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**Newly Available Sources on Pre-1949 CCP History from
the People's Republic of China**

by
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One of the most important by-products of the reform program during the last decade has been the flood of materials that have become available about the past. The documents, reports, memoirs, etc. provide a good opportunity to reassess many findings concerning the rise to power of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). This short note tries to provide a categorization of these materials as a way of introducing some of the more useful.¹ Naturally, the list is far from complete and is meant to serve more as a guide than a comprehensive review. Comprehensiveness is hampered further by the fact that many of the publications are for "internal circulation" (*neibu faxing*).² Further, this note only covers printed materials and not original archive sources that are becoming gradually more accessible in the PRC.

Resource Guides, Handbooks, etc.

The last ten years has seen an explosion of handbooks and chronologies. A chronology exists for virtually every period or topic. Also, there are new or re-issued catalogues that can help one find their way around different collections in the PRC.

A good national guide to newspapers and periodicals contained in China's domestic libraries covering the period 1833 to 1949 is the *National Catalogue of Chinese Language*

¹ An excellent introduction to Chinese sources can be found in 张注洪, <<中国现代革命史史料学>> (An Outline of the Historiography of China's Modern Revolutionary History) (北京: 中共党史资料出版社, 1987). This has been translated into English and will be published in *Chinese Studies in History and Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* in 1990. Most of the materials cited in this article are available at the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam; the Fairbank Center Library, Harvard; and the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

² 内部发行. Knowledge of such internal publications is improved by the publication of <<全国内部发行图书总目 1949-1986>> (Catalogue of Internal Books Published in China 1949-1986) (北京: 中华书局, 1988). See Flemming Christiansen's review in this issue of the *Newsletter*.

Periodicals.³ Two useful indexes are the *Index to 19 Microfilmed Revolutionary Periodicals*⁴ and the *Index to Internal Materials*⁵ compiled by the Library of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences.

Useful book catalogues are *A Preliminary Catalogue of Books on the Revolutionary History of Modern China*⁶ and *A Brief List of Historical Documents on the Revolution Collected by Beijing Library*.⁷ The former lists all relevant collections in libraries throughout the country, while the latter is restricted, of course, to holdings at Beijing University. However, the latter is very detailed and is indispensable for finding one's way around the library.

Apart from these general catalogues, there are also specific catalogues that deal with issues either chronologically by event, or by person. For example, the Materials Section of the History Department of Fudan University has compiled a *Catalogue Index to Papers and Writings During the Period of the First KMT-CCP Cooperation and the Great Revolution*.⁸ This covers publications from the period 1949 to 1983. The *Catalogue of Reference Materials on the Anti-Japanese War*, edited by Zhou Wenzheng, has some 7,500 references divided into ten different subject headings.⁹

Handbooks and chronologies have been big business over the past decade. They are not only useful, but are academically safe as they do not entail the expression of personal opinion. A good example of the quick, easy-to-use dictionary that is now

3 <<全国中文期刊联合目录>>

4 <<中影印革命期刊索引>>. This index includes the contents of, among others, <<新青年>> (New Youth), <<每周评论>> (Weekly Review), <<共产党人>> (The Communist), <<先驱>> (Pioneer), <<向导>> (The Guide), <<先锋>> (Vanguard), <<中国工人>> (The Chinese Worker), <<政治周报>> (Political Weekly), <<农民运动>> (The Peasant Movement), <<布尔塞维克>> (The Bolshevik), <<无产青年>> (Proletarian Youth), <<实话>> (Honest Words), <<群众>> (The Masses), <<八路军军政杂志>> (Military and Administrative Journal of the 8th Route Army), and <<中国青年>> (China Youth).

5 <<内部资料索引>> (a periodical)

6 <<中国现代革命史书目初编>>. This catalogue, edited and printed by the Library of the Chinese People's University, was originally issued in 1959 and 1964.

7 <<北京图书馆馆藏革命历史文献简目>>

8 <<第一次国共合作与大革命论著目录索引>> (1984).

9 周文正, 编, <<抗日战争史参考资料目录>> (成都: 四川大学出版社, 1985).

available is the *Concise Dictionary of Chinese Communist Party History*.¹⁰ This two-volume work contains entries arranged by stroke number under the following headings: parties, organizations and groups; historical events; meetings; documents and materials; personnel; newspapers and journals; terminology; and international relations. Ideal for when you cannot quite remember who did what to whom, when and where.

For personnel, the most extensive guide is the series that was launched by Professor Hu Hua before his untimely death, *Biographies of Historical Personages of the CCP*.¹¹ This is a projected series of 50 volumes and to date some 40 have been published. In general, the quality of the biographies improves as the series progresses but is uneven. The biographies contain much useful information, but much of it cannot be verified as very rarely are sources identified. This series can be used in conjunction with *Pseudonyms of CCP Personalities in the History of the CCP [Original Names, Pen Names, Aliases]*, edited by Chen Yutang.¹² This dictionary contains 192 entries on key figures in the Communist movement. Each entry provides brief biographical details and a list of aliases and pen names and where they were used. Most useful is the index of aliases.

In addition, more specialized biographical dictionaries have been published, such as *Personnel of the New Fourth Army*, in two volumes,¹³ and the multi-volume *Biographies of High Ranking Officers of the Liberation Army*.¹⁴

For Party organizations, two indispensable books have been published. First, there is the *Compilation of Materials on the Organizational History of the CCP--The Evolution of Leading Organs and Name Lists of Personnel*, edited by Wang Jianying.¹⁵ This is the most extensive listing published to date of personnel in the Party, government, military and mass organizations. Generally, entries cover down to below the provincial

10 <<中共党史简明词典>> (北京: 解放军出版社, 1987/1988).

11 胡华, 主编, <<中共党史人物传>> (西安: 陕西人民出版社, 1980-present).

12 陈玉堂, 编, <<中共党史人物别名录 [字名, 笔名, 化名]>> (北京: 人民出版社, 1985).

13 <<新四军人物志>> (上, 下) (南京: 江苏人民出版社, 1985/86).

14 <<解放军将领传>> (北京: 解放军出版社, 1984-present).

15 王健英, 编, <<中国共产党组织史资料汇编: 领导机构沿革和成员名录>>. See Frederick C. Teiwes, "Determining Who Did What--The *Compilation of Materials on the Organizational History of the CCP*," *CCP Research Newsletter*, no. 3, (Summer 1989), pp. 3-7. An English-language translation is being prepared by M. E. Sharpe and will have the advantage of an index.

level for Party and government organs and either to the division or regimental level for the military. This reference book should be used in conjunction with Zhao Shenghui's *Outline History of CCP Organization*.¹⁶ Zhao's work provides an analysis of the organizational development of the Party and in so doing points the reader in the direction of many valuable materials.

Many useful chronologies have been published and they range from the general, such as *Chronology of Major Events in CCP History*¹⁷ to the very specific, such as the *Chronology of the Yan'an Rectification Movement*.¹⁸ This latter chronology provides virtually a day-by-day account in some 300 pages of the period from February 1942 until October 1943, with a shorter overview of the period from September 1938 to January 1942 and from October 1943 to June 1945. It is a mine of information.

Documentary Collections

Recently published or re-issued documentary collections can be divided into three categories: comprehensive national collections, local or regional collections, and topic-based collections.

The two indispensable national collections are the two-volume *Since the Sixth Party Congress--Secret Inner-Party Documents*¹⁹ and the 14-volume *Selected Documents on the History of the CCP*²⁰ (and a companion volume *Before the Sixth Party Congress*²¹) were compiled and distributed by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CCP between December 1941 and October 1942. They were produced as study materials for high-ranking cadres in preparation for the Rectification Movement. In this sense they present not only a fascinating set of central documents, but also insight into Mao and his supporters' thinking about Party history. The collections were re-issued after 1980 in connection with the writing of the new Resolution on Party History. The main drawback

¹⁶ 赵生晖,《中国共产党组织纲要》(合肥:安徽人民出版社,1987).

¹⁷《中共党史大事年表》(北京:人民出版社,1987).

This covers both the pre- and post-49 periods.

¹⁸《延安整风运动纪事》(北京:求实出版社,1982).

¹⁹《六大以来--党内秘密文件》(北京:人民出版社,1981).

²⁰《中共中央文件选集》(北京:中共中央党校出版社,1982-1987).

²¹《六大以前》(北京:人民出版社,1980).

of this re-issue is that pieces by Mao Zedong were withdrawn and readers are referred to the official selected works.

Before the Sixth Congress contains 199 documents that are mainly drawn from early Party publications, as well as essays written by early Party leaders. Not surprisingly, *Since the Sixth Congress* is much more extensive, with 500 documents. Volume one contains resolutions and declarations of the Central Committee of the CCP up to 1941. Volume Two contains materials arranged by the following topics: organization, military affairs, elimination of traitors, staff and workers, youth, women, propaganda and education.

Based on these two publications and their own holdings, the Central Party Archives published their 14-volume selection of Central Party documents. This collection provides a massive amount of previously unavailable material on Party history. The collection is not only authoritative, but also the entries seem to be reliable. With the exception of minor editorial differences, documents included are identical to those available elsewhere in independent sources. This would suggest that the materials that are not available elsewhere are also faithful to the originals held in the archives. The only bias which might creep in comes from the fact that we do not know what has been omitted. The fact that its classification is "internal Party documents, keep under control"²² also suggests that the contents are reliable.

The documents range across the following categories: 1) Programmes and constitutions; 2) Documents passed by national congresses, plenary sessions of the Central Committee, etc.; 3) Leaders' reports and documents issued by central organs such as the Propaganda Department and the Organization Department; 4) Documents sent by local Party organizations to the Center and vice versa.²³

The National Defense University has compiled an extensive 32-volume collection of documents from both the pre- and post-49 periods, *Reference Teaching Materials on CCP History*.²⁴ The first 18 volumes deal with the pre-49 period.

Local materials can be found in two main sources. Every province and often lower administrative units publish some form of selected Party materials containing a mixture of

²² 党内文献, 注意保管

²³ The first six volumes of an "open" and somewhat different version of the 《中共中央文件选集》, were published by the Central Party School Publishing House in August 1989.

²⁴ 国防大学, 编, 《中共党史教学参考资料》(北京: 1985).

documents, memoirs and articles. Many publish some form of Party history newsletter.²⁵ For the latter, I have seen both municipal- and county-level publications. Examples of the former are the quarterly *Materials on Guangdong Party History*²⁶ and *Collection of Materials on Party History*,²⁷ which specializes on Party developments in the Shanghai area and the six provinces of East China.

Secondly, there are specially published collections of documents about particular localities. For example, on Guangdong there is the two-volume *Research Materials on the Guangdong Region Party and Youth League*.²⁸ Not surprisingly, many of the local documentary collections deal with either the Shaan-Gan-Ning or other base areas. A useful collection of governmental decrees and regulations on Shaan-Gan-Ning can be found in *Selected Documents of the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Area Government*.²⁹ This is a planned 15-volume series that presents the regulations in chronological order. Volume Four runs through the end of 1941. The question of how political power was built is dealt with in the 171 documents contained in *Selected Historical Materials on the Shaan-Gan-Ning Revolutionary Base Area*.³⁰ The best selection of materials concerning the economy and finances of the border region can be found in the nine-volume *Digest of Historical Materials on the Finances and Economics of the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region During the Anti-Japanese War*.³¹ Materials also exist for the various campaigns launched in Yan'an. See, for example, *Better Troops and Simple Administration in the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region: Selected Materials*.³²

Documentary collections for most, if not all, the revolutionary base areas have been compiled. For example, there is the two-volume *Selected Historical Materials on the Jin-*

25 党史通讯

26 <<广东党史资料>>

27 <<党史资料丛刊>>

28 <<广东区党,团研究史料>>, vol. 1 (1921-1926); vol. 2 (1927-1933)

(北京:中共中央党校出版社, 1980, 1981).

29 <<陕甘宁边区政府文件选编>> (北京:档案出版社, 1987-present).

30 <<陕甘宁革命根据地史料选辑>> (兰州:甘肃人民出版社, 1981-1983).

31 <<抗日战争时期陕甘宁边区财政经济史料摘编>> (西安:陕西人民出版社, 1981).

32 <<陕甘宁边区的精兵简政:资料选辑>> (北京:求实出版社, 1982).

Cha-Ji Anti-Japanese Base Area.³³ Volume One covers the consolidation of the base area from July 1937 until the end of 1940, while Volume Two takes the story up until 1945. Collections also exist for the base areas set up in the early 1930s. For example, there is the very useful three-volume *Documents and Materials on the Xiang-E-Gan Revolutionary Base Area*.³⁴ The collection includes both local government and Party documents as well as communications between the base and the Party Center. Volume One covers the period 1928 to 1931, Volume Two covers 1932 and Volume Three goes up until 1937 and also contains a chronology.

The third category are topic-based documentary collections. There are three main series that fall under this category. First there is the *Series of Materials on Chinese Contemporary Revolutionary History*.³⁵ Secondly, there is the *Series of Materials on the History of the CCP*,³⁶ published by the Central Party History Materials Publishing House, and finally, there is also the *Series of Materials on the History of the CCP*,³⁷ published by the Publishing House of the Central Party School. Nearly all the titles published in these series contain a combination of relevant documents, newspaper articles and reminiscences by participants. An example of the first series is the two-volume work *Materials on the Canton Uprising*, edited by the Guangdong Museum of Revolutionary History.³⁸ From the second series, there is the *Nanchang Uprising*, edited by the Nanchang August First Memorial Museum.³⁹ From the third series, there is the very good collection *The Southern Anhui Incident [Selected Documents]*, edited by the Central Party Archives.⁴⁰

33 <<晋察冀抗日根据地史料选编>> (石家庄: 河北人民出版社, 1983).

34 <<湘鄂赣革命根据地文献资料>> (北京: 人民出版社, 1985, 1986). This is a cooperative work of six organizations, the Hunan, Hubei and Jiangxi Provincial Archives, the Contemporary History Institute of the Hunan Provincial Academy of Social Sciences, the Local History Research Group of the History Department of Wuhan Normal College and the Combined Committee for Philosophy and Social Sciences of Yichun District of Jiangxi Province.

35 <<中国现代革命史资料丛刊>>

36 <<中国共产党历史资料丛书>>

37 <<中共党史资料丛书>>

38 <<广州起义资料>> (广州: 广州人民出版社, 1985).

39 <<南昌起义>> (北京: 中共党史资料出版社, 1987). The first series also contains the title, <<南昌起义资料>>, but without as much documentation.

40 <<皖南事变>> (北京: 中共中央党校出版社, 1982).

To give an idea of how specialized topic-related collections can be there is the three-volume *Compilation of Documents on Journalistic Work of the CCP*.⁴¹ Volume One contains documents relating to the Party's journalistic and propaganda work for the period 1921 to 1949. The documents on the 1941-42 reorganization of the Party press are of particular value.

Contemporary Newspapers and Journals

Many contemporary newspapers and journals of the CCP and related organizations have been reprinted or issued on microfilm thus making them more accessible. Often these are newspapers easily available in the West such as *The Guide*,⁴² *The Communist*⁴³ or *Struggle*,⁴⁴ but sometimes newspapers or journals which used to be hard to come by are now possible to find with a bit of luck and help. This later category includes *The Party Newspaper*,⁴⁵ the internal paper for Party leaders in the mid-1920s, and *Red Flag Journal*,⁴⁶ the paper of the Guangdong-Fujian-Jiangxi Provincial Party Committee.

Microfilm can be ordered from the China National Microforms Import & Export Corp., P.O. Box 399-A, Beijing.

Collected and Selected Works

The recent emphasis in Party history writing on figures other than Mao Zedong has meant that collected and selected works of other leaders have been issued or re-issued. These publications also include a number of selections for figures who have not been fully rehabilitated. For example, Chen Duxiu has received much attention, especially in internal publications. An extensive three-volume collection of Chen Duxiu's writings has been published, *Selected Writings of Chen Duxiu*.⁴⁷ These volumes provide a comprehensive overview of Chen's writings from 1897 to 1942. They can be complemented by *Collected*

41 <<中国共产党新闻工作文件汇编>> (北京: 新华出版社, 1980).

42 <<向导>>

43 <<共产党人>>. The name *The Communist* is printed on the front cover of the paper. Full runs are available at the Sinological Institute, University of Heidelberg.

44 <<斗争>>

45 <<党报>>

46 <<红旗报>>

47 <<陈独秀文章选编>> (北京: 三联书局, 1984). The three general editors are 林茂生 from People's University and 杨淑娟 and 王树棣 from Beijing University.

Letters of Chen Duxiu, covering Chen's correspondence from 1910 until 1942.⁴⁸ Another official 'enemy' to receive attention recently is Wang Ming in, for example, *Selection of Opinions by Wang Ming*.⁴⁹ The 26 essays selected from the period 1928 to 1938 give a fairly objective overview of Wang Ming's main ideas and the development of his thought.

The reassessment of history has also led to a boom in publishing of works by the revolution's favorite sons and occasional daughters. Selections of works by Qu Qiubai have been big business and there is a very handy two-volume collection of writings by Cai Hesen.⁵⁰ Peng Dehuai's posthumous rehabilitation has also created a growth industry with works such as *Selected Military Writings of Peng Dehuai*.⁵¹ Other interesting collections for pre-1949 Party history figures include the selected works of Li Weiham, Ren Bishi and Zhang Wentian. *Selections from Wang Jiaxiang* was published in September 1989.

Memoirs and Diaries

With the more relaxed atmosphere in the People's Republic of China and the opening up of many historical events for discussion that moves beyond official Party pronouncements, there has been a rush of people eager to put their ideas in print. Many of these are veteran revolutionaries who wish to 'set the record straight' on earth before they go to meet Mao Zedong. This has also produced a nice little earner for sons and daughters who have pulled their parents' notes out from hiding and dusted them off for publication. Many of the memoirs are not useful and simply praise the Party's favorite hero at any particular time.

However, when written by participants in events themselves they can be extremely valuable. A comparison of different accounts of the same events by participants can be very revealing. What is left out of one account can be just as interesting as what is included in another. Secondly, such memoirs provide us with flesh to put on the bones of the official Party documents. They can be used to study basic level Party organizations and other grassroot organizations and to examine what it meant to be a Party member in different places and at different times. How was information received? How did they communicate among themselves? Such work can help us establish a sociology or political culture of the Party.

⁴⁸ 水如, 编, 《陈独秀书信集》(北京: 新华出版社, 1987).

⁴⁹ 《王明言论选集》(北京: 人民出版社, 1982). The book is edited by members of the Contemporary History Research Section of the History Department of Fudan University.

⁵⁰ 《蔡和森文集》(长沙: 湖南人民出版社, 1978).

⁵¹ 《彭德怀军事文选》(北京: 中央文献出版社, 1988).

I am sure everybody has their own favorite memoirs and below I have named just a few which I have found useful for one reason or another. For those who like plenty of swash with their buckle there is the series of memoirs by leading military commanders published by the Liberation Army Press. Among these are the memoirs of Chen Zihua, Luo Ronghuan, Xu Shiyong, Wang Shoudao, He Changgong and Xiao Jingguang. The most interesting, however, is the three-volume *Memoirs of Nie Rongzhen*.⁵² Volume One takes the reader through the Long March and up to Nie's arrival in Shaan-bei. Volume Two covers his experiences in the Jin-Cha-Ji base area, while Volume Three takes the story through to the end of the civil war. These three volumes contain interesting insights on the founding and consolidation of the Jin-Cha-Ji base area; his discussion of the Battle of the Hundred Regiments is also interesting. Volume Three contains some interesting reflections on Lin Biao.

For those interested in Party development and high-level politics such as was played out at the 7 August Emergency Conference of 1927, Li Wei-han's two-volume *Reminiscences and Research* is a must.⁵³ His accounts of life in Yan'an and work at the Central Research Institute are also very interesting. Wu Xiuquan's memoirs provide valuable information on how the influence of the pro-Soviet group in the Party was broken up. He shows how Mao was successful in dividing off Wang Jiaxiang and Zhang Wentian from this group.⁵⁴

The environment at the Yan'an Central Research Institute is further explored by Wen Jize *et. al.* in a series of thirty essays. The rectification campaign against Wang Shiwei conducted at the Institute became a prototype for the Propaganda Department and it was disseminated as a model throughout the whole of Yan'an. This alone makes these memoirs well worth a read.⁵⁵

While memoirs abound for the later period, they are scarcer for the period covering the origins of the Party. The main collection is the three-volume *Around the Time of the*

⁵² 《聂荣臻回忆录》(北京: 解放军出版社, 1985).

⁵³ 李维汉, 《回忆与研究》(北京: 中共党史资料出版社, 1986).

⁵⁴ 伍修权. These memoirs were published in four parts in 《中共党史资料》(北京: 中共党史资料出版社) (Materials on CCP History): no.1 (1980), pp.114-79; no.2 (1982), pp.169-218; no.4 (1982), pp.50-135; and no.7 (1983), pp.143-225.

⁵⁵ 温济泽, 等, 《延安中央研究院回忆录》(Reminiscences on the Yan'an Central Research Institute) (长沙: 湖南人民出版社, 1984).

First Party Congress.⁵⁶ Apart from memoirs of participants, the collection contains all the extant documentation concerning the Congress, including a number of interesting accounts from regional Party groups. Reminiscences of early Party life and in particular the CCP's relationship to the Kuomintang and the early labour movement can be found in Luo Zhanglong's *Memories from the Garden of the Tree of Heaven*.⁵⁷

The background to the founding of the Party during the monumental years of the May Fourth Movement is covered in the diary of Yun Daiying.⁵⁸ Chen Geng's diary is a good example of the kind of fine detail about daily events that is available. The diary covers the period August 1937 until June 1949 and mostly consists of daily records when Chen was working as Commander of the Taiyue Military District.⁵⁹

Secondary Literature; Academic Journals and Newsletters

The last decade has also seen a rapid expansion of secondary literature on key events. The accounts range from the fleshing out of the new orthodoxy to more challenging analyses of Party history and the role of key figures in that history. More critical writing has even spilled over into analyses of what has been wrong with previous official Party historiography.

The closest thing to an official Party history for the new period is the 14-volume series launched at Hu Qiaomu's suggestion. The series is titled *The History of China's New Democratic Revolution*.⁶⁰ Volume One, covering the years 1919 to 1923, has already appeared.⁶¹ However, some scholars, not all of them necessarily from the younger generation, have begun to move away from such standard approaches to questions of Party history and a variety of views are reflected in Party history journals.

Apart from the articles that appear in general history journals and university journals, there are a number of publications specifically devoted to Party affairs. The main

⁵⁶ 《一大前后》. These volumes are edited jointly by the Contemporary History Research Group of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Party Research Group of the Museum of the Chinese Revolution.

⁵⁷ 罗章龙, 《椿园栽记》

⁵⁸ 恽代英. Published by the 中共中央党校出版社 in 1981.

⁵⁹ 陈赓. Published by the 战士出版社 in 1982.

⁶⁰ 《中国新民主主义革命史》

⁶¹ 李新, 陈铁健, 主编, 《伟大的开端》 (A Glorious Beginning) (北京: 中国社会科学出版社, 1983). Li and Chen are the series editors.

journal is the bimonthly *Research on CCP History*.⁶² This has been published since 1980, but from its launch until issue no.1 1988, it was called *Research on Party History*.⁶³ Up until 1986, it was classified as an internal publication. However, all back issues are now easily available. It is published under the auspices of the Central Party School.

Secondly, there is *Materials for Research on Party History*⁶⁴ edited by the Museum of the Chinese Revolution. This series began in 1979 and each year the contents are cumulated in the form of a yearbook which is published in Sichuan by the province's People's press.

Thirdly, there is *Party Documents*.⁶⁵ This is a bimonthly, beginning in 1988, which replaced *Documents and Research*⁶⁶ and *Collection of Party Archives*⁶⁷ both of which ceased publication at the end of 1987. This is a valuable publication that contains many important historical materials. It is also useful as a source for finding out about new books and journals on Party history.

Liao Gailong edits an annual digest of the most interesting essays which have appeared on Party history titled *Annual Abstracts on CCP History*.⁶⁸ The publication began in 1982 and ceased to be "for internal distribution only" as of the 1984 issue. So far the issues up to, and including, 1986 have been published. In addition to abstracts, the annuals contain an overview of Party research during the year concerned, a chronology and an index to other articles and materials, both "open" and *neibu*, on Party history published during the year.

The best source for news about publications, research and symposia in the field of Party history is the biweekly *CCP History Newsletter*.⁶⁹

62 <<中共党史研究>>

63 <<党史研究>>

64 <<党史研究资料>> Most recent known edition is number 7.

65 <<党的文献>>

66 <<文献和研究>>

67 <<中共档案馆丛刊>>

68 廖盖隆,主编, <<中共党史文摘年刊>> (北京: 中共党史资料出版社).

69 <<中共党史通讯>> (北京: 中共党史研究会, 中央党校).

See review of *CCP Research Newsletter* in <<中共党史通讯>>, no. 9 (May 10, 1989), p. 8.

The *Neibu* Bibliography: A Review Article

by
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李泡光, 赵华春, <<全国内部发行图书总目 1949-1986>> (北京: 中华书局, 1988).

Li Paoguang, Zhao Huachun, *National Bibliography of Internally Distributed Works 1949-1986* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), xiv, 982 pp. 1st print (3,000 issues), June 1988. (Available at Manchester University Library; International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam; Fairbank Center Library; Hoover Institution, and other major collections.)

A phenomenon in China which for decades has been regarded with a mixture of annoyance and curiosity by foreign observers of China is the existence of the books and magazines they are *not* supposed to get hold of. The sensation of achievement when they actually are able to obtain such "secret works" is well-known to most researchers in the field. Although control of 'internally distributed works' with the imprint '*neibu faxing*'¹ on the cover or in the colophon seems to have decreased in recent years to the extent that such works can occasionally be purchased in small, private book-stalls on the streets of many Chinese cities without any problem, these works continue to be the object of fascination. Until recently it was almost impossible to get an impression of the scope and content of this classification.

For some years now, all articles in Chinese magazines have been listed in two bibliographical periodicals, published by the Shanghai Library, irrespective of the classification of the magazines in which they appeared,² thus including *neibu* material. For books, however, we have lacked a comprehensive bibliography. The work under review solves this problem. It claims to list all *neibu* books that appeared in China between October 1949 and December 1986, including those works from before 1974 which were

The author is indebted to Michael Schoenhals and Timothy Cheek for their comments on the draft of this article

¹ 内部发行

² <<全国报刊索引(哲社版)>> (上海: 上海图书馆); <<内部资料索引>> (上海: 上海图书馆).

classified as 'only for distribution within the country'³ and which were not listed in the *National Bibliography*.⁴ The *National Bibliography of Internally Distributed Works* covers 17,754 first editions and 547 revised editions.

It goes without saying that the *National Bibliography of Internally Distributed Works* itself is classified as '*neibu faxing*'. It is a valuable tool for research on almost all aspects of modern Chinese society because it discloses an important aspect of knowledge dissemination within China. It makes it possible to trace works which until now were only randomly known. It follows the Chinese classification system which is currently in use, starting with the classics of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, going on to Philosophy, General Works on Social Sciences, Politics and Law, Military, Economics, etc. It is divided into four parts, covering (a) works published in Chinese and foreign languages, (b) works published in national minority languages (Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh, Korean, Zhuang and other languages), (c) works published in Braille, and (d) a stroke index list of titles. All titles listed are in Chinese, apparently according to the colophons of the books; this includes works published in foreign and national minority languages. In most cases information on author, publisher and original title is given for the foreign editions upon which the Chinese edition is based; however this information is inconsistent, incomplete and confused.

Each entry lists:

- (a) the title of the work in boldface and subtitles in normal print
- (b) the name of the author (*zhu*),⁵ corporate author or editor (*bian*)⁶ or translator (*yi*)⁷; the nationality of non-Chinese authors is indicated in half square brackets in front of the name; when the nationality is unknown, the brackets are left empty
- (c) the place of publication, the name of the publishing house, the year and month of publication, the number of characters in whole thousands, the paper format⁸ and the price in yuan

³ 只限国内发行

⁴ <<全国总书目>>

⁵ 著

⁶ 编

⁷ 译

⁸ Indicated in *kai* 开. The most common formats are 16 *kai* (260 mm x 187 mm or 262 mm x 184 mm), 32 *kai* (187 mm x 130 mm or 184 mm x 130 mm) and *da* 大 32 *kai* (203 mm x 140 mm or 202 mm x 140 mm).

(d) various comments on the first edition, etc. in small print between brackets

The information lacking includes (a) the unified book number,⁹ (b) the number of copies printed,¹⁰ and (c) information on the printing office. Note that the number of pages is almost never indicated in Chinese bibliographies. The unified book number is not crucial for identifying a book, since the indication of place, publishing house and year and month of publication give sufficient information for identifying a particular book. It is a pity that the number of printed copies is lacking since it would give us an indication of the scope of (intended) distribution.

Limitations of the Bibliography

What does the bibliography give us, and what are its limitations? The bibliography claims to give us a complete listing of books published by officially recognized publishing houses with the classification *neibu faxing*.¹¹ This excludes material with other classifications, such as books classified 'secret' and 'confidential' and material published by work units (other than officially recognized publishing houses) for internal distribution. Such material does not have a colophon.

The limitations of the bibliography obviously lie in the *neibu* classification and the way it is used. It is generally thought that the *neibu* classification is used to prevent foreigners from getting hold of politically 'sensitive' material. This may be true to a certain extent, but in my view it implies an overestimation of the role of foreigners and may be attributed to the sense of paranoia nourished by foreigners who feel excluded from supposed eldorados of secret information. A much more obvious reason for using the *neibu* classification is to prevent uncontrolled dissemination of information and discussion within China and among the Chinese themselves; an added factor is that foreigners are not allowed to buy and export the material. *Neibu* material may in principle only be sold to persons who are authorized by their work unit, but generally it seems that control is not

⁹ 统一书号

¹⁰ 印数

¹¹ There are a number of cases where the bibliography is incomplete or inconsistent. For example, 天津市革命委员会政治部, 编, 《无产阶级文化大革命重要文献选编》(天津: 天津人民出版社, 1969) and 中共中央党校理论研究室, 编, 《真理标准问题讨论文集》(北京: 中共中央党校出版社, 1982) are not included in spite of the fact that they are classified *neibu faxing*. In some cases books that are classified in a different manner, e. g. '*neibu cankao*' 《内部参考》, have been included in the bibliography.

strict. The books are normally on separate shelves in the bookstores, closed off from the general public; in some bookstores alongside books imported from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and unclassified expensive and rare books that must be prevented from the normal wear and tear that occurs to books on display in Chinese bookstores.

Neibu materials never used to be cited directly in openly published works. This is a crucial point, because it limits independent discussions of their contents. However, at the same time relatively large groups of authorized (politically trustworthy) people are able to read them.¹² But why, then, should the famous 'little red book', *Quotations from Chairman Mao*¹³ exist in 8 *neibu* editions from September 1965 until December 1967? It was, after all, the most widely distributed book in China at that time. The bibliography does not give any answer to this riddle, but it does focus our attention on the peculiarities of this classification system.

Another function of the *neibu* classification is that it makes it possible for the authors and the publishers to simplify censorship procedures. They can thus radically shorten the time needed to publish their work. Accordingly, a first "open" edition (of a previously *neibu* book) may appear within half a year, often without any alterations in the text.

Many of the books translated into Chinese are *neibu*. This may be for many reasons; obviously, it is not to prevent foreigners from acquiring them, since they can always get them in their original languages, which are in many cases much more convenient to read than Chinese. In many cases, we must assume, their very content makes it difficult for the authorities to use them for anything else than restricted reference among trusted circles; they may contain opinions and ways of presenting matters that are not in line with official dogma. An example of this, which is not included in the bibliography (the book was not published as *neibu* until 1988), is Jaap van Ginneken's *The Rise and Fall of Lin Piao*.¹⁴ According to the 'publisher's explanation,' the work is based on material from 'anti-party cliques' and overseas and Taiwanese intelligence sources, and the limitations of the author's standpoint cause him to have unacceptable opinions and formulations. The *neibu* classification, in other words, makes it possible to publish controversial material with a warning signal saying that the content of the book should be regarded critically, that it

¹² In some cases ample references to specific *neibu* books were made in unclassified material. Among these are *Important Selected Documents Since the Third Plenum* and Chen Yun's *Selected Works*, which were *neibu* in the early 1980s.

¹³ <<毛主席语录>>

¹⁴ [荷] 雅普•冯•吉内肯, 着, <<林彪浮沉录>>

does not confirm to official opinion and that it may not be cited or openly discussed. A very inconvenient result of the *neibu* publication is that the foreign author is not notified of publication.

A different use of the *neibu* classification which has gained importance during the last decade is that foreign works are reprinted in their original language, sometimes with omissions or alterations of details considered unwanted. Even though China never signed any of the international copyright conventions, it is evident that the Chinese government wants to protect itself from claims from authors, both with regard to royalties and *droit moral*. Diplomatic frictions can be avoided if the large scale export of such pirated reprints is prohibited with the use of the *neibu* classification. Such works include everything from GRE and TOEFL exercise books to Webster's dictionaries, English, German, French and Spanish novels (some with Chinese glossaries) and technical manuals. A number of non-Chinese magazines, including both popular and specialized titles, are pirated in a systematic way as black-and-white reprints on poor quality paper with special covers.

The sensitivity of a given work may cause it to be published as *neibu*. However, it is not the only way in which sensitive material is published. Many important and very interesting works were never published by publishing houses, but by work units, such as universities, party committees, and ministries--even in cases where the work unit was attached to an officially recognized publishing house. This phenomenon is and has for decades been widespread, but it is not yet possible to assess how many titles are involved or even to list them. Lacking colophons with basic bibliographical data, produced in very decentralized systems without central registration, it is impossible for Chinese bibliographies to cover such publications. Such works include manuals, research reports, reference works, and teaching materials. Since they do not have the *neibu faxing* imprint, these works are formally available to foreigners, but they are relatively inaccessible.

Sometimes the classification is extremely puzzling. A nice example of this is the *Concise Philosophical Dictionary* edited by two Russian philosophers (Mark M. Rozenthal and Pavel F. Yudin).¹⁵ This work was, according to the bibliography, published in *neibu* form by Sanlian shudian in Beijing¹⁶ and by Renmin chubanshe¹⁷ in Tianjin in January 1973. The book, first published in 1939 and revised many times, was used as the main reference work for freshmen in Philosophy, Politics, History and other disciplines at many universities in China even in the 1980s. The Chinese translation was based on the 1955

¹⁵ [苏] 罗森塔尔, 尤金, 编, <<简明哲学辞典>>.

¹⁶ 北京三联书店

¹⁷ 天津人民出版社

edition, and was published in 1958 without any classification.¹⁸ In 1973 it was re-published in *neibu* form. In October 1959 an abridged version had been published by Guizhou renmin chubanshe in Guiyang,¹⁹ also in *neibu* form. Why would there be a need to restrict the distribution of a book which is the most widely used reference work, which had already been published in an unclassified version and which was known by everyone with a minimum of political schooling? The only reason is given in the 'reprint explanation' of the book: "...[it] has some reference value. However, there are still some mistakes and shortcomings in it, and it is necessary to use it analytically and critically." To put it briefly, the book no longer conformed in all details to the official interpretation of the communist movement.

One of the limitations of the bibliography becomes visible when we look at its entry on Rudolf Bahro's *Alternatives*, the famous inside criticism of the 'actually existing socialism' in the German Democratic Republic.²⁰ This work, which was highly controversial all over the communist world when it came out in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1977,²¹ criticized phenomena inherent to all communist countries, including China, especially the role of the state as a despotic exploiter and the suffocating bureaucracy which tends to kill all individual initiatives. This work was first published in *neibu* form in September 1983. But this was obviously not the first edition of the Chinese translation. As early as September 1979, the Chinese unofficial magazine *April Fifth Tribune* (*Siwu Luntan*) of the 1978-1979 Democratic Movement published the introduction to this book.²² Xu Wenli,²³ the chief editor of the magazine, and his fellow editors certainly had no way of getting hold of a foreign edition and of translating it themselves. They must have obtained a Chinese translation already available at that time. How? Did there already exist a secret translation, published for reference among high-level cadres? Or had the translator, Yan Tao,²⁴ leaked his translation to Xu Wenli four years before it was

¹⁸ This information is found in the 'reprint explanation' of the 1973 edition of the book.

¹⁹ (贵阳: 贵州人民出版社)

²⁰ [德] 鲁道夫·巴罗, 著, 《抉择一对现实存在的社会主义的批判》(北京: 北京出版社, 1983).

²¹ Rudolf Bahro, *Die Alternatives* (Europäische Verlags Anstalt, 1977). [Eng. ed.: *The Alternative in Eastern Europe* (London: New Left Books, 1981).]

²² "《抉择》的序言" (Introduction to *Alternatives*), 《四五论坛》, no. 12 (September 1979) pp. 53-59.

²³ 徐文立

²⁴ 严涛

published? Or had the introduction to the book been published in an internally distributed magazine? I think there must have been an edition of this book with a higher level of classification than *neibu* in 1979.

Main Types of *Neibu* Books

Dividing the *neibu* books according to the classification system used in China, it is interesting to see the following distribution:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Industrial technology	4,359	23.8
History, Geography	2,003	10.9
Politics, Law	1,983	10.8
Economics	1,820	9.9
Culture, Science, Education, Sports	1,454	7.9
Natural Sciences (General Works)	1,410	7.7
Literature	886	4.9

Why should almost a quarter of all *neibu* books be industrial standards, detailed technical descriptions of industrial processes, etc.? Given the general technological level in China, national security or fear of industrial espionage could hardly be involved; very important, and advanced processes would under all circumstances be classified as confidential or secret. The only reasonable explanation, I suggest, is that a number of publishing houses belonging to various ministerial systems, like the Machine Building Industry Publishing House and the National Defense Industry Publishing House were generally not allowed to publish non-*neibu* books. The purely apolitical content of technical works may play a role; since such works could not be classified as either politically sound or unhealthy, the best option was to keep them out of general circulation. Another explanation may be that reserving technological knowledge for the technocrats ensured them an exclusive power basis. However, it may also have to do with the fact that the main bulk of technological knowledge was taken from foreign sources. Publicly admitting that there were very few original Chinese designs, of course, would be too embarrassing. In most other groups of *neibu* books we see political motivations for limiting access, especially in history, politics and economics.

Translation

A Preliminary Analysis of the Characteristics of *Neibu* Materials in the Social Sciences

by
刘昌运

Liu Changyun

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With the development of the social sciences in our country during the past several years, internal materials¹ have become an important channel that reflects the current state of knowledge, as well as new progress, in the social sciences.

The author participated in the compilation of the *Index of Internal Materials* (hereafter, *Index*),² and had the opportunity to research and analyze with colleagues the content and format, nature and types of internal materials in the social sciences. Based on our analysis of 453 internal serial titles which are regularly covered in the *Index*, and other materials, the characteristics of internal materials in the social sciences are categorized by the following six features:

The "Internal" Nature of Internal Materials.

Due to different understandings and definitions of the term, as well as to the diverse and complex nature of the materials, there has been to date no widely accepted definition of the term "internal." Among the internal and other materials collected for the *Index*, we discovered that, quite often, such labels appear either on the cover or at the end of these materials as: "internal publication,"³ "internal circulation,"⁴ "internal material,"⁵ "internal

This is a translation of "社会科学内部资料特点试析," <<情报资料工作>> (Information and Materials Work) (北京: 中国人民大学, March 1985), pp. 18-19. The author is an assistant librarian in the library of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences.

1 内部资料

2 <<内部资料索引>>. This index deals exclusively with *serial publications*.

Does any reader have access to a copy of this for reproduction and review by the *Newsletter*?

3 内部刊物

4 内部发行

5 内部材料

reference,"⁶ "internal material,"⁷ "for internal theoretical studies,"⁸ "internal printing,"⁹ "keep confidential,"¹⁰ "internal reference material,"¹¹ "reference material for theoretical study,"¹² "internal exchange publication,"¹³ "for academic reference,"¹⁴ "reference for leading cadres,"¹⁵ "classified,"¹⁶ etc.

In addition to the above-mentioned categories, there are other materials that bear no labels, including regular publications and other reference materials without titles. As far as these labels are concerned, though diverse, they take no more than these five forms: (1) to describe the nature and degree of confidentiality of the publications; (2) to state that the publications are for informational exchange; (3) to explain the suitable usage of the informational content; (4) to indicate that publication of the materials is not through public channels; and (5) to explain and define the scope of the readership.

Based on the above analysis, I conclude that the "internal" nature of the so-called "internal materials" is not only associated with "confidentiality" as generally understood, but also bears the following three implications:

-- The purpose of the materials is mainly for exchange and study discussions within a given system;¹⁷

--The content of the materials is not confidential; they are not distributed publicly because either the intended circulation is small or finances are limited;

--This method of publication provides an opportunity for discussion of individual perspectives on academic issues which are not yet mature enough to be made public.

⁶ 内部参考

⁷ 内部资料

⁸ 供内部理论讨论用

⁹ 内部印发

¹⁰ 注意保存

¹¹ 内部参考资料

¹² 理论学习参考材料

¹³ 内部交流刊物

¹⁴ 供教学参考

¹⁵ 供领导干部参考

¹⁶ 机密

¹⁷ The word used is 系统.

Multiplicity of Disciplines in Internal Materials

On the basis of our preliminary analysis of the 453 titles covered by the *Index*, we have concluded that internal materials are comparable to openly published ones in terms of the range of disciplines they cover, but in terms of the variety of subjects they are in fact superior. Among the 453 titles, 167 belong to the comprehensive disciplines, such as *Social Science Trends*, etc.; 71 publications belong to general disciplines (each basic discipline in the social sciences), such as, *Sociology Newsletter*, and *Literary Research Trends*, and so on; and 215 publications belong to sub-categories of disciplines (each particular sub-discipline and area of concentration in the social sciences), such as *Vocational Education Research Reference Materials*, *Trends and Schools of Thought in Foreign Socialism* and *Party History Research Newsletter*, etc. The above shows that scientific sub-disciplines make up for one half of the total number of internal publications.

The Freshness of Content, High Quality of Information, and Rapid Exchange of Academic Information in Internal Materials

Compared with open publications, internal materials first report new information on progress made in the social sciences. They have advantages over public publications both in terms of having fresh contents as well as in terms of prompt delivery of information.

The Broader Scope and Greater News Value of Internal Materials

The scope of internal materials touches upon a broad range of areas ranging from studies of basic theory to applied theory; from traditional science to the newly developed frontiers of science; from important practical issues to specialized academic issues; and from home to abroad..., all of which can be fully reflected. Generally speaking, though many internal materials fall behind openly published ones in terms of the thoroughness of the discussion, they can on occasion be as good as openly published materials as far as their contents are concerned. Such publications as *Reference Materials on Economic Research*, *Theoretical Trends*, and *Drafts*, etc.¹⁸ are among the influential high quality internal publications produced by the publishing house of the Academy of Social Sciences.

In addition, internal materials out rank open publications in informational volume. Many of the discussions on major domestic policy and theory issues usually begin in internal materials. What's more, peripheral issues in certain sciences and abstruse academic questions are also thoroughly elaborated in internal materials.

¹⁸ <<经济研究参考资料>>, <<理论动态>>, and <<未定稿>>.

Strong Documentary Value and High Overlap Rate of Internal Materials

Internal materials can be classified into the following six categories based on our analysis of the content and nature of the 453 items: theoretical, applied, informational, policy, reports, and documentary; of which the theoretical publications make up 18.3% of the total, applied 25.3%, informational 11.5%, policy 3.9%, reports 15%, and documentary 26%.

Additionally, we also analyzed the sources of internal materials to determine whether they are original or reprinted materials. We discovered that the contents of about half of the 68 reports and 118 of the informational publications consisted of reprints; and that one-fourth of the 52 informational publications were reprints. These make up for about 23% of the total--an obvious defect of internal materials. However, we should not simply speak negatively of reprinted materials, because generally these are articles of value, and they are collected topically by other publications for reproduction. Looking at this from the perspective of reference work, they can be said to provide readers with convenience in terms of research and material collection, and therefore possess informational and reference value. Naturally, in collecting materials for the *Index*, we should be cautious as to avoid overlap. However, it would be beneficial also to compile the general headings of collections of reprinted articles.

The Variety of Internal Materials

Internal materials can take the form of either formal or informal publication series: charts, pamphlets, speech transcripts, etc. This makes it possible for internal materials to have a much broader application than public materials.

Translators Needed: The *Newsletter* is looking for qualified translators to help us translate bibliographic articles, such as Liu Changyun's article in this issue and Zhang Zhuhong's in the last issue. Although not princely, payment for translation services will be provided, as well as acknowledgment. Translations from Chinese, Japanese, and perhaps Russian will be required. If you are interested, please write the Editor.

Provincial Party Journals from the Great Leap Forward in Stockholm's Far Eastern Library

by
Michael Schoenhals
HSFR

In the summer and autumn of 1958, provincial-level Party Committees throughout China launched their own equivalents to the new theoretical organ of the CCP Center, *Red Flag*. These provincial theory journals instantly became important vehicles for the extreme utopian discourse of euphoria characteristic of the early phase of the Leap, when communism was said to be "just around the corner." During the second half of 1959, they became the organs in which the Party formulated some of its most vicious attacks on provincial- and local-level "rightist deviationists." When the disaster of the Leap led to a nationwide paper shortage in 1960-61, most of them folded quietly.

The National Library in Beijing has one (almost) complete set of these journals. A second, nearly identical, set is in the Far Eastern Library in Stockholm. Most of it was purchased at a secondhand bookshop at Dongsi nan dajie in Beijing¹ in 1981, and was originally part of the holdings of a library under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League.

Below is a list of the Far Eastern Library's holdings, arranged alphabetically by title in *pinyin*. In addition to a run of the Shanghai Party Committee's organ *Liberation*, the library also has (photocopies of) 36 issues from 1958-59 of the then "internal" Shanghai Party journal for lower-level cadres entitled *Branch Life*. There are also, in addition to the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee's *Advance*, 12 issues of *Spark*, put out by the North Shanxi Prefectural Party Committee in 1959. Scholars concerned with the initial phase of the Cultural Revolution in Beijing will be pleased to find that holdings of Peng Zhen's "black mouthpiece" *Frontline* are complete.

创造

Chuangzao (*Create*). Kunming: Yunnan CCP Committee.
1958:1-5; 1959:1-12; 1960:1-12.

¹ See Bill Hansen, "Buying Social Science Books in Beijing," *CCP Research Newsletter*, no. 3 (1989), p. 44.

东风

Dongfeng (*East Wind*). Tianjin: Hebei CCP Committee.
1958:1-6; 1959:1-24; 1960:1-24; 1961:1-3.

奋斗

Fendou (*Struggle*). Harbin: Heilongjiang CCP Committee.
1958:1-12; 1959:1-24; 1960:1-24; 1961:1-12; 1962:1-4.

奋进

Fenjin (*Strive Ahead*). Changchun: Jilin CCP Committee.
1958:1-6; 1959:1-12; 1960:1-12; 1961:1-3.

红星

Hongxing (*Red Star*). Lanzhou: Gansu CCP Committee.
1958:1-6; 1959:1-12; 1960:1-12.

红与专

Hong yu Zhuan (*Red and Expert*). Fuzhou: Fujian CCP Committee.
1958:1-8; 1959:1-18; 1960:1-12; 1961:1-6.

红与专

Hong Yu Zhuan (*Red and Expert*). Xining: Qinghai CCP Committee.
1958:1-6; 1959:1-12; 1960:1-19; 1961:1-12; 1962:1, 2.

解放

Jiefang (*Liberation*). Shanghai: Shanghai CCP Committee.
1958:1-12; 1959:1-24; 1960:1-24; 1961:1-13. 1962:1, 2.

理论学习

Lilun Xuexi (*Theoretical Studies*). Shenyang: Liaoning CCP Committee.
1958:1-6; 1959:1-12; 1960:1-12; 1961:1.

七一

Qiyi (*July 1st*). Wuhan: Hubei CCP Committee.
1958:1-6; 1959:1-12; 1960:1-12.

前进

Qianjin (*Advance*). Taiyuan: Shanxi CCP Committee.
1958:1-6; 1959:1-12; 1960:1-12.

前线

Qianxian (*Frontline*). Beijing: Beijing CCP Committee.

1958:1-3; 1959:1-24; 1960:1-24; 1961:1-24; 1962:1-24; 1963:1-24; 1964:1-24; 1965:1-24;
1966:1-6.

求实

Qiushi (*Seeking Truth*). Hangzhou: Zhejiang CCP Committee.

1958:1-6; 1959:1-12; 1960:1-12; 1961:1-6.

群众

Qunzhong (*The Masses*). Nanjing: Jiangsu CCP Committee.

1958:1-10; 1959:1-24; 1960:1-24; 1961:1-10; 1962:1, 2.

上游

Shangyou (*Upstream*). Guangzhou: Guangdong CCP Committee.

1958:1-5; 1959:1-24; 1960:1-24.

上游

Shangyou (*Upstream*). Chengdu: Sichuan CCP Committee.

1958:1-6; 1959:1-12; 1960:1-12; 1961:1.

实践

Shijian (*Practice*). Hohhot: Inner Mongolia CCP Committee.

1958:1-6; 1959:1-12; 1960:1-12; 1961:1-11; 1962:1-12; 1963:1-12; 1964:1-12; 1965:1-12;
1966:1-6, plus extra issues nos.1 and 2.

思想解放

Sixiang Jiefang (*Ideological Liberation*). Nanning: Guangxi CCP Committee.

1958:1-5; 1959:1-18; 1960:1-12.

思想战线

Sixiang Zhanxian (*Ideological Front*). Xi'an: Shaanxi CCP Committee.

1958:1-6; 1959:1-12; 1960:1-12; 1961:1-6; 1962:1.

团结

Tuanjie (*Unity*). Guiyang: Guizhou CCP Committee.

1958:1-5; 1959:1-12; 1960:1-12; 1961:1, 2.

新疆红旗

Xinjiang Hongqi (*Red Flag of Xinjiang*). Urumqi: Xinjiang CCP Committee.
1959:2-10, 12-25; 1960:1-24; 1961:1-13; 1962:1, 2.

新论语

Xin Lunyu (*New Analects*). Jinan: Shandong CCP Committee.
1958:1-5; 1959:1-24; 1960:1-24.

新湘评论

Xin Xiang Pinglun (*New Hunan Critic*). See *Xuexi Daobao*.

星火

Xinghuo (*Spark*). Yinchuan: Ningxia CCP Committee.
1960:1-12.

星火

Xinghuo (*Spark*). North Shanxi Prefectural Party Committee (Jinbei Diwei).
1959:1-12.

学习导报

Xuexi Daobao (*Study Guide*). Changsha: Hunan CCP Committee.
1958:7-12; 1959:1-22; 1960:1-12.

虚与实

Xu yu Shi (*Theory and Practice*). Hefei: Anhui CCP Committee.
1958:1-5; 1959:1-12; 1960:1-12; 1961:1, 2; 1962:1.

跃进

Yuejin (*Forward Leap*). Nanchang: Jiangxi CCP Committee.
1958:1-9; 1959:1-15; 1960:1-12; 1961:1-12; 1962:1-4.

支部生活

Zhibu Shenghuo (*Branch Life*). Shanghai: Shanghai CCP Committee.
1958:1-24; 1959:1-12.

中州评论

Zhongzhou Pinglun (*Zhongzhou Critic*). Zhengzhou: Henan CCP Committee.
1958:2-6; 1959:1-24; 1960:1-24.

New Documentation and Research Collections

Toronto China Documentation Project

The China Documentation Project was established last July in Toronto by a group of China specialists at the University of Toronto, York University, and Ryerson Polytechnical Institute. It has since been joined by scholars from other universities across Canada. The project operates under the auspices of the University of Toronto--York University Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, and is housed at the moment within the Department of History of the University of Toronto.

The project's mandate is to promote research of all elements in contemporary China--political, social, economic, intellectual, and military--that contributed to the dramatic suppression of supporters of the Democracy Movement in Beijing during the night of June 3-4, 1989. While the initial impulse for setting up the project arose out of a concern to address the Beijing Massacre as a massive human rights violation, the larger goal of the project is to seek to understand how China reached this situation, and what its solution to the specter of mass mobilization means for China's future, both domestically and internationally.

The initial focus of the project has been to reconstruct the events of early June in Beijing. To this end the members of the project have collected eyewitness reports, primarily through confidential taped debriefings. The project has also obtained written eyewitness reports; newspaper accounts; underground tracts, news sheets and handbills; audio tapes; photographs; official Chinese publications concerning the Massacre; and three government documentary videos.

The only index yet made to the holdings of the project archive is a Chinese-language index of the underground tracts, news sheets, and handbills. These materials, which came from a single source within Beijing University, include 110 distinct documents, excluding duplicates. The project holds only photocopies; the originals are currently in the possession of the Canadian government.

The first publication of the project will be a detailed reconstruction of the military suppression, based substantially on the testimony of eyewitnesses, both foreign and Chinese. Selected news sheets and handbills will also be translated and included in this publication.

Depending on scholarly interest and financial means, the project hopes to extend its scrutiny to other areas of China and related issues. It is anticipated that more focused studies of the Democracy Movement, as well as policy reviews, will be produced in the

future. The project is also considering organizing small conferences and briefing symposia to assess particular aspects of current Chinese government policy. Interested scholars should contact:

Timothy Brook
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Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 1A1
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University of Hawaii's Center for Chinese Studies Establishes Research Collection on Chinese Democracy within its China Abroad Archives

The China Abroad Archives at the Center for Chinese Studies, University of Hawaii, was established two years ago to preserve the records of Chinese who have domiciled abroad and Chinese of the homeland who wish to have their records preserved for study abroad. Subject matter encompasses at least the following: agriculture, the arts, minority history, relations at home and abroad, education, international relations, economic development, demographic patterns, labor, medicine, welfare, social sciences, linguistics and languages, and women's studies. Attention is paid to collecting both published and unpublished source materials.

The Research Collection on Chinese Democracy within the China Abroad Archives began in the summer of 1989. Its aim is to collect as many materials as possible regarding the development of the Chinese democracy movement in both published and unpublished forms. The Center is gratefully accepting all donations of such materials and is committed to proper accession, indexing and to providing a cross-referenced annotated research guide. While all relevant materials are accepted, emphasis will initially be devoted to materials in Chinese from all perspectives, with a concurrent effort at translation into English of key materials.

The public is encouraged to donate materials to this very important research effort, c/o Center for Chinese Studies, University of Hawaii, 1890 East Road, Moore Hall 417, Honolulu, Hawaii, 96822, Phone: (808) 948-8891.

Readers are invited to send in information for publication on other documentary collections and special library holdings--not limited to the recent reassessment of the role of the CCP.

Communications & Activities

This issue of the *Newsletter* includes our **Research Directory**. We hope it will be of use to our readers in contacting colleagues with similar research interests. Only names of those who returned our *Readers' Survey*, or otherwise indicated in writing their desire to be in the directory, have been included. If you wish to change your entry or add your name and interests to it (or correct errors), please let us know. We will print updates and corrections in each issue and will compile a new directory in December 1990. Please also let us know what sort of information you find most useful and what you might want added. Naturally, the appearance of a scholar's name in the directory implies no connection with opinions expressed in the *Newsletter* other than the desire to put scholars worldwide in contact with one another.

I am pleased to announce some changes in the editorial board. In particular we welcome Kokubun Ryosei of Keio University, Tokyo and Nina Halpern of Stanford University to the editorial board. Readers will recall the introduction to Professor Kokubun's work in issue no. 2 of the *Newsletter*. Most colleagues working on the post-1949 period are likely aware of Professor Halpern's excellent research on Chinese politics. We look forward to welcoming a few more colleagues to the board from Europe and Asia in the near future. These additions reflect the goals of the *Newsletter* to serve as a truly international forum. Additionally, readers will note four "Associate Editors"--Nancy Hearst, Tony Saich, Michael Schoenhals, and Lawrence Sullivan. These four colleagues have been particularly active in keeping the *Newsletter* on track and the new positions reflect their commitment to take a leading role in the development of the group's work.

Finally, there will be an open meeting of the editorial board of the *Newsletter* at the upcoming meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in Chicago. All subscribers and interested scholars are welcome to attend and offer their two cents on what the *Newsletter* can and should do in the future. The meeting is listed for the Chinese Communism Research Group on **Friday 6 April at 12 noon** in Parlor G at the Palmer House in Chicago. Please join us and offer suggestions.

Timothy Cheek

A Comment on Soviet Sinology

It was a great pleasure for us, the editors of *Soviet Sinology Indexes* [Общество и Государство в Китае: Указатели (1- XX Научные Конференции) (Москва: Академия Наук, 1989)], to look through the review published in your *Newsletter* (no. 3, 1989). We are glad if our work is of use for American sinologists who are trying to overcome natural and artificial (language and political) obstacles hindering the normal development of world scholarship.

We would like to inform Julian Chang and others interested about two minor inaccuracies on page 32 of Chang's review. An actual count of figures in the PRC category means a total of 298 descriptive terms, not papers. (See notes in the *Indexes*, p. 175). The number of papers and articles with relevance to the period of the PRC is approximately 130 (or about 7% of the total papers.)

Secondly, almost 15 years have passed since the Institute of Oriental Studies moved from Armianskii per. to another place. Actually, this sort of misinformation is extra evidence of abnormalities in the scholarly relations between our countries. Our present address is:

Institute of Oriental Studies, 103 777 Moscow, Rozhdestvenka St., 12

We welcome contact from scholars in every country; there is no need for trepidation these days.

A. Dikariov

S. Blumkhen

Julian Chang thanks our Soviet colleagues for their corrections and regrets any inconvenience occasioned by these inaccuracies.

Errata: Two typographical errors appear in Frederick Teiwes' article, "Determining Who Did What?," in issue no. 3 of the *Newsletter*. On p. 5, line 23 "post-1927" should read "post-1937" and p. 5 line 26, "the 1985 12th Congress" of course should be "1982 12th Congress". The *Newsletter* regrets these errors which were not in Dr. Teiwes' manuscript.

Conference on the Chinese Communist Revolution, 1921-49

A conference entitled "New Perspectives on the Chinese Communist Revolution" was held in The Netherlands from 8-12 January 1990, with the first two days taking place at the Faculty of Letters, University of Leiden and the subsequent sessions held at the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

The focus of the papers and the discussions was the rise to power of the Chinese Communist Party, approximately 1921 to 1949. Key issues included: the organizational evolution of the CCP and its remarkable ability to survive despite repeated major setbacks; the social forces that were conducive to supporting communist rule in a range of different time periods and local environments; how the CCP was able to incorporate or neutralize local elites; the relationship between the CCP and the Comintern; and the international impact of the communist revolution. The papers will be published in 1991.

Those desiring copies of particular papers are requested to write to the authors directly as most papers represent work in progress. Below is a list of the papers in the order presented.

Lawrence Sullivan (Adelphi University), "The Evolution of Chinese Communist Party Organization and Leadership Doctrine, 1921-1949."

Frederick Teiwes (University of Sydney), "The Formation of the Maoist Leadership: From the Return of Wang Ming to the Seventh Party Congress."

Hans van de Ven (University of Cambridge), "The Distribution of Authority in the CCP and Chen Duxiu's Leadership Until the Third Congress (June 1923)."

Christina Gilmartin (Northeastern University and Fairbank Center), "Gender and Politics in the Early Communist Party (1920-1927)."

Kathleen Hartford (University of Massachusetts, Boston and Fairbank Center), "Fits and Starts: The Communist Movement in Hebei, 1921-1936."

Gregor Benton (University of Leeds), "Three Year War: An Historical Perspective on the Chinese Communists' Lost Legions in Southern and Central China, 1934-1938."

Kurt Radtke (University of Leiden), "No Time for Revolution--Canton Province During the Anti-Japanese War."

Lucien Bianco (Centre Chine, Paris), "The Relationship of the CCP to Rural Society in the Period 1937-1945."

Leo Douw (Free University, Amsterdam and University of Leiden), "The Historiography of the Association for the Study of the Chinese Rural Economy (1933-1951)."

Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik (University of Heidelberg), "Party History or History of the Chinese Revolution? On the Political Training of University Students in the PRC."

Steven Averill (Michigan State University), "The Origins of the Futian Incident."

Lyman van Slyke (Stanford University), "Peng Dehuai and the Battle of the Hundred Regiments: Problems of Command and Communications in the Chinese Revolution."

Yang Bingzhang (Fairbank Center), "In and Out: Changes in the Military Line After the Zunyi Conference."

David Apter (Yale University), "Discourse as Power: Yan'an and the Chinese Revolution."

Chen Yung-fa (Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Republic of China), "The Blooming Poppy Under the Red Sun: The Yen'an Way and the Opium Trade."

Timothy Cheek (The Colorado College), "The Honorable Vocation: Intellectual Service in CCP Propaganda Institutions in North China, 1927-1949."

Tony Saich (International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam and University of Leiden), "Interpreting China: The Case of Maring."

Dr. K. Shevel'yoff (USSR Academy of Sciences), "The Comintern on the Transition to Socialism in China."

Fritjof Tichelman (International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam), "Indonesians and Chinese on Java During the Emergence of Chinese Nationalism and Revolutionary Movement."

Manoranjan Mohanty (University of Delhi), "Chinese Revolution and the Indian Communist Movement."

Professor Griegoriev and **Professor Glunin** (USSR Academy of Sciences), "The Comintern and the Chinese Revolution Soviet Studies: Some New Trends."

A paper was submitted by Ms. **Li Yuzhen** (Institute of Modern Chinese History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, People's Republic of China), "The Impact of the Comintern on the Chinese Revolution: A Reflection on Some Questions." Unfortunately she was unable to attend in person.

On the afternoon of 12 January there was a public session at which talks were given by Lucien Bianco, Roderick MacFarquhar, and Tony Saich on the past, present and future of the CCP.

Beijing Spring Bibliography lists new and forthcoming books and articles in English and Chinese. Includes books published in the PRC since June 1989. Available free of charge from the Fairbank Center Library, 1737 Cambridge St., Cambridge, MA 02138 USA.

BOOKNOTES

"What's written in books is transformed into ideas,
and subsequently into matter."
Mao Zedong, 1964.

中国人民大学编辑小组, 编, «无产阶级文化大革命胜利万岁»

Chinese People's University Editorial Small Group, ed., *Long Live the Victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* (Beijing: October 1969).

This is the first of two major collections of official documents from the Cultural Revolution edited and published by People's University in 1969-70. Both collections were intended to be used in closed political study sessions, and were thus marked. This volume seems to have been very widely distributed, since copies of it are known to exist in private hands in places as far apart as Copenhagen and Oakland, California. Between its bright red plastic covers are 1360 pages of "supreme instructions," Central Committee documents, speeches by Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng and Jiang Qing, newspaper editorials, etc. Very handy and convenient, but contains nothing that is not already available in either the *People's Daily* or *Red Flag*. (Available at the Fairbank Center Library.)

中国人民大学编辑小组, 编, «继续革命乘胜前进»

Chinese People's University Editorial Small Group, ed., *Continue the Revolution, Advance Towards Victory* (Beijing: November 1970).

This is the second of the People's University collections of official documents from the Cultural Revolution. (See booknote, above.) It contains 1031 pages of texts culled from the official Party press. Very handy, well printed and beautifully bound, but of no great intrinsic value as far as its contents are concerned. (Seen in Beijing.)

«参考资料»

Reference Materials (N.p.: 1970).

This is a red 940-page pocket-book in plastic covers, meant to be used as a reference work for persons engaged in political study. There are nineteen major subdivisions containing, *inter alia*, comprehensive information about Mao's reviews of the Red Guards and his

meetings with representatives of the revolutionary masses; a who's-who of persons attacked by name in the *People's Daily*; and what to remember when cleaning the class ranks (This subdivision is marked "only for reference"!); a list of Mao's statements in support of the world revolution since 1949; brief biographic sketches of Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Tao Zhu, et al.; a table of scientific achievements in new China; economic statistics, etc. Quite a few books like this one were published in different parts of China during the Cultural Revolution. Of limited reference value today, it remains interesting as an example of how the CCP organized its universe at the time. (Available at the Fairbank Center Library.)

四川工人日报编辑部, 编印, <<读者来信摘编>>

Sichuan Workers Daily Editorial Board, eds., Edited Extracts From Readers' Letters

This is the kind of stuff the student of conflict resolution in Chinese society wants more of! Unfortunately, only two issues of this two-page intra-bureaucratic bulletin - marked "unverified internal information, meant exclusively for reference" - put out by the organ of the Sichuan provincial labour union are known to be available outside China. Number 98, from 3 March 1986, contains a letter from a cadre in a machinery factory. Number 100, from 16 April 1986, contains a letter from a worker in a rural enterprise. Both letters deal with corruption and irregularities, and illustrate beautifully how the press in China functions as an extra-legal institution to which citizens turn with complaints. The primary circulation scope (主送范围) of this bulletin is the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee and provincial government. Copies of issue no.98 were also distributed (抄送) to the Provincial Planning Commission, Second Bureau of Light Industry, etc. Copies of issue no.100 were distributed to the Provincial Planning Commission, Discipline Inspection Commission, Party Propaganda Department, etc. Needless to say, extremely interesting for sociologists, legal scholars and students of China's media and labour unions. (Available at the Fairbank Center Library.)

陈雪薇, 著, <<历史的启示: 十年(1957-1966)建设史研究>> (北京: 求实出版社, 1989)

Chen Xuewei, *The Enlightenment of History: Research on a Decade of Construction, 1957-1966* (Beijing: Qiushi chubanshe, 1989), 239 pp.

This is a highly readable account of events in economics, politics and culture between 1957 and 1966. The author explains how the difficulties encountered in the First Five-Year Plan

led Chinese leaders to embark on a tortuous and ultimately failed search for a Chinese road to socialism. She [I checked the gender] describes with judicious use of detail the documents, policies and events of the period, pointing out the wide variety of experiences, both good and bad, that resulted. But the book's major strength is its argument that this period was characterized by an underlying continuity, found in a tension between the "correct line" of the Eighth Party Congress and resilient leftist tendencies within the Party. (Available at the Fairbank Center Library.)

张起厚, 撰, 《中共及其外围刊物研究: 1949年以前》(台北: 共党问题研究杂志社, 1986)

Zhang Qihou [Chang Ch'i-hou], comp., *Research on CCP and Front Organization Publications: Pre-1949* (Taipei: Gongdang wenti yanjiu zazhi she, 1986), 97 pp.

This excellent guide to journals and newspapers published between 1918 and 1949 by the CCP and its various front organizations is only slightly mistitled. It is essentially an annotated guide to the holdings of these publications in the Bureau of Investigation Library at the Ministry of Justice in Taipei. Titles are listed by stroke order in the full complex characters used by these publications. The bibliography is divided into two parts, with the second (pp. 27-97) giving more complete annotations than the first part. This guide is but one indication of the great improvement in research conditions for foreign scholars in KMT libraries on Taiwan, a far cry from the experiences of two decades ago recounted in Donovan, Dorris, and Sullivan's still handy book, *Chinese Communist Materials at the Bureau of Investigation Archives, Taiwan* (Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies, No. 24, 1976). The guide is not for sale, but the institute will provide copies to scholars gratis. Write: Library & Institute of Studies in Communism, Bureau of Investigation, Ministry of Justice, 74 Chunghua Road, Hsintien, Taipei, Taiwan, 231, Republic of China. (Available at the Fairbank Center Library.)

胡绩伟, 常大林, 著, 《民主论》(北京: 中外文化出版公司, 1988)

Hu Jiwei and Chang Dalin, *On Democracy* (Beijing: Zhongwai wenhua chubangongsi, 1988), 321 pp.

A long theoretical study of socialist democracy, mostly based on Marx and Lenin and China's past experiences. The authors explain the lack of democracy in the Communist movement as stemming from the military environment of its formative years and the lack of

judicial regulations governing intra-Party debates (pp. 244-249). They review recent political reforms in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern European countries and take a strong stand in favor of an active role by the National People's Congress (NPC) and further liberalization of the press. This text is a good example of the development of democratic ideas among Party thinkers during the last decade, which forms part of the ideological context of the May-June 1989 popular movement in China and the central role played by Hu Jiwei in the Standing Committee of the NPC. (Available at the Fairbank Center Library.)

于光远, 胡绩伟, 等著, 《猛醒的时刻--十一届三中全会十年纪年专辑》(北京: 中外文化出版公司, 1989)

Yu Guangyuan, Hu Jiwei, et al, *Times of Sudden Awakening* (Beijing: Zhongwai wenhua chubanshe, 1989), 336 pp.

This collection of essays by twenty famous social scientists and Party thinkers was published for the tenth anniversary of the historic Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress. The essays reflect the rich mosaic of ideological debates since the fall of the "gang of four." Hu Jiwei's and Yu Haocheng's contributions contain valuable detail concerning intra-Party debates during Deng Xiaoping's rise to power after 1976. Other essays are more analytical, such as that by Wang Ruoshui who decries the lack of a legal system since the Yan'an Rectification Campaign, or that by Su Shaozhi who raises a few questions about the crisis of Marxism. Other contributions by: Li Honglin, Yu Guangyuan, Yang Xiguang, and Ma Peiwen (also known for his love affair with Ms. Yu Luojin). The general tone of the volume is in favor of further political reform. (Available at the Fairbank Center Library.)

陈再道, 著, 《浩劫中的一幕: 武汉七二零事件亲历记》(北京: 解放军出版社, 1987)

Chen Zaidao, *One Act in a Great Tragedy: The History of the Wuhan July 20th Incident* (Beijing: Jiefangjun chubanshe, 1987), 210 pp.

Chen Zaidao's personal account of the events surrounding the Wuhan Incident in July 1967 provides new detail on the major characters involved (including Mao) and on the course of events in July. Unfortunately, he avoids crucial questions about his own role, except to deny emphatically that there was any possibility of a "mutiny." Chen portrays himself as a good soldier who merely tried to implement center directives as best he could, but who was swept away in a wave of radical political opportunism that turned him into

another of the Cultural Revolution's many victims. (Available at the Fairbank Center Library.)

《毛泽东思想万岁》第三集

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought: Volume Three (N.p.: March 1967).

There was a time, not so many years ago, when every "newly discovered" collection of Mao's works from the Cultural Revolution contained at least one text that was not already available elsewhere. Now, however, it is rare for new *Wansui* volumes to yield even one text that was not previously known, and this is especially true of collections dealing with the pre-1949 years. This large-size 53-page collection, printed on airmail-quality paper, contains forty-five already well-known and widely available texts from between 1938 and 1949. In their postface, the (anonymous) editors state that their sources are "pamphlets, booklets and old newspapers and magazines." Of limited interest. Has any reader seen volumes one and two, covering the period up to 1938? (Seen in Beijing.)

《毛泽东思想万岁》(1959-1965) (续完)

Long Live Mao Zedong Thought (1959-1965) (Final Supplement) (Beijing: March 1967).

This 140-page collection of Mao texts is in fact part of the multi-volume set put out by People's University Three Reds in 1967. (See "Interview with Sun Changjiang about Unofficial Cultural Revolution Collections of the Works of Mao Zedong" in issue no. 2 of *CCP Research Newsletter*.) Roughly three-fourths of it consists of texts from 1959-1960, the rest are texts and partial texts from 1961 and 1963-65. Quite a few interesting things here. First, Mao's extended discussion of events in Tibet at the 16th session of the Supreme State Conference on 15 April 1959; his talks at Lushan on 29 June and 2 July 1959. (A person who was present when Mao spoke has kindly gone over the text in the copy held at the Fairbank Center Library and noted with a pencil who the actual persons were to whom the Red Guard transcript only refers as "Comrade XXX", etc.); quite a few transcripts of conversations with foreign visitors, of which the one with General Montgomery on 27 May 1960 is perhaps the most fascinating: Monty: "Nobody is starving!" Mao: "... Things are better than under Chiang Kai-Shek..." Monty: "Everyone still has enough to eat!" Mao: "There is enough, relatively speaking." Monty: "From the looks of it, the children are all very well fed." Mao: "That's correct." Monty: "Everyone looks very healthy." Mao: "They are very happy." The publication date given on the cover is probably wrong, as this volume most likely appeared near the end of 1967. The quality

of the typesetting is poor, but its contents make this volume a must, even for those who already have CCRM's 23 volumes (see below) and other collections. (Available at the Asian Centre Library, University of British Columbia and Fairbank Center Library.)

«毛著未刊稿, "毛泽东万岁"别集及其他»

Unofficially Published Works of Mao Zedong, Additional Volumes of "Long Live Mao Zedong Thought" and Other Secret Speeches of Mao (Oakton, Va.: Center for Chinese Research Materials, 1989), 23 volumes.

This microfilm reprint set constitutes a major, though by no means exhaustive, collection of Cultural Revolution Red Guard publications (mostly from 1967) of Mao works (covering 1949-67). The last five volumes are internal teaching materials from Beijing University dating from 1983. Much of the material in these 6,500 pages repeats texts already available in other *Wansui* or official publications. However, not only are variant texts of interest, but dozens of texts new to western scholars appear in these volumes. Such new texts from 1957 and 1958 have been translated by MacFarquhar, Cheek, & Wu, eds., *The Secret Speeches of Chairman Mao* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard Council on East Asian Studies, 1989.) A more detailed assessment of these texts may be found in this volume or in *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, nos. 19/20 (1988), pp. 311-344. (Copies available at most major research libraries and are for sale through CCRM: P.O. Box 3090, Oakton, VA 22124.)

«民主中国» (东京: 创刊号, 1989, 7 月), 月刊

Democratic China (Tokyo: first issue July 1989), monthly, 72 pp.

The first formal journal resulting from the international reaction to the government crackdown on popular demonstrations in China in 1989. Published by Chinese students from the PRC in Japan, *Democratic China* reflects views of this important section of Chinese students outside North America and Europe. Articles are particularly detailed, including data on Hu Yaobang's last days, recent CCP politics, and a running biography of Premier Li Peng. All articles are written in Chinese. Subscriptions (4,800 yen per year) may be ordered from: *Democratic China*, P.O. Box 17, Edogawa 132, Tokyo, Japan. (Available at the Fairbank Center, Hoover Institution, Harvard-Yenching and other major research libraries.)

China Focus: A Newsletter of the China Information Center (Newton, Ma.: first issue February 1990), monthly, 8 pp.

Dedicated to "education, the freedom of information and the exchange of ideas," issue number one includes articles by Liu Binyan ("Breaking through the Bamboo Curtain") and Orville Schell ("The Bush Debacle in China"), as well as an eyewitness report of a visit to Beijing in November 1989, a digest of the Chinese press, new publications and developments. Subscription for \$14.00 per year may be ordered from: China Information Center, 169 Grove St., Newton, MA 02166. (Available at the Fairbank Center Library.)

Guidelines for Contributors

Contributions are welcome from scholars worldwide, regardless of institutional affiliation or country of residence. A look at the recent issues of the *Newsletter* will give you an idea of what contributions will be most suitable. Reviews, booknotes, teaching experiences, research notes, or commentaries, as well as letters responding to material previously published in the *Newsletter* can be sent to the Editor or any member of the Editorial Board. Within reason and subject to normal academic revisions, we will publish everything sent to us.

Review of a source or a book should remind nonspecialists of the significance of the topic concerned, very briefly review current research and outline what this new source has to offer. The critique should aim to inform readers *by detailed example* (including page references) about the strengths and weaknesses of the text. Finally, the review should be written in a manner that invites readers to go to that source themselves; please provide full bibliographic information (including *hanzi* for author, title, publisher), explain technical terms and provide Chinese characters (or whatever original script) for important names or terms (but not for well-known terms such as "Chairman Mao" or "CCP".) We find it particularly helpful to give precise page references to topics or examples cited in such reviews.

There is no predetermined length limit for contributions. However, most detailed reviews will likely be between 1250-2500 words (5-10 pp. double-spaced manuscript.) Booknotes should be under 500 words. Both *must* give precise information as to how the text can be located by other scholars. Research activities and other notices should give the name and address for a contact person.

Research Directory 1989

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