framed and persecuted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques and the principal members of their factional setups include the following leading members of various departments under the C.P.C. Central Committee, various ministries and commissions under the State Council, and the C.P.C. committees and the people's governments in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government, and also high-ranking P.L.A. cadres: Kang Keqing, Jia Tuofu, Zhou Rongxin, Gu Mu, Lu Dong, Gao Yang, Duan Junyi, Liu Jie, Sun Zhiyuan, Wang Zheng, Zhang Linzhi, Liu Yumin, Sun Daguang, Yuan Baohua, He Wei, Qian Xinzong, Xiao Wangdong, Wan Xiaotang, Zhang Huaisan, Zhao Lin, Zhao Ziyang, Wu Zhipu, Yan Hongyan, Wei Wenbo, Zeng Xisheng, Hui Yuyu, Wang Yanchun, Fang Zhichun, Wen Minsheng, Wei Heng, Huo Shilian, Yang Zhilin, Wang Zhao, Yang Jingren, Fu Qiutao, Liu Shaowen, Liang Biye, Liu Zhijian, Li Jukui, Rao Zhengxi, Li Yao, Peng Jiaqing, Tang Ping, Zhao Erlu, Xiao Xiangrong, Wang Ping, Cai Shunli, Liu Daosheng, Du Yide, Tao Yong, Fang Zhengping, Cheng Jun, Xu Shenji, Zhang Tingfa, Nie Fengzhi, Wu Fushan, Wu Kehua, Ouyang Yi, Liu He, He Jinnian, Cheng Shicai, Dun Xingyun, Tan Youlin, Cui Tianmin, Fu Chongbi, Zhuang Tian, Yan Fusheng, Chen Zaidao, Zhong Hanhua, Yang Xiushan, Tang Jinlong, Liu Peishan, Liu Zhuanlian, Zhang Zhonghan, Huang Xinting, Guo Linxiang, Gan Weihuan, Yuan Shengping, Yang Jiarui,

Qin Jiwei, Hu Ronggui, Kong Fei, Ting Mao and Wang Qimei.

(20) The frame-up and persecution of leading cadres of the Organization Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee and usurpation and control of vital organizational power of the Party Central Committee. In January 1968, Kang Sheng ordered Guo Yufeng to produce charts and reports to frame up charges against Zhang Wentian, Chen Yun, Peng Zhen, Deng Xiaoping and An Ziwen, who had successively served as director of the Organization Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee since 1937. They were falsely accused of being "renegades," "enemy agents," "elements who oppose the Party, socialism and Mao Zedong Thought," or "any combination of these." Twenty-two people, who had at one time or another served as deputy directors of the Organization Department, were falsely charged with being "renegades," "enemy agents," "elements maintaining illicit relations with foreign countries," or "elements who oppose the Party, socialism and Mao Zedong Thought." It was also alleged that a "counter-revolutionary clique" had entrenched itself in the Organization Department, which had become "a sinister den" and had "established a nationwide network of counter-revolution which recruited renegades to form a clique to pursue selfish interests." And it was proposed that the Organization Department "be disbanded and abolished."

(21) The frame-up and persecution of leading cadres of the public security organs, the procuratorial organs and the courts at various levels, and usurpation and control of the instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the instigation and under the direction of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, the nation's public security, procuratorial and judicial organs were completely destroyed. Xie Fuzhi incited people to "smash the public security, procuratorial and judicial organs" all over the country. Zhang Dingcheng, Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, Yang Xiufeng, President of the Supreme People's Court, and large numbers of cadres and policemen working in the public security organs, the procuratorial organs and the courts at various levels were framed and persecuted. Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi and others concocted false charges against the Ministry of Public Security, alleging that there was a so-called "underground sinister ministry of public security headed by Luo Ruiqing." With the

exception of Xie Fuzhi himself and one vice-minister who held other posts concurrently, all the vice-ministers of the then Ministry of Public Security were arrested and imprisoned. Vice-Minister Xu Zirong was persecuted to death.

(22) In January 1967, Lin Biao personally attached the comment, "I fully approve," to the slogan put forward by Guan Feng, Wang Li and other members of the "Cultural Revolution Group under the C.P.C. Central Committee," that is, "Thoroughly expose the handful of capitalist roaders in power in the People's Liberation Army." They plotted to plunge the armed forces into chaos.

In order to control the armed forces, Lin Biao fabricated charges against large numbers of cadres and masses in the Headquarters of the P.L.A. General Staff and framed and persecuted them. In April 1968, Huang Yongsheng said at the Headquarters of the General Staff, "Quite a few bad people have surfaced here, people such as Huang Kecheng, Luo Ruiqing, Zhang Aiping and Wang Shangrong," and "the verdicts against them can never be reversed; they must never be allowed to stage a comeback."

On July 25, 1967, Lin Biao called for the "thorough smashing of that Palace of Hell — the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army." On many occasions Lin Biao and Ye Qun slandered Luo Ronghuan and Tan Zheng, former directors of the General Political Department. They trumped up charges, alleging that there was a "Luo (Ruiqing) — Liang (Biye) anti-Party clique." Huang Yongsheng vilified the General Political Department, saying that it "has been recruiting renegades during the reign of several directors." Qiu Hui-zuo also slandered it, saying that it was "not much different from the Kuomintang secret service." He took an active part in the conspiratorial activities to "thoroughly smash the General Political Department." Large numbers of cadres and masses of the department were framed and persecuted. Four comrades who had been its director or deputy directors and another 20 who had been heads and deputy heads of its various sections were imprisoned and investigated owing to the false charge of attempting to "usurp leadership over the Army and oppose the Party" and of being "renegades," "enemy agents" or "active counter-revolutionaries." Yuan Ziqin, Wang Bing and 15 other persons were persecuted to death.

On March 5, 1974, Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao gave an audience to Chen Yading,

former deputy head of the cultural section of the P.L.A. General Political Department, and others. Jiang Qing said, "Chen Yading, we have invited you here today in order to straighten things out in the Army." She added, "It seems that we have to seize power. Chen Yading, why don't you go and do it? In my opinion, we might as well let Chen Yading take charge of the Army's cultural work." She also said to him and others, "You should kindle a prairie fire," thus instigating them to grab power in the Army by throwing it into disorder.

(23) Through Chen Boda and Yao Wen-yuan, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques controlled the mass media and instigated the overthrow of the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In June 1966, Chen Boda organized people to write and cleared such editorials as "Sweep Away All the Monsters and Demons," thus trying to shape counter-revolutionary public opinion so that the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques might usurp power after throwing the whole country into chaos. From 1974 to 1976, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan instructed the "Liang Xiao" writing group of Qinghua and Beijing Universities, the "Luo Siding" writing group in Shanghai, the "Chi Heng" writing group of the magazine *Hongqi* (Red Flag), and the "Tang Xiaowen" writing group of the Higher Party School of the C.P.C. Central Committee to spread counter-revolutionary, demagogic propaganda. In the spring of 1976, Yao Wenyuan personally revised and cleared such articles as "From Bourgeois Democrats to Capitalist Roaders" published in *Hongqi* (Red Flag) and *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily). He and Zhang Chunqiao also cleared speeches prepared for Ma Tianshui and Xu Jingxian. In these articles and speeches, they vilified veteran cadres in leading organs of the Party, government and army at various levels as "bourgeois democrats," "capitalist roaders" or "long-time capitalist roaders" and instigated further persecution of them.

At the end of March 1976, slogans written in bold characters opposing Zhang Chunqiao appeared in Nanjing. Yao Wenyuan slandered the people who had put up the slogans, calling them "counter-revolutionaries." He said to Lu Ying, "It seems there's a command office stirring up this adverse, counter-revolutionary current." He added, "The situation in Beijing merits attention." Prompted by Yao Wenyuan, Lu Ying dispatched people to Tian An Men Square to collect and compile material which

was then adulterated by Yao Wenyuan. Thus the revolutionary words and deeds of the masses opposing the gang of four, commemorating Zhou Enlai and supporting Deng Xiaoping were made out to be "counter-revolutionary speeches and slogans" and a "manifestation of last-ditch struggle and frenzied counterattack by the declining, moribund forces." The masses themselves were vilified as "a handful of bad elements" and "counter-revolutionaries." Yao Wenyuan even called for the "execution of a bunch of them."

From January to September 1976, at the instigation of Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen, Lu Ying dispatched people to certain departments of the Party and the Government as well as to Fujian, Jiangxi, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Sichuan, Yunnan, Heilongjiang and other provinces. There they collected material which they distorted to frame leading cadres in the Party, government and army, calling them "unrepentant capitalist roaders" or "capitalist roaders still travelling the capitalist road," and accusing them of "having organized landlords' restitution corps" and "trying to reverse correct verdicts and stage a comeback."

II

The Persecution and Suppression of Large Numbers of Cadres and Masses

In order to seize Party and state leadership and establish their counter-revolutionary rule, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques incited beating, smashing and looting, whipped up violence, and trumped up false charges, thus persecuting and suppressing large numbers of cadres and people.

(24) At the instigation and under the direction of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi, seven secretaries of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the C.P.C., including Liu Ren, Zheng Tianxiang, Wan Li and Deng Tuo, and six deputy mayors, including Wu Han and Yue Songsheng, were charged with being "enemy agents," "renegades," "counter-revolutionary revisionists," "reactionary capitalists" or "reactionary academic authorities." In January 1968, Kang Sheng falsely charged Liu Ren and deputy mayors Feng Jiping, Cui Yueli and others with "selling out vital secrets of the Party, government and army and betraying the Party and the nation." And he gave instructions, saying that "the ordinary methods of dealing with criminals cannot be used in their case,"

and that "we should put them in handcuffs and carry out sudden, gruelling interrogations." In May of the same year, Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi concocted the case of a "counter-revolutionary clique within the former Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, headed by Feng Jiping and Xing Xiangsheng," falsely accusing Feng Jiping and others of "carrying out espionage in collaboration with U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek's spies." Liu Ren, Deng Tuo, Wu Han and Yue Songsheng were persecuted to death.

(25) In January 1968, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan slandered the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the C.P.C., saying that it was a "stubborn stronghold of the bourgeoisie" and consisted of an "evil bunch." They falsely accused Chen Pixian, its first secretary, of being "an extremely cunning and treacherous counter-revolutionary double-dealer" and "the most dangerous enemy of the proletariat," and framed up the charge of "renegade" against Cao Diqu, a secretary of the municipal Party committee and mayor of Shanghai. At the instigation and under the direction of Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, 17 people, who were secretaries or standing committee members of the Party's Shanghai municipal committee and mayor or deputy mayors of the municipality, were falsely charged with being "renegades," "enemy agents," "capitalist roaders" or "counter-revolutionaries." Cao Diqu and deputy mayor Jin Zhonghua were persecuted to death.

(26) In December 1967, Chen Boda said in Tangshan that the C.P.C. organization in eastern Hebei Province "was probably a party of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation, and in fact it might be the Kuomintang members and renegades who were playing a dominant role here." A case was trumped up at his instigation, and more than 84,000 Party cadres and masses in eastern Hebei Province were framed and persecuted. Zhang Wenhao and 2,954 others were persecuted to death.

(27) On January 21, 1968, at the Jingxi Hotel in Beijing, Kang Sheng slandered Zhao Jianmin, secretary of the Yunnan Provincial Committee of the C.P.C., saying to his face, "You are a renegade... I can tell. Forty years' experience in revolutionary work gives me this kind of intuition... you have a deep-seated class hatred." He falsely accused Zhao Jianmin of carrying out the plans of a group of Kuomintang agents in Yunnan and of "trying to take advantage of the Great Cultural Revolution to create chaos in the border areas." Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi forbade Zhao Jianmin to

Shocking Figures

Among the large number of cadres and other people who were framed and persecuted by the Lin-Jiang cliques mentioned in the indictment, the major cases include:

	Number of people framed and persecuted	Number of people persecuted to death
The eastern Hebei case	84,000	2,955
The case of "enemy agent Zhao Jianmin" in Yunnan		14,000
The case of the "Inner Mongolian people's revolutionary party"	346,000	16,222
The case of a "Xinjiang renegade clique"	92	26
The case of the "counter-revolutionary northeast gang that betrayed the Party and capitulated to the enemy"	90	4
The case of the "Guangdong underground Party organization"	7,100	85
Cases of the P.L.A.	80,000	1,169
The violent incidents in Shanghai	741	
The Jinan incident	388	
Leading members of democratic parties		18
Personages in various circles	211,100	40
Returned overseas Chinese		281
Total	729,511	34,800

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argue, and Xie announced Zhao's arrest then and there. Thus at the instigation of Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi, the "case of enemy agent Zhao Jianmin" was fabricated, leading to the frame-up and persecution of large numbers of cadres and masses in Yunnan, over 14,000 of whom died as a result.

(28) Under the pretext of digging out the so-called "Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party," Kang Sheng framed and persecuted large numbers of cadres and masses in Inner Mongolia and sabotaged the unity between the various nationalities. On February 4, 1968, he said, "The Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party is still active underground. When we begin to ferret out its members, we may overdo it a little, but we needn't be worried about that." Again, on February 4, 1969, he said, "There are members of the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party inside the army too. This is a very serious matter." Xie Fuzhi said, "The Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party is disguised as a Communist Party but actually it is not. We must wipe it out." At the instigation of Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi, more than 346,000 cadres and other

people in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region were framed and persecuted in the case of the "Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party" and other false cases, and 16,222 persons died of persecution.

(29) In 1967, Kang Sheng and others trumped up the case of a "Xinjiang renegade clique." One hundred and thirty-one Party cadres, who had been arrested and imprisoned in September 1942 by Sheng Shicai, a Xinjiang warlord, were falsely accused of having "surrendered to the enemy, betrayed the revolution" and "concealed themselves inside our Party" and of forming a "renegade clique." Ninety-two cadres, including Ma Mingfang, Zhang Ziyi, Yang Zhihua and Fang Zhichun, were persecuted, and Ma Mingfang and 25 others died as a result.

(30) In February 1946, in accordance with a decision of the Northeast Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee which had been approved by the Central Committee in 1945, Lu Zhengcao, Wan Yi, Zhang Xuesi, Jia Tao, Liu Lanbo, Li Youwen, Yu Yifu and 35 others jointly sent a telegraph to Chiang Kai-shek through the Xinhua News Agency in Yanan, demanding the release of Zhang Xueliang. From 1967 to 1969, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques and their key members distorted the facts about this incident, accused them of engaging in a "major, long premeditated, counter-revolutionary scheme to betray the Party and capitulate to the enemy" and fabricated the case of a "counter-revolutionary 'northeast gang' that betrayed the Party and capitulated to the enemy," framing and persecuting 90 persons. Zhang Xuesi, Jia Tao, Che Xiangchen and Chen Xianzhou were persecuted to death.

(31) The counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing falsely accused the underground organizations of the C.P.C. in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangdong, Sichuan, Yunnan and other places of having "recruited renegades" during the War of Resistance Against Japan and the Liberation War and of being a "Kuomintang," a "renegade party" and a "U.S.-Chiang special detachment." The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques decided to "make the underground Party organizations the first target of attack." Consequently, large numbers of leaders and members of these underground Party organizations and many ordinary people who had fought heroically against the enemy were charged with being "renegades," "hidden traitors," "Japanese

agents," "Kuomintang agents," "U.S. agents," "spies" or "counter-revolutionaries."

In October 1967, Huang Yongsheng, in collusion with Liu Xingyuan, then political commissar of the P.L.A. Guangzhou Units, and others, decided to investigate the history of the underground C.P.C. organization in Guangdong and set up a special group for this purpose. They slandered the underground Party organization as having "recruited renegades," and alleged that a number of "renegades," "enemy agents" and "spies" had sneaked in. This was the false case of "the Guangdong underground Party organization," which led to the framing and persecution of more than 7,100 people. Lin Qiangyuan and 84 others were persecuted to death.

(32) The Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique trumped up false charges against large numbers of people in the P.L.A. Over 80,000 people were framed and persecuted, of whom 1,169 died.

From May 1967 to November 1970, Huang Yongsheng, in collusion with Liu Xingyuan, concocted the case of a "counter-revolutionary clique" in the P.L.A. Guangzhou Units, falsely accusing Deputy Commander Wen Niansheng and others of attempting to "usurp power by staging a coup." More than 700 cadres were implicated. Wen Niansheng and some others were persecuted to death.

Wu Faxian, in collusion with Wang Fei, then deputy chief of staff of the Air Force Command, and Liang Pu, its chief of staff, framed and persecuted large numbers of cadres and the rank and file in the Air Force. Wu Faxian said, "If you don't strike them down, they will turn around and pounce on us and have us beheaded." He laid false charges against a number of leading cadres in the Air Force, alleging that they were "conducting underground activities" in an attempt to "seize power" and "stage a coup." Wu Faxian directly framed and persecuted 174 persons, among whom Gu Qian and Liu Shanben were persecuted to death.

Li Zuopeng, in collusion with Wang Hongkun and Zhang Xiuchuan, framed and persecuted a large number of cadres and rank and file in the Navy. In January 1968, Li Zuopeng said that working on special cases was equivalent to "the Communist Party dealing blows at the Kuomintang." In October of the same year he again said that there should be "fierce attacks, vigorous charges and hot pursuit." Li Zuopeng directly framed and persecuted 120 persons, among whom Lei Yongtong and two others were persecuted to death.

Qiu Huizuo, in league with Chen Pang, then deputy director of the General Logistics Department of the P.L.A., set up a kangaroo court in the department to extort confessions through torture. Qiu Huizuo said that there should be "ruthless struggle," "ruthless interrogation" and "ruthless dictatorship." Large numbers of cadres and rank and file were framed and persecuted. Qiu Huizuo directly framed and persecuted 462 people. Eight people, including Shen Maoxing and Wang Shuchen, died as a result.

(33) In order to suppress the "Workers' Red Detachment," a mass organization in Shanghai, and seize Party and government leadership there, Zhang Chunqiao made a phone call from Beijing to his wife, Li Wenjing, in Shanghai on December 28, 1966. He said to her, "The fruits of victory mustn't be snatched by the Red Detachment. Tell the revolutionary rebels that they mustn't just stand idly by." Li Wenjing told Xu Jingxian about the phone call, who then passed on the message. At the instigation of Zhang Chunqiao and others, Wang Hongwen worked in collusion with Geng Jinzhang, a criminal guilty of beating, smashing and looting, and organized and directed a number of people who were ignorant of the real situation to attack the "Workers' Red Detachment." This armed clash, known as the Kangping Road Incident, resulted in 91 injured or maimed.

On August 4, 1967, Wang Hongwen engineered and directed an armed attack on the mass organization known as the "Rebel Headquarters of the Revolutionary Alliance of the Shanghai Diesel Engine Plant." Six hundred and fifty people were imprisoned or injured. Afterwards, Zhang Chunqiao acclaimed Wang Hongwen as "our commanding officer" and "leader of the working class in Shanghai."

(34) In May 1967, while in Jinan, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan supported the suppression of the local masses by Wang Xiaoyu, then chairman of the Shandong Provincial Revolutionary Committee. Zhang said to him, "You'll have my support if you're strong." Thereupon, on May 7, Wang Xiaoyu engineered a violent incident in the compound of the provincial revolutionary committee, resulting in 388 persons arrested and imprisoned. Afterwards, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan again expressed their support of Wang Xiaoyu and congratulated him on his "victory in battle."

(35) In October 1966, Jiang Qing collaborated with Ye Qun in ordering Jiang Tengjiao to search and ransack the homes of a number of writers and artists in Shanghai. Ye Qun asked

Wu Faxian to summon Jiang Tengjiao to Beijing, where she said to him, "One of Comrade Jiang Qing's letters has fallen into the hands of Zheng Junli, Gu Eryi and company. It's not clear who has the letter now, but you can organize some people to search the homes of five persons including Zheng Junli, Gu Eryi, Zhao Dan and Tong Zhiling. Bring here all the letters, diaries, notebooks and suchlike you can lay your hands on." And she added, "Keep this absolutely secret." After returning to Shanghai, Jiang Tengjiao got together more than 40 people. They disguised themselves as Red Guards and, in the small hours of October 9, searched the homes of Zhao Dan, Zheng Junli, Tong Zhiling, Chen Liting and Gu Eryi. Jiang Tengjiao sent what they had got hold of in two batches to Ye Qun's residence in Beijing. In January 1967, under Jiang Qing's personal supervision, Xie Fuzhi and Ye Qun burnt all the letters, photos and other material relating to Jiang Qing, which had been obtained in the search.

(36) While in Shanghai in 1967, Zhang Chunqiao ordered a counter-revolutionary secret service organization there — the "You Xuetao Group" (code named "244") — to undertake the special tasks of fascist espionage such as tailing, shadowing, kidnapping, ransacking people's homes, taking people into custody, secretly interrogating and torturing them, and gathering intelligence. From November 1967 to March 1968, this organization collected or fabricated for Zhang Chunqiao's use slanderous information on 97 leading cadres of the East China Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee. It drew up a "Diagram Showing the Relationships Between Persons Working for the Sinister Line in the East China Bureau" and compiled 300 issues of the publications *Minesweeping Bulletin* and *Trends*. All told, it provided over one million words in intelligence material, trumping up cases to persecute 183 cadres and other people. In the winter of 1967 and the spring of 1968, this organization sent people to Jiangsu, Zhejiang and other places to carry out espionage. It falsely charged the leading Party, government and army cadres in eastern China with "organizing an underground armed detachment south of the Changjiang River" and "plotting a mutiny." On October 26, 1967, Wang Shaoyong, then vice-chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, relayed Zhang Chunqiao's words to You Xuetao, "Be careful. You can spy on others, but they can spy on you too." In its "Summary of the Year's Work" submitted to Zhang Chunqiao on November 30, 1968, this organization said that it had been "fighting on

a "special front" and that "over the past year our work has been mainly covert struggle against the enemy. . . . From the central down to the local levels, we have directly or indirectly kicked the backsides of many bigshots." Zhang Chunqiao expressed his approval by writing "Thanks, Comrades" on the summary.

(37) From 1974 to 1976, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan instructed Chi Qun and Xie Jingyi to use their base of activity at Qinghua University to make secret contacts and exchange information with key members of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique in certain departments of the C.P.C. Central Committee and the State Council and in Shanghai and Liaoning. They collected records of speeches made by some leading cadres of various provincial Party committees and documents of these committees and wrote up such material as *The Capitalist Roaders Are Still Travelling the Capitalist Road* and *Information for Reference* to major leading Party, government and army cadres.

(38) As a result of instigation and instructions from the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques and their backbone elements, frame-ups were ubiquitous in the country. Falsely charged and persecuted to disability or death were numerous cadres and other people in the various democratic parties, in people's organizations such as trade unions, the Communist Youth League and women's federations, and in the cultural, educational, scientific, technological, journalistic, publishing, public health and physical culture circles as well as large numbers of returned overseas Chinese.

The falsely charged and persecuted leading members of the various democratic parties were: Deng Baoshan, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang; Gao Chongmin and Wu Han, Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League; Sun Qimeng, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association; Che Xiangchen, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the China Association for Promoting Democracy; Zhou Gucheng, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party; and Pan Shu, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Jiu San (September the Third) Society. Large numbers of standing committee members and members and alternate members of the central committees of the

various democratic parties as well as the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce were falsely charged and persecuted, among whom Huang Shaohong, Mei Gongbin, Chu Xichun, Gao Chongmin, Liu Qingyang, Pan Guangdan, Liu-Wang Liming, Liu Nianyi, Wang Xingyao, Tang Xunze, Xu Chongqing, Li Pingxin, Chen Linrui, Zheng Tianbao, Wang Jiayi, Liu Xiyang, Zhang Xi, Wang Tianqiang and others died in consequence.

In the literary and art circles, more than 2,600 people were falsely charged and persecuted in the Ministry of Culture and units directly under it alone. Noted writers and well-known art workers including Lao She, Zhao Shuli, Zhou Xinfang, Gai Jiaotian, Pan Tianshou, Ying Yunwei, Zheng Junli and Sun Weishi died in consequence.

In the educational circles, more than 142,000 cadres and teachers in units under the Ministry of Education and in 17 provinces and municipalities were falsely charged and persecuted. Noted professors including Xiong Qinglai, Jian Bozan, He Sijing, Wang Shourong, Gu Yuzhen, Li Guangtian, Rao Yutai, Liu Pansui and Ma Te died in consequence of such persecution.

In the scientific and technological circles, more than 53,000 scientists and technicians in units directly affiliated to the Chinese Academy of Sciences, two research institutes under the Seventh Ministry of Machine-Building and 17 provinces and municipalities were falsely charged and persecuted. Noted scientists such as geophysicist Zhao Jiuzhang, metallurgist Ye Zhupei, theoretical physicist Zhang Zongsui, entomologist Liu Chongle, taxonomist Chen Huanyong, and metal ceramist Zhou Ren died in consequence of such persecution.

In the health circles, more than 500 of the 674 professors and associate professors in the 14 medical colleges and institutes directly led by the Ministry of Public Health were falsely charged and persecuted. Such famous medical scientists as pathologist Hu Zhengxiang, pharmacologist Zhang Changshao, specialist in thoracic surgery Ji Suhua, specialist in acupuncture Lu Shouyan, and physicians of traditional Chinese medicine Ye Xichun and Li Zhongren were persecuted to death.

In the physical culture circles, large numbers of cadres, coaches and sportsmen were falsely charged and persecuted. Outstanding coaches such as Fu Qifang, Rong Guotuan and Jiang Yongning were victimized to death.

Also falsely charged and persecuted were large numbers of model workers of national renown, among whom Meng Tai and Shi Chuanxiang died in consequence.

In 19 provinces and municipalities, over 13,000 returned overseas Chinese and overseas Chinese family members were falsely charged and persecuted, of whom 281 died in consequence. Such well-known figures in the field of overseas Chinese affairs as Fang Fang, Xu Li, Huang Jie, Chen Xujing, Huang Qinshu and Chen Manyun were persecuted to death.

Also persecuted on the false charges of being "renegades," "enemy agents," "counter-revolutionaries" or "lackeys of capitalist roaders" were innumerable cadres and other people working in various Party, government and army organs, in enterprises and establishments, rural people's communes and production brigades and teams as well as in urban neighbourhood committees throughout the country.

III

Plotting to Assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong and Engineer an Armed Counter-Revolutionary Coup d'Etat

After the failure of their conspiracy to usurp Party and state leadership through "peaceful transition," the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique plotted to stage an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat and assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong.

(39) In October 1969, Lin Biao instructed Wu Faxian to make his son Lin Liguo deputy director of the General Office and concurrently deputy chief of the Operations Department of the Air Force Command. On October 18, Wu Faxian called together Lin Liguo, Wang Fei and Zhou Yuchi, another deputy director of the General Office of the Air Force Command, and said, "You are to report everything concerning the Air Force to Comrade Ligu. Everything is at his disposal and under his command." In this way Wu illicitly put command of the Air Force in the hands of Lin Ligu. Zhou Yuchi and Wang Fei successively passed on this message to the standing committee of the Air Force Party committee at one of its working sessions, and to the offices under the Air Force Command. Lin Ligu formed an "investigation group" in collaboration with Zhou Yuchi, Wang Fei and others. On the evening of May

2, 1970, when Lin Biao received Lin Ligu, Zhou Yuchi, Wang Fei and Liu Peifeng, then a section head under the Air Force Command's General Office, he asked them who their leader was. On May 3, Zhou Yuchi, Wang Fei and others held a meeting to pledge allegiance to Lin Biao and made Lin Ligu their "leader." In October 1970, the "investigation group" headed by Lin Ligu was reorganized into a "joint fleet." Ye Qun gave code names to Zhou Yuchi, Wang Fei and others. The "joint fleet" constituted the backbone force in Lin Biao's plot to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong and stage an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat.

From 1970 to September 13, 1971, under the direction of Lin Ligu and Zhou Yuchi, Hu Ping, deputy chief-of-staff of the Air Force Command, Wang Weiguo, political commissar of the P.L.A. Unit 7341, Mi Jianong, political commissar of the Guangzhou Branch of the Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC) and Gu Tongzhou, chief-of-staff of the Air Force Headquarters of the Guangzhou Units, and others set up secret centres of activity in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. These centres were used by Lin Ligu and others for liaison purposes and for storing arms and ammunition, wireless sets, bugging devices and confidential Party and government documents.

(40) From September 1970 onwards, Lin Biao stepped up his preparations for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. In February 1971, after plotting with Ye Qun and Lin Ligu in Suzhou, Lin Biao sent Lin Ligu to Shanghai, where from March 21 to 24, he called together such chief members of the "joint fleet" as Zhou Yuchi, Yu Xinye, a deputy section head under the General Office of the Air Force Command, and Li Weixin, then a deputy section head under the Political Department of the P.L.A. Unit 7341, and mapped out a plan for the armed counter-revolutionary coup — *Outline of "Project 571."* They assessed the situation, worked out the outline of implementation and decided on the slogans and tactics. They called for "gaining the upper hand by striking first militarily" and plotted to launch an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat to "seize nationwide political power" or bring about "a situation of rival regimes" by taking advantage of "some high-level meeting to catch all in one net" or "using special means such as bombs, the 543 (code name for a kind of guided missile — *Tr.*), traffic accidents, assassination, kidnapping and urban guerrilla squads." They

also plotted to "seek Soviet help to tie down domestic and foreign forces."

On March 31, 1971, while in Shanghai, Lin Ligu, implementing the plan for establishing a "command team" as described in the *Outline of "Project 571,"* summoned Jiang Tengjiao, Wang Weiguo, Chen Liyun, political commissar of the P.L.A. Unit 7350, and Zhou Jianping, deputy commander of the Air Force of the Nanjing Units of the P.L.A., to a secret meeting at which Zhou Jianping was made "head" in Nanjing, Wang Weiguo "head" in Shanghai and Chen Liyun "head" in Hangzhou. Jiang Tengjiao was to be "responsible for liaison between the three places with a view to co-ordination and concerted operation."

In March 1971, instructed by Lin Ligu, Mi Jianong organized a "combat detachment" in Guangzhou. He made its members take an oath of allegiance to Lin Biao and Lin Ligu, and worked out argots and code words for communication.

In April 1971, Lin Ligu directed Wang Weiguo to set up a "training corps" in Shanghai in preparation for the armed counter-revolutionary coup. Trainees were taught special skills in arresting people, hand-to-hand fighting, the use of various kinds of light weapons and driving motor vehicles.

(41) On the evening of September 5, 1971, Zhou Yuchi and Yu Xinye telephoned Gu Tongzhou to find out what Chairman Mao Zedong had said in Changsha to some leading personnel. The information thus obtained was secretly reported to Lin Ligu and Ye Qun at once, and Gu Tongzhou sent a written report to Ye Qun. On September 6, Li Zuopeng, then in Wuhan, received a confidential report from Liu Feng, political commissar of the P.L.A. Wuhan Units, containing Chairman Mao Zedong's conversations with some leading personnel assembled in the city. Li Zuopeng returned to Beijing the same day and separately tipped off Huang Yongsheng and Qiu Huizuo. That very night Huang Yongsheng phoned Ye Qun about this, who was then in Beidaihe. After receiving the secret information from Gu Tongzhou and Huang Yongsheng, Lin Biao and Ye Qun made up their minds to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong. On September 7, Lin Ligu issued the order for first-degree combat readiness to the "joint fleet." On September 8, Lin Biao issued the following handwritten order for the armed coup: "Expect you to act according to the order transmitted by Comrades Ligu and Yuchi." On the same day, Lin

Ligu brought from Ye Qun in Beidaihe a sealed document addressed to Huang Yongsheng personally. It was to be delivered by Wang Fei. On the morning of September 10, Wang Fei delivered the sealed document to Huang Yongsheng. On that same day Huang Yongsheng repeatedly contacted Ye Qun, making five phone calls to her. The two longest calls lasted 90 and 135 minutes respectively. Also on that day, Liu Peifeng brought a letter to Huang Yongsheng from Lin Biao in Beidaihe, in which Lin wrote: "Comrade Yongsheng, I miss you very much and hope that you will be optimistic at all times. Take care of your health. If you have any problems, consult Comrade Wang Fei directly." The letter was given to Wang Fei by Lin Ligu and Zhou Yuchi, and Wang was instructed to deliver it to Huang Yongsheng when necessary. From September 8 to 11, at their secret centres at the Air Force Academy and the Xijiao Airport of Beijing, Lin Ligu and Zhou Yuchi separately relayed Lin Biao's handwritten order for an armed coup to Liu Peifeng, Jiang Tengjiao, Wang Fei, Li Weixin, Lu Min, chief of the Operations Department of the Air Force Command, Liu Shiyang, deputy director of its General Office, Cheng Hongzhen, secretary of the office, Guan Guanglie, political commissar of the P.L.A. Unit 0190, and others. They worked out the details for assassinating Chairman Mao Zedong. Jiang Tengjiao was appointed frontline commander for action in the Shanghai area. They plotted to attack Chairman Mao Zedong's train with flame throwers and 40-mm. bazookas, dynamite the Shuofang Railway Bridge near Suzhou, bomb the train from the air, or blow up the oil depot in Shanghai, near which the special train would pull up, and then assassinate the Chairman in the ensuing commotion, or let Wang Weiguo carry out the murder when he was being received by Chairman Mao Zedong.

Meanwhile, Lin Biao and Ye Qun were making preparations for fleeing south to Guangzhou where they would set up a separate Party central committee, and also for defection to another country. On September 10, 1971, they ordered Zhou Yuchi and others to obtain from the Air Force Command maps showing where radar units were deployed in northern, northeastern and northwestern China, frequency tables of the radio stations in neighbouring countries which could be used for navigation purposes, maps showing air lines leading from Beijing to Ulan Bator and Irkutsk and the location of their airports and

the latter's call signs and radio frequency tables, as well as information concerning the airports in the Guangzhou and Fuzhou areas.

(42) On the evening of September 11, 1971, Wang Weiguo secretly telephoned Lin Ligu and Zhou Yuchi, informing them that Chairman Mao Zedong had already left Shanghai for Beijing. When Lin Biao and Ye Qun learnt that their plot to murder Chairman Mao Zedong had fallen through, they planned to flee south to Guangzhou, taking along Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo, and set up a separate Party central committee there to split the nation. They also planned to "launch a pincer attack from north and south in alliance with the Soviet Union should fighting be necessary." On September 12, Lin Ligu and Zhou Yuchi separately told Jiang Tengjiao, Wang Fei, Yu Xinye, Hu Ping and Wang Yongkui, a deputy section chief in the Intelligence Department of the Air Force Command, to make preparations for the flight south. Hu Ping and company had eight planes ready to leave for Guangzhou and helped Lin Ligu to fly to Shanhaiguan on special plane 256, which was then assigned for the use of Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Ligu in Beidaihe. Wang Fei, Yu Xinye and He Dequan, chief of the Intelligence Department of the Air Force Command, prepared the name list of those who were to flee south, assigned duties and made specific plans for action. Around 10 o'clock that evening, Premier Zhou Enlai inquired about the details concerning the flight of special plane 256 to Shanhaiguan and ordered it to return to Beijing at once. Hu Ping lied, saying that the plane was on a training flight to Shanhaiguan and had developed engine trouble. Thus, he refused to carry out Premier Zhou's order. Meanwhile, he telephoned Zhou Yuchi and tipped him off on what had happened.

Late at night on September 12, 1971, Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Ligu received a secret report that Premier Zhou Enlai had been making inquiries about the special plane. Thereupon, they hurried to the Shanhaiguan Airport with Liu Peifeng and others, scrambled on to the plane and ordered it to start taxiing without waiting for the co-pilot, navigator and radio operator to board and the lights to be turned on. The aircraft took off at 00:32 hours on September 13 and crashed near Undur Khan in Mongolia, killing all those aboard.

At 03:15 hours on September 13, 1971, Zhou Yuchi, Yu Xinye and Li Weixing hijacked helicopter 3685 at Beijing's Shahe Airport in an attempt to flee the country, taking with them piles of confidential state documents and large amounts of U.S. dollars which they had got hold of illicitly. After seeing through their intention, pilot Chen Xiwen took steps to fly the helicopter back to Huairou County, a suburb of Beijing, but was killed by Zhou Yuchi when the helicopter landed.

(43) Before Lin Biao's defection, Premier Zhou Enlai had made the decision that special plane 256 "cannot take off without a joint order from four persons," namely, Zhou Enlai, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian and Li Zuopeng. However, when relaying this directive to those in charge of the Navy's Shanhaiguan Airport, Li Zuopeng distorted it, saying, "The plane must not be allowed to take off unless one of the four leading officials gives the order." He added, "If anyone gives you such an order, you must report it to me. You will be held responsible for this." At 00:20 hours on September 13, when special plane 256 was getting ready to take off but its engines were not yet started, the airport leadership phoned Li Zuopeng asking what they should do if the plane were to take off forcibly. Instead of taking any measures to prevent the plane from taking off, Li Zuopeng said evasively, "You may report directly to the Premier and ask for his instructions." He was procrastinating so that Lin Biao could have enough time to escape. Afterwards, Li Zuopeng tried to cover up his crime by altering the logbook entry of the relevant phone calls.

(44) After Lin Biao's defection on September 13, 1971, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Qiu Huizuo and others separately destroyed such incriminating evidence as their correspondence with Lin Biao and Ye Qun, notebooks, photographs and other material, in an attempt to cover up the crimes of the counter-revolutionary clique.

IV

Plotting Armed Rebellion in Shanghai

Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen, as well as Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian, Wang Xiuzhen and company, made Shanghai their base, built up their own armed force and plotted an armed rebellion in the face of their impending doom.

(45) In July 1967, Zhang Chunqiao wrote in a report he finalized: "We must use the gun to protect revolution made with the pen," and instructed Wang Hongwen and others to organize in Shanghai an armed force under their control. In September 1973, Wang Hongwen said to Wang Xiuzhen, "A national general headquarters must be set up for the people's militia. I will take charge of it myself." In March 1974, Wang again said to her, "The army must not be allowed to lead the militia whose command should be in the hands of the [Shanghai] municipal Party committee." On many occasions in January and August 1975, Wang Hongwen said to Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen in Beijing and Shanghai, "What worries me most is that the army is not in our hands." He added, "We must be on the alert against the danger of the revisionists taking power" and "We must be prepared for guerrilla warfare." In February 1976, he said, "It's Chunqiao and me who organized the People's Militia in Shanghai." And he added, "I'm certainly going to keep firm control over it. You must run it well for me. . . . The army isn't so reliable."

(46) On May 7, 1976, when talking in Beijing with Chen Jide, a member of the Shanghai writing group, Yao Wenyuan said, "The Great Cultural Revolution is an example of violence, so is the Tian An Men Square Incident. And the outcome of future struggles will have to be decided through violence too." On returning to Shanghai, Chen Jide communicated Yao's views to Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian and others. In August of the same year, Yao Wenyuan personally revised and approved an article by the Shanghai writing group, entitled "Strengthen the Building of the Workers' Militia," which was later published in *Hongqi* (Red Flag). To prepare public opinion for violent suppression and armed rebellion, the article called for the struggle of the workers' militia against "the bourgeoisie inside the Party."

(47) In August 1976, Ding Sheng, head of the Nanjing Units of the P.L.A., arrived in Shanghai and had a secret talk with Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen at Yanan Hotel till midnight. Ding Sheng said, "My biggest worry is Unit 6453. . . . I haven't the slightest control over it. . . . Several of its divisions are deployed along the Wuxi-Suzhou-Shanghai line. This is a big headache. . . . You must be prepared for any eventuality." Immediately afterwards, Ma Tianshui looked into

the arming of the militia. Altogether, 74,220 rifles, 300 artillery pieces and more than 10 million rounds of ammunition were handed out in no time, as a concrete measure in preparation for an armed rebellion. On September 21 of the same year, Zhang Chunqiao received Xu Jingxian alone in Beijing. After hearing about Ding Sheng's secret talk with Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen in Shanghai and about the hurried handout of weapons, Zhang Chunqiao said, "Be careful, keep your eyes open for new trends in the class struggle." On September 23, Wang Hongwen made a telephone call to Wang Xiuzhen, saying, "Be on your guard, for the struggle isn't over yet. The bourgeoisie inside the Party will not be reconciled to defeat. Someone or other is sure to try to reinstate Deng Xiaoping."

(48) On October 6, 1976, the gang of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen was smashed. On October 8, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen sent to Beijing Miao Wenjin, secretary of Jin Zumin, who was in charge of the preparatory group for the reorganization of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, to find out what had happened. They laid down a secret code for contact purposes. That evening, Miao Wenjin and Zhu Jiayao, a member of the leading Party group in the Ministry of Public Security, made a phone call to Kang Ningyi, political commissar of the Security Section of the C.P.C. Shanghai Municipal Committee, asking him to tell Wang Xiuzhen that the worst had befallen Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen, using the code "My mother has contracted myocardial infarction." Soon afterwards, Zhu Jiayao phoned Kang Ningyi again, asking him to tell Wang Xiuzhen, "People have been assembled and locked up. They can no longer move about." So Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen immediately called an emergency mobilization meeting. They decided to "fight it out." They said, "Send the militia into action. If we cannot keep up the fight for a week, five or three days will suffice to let the whole world know what's happening." Then and there, Xu Jingxian wrote an order to assemble and deploy 33,500 militiamen. A command team and two secret command posts were set up for the armed rebellion, and the newspapers and broadcasting stations in Shanghai were instructed to act in co-ordination. Li Binshan, deputy political commissar of the Shanghai

Garrison, Shi Shangying and Zhong Dingdong, who were in charge of the Shanghai militia headquarters, and others drew up an initial plan for the armed rebellion, which was then approved by Wang Xiuzhen. Xue Ganqing and Xu Chenghu, deputy secretaries of the Party committee of the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau, worked out the bureau's programme for action. On October 9, Shi Shangying called a meeting of the militia leaders of ten districts and of the five militia divisions directly under the command of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee and ordered them to muster their forces and see to it that there were enough motor vehicles and drivers and that their arms and ammunition matched. Over 27,000 rifles and artillery pieces and 225 motor vehicles were assigned for use. A large quantity of food and other material was made available. Fifteen transmitter-receivers were installed at the command posts in the Jiangnan Shipyards and the China Textile Machinery Plant and at the militia headquarters of the various districts so as to link them up through telecommunications. Zhong Dingdong drew up more specific operation plans, code named "Han No. 1" and "Fang No. 2," for the armed rebellion. They decided to throw up three cordons between the heart of Shanghai and its outskirts in order to bring under control the city's administrative centre, railway stations, wharves, airports, harbours, the Pujiang River Tunnel, bridges and other main transport routes. Pass words and argots were also worked out. On October 12, they planned to publish a "Message to the People of Shanghai and the Whole Country" and drafted 21 counter-revolutionary slogans. On the evening of the same day, Yang Shaoyong and Zhu Yongjia, together with Huang Tao and Chen Ada, who were leading members of the group in charge of industries and communications under the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, and others, met to plan production stoppages through strikes, parades and demonstrations, and the acquiring of control over the press and radio stations and blockade of the news released by the central media. They planned to cut off the supply of electricity at the grid, barricade airport runways with steel ingots and scuttle ships to block the river mouth at Wusongkou. They put forward the counter-revolutionary slogans: "Return Jiang Qing to us," "Return Chunqiao to us," "Return Wen Yuan to us" and "Return Hongwen to us," readying themselves for "a life-and-death struggle."

The above-mentioned facts establish that the two counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing framed and persecuted the Chairman of the People's Republic of China, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the Premier of the State Council, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and other leaders of the Party and state, persecuted and suppressed large numbers of cadres and people, plotted to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong and planned to engineer an armed rebellion, and that they are counter-revolutionary cliques whose aim is to overthrow the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their felonies have been proved by a host of conclusive evidence. The people of all nationalities of the country, and in particular, the large numbers of cadres and other people who were framed, persecuted or implicated, are witnesses to their criminal activities. And so are those who, for a time, were hoodwinked or misled by them.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 9 of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China with regard to the application of law, this procuratorate affirms that the following ten principal culprits have violated the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China and have committed the offence of attempting to overthrow the government and split the state, the offence of attempting to engineer an armed rebellion, the offence of having people injured or murdered for counter-revolutionary ends, the offence of framing and persecuting people for counter-revolutionary ends, the offence of organizing and leading counter-revolutionary cliques, the offence of conducting demagogical propaganda for counter-revolutionary ends, the offence of extorting confessions by torture, and the offence of illegally detaining people, and that they should be duly prosecuted according to their criminal liability. This Procuratorate hereby institutes, according to law, a public prosecution against these ten principal accused:

Defendant Jiang Qing, female, 67, of Zhucheng County, Shandong Province. Member of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (C.P.C.) and its Political Bureau prior to her arrest. Now in custody;

Defendant Zhang Chunqiao, male, 63, of Juye County, Shandong Province. Member of the Tenth C.P.C. Central Committee, its Political Bureau and the Bureau's Standing Committee, vice-premier of the State Council, director of



From left to right at the dock: Yao Wenyuan, Jiang Tengjiao, Qiu Huizuo, Wu Faxian, Jiang Qing, Huang Yongsheng, Chen Boda, Wang Hongwen, Li Zuopeng and Zhang Chunqiao.

the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (P.L.A.), first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the C.P.C., and chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee prior to his arrest. Now in custody;

Defendant Yao Wenyuan, male, 49, of Zhuji County, Zhejiang Province. Member of the Tenth C.P.C. Central Committee and its Political Bureau, second secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the C.P.C., and vice-chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee prior to his arrest. Now in custody;

Defendant Wang Hongwen, male, 45, of Changchun, Jilin Province. Member of the Tenth C.P.C. Central Committee, its Political Bureau and the Bureau's Standing Committee, vice-chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the C.P.C., and vice-chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee prior to his arrest. Now in custody;

Defendant Chen Boda, male, 76, of Huian County, Fujian Province. Member of the Ninth C.P.C. Central Committee, its Political Bureau and the Bureau's Standing Committee prior to his arrest. Now in custody;

Defendant Huang Yongsheng, male, 70, of Xianning County, Hubei Province. Member of the Ninth C.P.C. Central Committee and its Political Bureau, and chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A. prior to his arrest. Now in custody;

Defendant Wu Faxian, male, 65, of Yongfeng County, Jiangxi Province. Member of the Ninth C.P.C. Central Committee and its Political Bureau, and deputy chief of the P.L.A. General

Staff and concurrently commander of the P.L.A. Air Force prior to his arrest. Now in custody;

Defendant Li Zuopeng, male, 66, of Jiang County, Jiangxi Province. Member of the Ninth C.P.C. Central Committee and its Political Bureau, and deputy chief of the P.L.A. General Staff and concurrently first political commissar of the P.L.A. Navy prior to his arrest. Now in custody;

Defendant Qiu Huizuo, male, 66, of Xingguo County, Jiangxi Province. Member of the Ninth C.P.C. Central Committee and its Political Bureau, and deputy chief of the P.L.A. General Staff and concurrently director of the P.L.A. General Logistics Department prior to his arrest. Now in custody; and

Defendant Jiang Tengjiao, male, 61, of Hongan County, Hubei Province. Air Force political commissar of the P.L.A. Nanjing Units prior to his arrest. Now in custody.

In accordance with Item 5, Article 11, of the Law of Criminal Procedure of the People's Republic of China, no criminal liability shall be pursued against those defendants who are dead. In this case, they are Lin Biao, Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi, Ye Qun, Lin Liguo and Zhou Yuchi, who were also principal culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. The other defendants involved in this will be dealt with separately.

Huang Huoqing

Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate of the People's Republic of China and concurrently Chief of the Special Procuratorate under the Supreme People's Procuratorate

Wu Faxian Admits: Lin Biao Plotted Counter-Revolutionary Coup

November 23, Second Tribunal under the Special Court

THE Second Tribunal of the Special Court began investigating the charges made in the indictment drawn up by the Special Procuratorate of the Supreme People's Procuratorate that the Lin Biao clique had plotted to stage an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'état and assassinate Chairman Mao. Wu Faxian, former Commander of the P.L.A. Air Force, was the first to appear before the tribunal. The other principal defendants will also stand trial one after another.

Jiang Hua, President of the Supreme People's Court and concurrently President of the Special Court, declared the court in session at 15:00 Beijing time. Wu Faxian was then led to the dock by bailiffs.

The judge asked: Wu Faxian, the indictment charges you with appointing Lin Biao's son, Lin Ligu, deputy director of the general office and concurrently deputy chief of operations of the Air Force Headquarters on the instruction of Lin Biao. Is this true?

Wu Faxian replied: "It is true." Wu admitted that in 1967 he made Lin Ligu, who had just joined the army and was not yet a member of the Communist Party, a clerical secretary in the office of the Party committee of the Air Force Headquarters and later personally recommended him for admission into the Party. Wu said he did this to show that he wanted to "follow Lin Biao and curry favour with him."

Wu Faxian also admitted that on October 17, 1969, he signed an order appointing Lin Ligu deputy director of the general office and deputy chief of operations of the Air Force Headquarters, on the personal instructions of Lin Biao and his wife Ye Qun.

Then, the judge asked: Wu Faxian, did you say that everything concerning the Air Force was to be reported to Lin Ligu and everything should be put at his disposal and under his command?

Wu Faxian answered: Yes. I did.

At this point, the minutes of a working session of the Standing Committee of the Air Force Party Committee held on July 6, 1970 were read out and a slide of the document was projected. The minutes showed that Zhou Yuchi, deputy director of the general office of the Air Force Headquarters and another principal member of the Lin Biao clique, had said: "Commander Wu said 'you are to report everything concerning the Air Force to Comrade Ligu, and everything should be put at his disposal and under his command.'"

Then, the testimony of Wang Huiqiu, the former political commissar of the Air Force, which was given on September 26, 1980 was read out. It said, "It was Wu Faxian who said that Lin Ligu could 'dispose and command everything' in the Air Force and he mentioned it twice in my presence."

Then, the judge summoned Liang Pu, the former chief of staff of the Air Force Headquarters, to appear in court as a witness. Liang Pu said that he once reported to Wu Faxian that his decision to place everything in the Air Force at Lin Ligu's disposal and under his command had resulted in confusion in people's minds of the Air Force. The public prosecutor asked Wu Faxian if he had taken any measures to withdraw his decision after hearing the report. Wu Faxian said: "I did not. By privately placing the command of the Air Force entirely in the hands of Lin Ligu, I was actually providing conveniences and conditions, and training personnel and a core of force for Lin Biao's plot to stage a counter-revolutionary coup and to murder Chairman Mao Zedong."

A large amount of evidence was exhibited in the court through slide shows, including a photo of Lin Biao receiving Zhou Yuchi and Wang Fei, two chief members of the "joint fleet." It was at that reception that Lin Biao suggested that they elect Lin Ligu as the head of their "joint fleet."

A deposition by Liu Shiying, former deputy director of the general office of the Air Force Headquarters, was read aloud. The deposition said that the "joint fleet" was formed by expanding the investigation group headed by Lin Ligu with the approval of Wu Faxian. After seeing the Japanese film *Admiral Yamamoto* which featured his joint fleet, Lin Ligu decided to expand the investigation group into a "joint fleet" after discussing it with Zhou Yuchi. Lin Ligu was the "admiral of the fleet" and Zhou Yuchi the chief of staff.

Cheng Hongzhen, a former clerical secretary in the general office of the Air Force Headquarters who has been charged as an accomplice in the case, appeared in court as a witness. He testified to the division of work among the members of the "joint fleet," their clandestine meeting places and their counter-revolutionary activities.

The code names of the members of the "joint fleet," written in Ye Qun's own handwriting were projected on a white screen in the courtroom.

The tribunal was also provided with evidence on the counter-revolutionary organization, the "Shanghai group," set up by Lin Ligu in Shanghai. One of the regulations on enrolment was: "The instructions of deputy department chief Lin, the group's supreme leader, in particular, must be conscientiously digested and carried out to every sentence and every word!"

After these items of evidence were shown, Wu Faxian said: "My decision to put everything at Lin Ligu's disposal and under his command had a direct connection with these serious consequences. I was directly responsible for them."

At the end of the hearing, the chief judge, Wu Xiuquan, stated: "The investigation of facts, the evidence shown and the testimonials read out today show that the defendant, Wu Faxian, followed Lin Biao and Ye Qun, supported and connived with Lin Ligu by giving him the privilege of 'putting everything at his disposal and under his command' in the Air Force. Making use of his position and privilege in the Air Force, Lin Ligu formed the 'joint fleet' in collaboration with Zhou Yuchi, Wang Fei and others and carried out a great deal of counter-revolutionary activities. It was this 'joint fleet' that constituted the backbone in the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique's plot to assassinate Chairman Mao and to stage an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. The facts are clear and the evidence is ample on Wu's decision to place everything in the Air Force at Lin Ligu's disposal and under his command and on the consequences arising therefrom. Now the tribunal has concluded the investigation of the facts concerning this offence." Wu Xiuquan then declared the session adjourned.

More than 600 representatives were in the public gallery.

— Xinhua correspondent

Wang and Yao Admit: Jiang Qing Was Chief Instigator of the Changsha False Charges

November 24, First Tribunal Under the Special Court

THE tribunal opened trial at 15:00 hours Beijing time to investigate facts concerning the accusation made in the indictment that the gang of four had made false charges against Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping in 1974. The principal

defendants brought before the court were Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyan.

At that time, Chairman Mao was recuperating in Changsha and Premier Zhou was hospitalized in Beijing. Wang Hongwen was then vice-chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and Yao, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee.

According to the indictment drawn up by the Special Procuratorate, in October 1974 when preparations were made for the convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress, Chairman Mao Zedong proposed that Deng Xiaoping be appointed First Vice-Premier of the State Council. The gang of four realized that this proposal of Chairman Mao's constituted an obstacle to their efforts to usurp Party and state leadership. Jiang Qing summoned Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen to work out a scheme. They decided that Wang Hongwen should go to Changsha to see Chairman Mao and make false charges against Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and others.

At the session, a deposition made by Zhang Yufeng, a staff member who was present during Wang Hongwen's conversation with Chairman Mao, was read out. It quoted Wang Hongwen's saying: "Although the Premier is ill and hospitalized, he is busy summoning people for talks far into the night. Almost every day someone goes to his place. Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Ye Jianying and Li Xiannian are frequent visitors," and "these people come and go so frequently at this time has something to do with appointments to be made at the Fourth National People's Congress."

The chief judge asked Wang Hongwen: "Did you say this?"

Wang Hongwen answered that he did say something to this effect, adding: "These were Jiang Qing's remarks which were transmitted by me." He went on: "Those remarks relating to the nominations at the Fourth National People's Congress were Zhang Chunqiao's."

The chief judge asked: "Why did you go to Changsha behind the backs of Premier Zhou and the Political Bureau?"

Wang Hongwen answered: "It was actually a conspiratorial activity, so Premier Zhou and the Political Bureau were not informed of it."

The chief judge asked: "What was your purpose in going to Changsha to lodge complaints against Deng Xiaoping?"

Wang Hongwen answered: "To prevent Deng Xiaoping from becoming First Vice-Premier."

Wang Hongwen admitted that he had said to Chairman Mao that "the atmosphere in Beijing now is very much like that of the Lushan Meeting." He said that this expression was first used by Yao Wenyuan. The phrase, "the at-

mosphere of the Lushan Meeting," implied that Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and others were carrying out activities to usurp power as Lin Biao had done during the 1970 Lushan Meeting.

In late August 1970, the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Party Central Committee was held at Lushan. Lin Biao thought the time for him to seize power had come and he led his company in launching a sudden attack at the meeting. In total disregard of Chairman Mao's repeated suggestions on the revision of the Constitution that there should not be the post of Chairman of the People's Republic and the proposal that he himself not assume the post, which were approved by the Central Committee, and disregarding the original agenda of the meeting, Lin Biao spoke first and insisted there should be the chairmanship. Then members of his cohort simultaneously launched "an offensive" in group discussions. Their aim was to make Lin Biao Chairman of the People's Republic.

Zhang Yufeng's written testimony also said: "Chairman Mao told Wang Hongwen that he should, after getting back, have more talks with the Premier and Comrade Ye Jianying and should not gang up with Jiang Qing, and that he should keep a watch on her."

Asked how he had carried out this instruction of Chairman Mao's, Wang Hongwen said that he "failed to implement it."

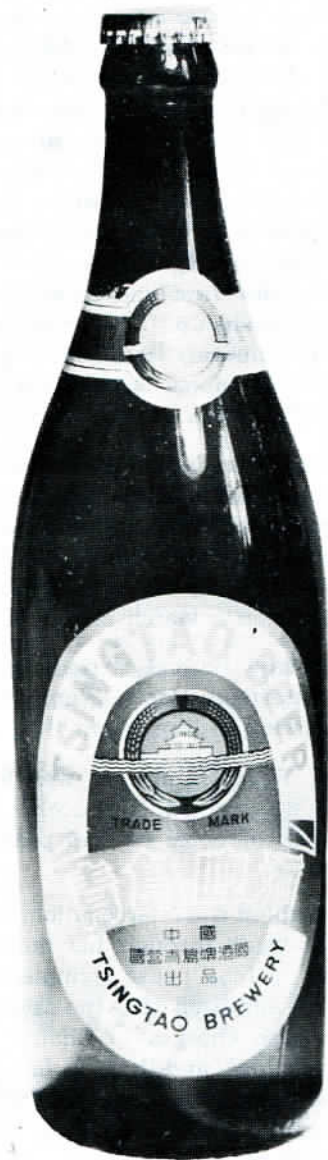
After Wang Hongwen was led off, Yao Wenyuan was led into the dock. He had with him a stack of notes he had prepared for the interrogation.

Throughout the interrogation, Yao Wenyuan sometimes went through his notes and sometimes after a long pause stammered out a few words. He admitted that the trip to Changsha to make false charges to Chairman Mao was Jiang Qing's idea, and that "in fact it was aimed at affecting the decision Chairman Mao had made," namely, preventing Deng Xiaoping from becoming First Vice-Premier. Yao Wenyuan also admitted that he had said, "The atmosphere is like that of the Lushan Meeting." To other questions Yao either mumbled that he did not remember or answered, "I can't confirm or deny."

Zeng Hanzhou, Vice-President of the Special Court, presided over the trial on November 24, and some 600 people were in the public gallery.

— "Beijing Review" correspondent

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