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Koxinga's Homeland

Soviet 'Aid' in Africa

Hu Shih and May 4th Movement

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COVER PICTURE

A portrait of Cheng Cheng-kung (Koxinga) in the collection of his descendants.

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EASTERN DIARY

The First Session of China's Fourth National People's Congress was held from January 13 to 17, this year. It adopted the new Constitution of the People's Republic of China and approved the 'Report on the Work of the Government' made by Premier Chou En-lai on behalf of the State Council, voicing great satisfaction with 'the tremendous successes in all aspects of internal and external work' achieved by the State Council 'under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao and under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the current nationwide movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.' The session also elected the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and other members of the Standing Committee of the Congress and the leading members of the State Council.

The more than 2,800 deputies present at the Congress had been elected from all parts of the country after extensive democratic consultations and repeated discussions. The election of a retired Shanghai worker to the Congress may well illustrate the process. Among the canditates nominated for the National Congress in a Shanghai neighbourhood community was 53-year-old Chen Hsiao-mei. She had been a textile worker and when she retired in 1972 from the cotton mill where she had worked, she became very active in neighbourhood community affairs. When the question of candidates for the Congress was raised, many people of the 13 neighbourhood committees of Chiang-pu Street where Chen Hsiao-mei lives nominated her. They said that they trusted her for she took the interests of the people to heart. The Shanghai Municipal Committee studied all the names suggested and they were again submitted to the people for discussion. This process was repeated several times before the final nominees were chosen, with Chen Hsiao-mei among them.

One of the most prominent features of this Congress thus elected is that worker, peasant and soldier deputies account for 72 per cent of its total membership. Over 22 per cent of the deputies are women. From the list of the 218 members of the presidium, elected by the Congress, for example, we could pick out at random the names of some of those who are from working people stock. Lu Yu-lan, a peasant woman who returned to her village after school and became the head of a farm cooperative at 16, is now the leader of a people's commune and a Party Central Committee member. Sun Yu-kuo is a young Liberation Army officer of Chenpao Island fame. Wu Kwei-hsien, a young woman textile worker from Hsienyang near Sian, is also an alternate member of the Party Political Bureau and was elected by the Congress as one of the twelve Vice-Premiers. Chen Yung-kwei, only recently the leader of the famous Tachai production brigade, is now a member of the Party Political Bureau and a Vice-Premier. Li Su-wen, a vegetable market woman attendant, is a Vice-Chairman of the Congress Standing Committee. Chang Tieh-sheng is a young rebel and veterinary student.

In the Congress Standing Committee one also finds such names as Wang Hsiu-

chen, a young Shanghai woman worker who came into prominence during the Cultural Revolution to become a Vice-Chairman of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee; Lungmei, a Mongolian woman who became a nationwide celebrity when she and her sister, both young girls then, led their commune sheep flock out of a sudden snow storm; the well-known woman peasant painter Li Feng-lan; and the veteran peasant leader Li Shun-ta.

These are, of course, only a few of the more prominent worker, peasant and soldier deputies who took part in the recent session. Many of the deputies have come to the fore in the Cultural Revolution and the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

All the 54 national minorities in China are represented in the Congress. One counts among their deputies such well-known names as Pasan, a Tibetan slave girl from childhood before Liberation who is now secretary of the Party Committee of the Tibetan autonomous region and chairman of Langhsien county revolutionary committee, and among the Vice-Chairmen of the Congress Standing Committee Wei Kuo-ching of the Chuangs, Saifudin of the Uighurs, and Ulanfu of the Mongols. Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, a member of the pre-Liberation aristo-theocrat local government in Tibet, is also one of the Vice-Chairmen.

Reflecting the great unity of the Chinese people, the Congress also counts among its members outstanding scientists, men of letters, artists, university professors, pre-Liberation industrialists, religious personages and former Kuomintang generals who came over to the people. Among the deputies are also 12 compatriots of Taiwan province origin, and two deputies from Hongkong sat in the presidium of the session.

This, as an observer in Hongkong pointed out, epitomized the further expansion of the revolutionary united front of the Chinese people.

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The new Constitution adopted at the Congress is the fruit of nearly five years of extensive discussions among the people and repeated revisings of the text. While, as Chang Chun-chiao, newly elected Vice-Premier, pointed out at the Congress, the basic principles of the 1954 Constitution are still applicable today, some parts of it are no longer suitable. The past 20 years have seen tremendous changes in China's politics, economy and culture and in international relations. The present revision, he said, is to

> *sum up our new experience, consolidate our new victories and express the common desire of the people of our country to persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

Thus the Party's basic line formulated by Chairman Mao in the early sixties forms the keystone of the Constitution. In its Preamble one reads:

> *Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance.*

The importance of the theory of continued revolution, especially the socialist revolution in the superstructure and the solving of problems concerning the relations of production, was ably explained by Chang Chun-chiao when he told the Congress:

> *It should be pointed out that in our country we still have harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production*

and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Like the morning sun, our socialist system is still very young. It was born in struggle and can only grow in struggle. Take the state sector of the economy for example. In some enterprises, the form is that of socialist ownership, but the reality is that their leadership is not in the hands of Marxists and the masses of workers. The bourgeoisie will seize hold of many fronts if the proletariat does not occupy them. Confucius died more than two thousand years ago, yet such rubbish as his never vanishes of itself where the broom of the proletariat does not reach.

The enterprises of which the leadership is not in the hands of the Marxists are those where the leaders have cut themselves off from the workers, denied them their right and duty to exert leadership and practised a bourgeois line of running the enterprises by depending on a handful of technocrats. Since the Cultural Revolution workers have exerted their leadership in many such enterprises. But the process is not and cannot be completed within a few years or even a few scores of years, and retrogression may take place here and there where the working people are not fully mobilized to continue the revolution.

Also since the Cultural Revolution, the revolution in education, the theatre and other realms of art and literature has made big strides forward. But revolution in the superstructure, especially in the realm of ideological matters, is a long process and it will definitely last as long as the historical period of socialism, that is, till communism, a classless society, is established.

The Constitution re-affirms in Article II:

The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our nation.

Article XV stipulates that the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party commands the country's armed forces.

These articles codify in fact a lesson the Chinese people have learned from the experience of more than a century. In the darkness of imperialist and feudal oppression more than a hundred years ago, the Chinese people began to grope for their own liberation. Many people laid down their lives in the struggle, but it was not until the advent of Marxism in China and the newly founded Communist Party of China began to assume leadership that the Chinese people saw light at the other end of the tunnel. Now that China is firmly on the road of socialism and has won great achievements in both socialist revolution and socialist construction, the people feel all the more the importance of the leadership of the Communist Party and the importance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought for continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

*

The dictatorship of the proletariat, as Chang Chun-chiao pointed out in his report to the Congress, has two distinct sides. It exercises dictatorship over the enemy, and practises democratic centralism within the ranks of the people.

Within the country it suppresses the reactionary classes and elements and those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction, and suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities. It also protects the country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. This is set down in the Constitution in concrete terms which include for example the following provision (Article XIV):

The state safeguards the socialist system, suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and punishes all traitors and

counter-revolutionaries.

The state deprives the landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and other bad elements of political rights for specified periods of time according to law, and at the same time provides them with the opportunities to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labour and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labour.

Within the ranks of the people, democratic centralism is based on extensive democracy practised by the people. Beside the provision for the right to vote and stand election for all citizens who have reached the age of 18, the Constitution also stipulates (Article XXVIII):

Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and the freedom to strike (the last being added at Chairman Mao's proposal, as revealed by Chang Chun-chiao in his report—Ed.) and enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism.

The citizens' freedom of person and their homes shall be inviolable. No citizen may be arrested except by decision of a people's court or with the sanction of a public security organ.

Re-affirming practices adopted during the Cultural Revolution, the Constitution asserts (Article XIII):

Speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters are new forms of carrying on socialist revolution created by the masses of the people. The state shall ensure to the masses the right to use these forms to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and so help consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For the same purpose and to ensure the implementation of Chairman Mao's mass line, Article XI of the Constitution lays down the rule that:

State organizations and state personnel must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, firmly put proletarian politics in command, combat bureaucracy, maintain close ties with the masses and wholeheartedly serve the people. Cadres at all levels must participate in collective productive labour.

All this is designed to safeguard China's socialist future and prevent the state from falling back into a bourgeois fascist oligarchy like the one which now rules over the Soviet people.

*

Underlining China's spirit of internationalism, the Constitution devotes a paragraph in its Preamble to the country's foreign policy and proclaims that China will never be a superpower. This is unique as a constitution goes and the paragraph is worth quoting in full:

In international affairs, we should uphold proletarian internationalism. China will never be a superpower. We should strengthen our unity with the socialist countries and all oppressed people and oppressed nations, with each supporting the other, strive for peaceful co-existence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence, and oppose the imperialist and social-imperialist policies of aggression and war and oppose the hegemonism of the superpowers.

*

With the Constitution adopted and a new Government set up, where do the Chinese people go from here? What are the tasks ahead of them?

In his report made to the Congress on the work of the Government, Premier Chou En-lai gave primary importance to the task of continuing to broaden, deepen

and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

In line with the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, he pointed out that the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist, and between the two lines, the Marxist and the revisionist, is long and tortuous and at times even becomes very acute.

He also called for furthering the advance of the revolution in literature and art, in education and in health work, promoting struggle-criticism-transformation on various fronts and supporting all the new things so as the better to keep to the socialist orientation.

He then revealed the plan envisioned by Chairman Mao of bringing China's national economy to the front rank of the world. This is to be accomplished in two stages.

The first stage is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system in 15 years, that is before 1980 (counting from 1965—Ed.).

The second stage is to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front rank of the world.

In developing China's national economy, the principle of self-reliance still holds good. Here the Premier quoted the following from Chairman Mao:

Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary, break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently, do away with slavishness, bury dogmatism, learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it. This is our line.

*

Addressing himself to international relations, Premier Chou maintained that the Third World is the main force in combating colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism, and warned the world against the danger of a new world war brought about by the contention between the two superpowers.

To the Second World, he declared that China supports the Second World in its struggle against superpower control, threats and bullying. He said:

We support the countries and people of the Second World in their struggle against superpower control, threats and bullying. We support the efforts of West European countries to get united in this struggle. We are ready to work together with the Japanese Government and people to promote friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries on the basis of the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement.

To the United States, the Premier said:

There exist fundamental differences between China and the United States. Owing to the joint efforts of both sides the relations between the two countries have improved to some extent in the last three years, and contacts between the two peoples have developed. The relations between the two countries will continue to improve so long as the principles of the Sino-American Shanghai Communique are carried out in earnest.

To the Soviet Union, he pointed out that, while the debate with that country's leading clique on matters of principle will go on for a long time, the Chinese leaders have always held that this debate should not obstruct the maintenance of normal relations between the two countries. Having exposed the deceptive moves made by Moscow surrounding the boundary question, Premier Chou declared:

We wish to advise the Soviet leadership to sit down and negotiate honestly, do something to solve a bit of the problem and stop playing such deceitful tricks.

He called upon the nation to maintain vigilance, strengthen her defence and be prepared against war, and voiced the Chinese people's determination to liberate Taiwan. He called upon the Chinese people to first of all run China's affairs well and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity.

Concluding the report, he said:

We must uphold proletarian internationalism, and **get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.** *We will never seek hegemony; we will never be a superpower; we will always stand with the oppressed people and oppressed nations throughout the world.*

Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have worked energetically, surmounted all difficulties and hazards, and turned a poverty-stricken and backward country into a socialist one with the beginnings of prosperity in only twenty years and more. We can certainly build China into a powerful modern socialist country in another twenty years and more before the end of the century. We should continue to work hard, carry forward our achievements and overcome our shortcomings, be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and continue our triumphant advance. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, let us unite to win still greater victories!

Lee Tsung-ying

A Tale of Three Cities

Rewi Alley

The three big cities of southern Fukien are famous in the international relations between China and the rest of the world.

Chuanchow, Amoy and Changchow have not only had traders from other lands come in, they have also sent out the forefathers of most of the Fukienese living abroad in various countries, whose number and influence is by no means small.

We Come to Chuanchow

We came to Chuanchow from the pottery centre of Tehua in central Fukien and, as we approached the city, caught a glimpse in the distance of the two pagodas which form so famous a landmark in the place. Our first visit in the city, then, was to the compound that contains them, that of the Kai Yuan Temple, a Tang dynasty foundation, now preserved as a national relic, and also the centre of the 'Hai Wai Chiao Tung' or 'Overseas Communications' Museum, which has collected early Muslim relics, as well as those of Brahmin, Nestorian Christian and Manichean religions.

Though most of the foreign traders who lived and inter-married with local folk here were businessmen of the day, Muhammad himself sent four disciples to China to preach the precepts of Islam. One of these went to Canton, another to Yangchow, at both of which places Arabs then traded, while the other two came to the most frequented Arab port, that of Chuanchow. This was in the Wuteh period of Tang.

There were other contacts, also with outside countries, from Chuanchow. A local Buddhist monk Tan Chin joined up with Chien Cheng in Yangchow to go to Japan and preach Buddhism there. Then from India to Chuanchow came a Buddhist monk to work on translating the *Diamond Sutra* to Chinese from Sanscrit. Also Nestorian Christians and Manicheans from Syria have left their evidences.

Chuanchow not only exported famous pottery, like that from Tehua, but in Sung times it also made Islamic export ware here, the kiln debris of which still remains, both near Chuanchow, and to a much larger extent all the way to the coast in Chinkiang county near by. Most of the international contacts were made in the Tang, Sung and Yuan dynasties. Towards the end of Ming they all began to taper off. Arabs and other foreigners were privileged in Yuan often being made officials. They were therefore distrusted in the first two reign periods of Ming, until the China of the Yunglo period began to look for new outlets to world trade, the old Silk Road through the Northwest being cut. So for the next two hundred years the Arabs came back into their

trading position again. The word 'Zayton' used by Marco Polo and the Arabs also means 'olives' in the traders' language. Sweet olives do grow around Chuanchow, but it was just a coincidence that 'Tzetung' sounded like what must have been a very familiar word to the traders. Ibn Batuta, the Arab traveller, writes, 'The first city I reached after crossing the sea was Zaitun . . . It is a great city, superb indeed . . . The harbour of Zaitun is one of the greatest in the world —I am wrong, it is the greatest . . .'

In 1337, a Genoese John Marignolli visited it, and spoke of the Genoese merchants visiting it. He called it 'a wondrous fine sea port and a city of incredible size, where our friars have three very fine churches.' It was from Chuanchow that the Mongol invasion of Japan was attempted, with its fleet being scattered by a typhoon. There are quite a few other accounts of Chuanchow by early travellers, too long to be used here.

Kai Yuan Temple

In Tang times, when the foundation was first set up, it was called Lien Hua Szu. Then later 'Hsin Chao Szu', then 'Sui Kung', until also in Tang it became Kai Yuan Szu, perhaps in memory of one of the most famous reign period names of that dynasty. In the Sung dynasty it occupied 67 hectares of land. Now it has but over one hectare. In Sung, the original Tang wooden pagodas were replaced by stone ones, which, with some repairs in later dynasties and after Liberation, are still in a very good condition. The west pagoda is called Jen Shou Ta, and took ten years to construct. The eastern one is Tsung Kuo Ta, which took twelve years. The West one is 44 metres high and the east one 48. One foreign traveller in Yuan times talked of there being 3,000 monks here. There had to be a major repair in the Wanli period of Ming, when a bad earthquake shook the locality. In the Kuomintang times, the pagodas were used to shut in army conscripts, until enough had been collected to march off, roped together, the usual KMT style. The 24 carved flying fairies in the main hall are not like those in Tunhuang. They have wings and each carries a musical instrument in outstretched hands. The whole place has been renovated and, in its magnificent setting, gives a quiet impression of great beauty.

Marco Polo

When the famous Italian traveller Marco Polo came to Chuanchow in Yuan times, the city had spread out into what is now Chinkiang county, and ran for 20 kilometres down one side of the river to the present day sea port of Hotze Kang. The whole area of this extended city was then known as Tzetung, in today's common language, and the Chinkiang River of the present was known as the Tzetungkiang. To Marco Polo, listening to what Arab traders and local people called it in south Fukien dialect, it sounded to his ears like 'Zayton' by which name it goes in his account.

Chuanchow was then a big silk exporting centre, and the kind of silk called 'satin' gets its name from Tzetung. Today not much silk is produced in Fukien, the demand having fallen off after the export trade died away. Actually, the only silk filature one heard of in the once big producing centre of Kienyang was at Shaowu in north-western Fukien. A reminder in Chuanchow, however, is an ancient mulberry tree in a courtyard of the Kai Yuan temple, which is said to have been planted in AD 680 during the Tang dynasty. It is considered a remarkable tree in that it does not lose its leaves even in cold winters, yet still puts out a heavy crop of fresh ones each spring.

Museum Relics

In the museum are many rubbings off Muslim tombs and monuments, and there is an intact stone tomb in the yard. There

is also the rubbing of a Nestorian inscription in Syriac, and quite a few Brahmin relics. The rubbing of one stone shows an Egyptian word, its sound 'A-Na' in Chinese characters. Stone lions in the compound range from Sung to Ming and Ching. There is quite a bit of Tang pottery, and a shard of painted pottery of the Five Dynasties period. On a model of the locality, the Anping harbour south of the city is shown. It has a famous ancient bridge across a piece of its harbour, 5 *li* long. There is also a picture of modern iron smelting in Anchi county, where high grade iron ore is found scattered in lumps over the hillsides near by. Anchi is one of the counties of Chinkiang prefecture, famous also as being the home of Oolung Tea.

In stone engraving there are panels of very lively representations of incidents in the life of Buddha engraved around the base of the Tsung Kuo Ta. While we looked at them, on the flat ground beside a bunch of kindergarten children danced, and sang songs, bits of the growing new day that is now all around us. Yet of which the old is still a part, its best only to be preserved. Engravings on the two pagodas are different.

I asked what evidence there was of Manicheism here, finding that the only one remaining was a stone carving on a hill-top temple some distance away from the city.

An Ancient Mosque

While in Chuanchow, we went to see an ancient Muslim mosque, the main entrance door to which stands intact, as well as do the walls of the main hall. The entrance is high, well designed and built of good stone. It was erected in the Tatung period of Northern Sung, AD 1009. By the time of the third emperor of Ming, it evidently became necessary to restore public confidence in the Arab trading community. Communications along the old Silk Road in the North-west of China had been cut, and Chuanchow was again the front door. It was the time, too, of Chinese voyages to Africa and Arabian lands under Cheng Ho, the navigator, himself a Muslim. He would need the cooperation of the Arabs of Chuanchow. Hence in the Yunglo period, AD 1403-1465, the big tablet which is still intact, was cut by imperial command, to protect this local Arab centre. Cheng Ho himself came to Chuanchow and burnt incense at the tomb of the two earliest Muslim teachers. Inside the gate of the Mosque are two more large tablets, one of the Chihchen period of Yuan, and one of the Wanli period (AD 1573-1620) of Ming, giving some of the history of the place and official approval of it.

As for the great hall, the walls and arched doorways of which are still intact, the walls have a frieze of Koranic texts in Arabic running around them. The ceiling, being of wood, has long since fallen in. It is planned to replace it once more. As the oldest Muslim relic in China, the place has been declared a national monument and is now well protected and maintained.

There are quite a few places in the surrounding countryside where Muslim relics have been found, but there is nothing to compare with the solid impressiveness of this ancient city mosque.

In Ching times, when foreign sea trade was discouraged, traders either went home or else became integrated with the local community.

There are now only around 300 Muslims of the Hui minority living in the city, they in the main being of once trader families which had connections in other parts of China.

A Fruit Preserve Factory

Each one of the ten thousand or more of the overseas Chinese who comes back to visit his or her ancestral home in Chuanchow each year likes to take back to his adopted land, usually one of the

Southeast Asian countries, some of the preserved fruits of his old countryside. To meet this need, and also to help supply the Hongkong market, a small factory was started in 1916, 58 years ago, with a few workers.

After Liberation production began to go ahead better, and by 1956, when the old private enterprise became a state-private one, there were 46 workers, making 150 tons of products a year, six tons of which went to Hongkong. The total product was then valued at 250,000 *yuan* a year. Seven or eight kinds of fruits were processed.

In 1973, there were 800 workers, who produced 5,600 tons of candied fruits of over 80 varieties, valued at 9,090,000 *yuan*. A total of 1,600 tons were exported to foreign countries. In addition five tons of terramycin capsules were produced for internal Fukien hospital and clinic use, a total which it is hoped to double in the near future, then bringing it up to 20 tons which would make the province self-sufficient in this drug.

In 1974, products went to sixty-five foreign countries. The demand now is for 4,000 tons, but so far only half of that amount can be met. Many of the fruits have to be picked from bushes growing wild on the hills. Others, like sweet olives, need more trees planted. It is not only factory processing that counts. Cooperation with many rural counties is also essential.

Various machines have been invented and built by the factory for cutting, chopping, slicing and pressing. Steam digestors do in three days what it takes three months to do in vats. New drying kilns will make the outside drying, which so much depends on the weather, a thing of the past. At present such work is done about half and half, new and old, until new drying processes are installed. With the present increased demand, however, both old and new processes have to be fully utilized, until more equipment is built, and installed.

For the foreign market, a good deal depends on packaging. Some fruits are now packed in plastic box containers, but must go out in cardboard boxes, with wrapped up sweets in plastic bags. As many of these fruits have an unusual 'tang' to them, they are popular, especially such things as the small orange, called 'comquat' abroad, the mango, the sour plum and the wild strawberry. Sometimes many varieties are included in one package. Two thirds of the work force are women.

Political study is emphasized in this factory, it ever trying to attain higher levels, with the idea of the meaning of life being to serve the people.

Some Chuanchow Figures

In the whole municipality, counting the rural areas attached, there are 350,000 people, 120,000 of whom are in the city. The surburban farm land is divided into 12 communes, and has 29,000 hectares, mostly in hilly downs, 6,000 hectares being in rice paddy. At the time the Kuomintang left, the city was in a bankrupt condition. It had a 40 kw small power plant, but its four or five factories could not carry on. There are around 40,000 people who now become nationals of various countries abroad, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaya, etc., and who come to visit at times.

In these last years 304 pieces of large construction have been carried through, and there are 140 street factories, as well as there being an industrial suburb with a growing amount of modern industry in it. The value of production in 1973 was 120,000,000 *yuan*. It will be 135,000,000 in 1974. Many of the industrial products are exported.

The communes in the municipality have now irrigated 83 per cent of their land making 70 per cent of it safe from either drought or flood. Twenty small reservoirs have been built, and 30 canals, with a total length of 20 kilometres, have

been dug, not counting laterals.

One of the poorest communes was that around the village of Tsung Hai by the sea. There people could get 2.25 tons a hectare from their 667 hectares, only in good years, but too often typhoons would blow in and, because the dykes were not strong enough, flood the land with salt water, causing the total population to disperse. After Liberation, when their commune was formed, the people used the water of the Chinkiang River to wash their land clean, and to irrigate it. They have built new dykes and planted windbreaks of forest. They now gain 15 tons of grain a hectare. The average for all twelve communes is 9 tons a hectare. Other communes have gone to work Tachai fashion, and have brought in much waste hill land successfully.

In Kuomintang times Chuanchow was a noted area for small pox. It and other preventable diseases have now been brought well under control. Counting hospitals and clinics all together there are now 1,100 units with 3,000 health workers. There are in addition 300 barefoot doctors.

In education, there is one university, a medical one, and 16 middle schools with 16,000 students. There are 165 primary schools with 50,080 pupils, and 74 kindergartens with 11,000 youngsters in them.

Births average around 2 per cent a year for the whole municipality. One commune has the figure down to 1.9 and another to 0.8 per cent. Work in bringing understanding of this problem goes on all the time.

Puppet Show

This region is famous for its puppet shows, so that we were happy when invited to one. The puppets were operated by strings from above and even their eyes were made to roll. They were on local themes, one with Little Red Soldiers and the other with militia catching a Kuomintang marauding party.

Before finally turning in after an interesting day, I wrote some lines which follow:

Late November and chrysanthemums
still in their glory below
my window; out on busy streets
handicraftsmen work bamboo
or wood; bicycles and handcarts
jostle their way through
pedestrians, so many of whom are
wide-eyed overseas Chinese who
have come in from Southeast Asian
lands to get the feel of
the home of their fathers; we visit
the serene Kai Yuan Temple, now
become a museum; admire the two
stone pagodas, then deep in the city
come to the solid stone entrance
to the first Muslim mosque in China,
one of the many evidences left by
long ago Arab traders who came;
we take a glance at a piece of rising
industry of this Zayton of Marco Polo,
and now the home of one hundred
and twenty thousand Fukienese, who
young and old are out to build
a new Fukien, and a new China, as strong
as the stone slabs of new buildings
that arise from amongst the old;
evening, and we go to a traditional
puppet show, a form of drama that had
its birthplace in these parts
and then to bed wishing we had more time
to spend in historic Chuanchow.

The Road to Changchow

Leaving Chuanchow early one morning, we went out through the groves of lungan trees, plots of sugar cane and paddy fields between, through stone-block-built villages with stone-slab fences, and on past Hu Chuan (Capsized Boat) Mountain where the national hero Koxinga (Cheng Chen-kung) is buried in his native locality after his remains and those of his son had been removed from Taiwan. This spot is near the border of Nanan and Tzeching counties. A good deal of heavy pottery ware is made in the area, it being quite a common sight to see

jars piled five layers high on one rubber-tyred cart, or else three high on the carrier and sides of a bicycle. Kilns here are domed ones, called 'steamed bread' locally as they are like the round steamed breads in shape. In the bad old days transport workers were emaciated, wearing little because they had little. These who are now commune members and who because of the warm day have stripped off to an athletic singlet and briefs show off well-fed, muscular bodies that are a pleasure to see. Modern highways now make pulling much easier.

Kwankou Commune

Leaving the counties of the Chinkiang prefecture, we came into one called Tungan under the jurisdiction of the Amoy municipality, and rested for a while at the commune headquarters of the Kwankou commune. It is one of 16 brigades, averaging 8.25 tons of grain a hectare, and 45 to 52.5 tons of sugar cane for the same area. There are many magnificent irrigation aqueducts on this south Fukien countryside but the stone-arched, three-kilometre-long one of Kwankou is an amazing feat of engineering to have been carried out by commune members themselves inside one year.

There are 2,470 hectares of land in the commune, and 27,000 people, 25,000 pigs. 250 kilos a head is the grain ration, and the birth rate which was 2.1 per cent in 1970 has been reduced to 1.6 per cent in 1973.

The commune has 30 tractors, grows litchee trees on lower hill levels and spruce on the higher. Some 800 of its people have gone overseas, either to Burma or the Philippines.

We had come through Tungan county before getting to Kwankou, and after leaving it, were soon into the Lunghai county of the Lunchi prefecture. Changchow is a municipality under the Lunchi prefecture; Lungchi being the name of a county, one of the thirteen in the prefecture, and also an ancient name for Changchow.

The last few kilometres of highway into Changchow were very beautiful, with trees meeting across the macadamized road, people taking in the last rice crop, and a lovely sunny day. Even in the coldest weather here, the thermometer does not register anything below 5°C, and the summers are never too hot. Usually about 37°C.

If one looks closely on the road, one can see quite a few instances of where commune or brigade agricultural research teams are carrying out their experiments. For instance, in sugar growing, in one place they have planted their sugar in relatively small clumps, surrounding the clump with a matting fence, so that all canes stand together against the prevalent typhoons. At another place, the people have tied canes together near the tops in the fashion of an Indian tepee, for the same purpose. Typhoons are usually a curse here but sometimes a blessing when they suddenly come in times of drought and their heavy downpours bring relief everywhere.

This brings us down to the work being done in the countryside for irrigation. Perhaps nowhere else in China can one see longer aqueducts, or more water control works than in and around the Lungchi prefecture. Tunnels through ranges of hills bring in new canals. Pumping stations pump water high up to trunk canals. Aqueduct builders have improved their technique so that a great deal of the timber scaffolding needed to make one of the great arches is dispensed with, and the projects carried into completion, more and more daringly all the time. A total of 730 metres of tunnels, 760 metres of aqueducts, reservoir dams, and new transport canals run through a quiet countryside.

Changchow

The Lungchi prefecture is centred in Changchow. The responsible cadre who

came to tell us something of the results gained in its nine counties and one municipality was a Shansi man, who had come with the great southward drive of the Liberation Army at the time of Liberation. His story was one of enormous and continued endeavour, resulting now in an overall average of 8.25 tons a hectare for the whole prefecture of 3,128,000 people who farm 2,770,000 *mou* of arable land, 184,670 hectares of which is in rice paddy. An average of 250 kilos a year per person is the grain ration, and in 1973, 257,500 tons of grain surplus could go to the state. The total will be more in 1974.

Changchow municipality has 240,000 people in it, counting those in the suburbs. In the city proper, it has 120,000. In the old days, it had no industry, but now it builds tractors, agricultural machinery, and produces many consumer goods. It is now setting up a radio transistor plant. In Lunghai, an adjacent county, a porcelain factory with 170 workers turns out porcelain for home and abroad, to the value of 700,000 *yuan* a year. There is a sugar refinery and a cannery which cans part of the big crop of litchees and pine-apples. Over 30,000 tons of fruit is produced annually in the prefecture, so there is plenty to work on. Some of the lungan are canned or dried, but most go into the internal market, being too fragile for export.

Amongst other agricultural products, perhaps the most important is the cultivation of the rubber tree, extensive areas having already successfully planted. The danger here is that adverse weather conditions may harm the young plants. Once they have grown, there is no problem. Tsaoan and Yangsho counties have been found to suit them best. A good deal of sugar cane and many sweet potatoes are grown, the sweet potato vines being valuable for pig fodder for the 1,100,000 pigs in the prefecture, which are also fed from water plants and so on. Seisal hemp is grown on many hill slopes. Bananas and pine-apple are common.

As the hills in this part of Fukien have been mostly cut out in the old days, there is a good deal of effort needed to get forest products on the way again. So in addition to the 102 communes with their 1,648 brigades, there are 55 forest farms. It is not so easy to turn the tide of erosion back and to halt the river beds being filled up with sand and stones, but attacked in an organized way, much can and is being done.

In education and health, the prefecture has been able to do a good deal. There are 110 middle schools with 60,000 students, and 2,000 primary schools with 600,000 pupils. There are 13 hospitals and clinics in communes with 2,000 medical staff, as well as there being 4,000 barefoot doctors in the brigades. There has always been a problem of leper treatment in this area, and such work now is concentrated in seven small leper treatment centres.

The people of Lungchi prefecture are not just sitting on their laurels. There are many new projects being worked on or planned. In Fangan county, for instance, 2,700 metres of tunneling is being worked on. The present 85 kilometres of main canal, and 6,994 metres of aqueducts will be steadily added to. At present the value of all products in the prefecture is 622,000,000 *yuan*, with 330,000,000 *yuan* of that coming from industry. With the basis in new communication routes that has already been laid, and with new irrigation and water control schemes coming to fruition, and small industrial ventures growing into bigger ones, these totals should grow swiftly.

Liming Brigade

There were originally two counties, Lungchi and Haicheng. Lungchi was the original site of Changchow, by which name it was first known. The present Changchow dates from the Tang dynasty. Lungchi and Haicheng were com-

bined to make Lunghai county, the biggest of all five in the prefecture, and with a population of 600,000.

We drove on through the county seat into the area of the Liming brigade, a well known local one. We then climbed up stairs to rooms above the big assembly hall they had constructed, and sampled some of the brigade's wonderful oranges and drank its sweetened red tea, while the Party secretary told of their 27 production teams, with their population doubled since 1949.

In the old society, the land in the area was mostly owned by landlords, two of whom were prominent Kuomintang officials. They and their cohorts naturally fought hard to retain their privileged position, but the times had turned against them and the people had stood up. By 1951 the farmers were getting 4.5 tons a hectare, and as better organization and understanding came to them, 7.5 tons. By 1956, when one of their delegates took part in a national meeting on agricultural production, they were getting 10.9 tons. In the years 1958 to 1964 they bettered seeds and, studying Tachai, began to look at their barren hills beside, along with alkaline wasteland, with new interest. After 1966, they started out to level all their paddy fields, getting at first 53 hectares done, as well as reclaiming 67 hectares of alkaline land. In 1971 they gained 15.2 tons a hectare and in 1972, despite a bad typhoon, got 15.1 tons. 1973 brought a succession of typhoons, but despite them they got 13.4 tons. Typhoons in 1974 also have been severe, but over 14.1 tons a hectare would be gained.

Experts

The brigade sent one rice-growing expert to Mali for four years, to teach rice growing there. He also visited Cuba. Another, Pan Yumao, whom we met on our visit, took local expertise to North Vietnam. He is now a county congress representative.

There are six barefoot doctors in this brigade who rotate, half time away on study, half time in the brigade clinic, so that their technique improves all the time. Cooperative medicine costs two *yuan* a year, of which the brigade pays half from its common welfare fund.

There are 630 children in school. In birth control, the 1973 figure for births was 2.1 per cent. It is estimated that by 1975, the county planned figure of 1.3 per cent will be reached.

Livelihood

Members get a grain ration of 300 kilos a year. Private plots make up only 0.2 of a *mou* (or 133 square metres) per family. The people, who are relatively well housed, keep ducks, chickens and turkeys, as well as the family pig. The children look sturdy and brim full of life.

Chiulungkiang Sluice Gates

On our way back to Changchow city, we halted at the sluice gates, where the works have been thrown right across the Chiulungkiang, making a bridge for traffic as well as controlling the flow of the river. Though the spot is 110 kilometres from the open sea, yet tidal waters surge up, and need to be dammed so that water above the sluice gates can be used for irrigation. There is a shipping lock on one side, but during ebb tide, boat passage through one of the opened sluice gates is possible, or more usually under the arched bridge at the end of the sluice gate portion. Before this project was built, other projects were attempted, but were always washed away in summer floods. The present one is 654 metres long, and has 99 arches, and is 8 metres high. On the Lunghai side of the works is a small sluice gate controlling the flow of sea water up a tributary. Its building by the brigade it served formed the basis for the story of the model Peking opera *Ode to the Dragon River*. The big project was

started in 1969 and finished by mid 1970. Just as well, as in that year there was a 230-day drought, and the water dammed up above the lock went into a canal system that served most of Lunghai's ten communes, enabling a crop of 10.5 tons a hectare to be gained.

Farewell to Changchow

Friends in Changchow kindly invited us to see a performance of local puppet art, done by players manipulating puppets on sticks, rather than having them suspended by strings as in Chuanchow. It was a very effective performance, especially the little play about cleaning out the tigers from the Fukien mountain areas.

Before leaving the comfortable and very handsome prefectural guest house, for west Fukien, I wrote some lines about the place. They are as follows:

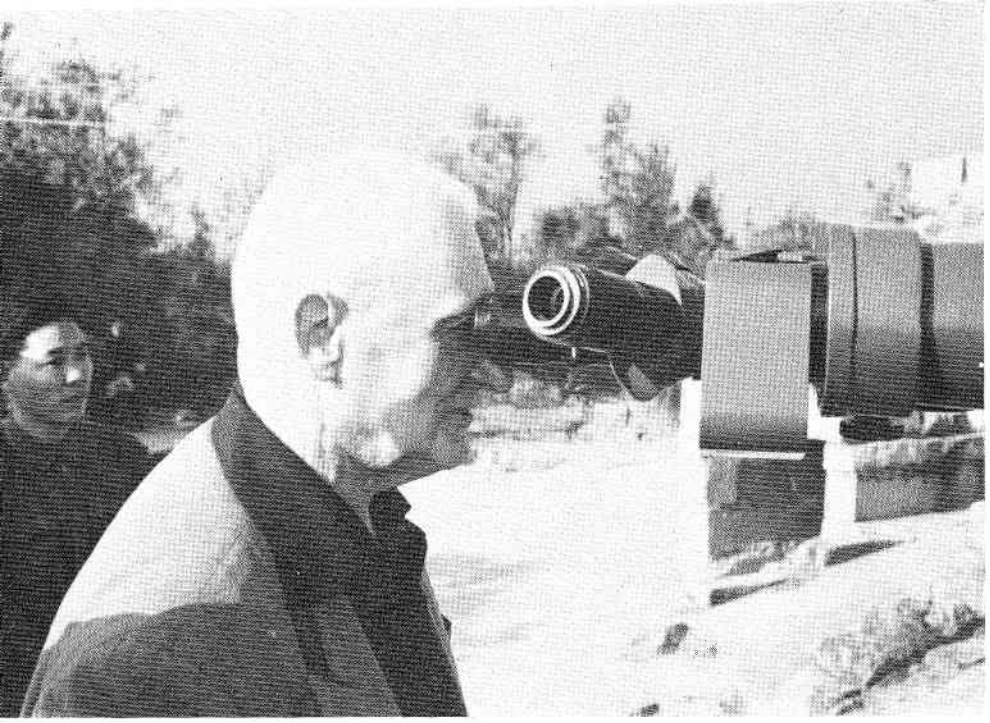
Changchow, centre of
the Lungchi counties of south Fukien,
a city out from which have gone
the designers of a new countryside,
first things coming first in the task
of serving the people, and make
agriculture that is the base, better
able to stand all weathers;
casually, almost, tidal waters
are halted by wide sluice gates, upper
reaches of river turned into canals
that run over the countryside, taking
away the fear of drought that along
with the horrors of the old order
forced many to go abroad and seek
some kind, any kind of livelihood;
now pumps throw waters up into
main canals that wind through
the hills, then come down to plains
after streaming through tunnels
the hands of the people have cut
so gallantly; crossing valleys
and streams on high, cut stone aqueducts
built with infinite precision and care;
new dams hold back waters in reservoirs,
so that waters can be released
to make orange and litchee grow; other
waters rush through turbines which turn
generators,
adding more power to the hands of the people
enabling new industry to rise, and making
old Changchow something new in the scheme
of things to be.

Old Reminiscences

Coming down from Lungyen after a tour of west Fukien counties, we pulled into Changchow again. The conversation turned on the activities of the old Red Army in the thirties, and then on how Chairman Mao and the Fourth Red Army made a swift advance down to Changchow, from Changting and Lungyen in the spring of 1932. They beat the local bandit—Kuomintang warlord Chang Chen at Tienpao, on April 19. Tienpao is now a famous place for its banana groves and sugar cane, on the outskirts of the city. But Chairman Mao was too wise a revolutionary to spend time trying to hold on to so complicated a place as Changchow at that stage. In the time he was in the vicinity, groups were formed to organize peasants in the counties around, and a militia was formed, with Party activities started that in one way or another continued in the hill villages and country towns until Liberation in 1949. We had a midday rest in Changchow, and the early afternoon was punctuated by the sounds of a mass meeting in the big meeting area near by. Passing it on the way out of town, we found it was for the militia representatives of all counties in the whole prefecture. The revolution still continues, and the militia is still needed.

On to Amoy

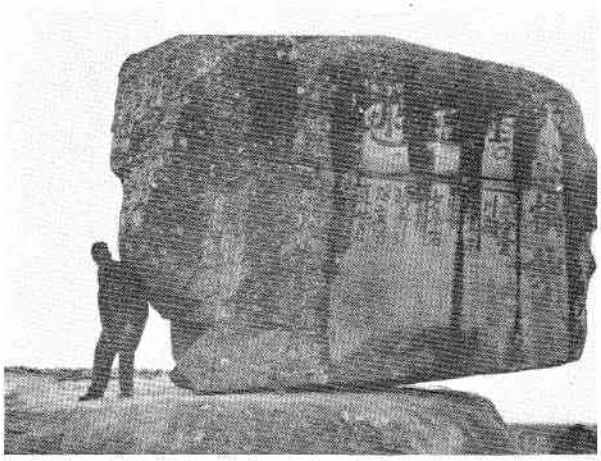
Passing through Tungan, one of the counties administered by the Amoy Municipality, and now a place with a good deal of modern industry, we came to the first of the causeways that make a peninsula instead of an island out of Amoy city. It was built across one piece of sea, and is 2,884 metres long, and eleven metres wide, carrying both highway and railway. It was completed in 1956. The



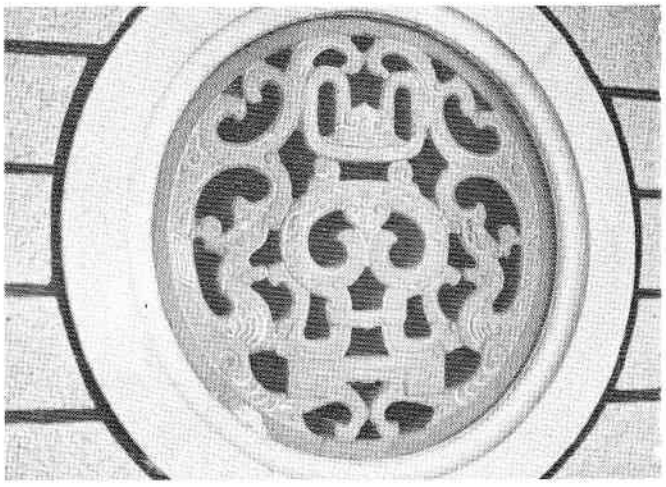
The author looks over at Quemoy from a PLA post on the mainland.

Amoy.

Looking over Kulangyu to Amoy city today.

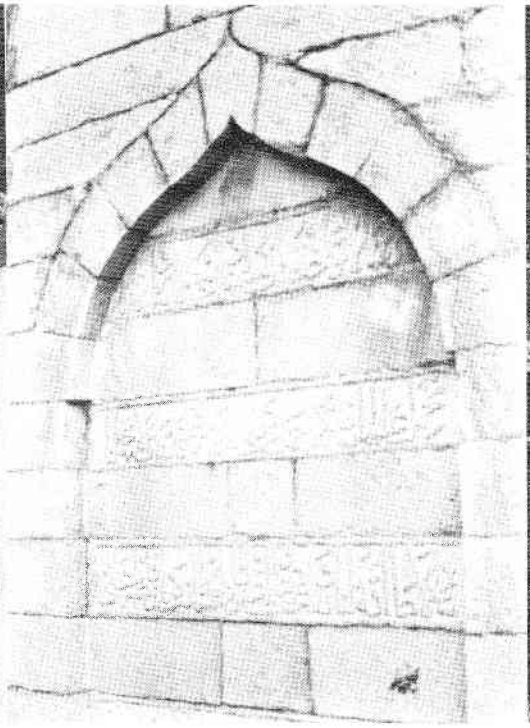


Rocking Stone at Amoy.



A lattice window cut from one piece of stone—Fangtzu Production Brigade at Amoy.

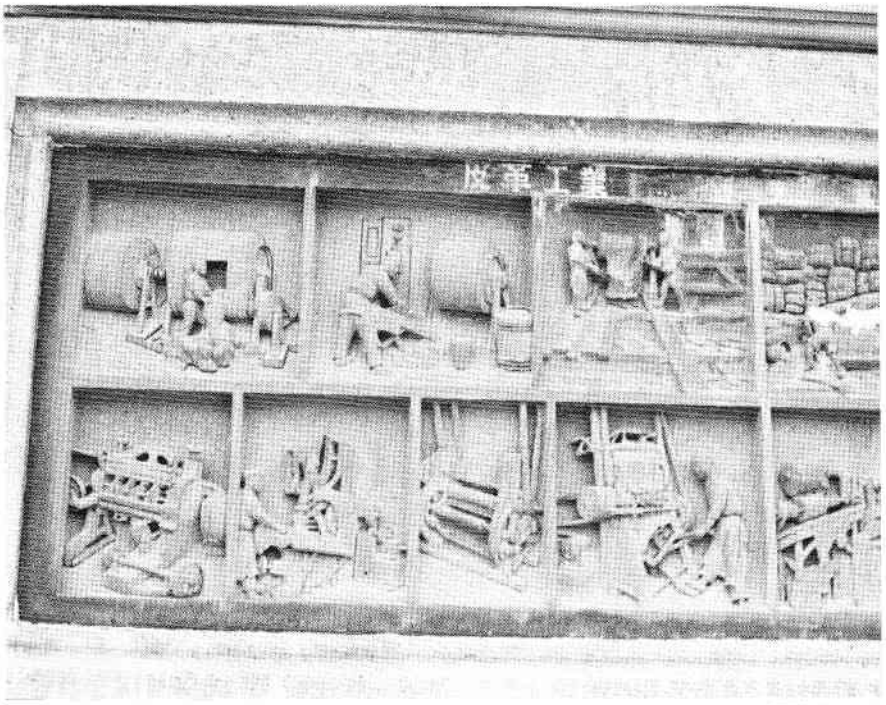
Brahmin motifs on pillars in Kaiyuan Temple built in Chuanchow in the Tang dynasty (AD 618-907).

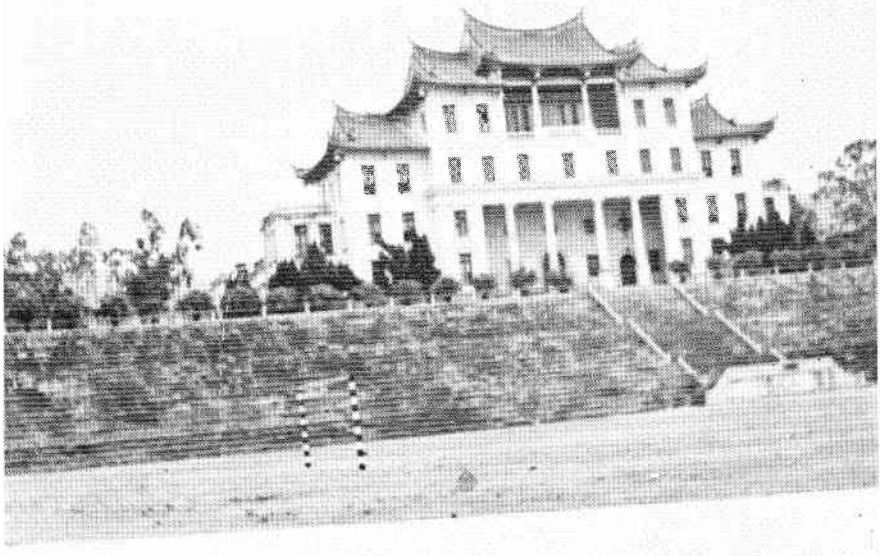


On a wall of the ancient mosque in Chuanchow.

A Brahmin type monument in Kaiyuan Temple.

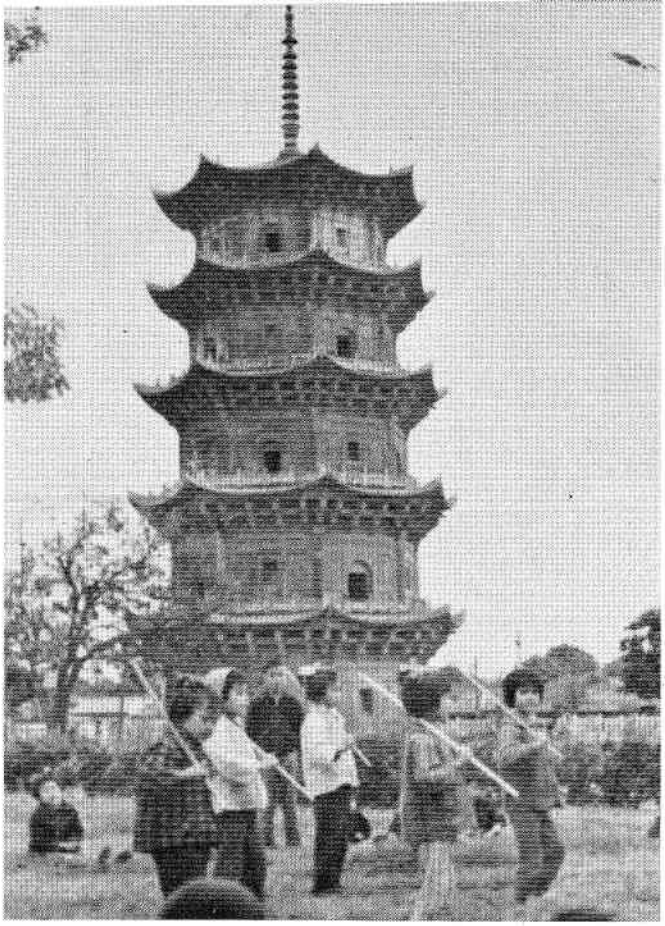
The entrance to Tan Kha Kee's tomb.





Upper: Stone engraving at the tomb of Tan Kha Kee, Chimei, Amoy.

Lower: Part of Amoy University.



Kindergarten children singing 'We Shall Definitely Liberate Taiwan' in front of the pagoda at Kaiyuan Temple.

A 4-year-old boy and his 6-year-old sister doing a duet at an Amoy concert.

second causeway which takes us right into the city is 2,200 metres long and sixteen metres wide. It was completed in 1955. Today, despite its front line position with Kuomintang occupied Quemoy island near by, the city has a rapidly developing modern industry, and a completely different look from that of the old trading town that dreamed away its days in the pleasant climate of south Fukien.

Language in Fukien

The English word for what the Chinese common language calls 'cha' is 'tea'—a word taken directly from the language of Amoy. It was to Fukien that the West first came for tea. The language of Lungyen prefecture is predominantly Hakka, the Hakka people being early migrants from Central China. Changchow prefecture speaks the Amoy language, while Foochow and surrounding counties have their own way of speaking. All hold up their hands in dismay almost, at the language of north Fukien, around Pucheng, which is something different again. But today the common language is getting a much stronger grip on the province than it ever had, most old people being able to understand it, even if they cannot speak it well. All education is given in it, so that any child can act as interpreter if necessary.

A Morning at Kulangyu

We spent our first morning in Amoy on the island of Kulangyu, where the sound of the waves is like that of a drum beating, as the name signifies. Once a foreign settlement set up in 1913, it had some 14 consulates, and many residences of the wealthy, as well as a big red domed amusement centre, where all kinds of scamps would gather, and which is now a transistor radio factory. Before berthing, our launch took a turn out to sea and around the island, looking at the hills of Quemoy standing up out of the mist. How rather like the mouse the cat plays with, which must take an enormous effort for the Taiwan rump to feed and keep armed—the local people together with a big army on an island whose soil is all right for sweet potatoes, but not for much else! In the meantime, Amoy goes on expanding in every way, and the ships of many countries come to lie in the roads and trade. Soon there will be new wharves and they can lie up at berths.

It was a Sunday when we landed at Kulangyu, and the big rock they call Jih Kwang Yen, 'Cliff for Seeing the Dawn', had its steps filled with people climbing. The whole of the rocky complex of Kulangyu has been likened to a dragon, while on the Amoy side of the straits is a big rock like a crouching tiger. Water in the straits is deep, and 50,000-ton ships can anchor there.

The Koxinga Museum

Cheng Cheng-kung, who is better known around the world by a name given him by the last of the Mings, Koxinga (Kuo Hsin-yeh, holder of the Imperial name), was a native of Nanan, near Chuanchow. A people's hero in China, it was he who trained his naval storm troops on the island of Kulangyu, and took back Taiwan from the Dutch who had occupied it, and who had driven out the Spanish who also once had a settlement there. It was a stiff battle, for the Dutch were well armed, and very determined. But Koxinga won out and established his rule over the island. Born in 1624, he came to Amoy when he was 23. He started the operation against the Dutch when he was 38, and completed it in his 39th year. He died soon afterwards of sickness. His son reigned after him, but on his death the grandson gave in to the Manchus in 1698, bringing back his father's and grandfather's remains to lie amongst the hills of Nanan county,

where around the Shihching Village his descendants still live.

In 1962, the 300th anniversary of the taking of Taiwan from the Dutch occupation, a museum was set up on Kulangyu, to collect relics of the patriot. His descendants have sent in a scroll painted of him, which seems very true and lifelike.

For trade Koxinga used silver coins, like the silver dollar minted at the end of the Ching dynasty. They are the first silver coins of the kind known in China. Koxinga's mother was Japanese, and in Japan there existed a play written about his life, which has also been translated to English.

Some Scraps of Little Known History

One had always heard how Taiwan was first occupied in the Sui in the 6th century, AD period, but evidently there is a reference in the history of the Three Kingdoms to it being occupied in AD 230 by the King of Wu. The latter Mings, after a relatively short spell of power in Nanking, came for their final two years to Amoy, which Cheng Cheng-kung had named 'Szu Ming Chou' or 'Remember the Ming' city.

Amoy was opened up as a treaty port after the First Opium War, and the settlement on it then began. Kulangyu is only something under two square kilometres in size, but now has a population of 20,000, and some sanitoria, with good swimming beaches. We came to one garden, and peach trees were in blossom. It was December 1.

Amoy City

The municipality of Amoy has 220,000 in the city proper, counting Kulangyu 190,000 in the suburbs, and 380,000 in its county of Tungan. In all around 800,000 on an area of 1,322 square kilometres including Quemoy. Like Foochow, it is a municipality under the provincial government leadership. There are records of people living here in the Tang dynasty, 1,200 years ago. In Sung, it was called Ja Ho Yu. After the Republic was set up, Sun Yat Sen had it re-named Szu Ming Chow, but in 1933 the municipality of Hsia Men was set up. The average temperature the whole year around is 20.8°C, average summer temperature 28°C. Its main drawback is the typhoons that rip in during autumn months, but sometimes as already stated, these are welcomed to break droughts.

In the Ming dynasty, many precautions had to be taken to keep pirates away. Japanese pirates ravaged Chinese coastal towns then, and in the latter days of the Ming, the Dutch joined in. At the time of the Opium Wars, when English men-of-war came, the people resisted. But later the foreign settlement of Kulangyu was set up. China set up some forts and bought two big German guns that would cover the entrance to the harbour, paying 30,000 ounces of silver each for them. When the Japanese came in 1938, they took one away to Japan for scrap. In the War for Liberation, there were some stiff battles fought here, and the two war memorials now standing commemorate this struggle. The one we saw had characters written by Chen Yi on it.

Quemoy

The Quemoy Islands, 177 square kilometres in area, are a county that will finally rate as being in the Chinkiang prefecture. At the time of liberation of the mainland, the two main islands had around 50,000 people on them. Exactly how many there are now together with Kuomintang soldiery, cannot be proved exactly. It has some of the best glass sand in the region. The Kuomintang occupation has gone on for twenty-five years now, and from 1950-54 made some trouble for the mainland, sending in marauding parties, etc., and bombing heavily from planes. Then, however, Liberation Army big guns were brought to emplacements

around, answering each attack with a heavier one, so that by 1958 such had lessened. Whether the liberation of Taiwan is by force or by negotiation, Amoy will be quite important in the change. Many of the people in Taiwan are related to those in Amoy, and the Amoy language is common there.

Overseas Chinese

Amoy is a centre for overseas Chinese, for some 21,000 local people now live in 29 other counties, and there are 8,000 families who are in touch with relatives abroad. There are two villages set up for overseas Chinese who want to retire in Amoy. Many other overseas Chinese come back at times, and as the port facilities develop, there are likely to be many more.

Amoy—Old and New

Old Amoy was a small trading centre. There were 20 banks, fifty money changers, and 50 gold and silver shops. There were a few handicrafts, but workers did not exceed 600. Total value of industrial output per annum did not exceed 10,000,000 *yuan*.

Today there are 213 new factories, with 55,000 workers and production valued at 450,000,000 *yuan* a year. The bigger factories include machine shops, a cotton mill, a cannery, a rubber factory, fertilizer, glass and cement works and so on.

The 6,100 metres of stone and concrete sea wall save 4,000 hectares of land from flooding in big seas. The 10,000,000 cubic-metre water-supply reservoir has been enlarged to one of 48,000,000 cubic metres, and now a plan has been worked out to bring down fresh water from above the sluice gates over the Chiulungkiang, engineering on which has started. A bigger problem is how to get enough electricity for the expanding industry, but planned power stations should meet this adequately when put into operation. Wharves to berth the cargo ships that now have to work from anchorage will soon be built. They will accommodate cargo vessels of up to 60,000 tons.

In the municipality, there are 38,000 hectares of arable land that grows rice, wheat, barley, sweet potatoes, peanuts, hemp, sugar for the local sugar refinery, and then too fruits such as litchee and orange mainly on higher ground. In 1949 the place was grain-deficient and had to be supplied from the outside. Now it can sell a surplus of 30,000 tons to the state. Tungan county is especially noted for its big crops of peanuts, which bring as much as 2.25 tons a hectare each of the two harvests. There are two forest farms, and it is now found contrary to old views, that 'Sha Shu', or spruce, can be grown on the hills quite well, so the area expects inside the next 20 years to start becoming self-sufficient in timber. At Liberation the hills were all stones, no trees. This has already changed in areas close to the city, and afforestation now will go on swiftly.

A good deal has been done in the matter of birth control in Amoy. It came down from 2 per cent to 1.6 per cent in the villages last year, and from 1.5 to 1.3 per cent in the city proper. It is expected that by 1975, the whole municipality will have reduced it to 1 per cent. The present movement against the idea of Lin Piao and Confucianism help a great deal, stressing as it does the discarding of the old feudal ideas about filial piety, and the necessity to have sons. A family with two daughters born to it would be liable to go on until it got a son, for the daughters would 'go to other families' and so hardly counted. Now with equality between the sexes being stressed, people begin to realize that it is just as good to have a daughter as a son. But feudal ideas do not vanish in one attack on them. The pressure has to be kept up.

There are 200,000 young people, from kindergarten age to that of university, getting education in Amoy. There are two universities, that of Amoy set up in

1921, and magnificently assisted by that patriotic overseas Chinese Tan Kha Kee (Chen Chia-keng) of Singapore. Then there is the Sea Products University moved here from Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution. It has 600 students. Also there are 8 technical schools, for teachers' training, health, physical culture and so on. There are 30 middle schools, 10 in the city proper and 20 out amongst the communes. Of the 380 primary schools, 45 are in the city. There are 10 hospitals in the city, and all communes with brigades have their clinics, medical staff and barefoot doctors. All brigades have cooperative medicine.

Though most of the city proper is still in old housing, the new buildings that now rise are mostly constructed with solid stone slabs, and are quite impressive.

A Front Line Position

We drove out of the city and then through wooded hillsides to one of the gun positions facing Quemoy, being kindly greeted by the garrison there. Sitting down with tea, oranges and bananas, in front of a big war map, we listened to one of the army cadres explain the situation.

We were invited to look at the enemy positions and occupied villages through powerful glasses. The land looked so poor that it was a wonder how people lived, expecially as they are not allowed to fish anywhere near the mainland. On one islet now fashioned like a medieval castle and populated only by its garrison of soldiers, we saw a man laboriously carrying two buckets of water up to the top position. Any day they cared to, the People's Liberation Army could block all entry of supplies, while to take the whole place by force would now present no great difficulty. But so long as there are those who would give these and other off-shore islands back to China, hoping in turn that China will agree to an independent Taiwan, the war of patience will go on. Kuomintang armymen grow older, arms and munitions, grain and all the rest do not flow in so easily, for the superpower that has held Taiwan up is now having difficulties of its own. With the liberation of Taiwan, so will come the liberation of these islands. In consequence, here in this placid harbour of Amoy lie two worlds, one still using foreign imperialism to maintain its hold, while the other is the cheery, vital China of our today, that struggles forward so magnificently.

Memorial Plinth

We halted on the way back in the city to look at the imposing memorial plinth, with words on it by Chen Yi, which was erected in 1954, in front of the tomb covering the remains of soldiers killed in the liberation struggle. It is a tall stone monument on a base painted red, and below it, through the trees is a swimming pool, filled with youngsters practising swimming races. A bright sight for December 2, when so much of China is deep in winter. Amongst the trees here there is another memorial. It is to a young navyman, An Yeh-ming, who was wounded by the enemy when engineering a navy launch. Despite his suffering he brought the launch back all right, later dying of his injuries. He had joined the Navy at 19, and was 21 when he died in 1958. His mother has recently paid a visit to her son's grave, coming all the way from her home in Liaoning province in the Northeast. Chu Teh has written an inscription for the monument, and some inspiring words from the hero's diary are inscribed there also.

A Little Red Soldier Performance

It is always a joy to go to a children's concert. The youngsters so fresh and full of vitality. The one we went to in Amoy was especially bright, and amongst the items was a piano duet with the pianists

being a six-year-old girl and her four-year-old young brother. There was also a six-year-old boy who could sing like a bird. Most of the items stressed the liberation of Taiwan, and no doubt many are broadcast over to Quemoy on suitable occasions, when local broadcasts reach there easily. According to reports of those in the occupation there who have escaped to the mainland, anything movable that can float and be made into a raft is now denied the garrison, and anyone attempting to cross an off-shore line that has been set is summarily executed. To many, then, the songs of mainland children must bring a good deal of nostalgia.

Amoy University

Amoy University is set up on the site of the infantry training ground, on which Koxinga prepared his landing troops just as Kulangyu is where he trained his sailors. Here in 1921, 53 years past, was set up the Patriotic University of Amoy, with the Singapore overseas Chinese, Tan Kha Kee, pouring his wealth into it. In 1937 until 1939, it became a National University created so by the Kuomintang. In 1839 till 1945, it evacuated to Changting in west Fukien. It was one of the earliest universities to have a Communist Party organization set up in it, which took place in 1925. Lu Hsun taught here from September 1926 to January 1927, during which time he did seventy-five pieces of writing. In 1928, there were 2,200 students, but only 24 graduates. There were then 30,000 square metres of building space, and a library of 110,000 books. After 1945, the Kuomintang did not bother to rebuild the section bombed out by the Japanese. After 1949 new construction and rebuilding of the old was carried on until 155,770 square metres were in use. The library went up in its number of books to 1,200,000. The grounds on which the university stands, beautifully set by the sea, are around 53 hectares in extent.

In the post-Liberation period, the student body rose to 3,600 students, and in those years there were 12,000 graduates sent out. Then with the start of the Cultural Revolution, it was felt that the whole educational system which had been following Russian forms needed to be changed to become something closer to people's needs. It was 1970 before students began to be called in again, now from the ranks of workers, peasants and soldiers.

At present there are 2,300 students, a number which in 1975 is expected to rise to 3,000, and then to go on until 4,000. There is a total staff of 1,800. The university is divided into nine departments, and students are trained for 26 professions: Politics. Chinese history and literature. Economics, under which is some training for accountancy, the use of calculating machines, etc. Foreign languages, mainly English, Russian and Japanese. Physics, which includes a wide range of subdivisions in line with today's necessity. Chemistry. Students do militia duty—the university is but 4,000 metres from the nearest Quemoy island—along the sea coast at night, together with other militia units. They have five small factories where students can work and also carry out scientific experiment. Then there is a printing factory, printing materials the university needs. Students now study for three years instead of the old five, and one third of them are girls.

The University has its own hospital and kindergarten facilities.

It was stressed that the present form is not necessarily the final one. So much depends on how graduates fit in and what contribution they can make. But the old ideas of a new class of scholar gentry, rising and ever growing apart from the masses, has been dealt a heavy blow.

The room where Lu Hsun lived and worked, along with the bigger room next to it, have been turned into a Lu Hsun museum. Kuo Mo-jo and Soong Ching Ling have given inscriptions to go at the doors. There are some original manus-

cripts of his, and much of the printed literature he wrote and published in the twenties and thirties.

Fangtzu Brigade

Leaving the splendid premises of the Amoy University, we continued along the coast until we came into the area of the Chien Hsien (Front Line) commune. Here we stopped at the well-built, solid stone-slab office and assembly hall of the Fangtzu brigade set under some rocky mountains. It is a brigade of a few hundred households, having seven production teams, one of which is for fishing, and another for orchard and afforestation work. Other side lines include a repair shop for trucks, tractors, and brigade machinery such as pumps and food processing machines. There is also a mushroom raising unit which sends its products to the Amoy Cannery.

To properly evaluate the present one needs to look back and see what the place was like in 1949. It was then just a poor sandy strip between rocks and the sea, a place to which beggars came, to leave families who might eke out a living. There were rains, but always the water ran uselessly down the many little mountain gullies to the sea. Refugees from six provinces and 24 counties collected around the area. People would plant peanuts, but often when they harvested there were but empty husks. The best patches of land did not bring in more than 1.5 tons of grain a hectare a year. People drifted in and then drifted away again. There, of course, was the inevitable rascal who said all the land was his and demanded rents in kind. Behind him stood the whole Kuomintang superstructure.

Since Liberation, the brigade has planted 200,000 trees, 94,000 of which are fruit trees; litchee, peach, and lungan.

We visited the brigade clinic which has a properly equipped dentistry department. There is an acupuncture department, and in medicines, people usually prefer traditional herbs. It has four barefoot doctors, two men and two women. All medical expenses are borne by the brigade. Army stretchers are kept to deal with any casualties. Like all other buildings the brigade clinic is well built of stone slabs.

Most of the commune restaurants that were started when communes were first formed closed up for one reason or another. Occasionally one comes across one that has survived, and here in this brigade was a very excellent example, where work has gone on steadily since 1958, and good food, steaming hot, was ready for the diners as they came in. There were pots of flowers and stone seats, but people usually took what they wanted home to eat. The place was spotlessly clean.

Schools and Students

All brigade children get a five-year primary course in the brigade school. If any want to go on to lower middle school, for two more years, the brigade pays the fees. With regard to students from middle schools in the city, sent out to toughen them up and to wean them away from loving families who try to take all difficulties away from their path, the brigade asked for 50, but was given 43. These are housed in a newly built stone building, two to a room. It was drizzling with rain the day we came, but they were all out working on a reservoir dam. The state pays them eight *yuan* a month, the commune gives six, and then with work points averaging 4 *yuan* a month they get around 20 *yuan* in all, out of which they buy their own food at the brigade restaurant. They are not permitted to smoke. They get much stronger when they have been in the brigade for a time, are allowed a grain ration of 18.5 kilos a month, and work 27 days each month, provision being made for them to return to the city once a month to see their families if they wish. Their parents also come out to see them. As they go

on, some will be sent to factories, some to universities, some become soldiers, and some marry into the brigade and become brigade members. Their real value will show up as they work.

At Chimei

Chimei is by the sea, near where the famous patriot Tan Kha Kee was born, and where the imposing memorial to him stands. It is across the causeways from the city proper, and backed by the buildings of the Sea Products University, a big middle school, and then the premises of various other technical schools. A great tall monument rises high behind the grave, with words on it by Chairman Mao. Around the base and in the near-by buildings there is an enormous spread of stone carving, a pageant of the old, and then of the new, industries, agriculture, all that was going on in China up to his death which took place in 1962. He was born in 1874, so that 1974 marks his hundredth anniversary. There is one plaque written by Tung Pi-wu, with a poem made up of selections from Tu Fu.

While in Amoy, I wrote the following lines:—

Gem of the South-east
China coast, which basks
seeming so quietly in the sun
and looks out on the sea highways
of the world; Amoy, a city once
an island but now is well tied
to the mainland by road and rail
over causeways a liberated
people have thrown up; Amoy,
the great port that one day
will be, where now ships
of many nations come to trade
in peace and friendship; Amoy
in whose harbour lies the pleasant
island of Kulangyu, where there
are no cars, no bustle, and where
stands the museum to the seaman
patriot, Cheng Cheng-kung, who drove
Dutch imperialism from Taiwan;
a quiet place with many gardens
bright with flowers around; and here
from an upper window one can look
out across the harbour, and see
the outlines of Quemoy islands
where still squats part of
the Kuomintang which the Chinese
people have discarded, and who now
await their inevitable liberation
and that of the occupied province
which expends so great a sum
in borrowed treasure, to supply them;
today Quemoy becomes simply
a curiosity, something to look at
through glasses and see sentries
change, while in Amoy itself, industry
and agriculture expand daily, and from
many lands overseas, Chinese return
to look at the land of their fathers
and rest awhile; Amoy where Lu Hsun
came and wrote, and the old patriot
Tan Kha Kee supported a university;
Amoy thought of with affection by
so many who work and struggle through
Asian and Pacific lands; a city that
shows plenty of character and determination
to keep on with the revolution
that always must still be won.

A New Kind of Revolution

Ruth Gamberg

'Bombard the headquarters!' It was with these words, issued on August 5, 1966 by Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China, that the Cultural Revolution, which up to this point had been little more than a rumbling in the background, was placed fully in the centre of China's political and social life. Three days later, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party adopted guidelines concerning the Cultural Revolution.

One is immediately struck by this unique way of launching a revolution. Revolutions have *always* been made by those who feel that their interests are being trampled upon by the existing government in power and who see no way of achieving a meaningful voice in matters directly affecting them short of a major transformation of their society. Revolutions have always been and still are the last resort of the disinherited to gain access to the power they require in order to right the injustices they judge themselves to be the victims of. In China this historical precedent was broken with the proclamations from Mao and the Party's Central Committee. Never before had the need for a revolution been articulated to the people by those in the highest reaches of power; never before had the guidelines for conducting a revolution been set forth by those in established leadership positions.

Why would the top levels of the Communist Party and the Government in China decide that such a revolution was necessary? What kind of leadership is it that invites the people to bombard its own headquarters? How can a revolution be considered successful, as the Chinese consider the Cultural Revolution to be, when for the most part, the essential features of the political and economic structures remain the same after the revolution? And what kind of revolution is a *cultural* revolution? The answers to these questions will provide us with the perspective necessary for an understanding of China today.

The Chinese for their part do not think that history develops willy-nilly, that anything can happen at any time under any circumstances, or that any explanation of events has as much merit as any other. Basing their judgment largely on their own historical experience, they—the great majority of the Chinese people and not just their leaders—appear to be in fundamental agreement that the vast body of economic, political, social and historical analysis known as Marxism-Leninism provides the tool for a scientific comprehension of the dynamics of societies as well as the guide for action to bring about

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thoroughgoing social change.

Class Struggle

The oft-quoted opening line of *The Communist Manifesto* remains the lynchpin of Chinese thought and political action. The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. To Marxists this is a fundamental and accurate summing up of all recorded history without which an understanding of the dynamics of societies and how they change cannot be grasped. Whether they look at slave societies, feudal societies, or capitalist societies, the main feature they see is the existence of classes.

While recognizing that the class structure in any society is always more complex, in its skeletal outline there are two main classes—be they slavemaster and slave, lord and serf, or capitalist and worker—wherein the life patterns of the one are intrinsically linked to those of the other. But this linkage is always seen as an antagonistic one because the interests of the two stand in direct opposition; the interests of the one unavoidably clash with the interests of the other.

To capture the workings of this antagonistic relationship called class struggle, let us look for a moment at the capitalist system. The description that follows is an over-simplification when applied to today's world, because this is the period of imperialism, a period in which capitalism is no longer competitive in the same way as it was in the nineteenth century and in which it is no longer confined to national boundaries. The relationships, therefore, are much more complex. But the same essential features of class struggle still hold for present-day Marxists, and in this case, for the Chinese.

It is these essential features that serve the purpose here of delineating and explaining how the Chinese analyze societies and change today.

In a capitalist economy there are, on the one side, the capitalists, those who own the means of production—factories, machines, raw materials, land, etc. However, the coal in a mine is of value only after miners dig it out and make it available for human use; the value of land is realized only after the farmers plant and harvest wheat, other workers process it, and it is then made available for human consumption. So, on the other side stands the proletariat (the working class), those who by applying their labour to the means of production are essential for producing the goods required by all classes for their continued existence. A class then is defined by its relationship to the ownership and control of the means of production.

In the capitalist class system, the goal of the capitalist is to maximize profits. This is achieved by paying the least possible for what he buys and getting the most possible for what he sells. In other words, he maximizes his profits by minimizing his expenses. It is, therefore, in his best interests to pay the workers—those who give value to his holdings—as little as he possibly can. This is clearly in direct opposition to the interests of the workers who want to increase their ability to purchase those goods which they have produced. Because of the competitive nature of capitalism (even in its monopoly phase) the efforts of the capitalist class must be not merely to maintain but to continually increase its profits by holding down what it pays out to the working class by way of wages and benefits. This process of profit-making, which Marxists call exploitation, is independent of the will of any particular capitalist.

Accordingly, the two classes are in constant and antagonistic opposition to each other; Marx and Engels call this opposition class struggle. This is not to say that the struggle is always overt or violent. Sometimes it is, but often it is not. What this analysis *does* say is that by the very nature of their conflicting interests, each class is necessarily in a position where it must struggle, through a wide variety of means, *for* its own class

interests and, therefore, *against* the interests of the class in opposition.

Since China was never a fully developed capitalist country, the alignment of forces in the class struggle differed somewhat from the simplified outline just given. A precise Marxist summation of class forces during the period preceding 1949 is provided by George Thomson:

> *At the beginning of the present century China was a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country, in which the masses of the peasantry were exploited by the feudal landowners and by a number of colonial powers, which had occupied the ports, seized control of the banks, and established a commercial network for plundering the country. In this they were supported by the rich merchants, moneylenders and financiers who constituted the big bourgeoisie—the comprador or bureaucratic capitalists. These two classes, the feudal landowners and the comprador bourgeoisie, formed the social base for imperialist oppression in China.*
>
> *Between these two exploiting classes and the masses of the people stood the middle, or national, bourgeoisie. These were industrial capitalists whose efforts to build native industries were frustrated by feudalism and imperialism. From that point of view they were inclined to side with the people, but at the same time they were themselves exploiters, afraid of the proletariat, and so they tended to vacillate.*
>
> *The only consistently anti-feudal, anti-imperialist classes were the peasantry and the proletariat. The vast majority of the peasantry were poor peasants, that is, rural proletarians and semi-proletarians. The industrial proletariat was small, but after the First World War, and more especially after the October Revolution, it grew rapidly in strength and influence.*[1]

The Chinese talk about 'the three big mountains'—feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism, and imperialism—that weighed heavily on the workers and peasants and against which they waged their revolution. Given the semi-feudal, semi-colonial nature of the country at the time and the presence of a vast, largely landless peasantry, the first demands they had to agitate for were national independence, land reform and basic democratic rights. This is considered the necessary first stage of a two-stage revolution and is called New Democracy. It was not until the encroachments made by imperialist powers were neutralized, until the land that had always been monopolized by landlords was distributed to the peasants, and until the working people were accorded the democratic rights that they had always been denied that the conditions for the next stage—socialist revolution—could be set.

The national bourgeoisie could be looked to for support of the new democratic revolution since their interests were also inhibited by the tremendous power of 'the three big mountains'. They would have to oppose the second stage, however, because as capitalists, they had to make profit, which comes from only one source —the exploitation of workers. In the era of advanced capitalism and imperialism, then, the proletariat, according to the Chinese, is the only class capable of the consistent and tenacious leadership necessary for conducting either the new democratic or the socialist revolution.

For any country to have true national independence in the age of imperialism, the Chinese believe that it is impossible to stop after the democratic revolution. Since under-developed countries are kept under-developed by the imperialist nature of advanced capitalism's relationship with them, only a complete rupture with capitalism will unleash the productive forces of their societies. Without an advance to socialism, the economic and political power of imperialism will be able to maintain its control and keep such countries in continued subjection. Thus the socialist revolution is seen as absolutely essential.

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1 George Thomson, *From Marx to Mao Tse-tung*, pp. 31-32.

The State

Political power, according to Marxist theory, goes hand in hand with economic power. The possessing class, exactly *because* of its economic power, is able to organize and control the machinery of the state—the executive and legislative bodies, courts, police, armies, etc. It naturally organizes this machinery in such a way as to protect its own interests. It will go to great lengths to maintain political control, because only in this way can it safeguard its economic control. It is this analysis of the inner workings of the class struggle and the absolute requirement of the class in power to maintain its power if it is to survive that led Lenin to observe that no ruling class in history has ever given up power voluntarily.

As a leader of the exploited classes in China, it was this same analysis that led Mao to say that 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' What Mao is saying is that those who hold economic power also hold political power, which means that they control the repressive instruments of the state apparatus—the police and armies. They can and do marshal these instruments when their class rule is threatened. Their political power, then, ultimately resides in the barrels of the guns at their command.

Mao's statement further means that in order for the exploited classes to *effectively challenge* the ruling class and bring about the changes necessary whereby they can fulfill *their* class interests, they must likewise ultimately resort to the use of force. It means that the only way for the transformation to come about is through revolutionary means in which the exploited take up arms against the already armed exploiters.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The Chinese do not view their liberation as the final or ultimate event in the class struggle. They say that class struggle will be over only when there are no more classes, but that there still *are* classes in China as well as outside, and that, therefore, there is still class struggle in all countries including their own. What they say *has* changed, however, is that a new class, the proletariat, is in power. This they see not as a mere substitution but as a qualitative change that makes a basic difference in the lives of all the people in all classes. It must be remembered that Marxist analysis contends that in order for *any* class which is in power to remain there, it has *no choice* but to suppress the interests of the opposing class or classes. This suppression, for Marxists, constitutes a dictatorship.

This should not be confused with the Western connotations of the word dictatorship. We are accustomed to applying the term only to those situations where the suppression of those *not* in power is conducted by those who *are* through the most extreme and blatant methods, as, for example, in the military regimes in Latin America and other overtly fascist regimes like the one in Spain. For Marxists, on the other hand, the term dictatorship does *not* refer to the *severity* of the methods employed by a ruling class. *It refers instead to the fact of class power which has no choice than to suppress other classes*—at one time perhaps gently, at another violently; at one time covertly, at another time overtly—but which, *regardless* of the intensity or means of suppression at any particular moment, remains suppression nonetheless.

In China before 1949, there was, say the Chinese, a dictatorship of the two classes, the feudal landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie which, in alliance with foreign capitalists, shared power. Today there is a dictatorship of the proletariat. The earlier dictatorship of the landlords and bourgeoisie suppressed the great majority so as to serve the interests of the two very small allied and privileged classes. The present dictatorship of the proletariat does just the opposite. That

is one major difference, a difference which at first glance may appear to be merely quantitative. But even in terms of the sheer numbers involved, it is bound to have profound qualitative ramifications.

A second difference lies in the ownership of the means of production. Whereas previously they were privately owned by the small ruling classes, now, under the dictatorship of the proletariat they have become collectively owned. Thus, although *all* injustices and inequalities cannot be eradicated immediately during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the major injustice of the past, 'the *exploitation* of man by man will have become impossible'[2] (emphasis in original) because no individual can any longer profit from the labour of others.

Equally as significant when considering any qualitative change from the old dictatorship to that of the proletariat is that the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat *aims at the eventual proletarianization of all* so that at some future time *all* people will have the same economic and hence social-political interests. At that time, but not before, class struggle will end, because if there is only one class, there are, in effect, no classes.

The final victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, then, is classlessness, or in other words, communism. Once communism is achieved, they maintain, there will be no further need for any repressive apparatus (a state) since there will be no classes to repress. Once all people have common economic, political and social interests the machinery for repression, the state, as well as all dictatorships will wither away.

Thus, consistent with the Marxist view, the Chinese see their country as a *socialist* state. This state is a dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party. While the eventual goal is to do away with the state—and therefore also all dictatorships including that of the proletariat and all parties including the Communist Party—socialism is defined as a necessary transitional stage in the long historical development toward communism; it is perceived as a process. It is this process and the ideological and economic development effectuating it that the Chinese are referring to when they talk, as they often do, about 'socialist revolution and socialist construction.'

The Role of the Communist Party

From the vantage point of the West, however, it often appears that it is Mao, not the proletariat, who is in power. But the prevailing view in China is very different. To the Chinese, Mao is the man most responsible for interpreting Marxist theory and past practice relative to conditions in their country. Using Marxist analysis, he took the lead as early as the 1920s in setting guidelines for making a socialist revolution in China, and has uninterruptedly continued to do so up to the present, the guidelines now indicating the direction for continuing socialist construction. The people of China fully believe that they owe their liberation to the clarity with which these guidelines were formulated and the meticulousness with which they were applied.

Mao is not seen as a solitary figure, but rather as a leader of the Communist Party. The role of the Party is that of the vanguard of the proletariat. Ideologically, Party members are expected to be highly conscious of social, economic and political matters and to apply that consciousness to furthering proletarian interests; personally, they are expected to be exemplary in their attitudes and behaviours. Leadership geared to the furthering of self-interests rather than the interests of the masses is not to be countenanced.

> *At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses.*

2 V. I. Lenin, 'The State and Revolution,' *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 466.

Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect.[3]

As a vanguard, the Party is expected to lead the proletariat in all struggles. Mao has stressed repeatedly that the Party must be at the forefront of the masses yet always integrated with them.

There are two dangers Mao cautions Party members against—commandism and tailism. Commandism is the tendency for leadership to separate itself from the people and thus either to look down upon them or to over-estimate their consciousness of their condition at any particular time. These mistakes result in the arrogant issuing of commands which do not conform to the realities of people's needs. The opposite danger for Communist Party members, tailism, is the tendency to fear the taking of initiative and bold action, and therefore to fail to lead the masses, but instead 'to trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing.'

The proper relationship of the leaders to the led is referred to in China as 'the mass line' which rests on the principle 'from the masses, to the masses.'

In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses'. This means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through. And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time.[4]

Underlying the mass line is the rejection of the view prevalent in the West (though not exclusively in the West) that it is individual leaders who make history. Good leadership is seen as a necessary but by itself insufficient component of social change. The Chinese hold the conviction that all real social transformation can come about only through the efforts of the masses. Reiterating the position earlier propounded by Lenin, Mao has asserted that 'The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.'[5]

The Class Struggle in Ideology

But, it may be objected, if in China the workers and peasants are numerically so preponderant, why must they exercise a dictatorship of any kind? Won't the small classes of landowners and capitalists simply by force of the example of the proletariat (who after all are non-exclusive in that they want to eventually include everyone in their ranks) and by the sheer passage of time—won't they die a natural death? To this Marxists would answer that socialism presents a society 'not as it has *developed* on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, as it *emerges* from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges.'[6] (emphasis in original)

In China, the economic base, or infrastructure, has seen a quite rapid transformation. It has been almost completely transferred out of the hands of the former ruling classes. That is, the means of

3 Mao Tsetung, 'The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War,' *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 198.

4 Mao Tsetung, 'Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership', *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 119.

5 Mao Tsetung, 'On Coalition Government', *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 257.

6 Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (International), p. 8.

production are no longer privately owned. All major enterprises are owned either by the state or communally. Communal ownership, as typified by the large and diversified communes throughout the countryside, refers to ownership by those directly involved in the day-to-day operation of them. A commune, owned in common by its members, often numbers several tens of thousands. A higher form of ownership is ownership by the state. This is considered more advanced because the means of production are in the hands of the *entire* proletariat as a *class* and not just a *section* of the proletariat as in the case of communal ownership. But both of these forms are seen as advancements over prior ownership arrangements because the means of production are owned by those who work them rather than by the former exploiting classes. This therefore constitutes a major stride in the direction of the total public ownership of all the means of production which will characterize the future classless society.

The initial success of a socialist revolution means then that economic and political power has been seized from the hands of the former ruling classes by the exploited classes which, as in China, can happen in a relatively short period of time. Old ideas, attitudes and behaviours, on the other hand, take much longer to transform. While this is especially true of the overthrown classes, it is also, although to a lesser extent, true of the proletariat itself. Mao has expressed the Marxist view that no one is above class ideology: 'In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class.'[7] Since all the people in the new society have been part of the old society and therefore largely moulded by it, the remnants of the old cannot possibly die quickly, easily or automatically.

Marxists have repeatedly asserted that the classes which have been unseated do not take kindly to the new state of affairs. Although they no longer have control over the repressive state apparatus, their struggle to regain power will be even more energetic than was their earlier struggle to maintain it. They will use any and all possible means at their disposal because as a *class* it is a life or death struggle. If their class power dies once and for all, so dies their privileged positions. So *seizing* power is not enough according to the Chinese: it must be consolidated and held securely as well. The consolidation of a socialist system cannot simply involve a proletariat resting on the achievements of its newly established power; it cannot mean that the class struggle is over. Rather, say the Chinese, socialism can only be sustained by a newer and more conscious struggle against older exploiting ideologies, and in the process, the hitherto uncharted course of the society of the future will become clearer and more solidified.

The Chinese maintain that the transformation of ideas cannot be achieved quickly.

> *It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country. The reason is that the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals who come from the old society will remain in our country for a long time to come, and so will their class ideology. If this is not sufficiently understood, or is not understood at all, the gravest mistakes will be made and the necessity of waging the struggle in the ideological field will be ignored.*[8]

Moreover, the economic conditions of a socialist society in transition also generate inequalities which become breeding grounds for the reinforcement of bourgeois ideology. Such inequalities are unavoidable because socialism must still pay

7 Mao Tsetung, 'On Practice', *Selected Works*, Vol I, p. 296.

8 Mao Tsetung, 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People', *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tsetung*, p. 464.

wages partly in terms of labour performed rather than in terms of need alone (as will occur under communism). Thus, while socialism does away with the gross forms of exploitation that exist in capitalist society, it cannot provide immediate and full equality. In still developing countries like China where the overall technical backwardness of the economy makes the transitional period especially long and hard, it is inevitable that the potential new bourgeoisie will join forces with the older ex-ruling classes to create formidable resistance to the successful development of the new proletarian ideology.

Once the former exploiting dictatorship had been overthrown, the conduct of the class struggle therefore begins to exhibit more distinctly ideological features. This ideological struggle requires an emphasis on education and persuasion which should have definite targets and should be conducted in a reasoned and careful manner.

> *All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked. However, the criticism should be fully reasoned, analytical and convincing, and not rough, bureaucratic, metaphysical or dogmatic.*[9]

The Cultural Revolution in Theory

Class struggle of this type and in these forms has been going on in China since the beginnings of the revolutionary struggle in the countryside and, more especially, since the rectification campaigns within the Chinese Communist Party in the early 1940s. The Cultural Revolution *must* be seen as the continuation of that same class struggle. So with these few basic Marxist theories of the nature of class struggle in mind, we can now return to the questions raised earlier about the Cultural Revolution.

First, what kind of a revolution is a cultural revolution? A professor at Peking University provided part of the answer when he said that it was necessary 'to transform the superstructure and criticize bourgeois ideology.' No political or economic revolution can be secure without a corresponding revolution in the superstructure, that is, in those institutions which influence and shape the way people think. While political and economic power was in the hands of the proletariat in China in the mid-60's, the ideology of the old exploiting classes, although it had been struggled against, was by no means dead. To the contrary, it was gaining strength to the point of threatening in very fundamental ways both the political and economic power of the proletariat. The people of China are convinced that if this process had been allowed to continue unchallenged—if, in other words, there had been no Cultural Revolution—the dictatorship of the proletariat would have been eroded to the point where eventually a privileged class would have emerged victorious.

Revisionism

The return of a privileged class to power is precisely the basis of China's rejection of the direction of development in the Soviet Union which the Chinese sum up in the term 'revisionism'. Revisionism is the process of revising socialism politically, economically and ideologically, resulting in the restoration of capitalism while still proclaiming to uphold socialist principles. According to the Chinese, political power in the Soviet Union is no longer in the hands of the proletariat but has been usurped by a new privileged élite which uses its power to serve its own interest, not those of the working class. Since there is no real dictatorship of the proletariat, the means of production may be *nominally* in the hands of the working class, but the new ruling class *in practice* controls economic power as well.

9 Mao Tsetung, 'Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work', *Selected Readings*, p. 496.

This new élite has also succeeded in propagating an ideology designed to consolidate its power. Therefore, the Chinese judge that the Soviet Union in all significant respects—politically, economically and ideologically—has moved so rapidly *away* from socialism and *toward* capitalism, that in effect, there has been a restoration of capitalism.

It became clear to Mao and others that this same process was developing and gaining a firm foothold in China. The deposed exploiting classes of the recent past were winning ground in the class struggle. This was possible because their methods were subtle and covert. Since for the vast majority of the Chinese people socialism has meant an incalculable improvement in their standard of living and a political voice for the first time in their long history, the opposing classes could obviously not declare open war on the dictatorship of the proletariat. As one student put it, 'They wanted to do things harmful to the people's interests, but they knew the people would suppress them. So they didn't do things openly, in the sun; they did them secretly, in the shadows.' Only by concealing their real objectives behind the *guise of support* for that dictatorship could they conduct activities aimed at destroying it. 'They waved the red flag to oppose the red flag.'

By such techniques, the revisionist forces had fooled many people. Their success in influencing the ideological outlooks of the people was making rapid inroads into proletarian power. It was the revolutionary forces, therefore, which adopted the strategy of 'declaring war'. What was at stake was not which *individuals*, but rather which *class* would hold power. This meant that proletarian ideology had to develop to the level where the workers and peasants would see more clearly and more profoundly what their own best interests really were and not be taken in by revisionism which claimed to serve their interests but which, the Chinese say, was doing just the opposite.

The specific components of what comprises proletarian ideology in China as opposed to revisionist or bourgeois ideology are highly ramified as they affect all concrete spheres of institutional life. For the moment, however, the statement of a young peasant from Sian should suffice. 'We see the bourgeois way of life as teaching people to always think only of themselves, not of others. Every day in China we encourage each other to serve the people, to do more for society, to build our country and to do more for the whole of mankind. When someone meets with difficulties, we will try our best to help him overcome them, to do better. There is a saying in China: "To do more for the people is happiness."'

It is this way of thinking which the Chinese call proletarian ideology. And it was only by deepening such basic ideas as serving the people in the minds and actions of hundreds of millions that revisionist ideology could be effectively undermined. Nothing short of a revolution was the strategy selected to accomplish this gigantic task. Everyone in China was mobilized for this massive campaign of learning through the direct experience of class struggle and changing themselves and others accordingly.

What the Chinese said

Because of the interpretations advanced by 'China-watchers' of the day, the mere mention of the Cultural Revolution still conjures up the most vivid impressions of horror and disgust in the West. But perhaps the demon and monster image can best be exorcised by listening to what the Chinese say about the Cultural Revolution.

From their statements it becomes evident that a sharp distinction was drawn by Mao and his followers between those *leading* the revisionist forces and those being led, or, as the Chinese perceive it —being *mis*led by them. Great emphasis was put on distinguishing between

friends and enemies. Point 5 of the sixteen-point programme of the Cultural Revolution states:

> *The main target of the present movement is those* within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. *The strictest care should be taken to distinguish between the anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists and whose who support the Party and socialism but have said or done something wrong . . . The strictest care should be taken to distinguish between the reactionary bourgeois scholar despots and 'authorities' on the one hand and people who have ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other.*[10] *(emphasis added)*

This makes clear, contrary to reports at the time, that the Cultural Revolution was *not* launched against anyone and everyone. There was no randomness about it; the enemies were clearly defined. And the leaders of the enemy forces held very high positions in the Party and Government which explains why Mao issued the call to 'Bombard the Headquarters!' 'Bombard', of course, is figurative. What Mao was telling the proletariat was that only by searching the highest levels would they find the leaders of the counter-revolution. It is this small group of leaders of the counter-revolution—those who oppose socialism and want to restore capitalism—that the Chinese refer to as 'class enemies'.

Once found, however, did the leaders of the revolutionary camp urge indiscriminate violence?

> *The anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists must be fully exposed, refuted, overthrown and completely discredited and* their influence eliminated. At the same time they should be given a chance to turn over a new leaf.[11] *(emphasis added)*

Were 'mobs' of 'teen-age, slogan-drunk' shock troops designated to wage this revolution?

> *The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres form the main force in the great Cultural Revolution.* [12]

Were they to apply 'Mao-think'?

> *In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and* any method of doing things in their stead must not be used. Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative . . . . *Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things. Make the fullest use of big-character posters* and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views . . .*[13] *(emphasis added)*

Were these big-character posters and debates simply a clever ruse designed to give only the appearance of democratic participation while in reality serving the purpose of forcing blind conformity as the media in the West indicated?

> *It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.*
>
> The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. *The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be al-*

10 'Decision of the Central Committee', pp. 5-6.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
13 *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

* A big-character poster is a sign or essay that anyone can write and hang up in public places, usually on walls on the streets. It provides a channel for the expression of opinion and was widely used during the Cultural Revolution. It has since been confirmed as one of the four democratic forms, which also include freely airing one's views, making criticism and launching mass debates.

lowed to argue their case and reserve their views.

When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act.[14] *(emphasis added)*

Unity as an objective

The Chinese are aiming for unity of thought and action on those central issues that will define the direction in which they move—socialism or capitalism. Through *Time* magazine and the like we have been given the definite impression that China is a country where 'thought control' reigns supreme, where no one makes a move without Mao's say so. As the above quotations make abundantly clear, however, the people are expected to rely on themselves, use their initiative, and through full debate gradually reach agreement among themselves on the questions of *basic importance*. The last passage quoted from the Central Committee's Decision continues: 'On the premise that they have the same general orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues.'[15]

Why, though, so much emphasis on consensus and unity? As in any socialist society, in China the dictatorship of the proletariat is constantly being challenged by the old exploiting classes. They always present the threat of restoring the former dictatorship or a new one equally as exploitative and repressive of the proletariat's interests. Only by agreement among the proletariat as to what their essential interests are and how to best pursue them can the proletariat successfully combat the efforts of the exploiting classes and build a society to serve their own interests.

It is simply a matter of strategy. No army could be successful if each soldier on the battlefield made a decision by himself as to who was the enemy, how to best wage the battle, and then went his own way with his own private tactical plan. In the same sense, say the Chinese, the ongoing class struggle in China —of which the Cultural Revolution is just a high point—requires that the masses of the people, the proletariat and the increasingly proletarianized peasantry be able to identify the enemy, recognize his plans of attack, and act as a unit against him. There are only two differences in this analogy between war as we generally define it and the class struggle as waged in China during the Cultural Revolution. First, the battles in the Cultural Revolution did not aim at the physical elimination of the enemy. Second, while there were people who rose to leadership positions at all levels and in all arenas of the struggle, their leadership did not consist of issuing orders for underlings to obey regardless of the extent of understanding or agreement. Unity was to be reached through discussion.

The Cultural Revolution in Practice

It may be acknowledged that these were the *guidelines*, but the further question arises—how was the Cultural Revolution conducted *in practice*? All indications I received were that the guidelines did in fact constitute the characteristic features of the Cultural Revolution. In response to questions about the extent of violence, a young factory worker from Shanghai, who is presently studying English in Canada and who actively participated in the Cultural Revolution as a Red Guard, stressed that 'it was a revolution by *mouth*, not by force; by *words*, not by guns. The Cultural Revolution was a very big movement throughout the country in which millions of people took part.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

We went to different parts of the country, many cities and communes. Through these visits we learned much about the country and the people. We discussed all kinds of problems and questions; we read articles and wrote big-character posters. We debated with each other. You know, there are different opinions among people on everything. I think everything has two sides; so if you want to solve a problem you must have a discussion; there must be a debate. This is unavoidable.

'Chairman Mao once said to the Red Guards, "You must be concerned about the country's affairs. You must fight selfishness and criticize revisionism." This is what inspired us and this is what we did in the Cultural Revolution. I never saw any violence, but I did hear that there was some. Most people tried to heed Chairman Mao's words. There were a few people, however, who grasped the chance to do bad things. They were opposed to socialism. They were the class enemies of the people. Because all the country took part in the movement and everyone was very busy, they thought that would be a good time to cause trouble. But their tricks were usually discovered by the people before long, and they were prevented from doing too much damage.'

In order for Westerners to correct distorted images of China inherited from the past and to a lesser extent still being perpetrated, it must be reiterated that by 'preventing class enemies from doing damage', the Chinese do not mean doing violence to them. In fact, as the Shanghai worker indicated, *criticism* of revisionism, *discussion*, *debate*—these were the weapons in the arsenal of the revolutionary camp. In discussing this question, the Chinese consistently assert that those who followed Mao's line carried out the slogan 'Use persuasion, not violence,' and that whatever violence there was *instigated* by the advocates of revisionism. They never claim, however, that everyone who *participated* in violence was revisionist. This view maintains that some good revolutionaries were, for a time, duped by the revisionists into committing violence against fellow revolutionaries, but that they soon saw their mistake and united with the revolutionary forces.

Since many observers date the start of the Cultural Revolution with the appearance of the first big-character poster at Peking University in May 1966 and since much of the activity during the Cultural Revolution emanated from educational institutions the full interview on the subject with the professor quoted earlier—a professor at Peking University since the start of the Cultural Revolution—might shed more light on the course this Revolution took.

'What happened at Peking University during the Cultural Revolution?'

'Because of the advocacy of the Liu Shao-chi revisionist line, class struggle at the University was very strong. We saw that we would have to transform the superstructure and criticize bourgeois ideology. Following the call of the Party, our school had big-character posters. They were published in newspapers and broadcast on radio. Nearly all the students and teachers were active in exposing the revisionist line. The old administration and Party Committee (of the University) couldn't play the same role. In its place we set up a new organization, a Cultural Revolutionary Committee elected by the masses.* It included students, teachers and workers at the University. In the early stages of this Committee it led the revolutionary masses. It organized Red Guards to go everywhere throughout the country. But because those in power still had capitalist ideas, they could not as Chairman Mao says, "divide themselves into two." So they couldn't absorb the criticism of the masses.

'Many factions developed which then coalesced into two. The leaders of these

* The term 'masses' in China can refer to the people of a particular unit, in this case Peking University. Or it can refer to all the ordinary working people. The latter is sometimes expressed by the term 'broad masses'.

two factions gradually became divorced from the masses. The orientation, however, was really the same for both. Each faction thought of themselves as revolutionary and the other as reactionary. They called each other "Kuomintang". They didn't see their own bourgeois ideas.'

'Did they engage in violence?'

'The struggle was very complicated. The young students had revolutionary enthusiasm but lacked the experience of class struggle. So they were easily deceived by bad elements which stirred up dissension. Each faction always thought of themselves as completely right and the others as completely wrong. They attacked each other and called each other names. At first the attacks were only oral. Later they became physical. The reason for the fighting was that the bad elements convinced the students that that was the only way to be a true revolutionary. They said, "Get ready to fight because they will fight you."'

'How widespread was the fighting?'

'Those who participated in the fighting were very few in number. Most disagreed with this method and urged for discussion. Out of approximately 10,000 students, 2,000 teachers and several thousand workers, only one to two hundred took part in any fighting, about one per cent.'

'How was it resolved?'

'After Chairman Mao issued the call for the working class to give leadership to everything, the workers' teams entered the University. They did much to solve these questions. Through patient discussion and persuasion they made it clear that the two factions had the same orientation. Both of them were basically revolutionary, but both of them were making the same errors. Therefore, they must each criticize *themselves first*. Under the influence of the workers, the students did self-criticisms and returned to class. They 'made revolution in their classes.' Very good friends who had been treating each other as enemies now started to recognize their own mistakes, and they became friends again.'

The Class Struggle Continues

Transformation constitutes the present stage of the Cultural Revolution. Most people outside China have come to identify the Cultural Revolution solely with the 1966-69 period. While that was its height, the most spectacular years, the Cultural Revolution is yet to be completed. To see the Cultural Revolution as a series of events that took place *only* during those years is to miss the profound and, from all appearances, enduring effects it has had and continues to have on the lives of the people. The years since are a time of consolidation—discussing and digesting the lessons of that period—and, no less important, of transformation—implementing new forms appropriate to the new consciousness. Consolidation and transformation have so far resulted in many changes in China. In the years to come we can look for further changes resulting from this Cultural Revolution.

Nor does the Cultural Revolution mark the end of class struggle in China. The Chinese have a profound sense of process. The class struggle, they maintain, has been with us since time immemorial and will not end until there is an end to classes *worldwide*. They caution each other that the Cultural Revolution must not be mistaken as even closely approaching the final battle in the class struggle. Without belittling its significance, they see it as merely one of many high points in the ongoing class struggle.

Consistent with the analysis of Lenin, the Chinese hold that in the age of imperialism it is impossible to achieve classlessness in one society. Imperialism has given rise to a capital class that operates on all frontiers, and this class will continue its efforts to make and maintain inroads into *all* countries as long as it exists as a class. Thus no revolution is

secure until all exploiting classes everywhere have been eliminated.

This analysis has led many outsiders to claim that China is expansionist and 'exports revolution'. The Chinese, to the contrary, claim that *real* revolution can only be made by the people concerned, that no one else can do it for them. A visitor to China who spoke to a number of officials on this point reports their position: 'We have always believed . . . that revolution cannot be exported. The people of each country must rely on their own correct line in winning. Only by creating their own revolution, depending primarily on themselves, can a people truly gain freedom.[16] The Chinese Government has meticulously applied its Five Principles of Co-existence with other countries since they were first put forth in 1955: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; mutual non-aggression; mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence.

Internally, the long-range view of class struggle looks ahead to more cultural revolutions on the horizon.

> *The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future . . . . No one in the Party or among the people in our country should think that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or three or four.*[17]

We are now in a position to summarize answers to the initial questions posed about the Cultural Revolution. Mao and his followers recognized that old ideas do not die easily. They decided to launch the Cultural Revolution when they saw the tremendous influence of revisionist ideology that was growing in all quarters. If the ideology of the people were to continue to develop along this road, the economic control of the proletariat over the means of production and therefore their political power, their dictatorship, would likely be undermined and eventually defeated. The revisionist forces were waging a vigorous class struggle, and if the proletariat failed to recognize this and failed to fight back with equal vigour, the Chinese people would have faced the defeat of socialism, and ended up with a social system similar to that which exists in the Soviet Union, and which they consider runs directly contrary to socialist principles. The situation was thought by the revolutionary leaders to be of serious enough proportions to warrant a full-scale mobilization of the population; the people had to see and grapple with revisionist (bourgeois) ideology first hand if they were to understand it, and to thoroughly criticize and repudiate it. Only by such means would they heighten their consciousness and deepen proletarian ideology. None of these objectives would have been achieved if Mao had defined this problem as capable of solution merely through 'inner-Party struggle'. The problem was great; the path chosen for solving it had to be equal to the problem. That is why Mao and his followers arrived at no less a strategy than revolution, including the whole people.

Revisionism emanated from and was directed by those holding high positions in the Government and Party who were therefore in positions to wield considerable influence. The Cultural Revolution similarly emanated from and was directed by others, the revolutionary forces, in equally as important positions. In launching this revolution, Mao saw the potential danger of the masses dissipating their energy *solely* on the criticism and repudiation of officials and leaders in lesser positions. Because revisionist leaders existed at all levels, this was seen as a necessary part of the process, but by itself not sufficient. The leaders of the counter-revolution had to be recognized for what they were and rooted out. This is why Mao directed the

16 Jack Smith, *Unite the Many, Defeat the Few: China's Revolutionary Line in Foreign Affairs.* (A Guardian Pamphlet), p. 34.

17 Circular of the Central Committee, p. 46.

masses to bombard the headquarters.

The successful defeat of the leading advocates of revisionism marks the success of the Cultural Revolution. Through this success, the earlier successes in the transformation of political and economic structures have been made more secure, though by no means safe for all times, as the Chinese themselves recognize. Revolutions had already been won in these spheres. The danger was not there, as much as it was in the developing ideas of narrow self-interest at the expense of the class or collective interests of the great majority. Unchallenged, however, such ideas would have eventually undone economic and political gains, because people would have increasingly put the revisionist ideas of 'self first' into practice.

So top priority in this phase of the class struggle was not to change political or economic structures as such, but rather those institutions that most completely, directly and immediately shape ideas—education, literature, art, the popular media, etc. Making the superstructure the focal point of intense class struggle—in other words, having a *cultural* revolution represents an entirely new development in the theory and practice of socialist revolution.

This historically unprecedented and perhaps first of many such revolutions in China is called the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is considered *great* because of the breadth of people it encompasses and the depth of ideas and practices it challenges; considered *proletarian* because that is the class which leads the struggle and in whose interests it is waged; considered *cultural* because culture in the broadest sense of the superstructure is the arena of the struggle; and considered *revolution* because it is a thoroughgoing attack on and overthrow of the ideological power of a potentially exploiting class.

Hu Shih and the May 4th Movement*

Yu Chiu-yu

I

In 1900, the imperialist powers Japan, Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France, Austria, Italy and Germany joined forces to invade China. Together with the reactionary Manchu Government, they suppressed the heroic 'Yi Ho Tuan' (Boxers) movement. After massacring and looting Chinese people, they further demanded 45 millions taels of silver as 'war indemnity'.

However, the Chinese people were undaunted in face of the plunder of the imperialists, and their spirit of resistance burned even brighter, to the dismay of the plunderers. In 1906, an imperialist who had been active in China for many years proposed to the American Government that, by allocating the 'war indemnity' to a scholarship fund to send Chinese students to the US, the US Government could produce a group of 'talents' who would be loyal in the service of US aggression in China—indeed a clever way of controlling the development of China and its leadership.

In other words, this was a proposal to make use of the money seized at gun point in exchange for things that could not be won by guns. This scheme of cultural aggression was soon approved by the US Government and was launched in 1909.

A Young Man in the Dark

In July 1910, a list of the successful contestants for the 'indemnity' scholarships of that year was posted in Shihchia Hutung, a street in Peking. Crowds gathered around the notice-board all day and it was not until night time that they dispersed. Then, a speeding rickshaw suddenly stopped in front of the notice-board. Out jumped a youth in his twenties, who, after making sure there was no one around, went up nervously to the notice. With the help of a rickshaw light, he read the list of names from the bottom upwards, and gave a sigh of relief at the sight of the name 'Hu Shih'. Smirking with satisfaction, he stepped into the rickshaw and was again on his way.

He was Hu Hung-hsing. He gave himself the name of Hu Shih for the purpose of this examination.

Hu Shih was born of a bureaucrat-merchant-landlord family in the province of Anhwei. After nine years of feudal education in his home village, he found himself in Shanghai in 1904. There he studied for some time, and then did some teaching. During this period, he acquired a fair measure of the ideology of the comprador capitalists, and

* This is a translation, with some minor omissions, of an article entitled 'Hu Shih Before and After the May 4th Movement' which appeared a year ago in *Xuexi yu Pipan*, a theoretical journal published by Futan University in Shanghai.

found 'truth' in the writings of capitalist reformists, namely that the Chinese nation was inferior to the Western nations. He worshipped the imperialist 'adventurers' he came into contact with, striving to imitate them in every way. Later, he became a close friend of a German teacher who shared practically everything with him—from drinking and gambling to prostitute-seeking. One night in the spring of 1910, Hu got drunk and was thrown into jail for getting into a brawl.

After being castigated and fined five dollars for the offence, he was freed. While nursing his wounds, Hu Shih stared at the bruised face in his mirror with remorse. A line from a poem crossed his mind: 'Heaven must have some design for a talent such as mine.' This, reportedly, was what inspired him to great expectations, marking a turning point in his life. After considerable thought, he decided that the ideal step for him to take was to study in the United States. He thereupon locked himself in and buried his head in books for a month in preparation for the examination.

But alas, there were other worries: if he failed, wouldn't he become the laughing stock of his friends and relatives? In order to 'save face' in such a case, he finally decided to change his name for the examination. His brother, a merchant, suggested the word 'Shih' which means 'fit', inspired by the theory of the 'survival of the fittest'. Hu was delighted with the suggestion. To him, this examination was the gamble of his lifetime, and the pressure it bore on him was so great that he dared not come to see the results in daytime. It surprised him that his essay on 'What Confucius said' had been given full marks. Therefore, although he was not good in the other subjects, he managed to squeeze his way up to the 55th place among 70 contestants, and became one among the group chosen for study in the US.

Thus began the making of an imperialist protege.

The Golden World

On August 16, 1910, Hu Shih left Shanghai and headed for the US to begin his studies in agriculture at Cornell University.

America, in the early 20th century, had become an outright imperialist country. Lenin once said with insight: 'On one side there is a small number of ruthless millionaires drowning themselves in a hedonistic lifestyle, while on the other side, the masses of proletariat are struggling for survival.' But, in the eyes of Hu Shih, this land was the 'golden world'. He fell head over heels in love with everything American, especially the 'materialistic culture' of capitalism built on the blood and sweat of the working people. He extolled the glamour of American life, such as family picnics in spacious parks and sparkling evening gowns at dinner parties. It did not take long for Hu to draw a conclusion: 'In this land, there is nothing that cannot be accomplished by the wisdom of man.'

Apparently, Hu was not interested in studying agriculture. Instead, he was working hard on getting 'Americanized'. He recalled that, the first time he attended a football match, he was shocked by the crude manners of the crowds. He felt that such behaviour was 'below the dignity of college students.' However, his timidity was soon overwhelmed by the enthusiasm of the throng and he too joined in the cheering. In his own words, 'it was the spirit and optimism of the Americans' that had loosened his restraints. In fact, his nine years of education in Confucianism was gradually being thawed by a bourgeois comprador ideology.

In his third year in the US, Hu switched from agriculture to Liberal Arts. He believed that the Philosophy Department at Cornell was the 'stronghold of idealism' and he further moulded his reactionary political philosophy under this influence. On his graduation in 1914, Hu composed a song entitled 'The Sleeping

Beauty—the Future of My Motherland' which laid bare his attachment to American imperialism and his own comprador philosophy. In the song, China was depicted as the 'Sleeping Beauty' who was awakened by a knight who later married her. At her awakening from her long sleep the 'beauty' found that the outside world had changed. She sent her servants out for new clothes, and the happy ending came when she dressed herself up in the latest fashion, and hailed the knight with 'Long live my lord!'

Obviously, American imperialism was the lord, and China was 'married' or, more exactly, 'sold' to him. This had obviously become Hu's dream for his country, and for the realization of that dream Hu Shih throughout his life willingly served as one of the 'servants' who bought the mistress her new dresses.

Opposing Patriotic Students

A month after Hu completed the song, the Japanese imperialists made their '21 Demands' on China in January 1915. It was part of their frantic attempt to dominate China—politically and economically—while the Western powers were preoccupied with their own war.

The unreasonable demands of the Japanese aroused tremendous outrage among the Chinese people. Chinese students in America called special discussion groups on the matter and despatched protest telegrams, hoping to find a way to save their country. Hu received a notice to such a meeting on March 1 but he walked out in the middle of the session and left a note saying: 'We are so far away from the motherland, and there is pitifully nothing we can do to help her. Squabbling can serve no purpose but will only distract us from our studies. Sending letters and telegrams cannot help our troubled country. We'd better handle the matter calmly.'

However, people did not listen to his advice, and the patriotic activities continued. Hu, angered, published 'An Open Letter to Overseas Chinese Intellectuals' in English, publicly accusing his fellow students engaged in the patriotic activities of being 'senseless and close to madness.' According to him, the correct way was to 'fulfil our duty—to study.'

This public letter met with strong opposition from the Chinese students in the US. People criticized Hu for being 'heartless' and furtively working for a 'merger between Japan and China.'

While this heated argument was going on, Yuan Shih-hai, whose ambition was to become the new emperor of China, continued to look to the imperialists for support. With the approval of the US Government, he put his signature to the '21 Demands'. Immediately, Hu exalted this action as having set 'an unprecedented' example in China's diplomacy. In her dealings with Japan, he said, China had held a correct understanding of herself and her enemy and she was cautious and firm, flexible yet unbending. Hu said that his optimism had not been dented. Amidst the anger and indignation of the Chinese people, he wrote a paper on 'Optimism', which won him a prize of US$50.

Hu's attitude towards the '21 Demands' further exposed his reactionary political position. Some overseas students began to publicly label him a 'traitor' and Hu, in order to curry favour with the imperialists, shamelessly recorded this in his memoirs.

From Pragmatism to Literary Reform

That same autumn, Hu moved on to Columbia University to study philosophy. The department was then headed by John Dewey, whose pragmatism soon became Hu's professed faith.

Pragmatism negates the objective existence of matter, negates the objective truth and believes that truth is only a 'convenient tool' to 'deal with the environment.' This reactionary, subjective trend

of philosophy inevitably leads to the advocacy of imperialism and reformism in opposition to people's revolutionary movements. Hu Shih realized that the most practical tool to stop the revolution in China was to adopt pragmatism and get China 'married' to the knight of American imperialism as soon as possible.

'Mr Dewey taught me how to think,' Hu often said devoutly. He plunged headlong into the study of pragmatism and acted according to it. The first action he took was to apply pragmatism to literature. However, the ancient style of Chinese writing was neither practical nor suitable for propagating pro-Western comprador ideology and culture. In February 1916, Hu had an 'inspiration'—he was determined to promote the vernacular Chinese.

Hu Shih began to draw other Chinese students abroad into discussions on the difference between the 'dead literature' and the 'living literature'. Letters and poems written in the new style were frequently exchanged and it soon became a fad. Among Chinese students overseas there were some die-hard feudalists such as Mei Kuang-ti who opposed Hu's ideas. A debate in light vein ensued between them, through which Hu gained much publicity. There were others who were dissatisfied with Hu's focusing on the style of writing rather than its content. For example, one of Hu's friends wrote him: 'It is useless to argue on the difference in styles.'

This 'friend' of Hu's who wished that Hu would concentrate on content rather than form was a little too naive. For the comprador bourgeois class, like the imperialists, was in no mood to bring any thorough change to the feudalist culture and ideology. In the interest of their class, the anti-feudalism of the bourgeois comprador could only propose some reform in the style of feudalistic writing. By pushing for gradual reform, Hu Shih was smarter than Mei and in knowing how to confine such a reform to what his class interests could allow, Hu was more cunning than his 'friend'.

What then was the extent of Hu Shih's 'literary reform'? He explained:

In the written language, there is no difference between the old and new, but the living and the dead.

The ancients called it 'yu' (desire), we call it 'yao'.

The ancients called it 'chih' (arrive), we call it 'tao'.

The ancients called it 'niao' (urinate), we call it 'niao' (a different character but the same pronunciation as for the first 'niao'—Translator).

That was all there was to it!

Up to this point, Hu was only sowing his seed among the Chinese students in the US. But his real concern was inside China. Subsequently, he wrote to the editor of the *New Youth* magazine in October of 1916, and made his eight-point suggestions for literary reform. His article on 'Preliminary Recommendations for Literary Reform' was published in the January 1917 issue of *New Youth*. The eight points he raised were that literature should (1) have content, (2) not copy ancient scholars, (3) be grammatically correct, (4) not make empty complaints, (5) avoid cliches, (6) not use classical allusions, (7) not adopt the classical couplets, and (8) not avoid colloquial expressions.

Later on, he named these eight points the 'eight don'ts'. According to Hu, their sole purpose was 'to create a national literary style for China.' So what Hu meant by literary reform was nothing more than the adoption of the vernacular, or *paihua*.

When Hu's article incorporating his recommendations for literary reform was published, the cultural and ideological front in China was undergoing a significant change. A few bourgeois democrats who had experienced the failure of the 1911 Revolution began to see the need for an ideological revolution for the reform of the 'national character'. They

were against the traditional values and culture of feudalism as represented by Confucianism. At the beginning of 1917, Tsai Yuan-pei, a liberal, became the Rector of Peking University. He appointed Chen Tu-hsiu, a bourgeois progressive, as the Dean of Liberal Arts and Li Ta-chao, the librarian. Tsai requested Chen to continue the publication of the year-old magazine *New Youth* at the university. Thus with *New Youth* and the Liberal Arts Department as a centre, a cultural movement was initiated. The emergence of Hu's article coincided with these developments but it served an entirely different purpose. He was only active in the promotion of *paihua*, despite his later claims that he and several Chinese students in the US had first conceived the movement. It is quite incredible that such a movement could have been conceived by someone living thousands of miles away.

Homecoming

In May 1917, Hu was completing his studies in the United States. He was very busy at that time discussing *paihua* and making speeches everywhere. He talked about 'how American assistance could help the development of China', and appealed to the imperialists to send more aid. At the same time, he was working on his doctoral thesis: 'History of the Progress of Ancient Chinese Philosophical Methodology.'

On May 22, after going through a two-hour oral examination conducted by Dewey, Hu Shih obtained his Ph.D. Upon the fulfilment of his life's dream, Hu was prepared to go home. On May 29, he went to say good-bye to Dewey. The teacher said, 'My concern for international affairs far surpasses other matters. If you ever write any papers on the Far East situation, mail them to me. I'll place them in appropriate publications.' Immensely grateful, Hu noted this down in his diary.

He left New York on June 9 and returned to Ithaca, where he had first landed in America. He met a great number of friends who were like 'relatives and brothers to him.' Hu wrote of his departure with moving sentiments: 'My home town is where my friends are. Most of my friends are in America. I am leaving my home town and returning to my parents' country, but I cannot tell whether I'm bitter or happy about this trip.'

Nevertheless, the journey home had to be made. Otherwise all the expectations the imperialists had in him would be in vain. On the 21st of that same month, he boarded the *Japanese Queen* for home.

Aboard the ship, he met a Japanese who told him that a British publisher was about to publish an 'Everyman's Library' in which two well-known Chinese works were to be included. He asked Hu for some suggestions. Hu immediately answered: 'Writings of Confucius should be the first choice, and they should include *'The Book of Odes*, the *Four Classics* and the *Book on Filial Duties*.'

'Would you like to be the translator and editor?' the man asked. 'Of course,' Hu promised eagerly, 'This is an important task and it is valuable for education.' This became his first academic assignment after he left the United States.

The weather was gloomy and it was not until two weeks after he first boarded the ship that the moon appeared. In the moonlight Hu composed a poem in the traditional Chinese style which ended: 'Talking to myself by the railing, I ask myself where indeed my homeland is.' He was not sure whether America or China was his homeland. He almost let slip the sentence: 'I am not a Chinese.'

II

Life as a Professor

Hu Shih arrived in Shanghai on July 10, 1917, and was given a teaching post

in Peking University two months later. At the end of the year he returned to his home village to get married, and afterwards took his bride to Peking.

As he travelled up and down the country, all he could feel was dissatisfaction.

He was dissatisfied, not because China was geeting deeper and deeper into the mire of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism, and not because the burden of the Chinese people was getting heavier and heavier. It was for a totally different reason.

He browsed through the English books in Shanghai bookstores, but discovered they were all on subjects dated before the 19th century, totally 'unrelated to the new trends of thought in Europe and America.'

He once came across an English language teacher who had not even heard of the names of some contemporary American and European writers.

In his home town he met a secondary school student who was not only unfamiliar with the English alphabet, but could not even tell the difference between English and Japanese. . . .

All this depressed Hu Shih: for China to adopt the 'new thinking in the West' preached by Dewey seemed to be an impossible task! The realization of his pet theory of China married to the United States was still far away!

He vowed that for the next 20 years he would wash his hands of politics, and devote his time to the casting of a new base for art and culture in China. In other words, he would first build up a cultural base for the comprador bourgeois ideology before he unveiled the political motives behind it.

Thus Hu Shih appeared as a 'young scholar' on the platform of Peking University. His essays on cultural reform had attracted some youths at the time.

Hu Shih was the professor of the history of Chinese philosophy. This course was originally taught by Chen Po-tao. But his method was so outdated and boring that the students almost died of ennui. Hu Shih was different. He was much more aware of the fact that philosophical history could serve the purpose of the 'struggle' of the time. Right after he took over the course, he drew up a new curriculum and concentrated on the philosophical schools in the periods of 'Spring and Autumn' and 'Warring States'. His exposition was more lucid and down-to-earth than Chen's, which was indeed a refreshing experience for his students.

But actually, what Hu Shih taught was only a distorted version of Chinese philosophy. For example, on the two-line struggle of the period in the field of philosophy, he consistently sided with Confucianism to denounce Legalism. Rounding off his lectures on Confucianism, he said passionately:

'After reading the material we have on Confucius, I can't help feeling admiration for his spirit and vitality. He was rich in historical, cultural and artistic precepts, and from the work he has done we can tell that he was indeed a great and broad-minded man.'

But what Hu reserved for the school of Legalism was far from admiration. He attacked it as extreme utilitarianism and was especially vicious against the suppression of Confucians and the destruction of their books carried out by Chin Shih-huang, the first emperor of China, himself a Legalist.

In order to widen his influence, Hu Shih compiled and published a year later his lectures in book form under the title *An Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy, Volume One.*

(*Continued in next issue*)

Soviet 'Aid' and 'Assistance' as Seen from the Sudan

Immediately after Sudan's proclamation of independence in 1956, diplomatic relations with the USSR were established. Before that and after, the people of the Sudan looked with admiration to the Soviet Union, the land of Lenin, the great and the first country in the world to establish socialism. But as time passed and particularly after 1961/62, the red star over the Kremlin began to attract less and less people as its bright colour began to dim! To prove the truth of this and how it happened in our country, we shall examine Sudan-Soviet relations during three periods.

1958-1964

Before 1958, the Sudan had only formal diplomatic relations with the USSR. There was no trade or other agreement between the two countries. In 1958 M. J. Abboud came to power through a military coup. During his six years of rule, Abboud held the country wide open to foreign monopoly capital and brought in a large number of American 'experts' to exercise control over all government units.

The first economic agreement between the USSR and the Sudan was signed in 1961 when L. Brezhnev paid a visit to the Sudan on invitation by M. J. Abboud. It was stipulated in that agreement that the USSR should set up some factories and granaries for the Sudan. A loan of 20 million roubles was offered for the construction of these projects. The Sudan was to provide 15 million Sudanese pounds in addition. Granaries were set up in Gadarif and Port Sudan in the eastern part of the country. Two fruit and vegetable canning factories were set up, one in Wau in the Southern province and the other in Karima in the Northern province. A milk products factory was set up in Babanousa in the Western province. In addition, an onion dehydration factory was set up in Kasala in the Eastern province.

Now let us examine how this 'industrial base' works!

In the official Bank of the Sudan's 13th Annual Report issued on December 31, 1972, we find the following figures and facts:

Production of Wau Fruit and Vegetable Canning Factory Counted in Tins

1969/70	972,000
1970/71	7,520,000
1971/72	2,268,000

Production of Karima Fruit and Vegetable Canning Factory Counted in Tins

1970/71	11,937,000
1971/72	6,780,000

Babanousa Milk Products Factory

1971/72	31,732 kilos

The factory did not produce cheese or butter last season and at this time the factory is used to grind karcade (hibiscus) and gum Arabic!

Kasala Onion Dehydration Factory

1968/69	216 tons
1971/72	140 tons

During the 1971/72 season, the Karima Canning Factory stopped production for lack of spare parts which were supposed to come from Moscow. As a result, the price of mangoes fell sharply to the level of 5 milliems for a dozen (One Sudanese pound is almost equal to a pound sterling and is divided into one thousand mil-

liems). At that time a mango was sold in Khartoum for almost 15 piastres or nearly 50 US cents. Many farmers went bankrupt and some of them felled their mango trees.

The Milk Products Factory is situated in the Western province in an area inhabited by nomad cattle breeders. During autumn, the nomads move from their original settlement to faraway districts in search of grass to feed their animals. To get the milk for the factory, trucks are sent after nomao herds to those faraway places. This raised the cost of production a great deal. Last summer, when I paid a visit to Babanousa, there was no milk in tea shops and the price of milk was almost five piastres.

At a conference of architects and engineers held recently in Khartoum, it was recalled that Soviet experts insisted on setting up factories with reinforced concrete in places like the western part of the country where water is very scarce. Though they were reminded by Sudanese architects of the difficulties that might arise, they still insisted on carrying out their plans. As a result the country had to pay much more than necessary for the establishment of those factories.

1964-1969

M. J. Abboud was toppled by mass action in 1964 and the revisionists in the Sudan had the upper hand. The Soviets appeared again on the scene and expressed their full support to the new regime. In 1965 they signed a trade protocol with the Sudan Government. The protocol stipulated that the USSR would build a hospital and a veterinary research centre in the Sudan. When war broke out in the Middle East in 1967, they sold the Sudanese army some weapons.

From 1965 up to now, neither the promised hospital nor the research centre has been completed. As for the quality of weapons they sold to the Sudan, one can say without fear of contradiction that it was of the lowest quality. President Nimerie, who took power in 1969, said in a public speech that for those weapons no spare parts had been supplied, and he was ready to sell them back at half their original prices.

1969-1972

After President Nimerie took over power, both the Soviets and their followers inside the country declared their full support to the new Government. In the same year an agreement between the Sudan and the USSR was signed. According to this agreement Soviet experts were to prospect for minerals in the Sudan and help in the preparation of the Five-Year Plan (1970-1975). Now let us see what achievements had been attained by Soviet experts in these fields.

According to *Sudan el Gadid*, the leader of a Soviet delegation has said: 'We have chosen a very important area in the Sudan, that is the Red Sea area. Here we have begun work and extended a loan of five million roubles. For more than two years Soviet experts have been working together with their colleagues.' He said that they were prospecting for hard metals like iron, copper and gold. When a reporter asked him about the samples of gold they had sent to the Soviet Union for processing, and suggested that it might be more profitable to process those metals in the Sudan, the Soviet official answered: 'In my opinion metallurgy will be a costly thing, and in my opinion, since these metals are close to the port, it will be more profitable to export them.' He continued to say that 'establishing heavy industries requires very big funds, and we think the development of a vegetable and fruit industry will be a very useful thing for you because these are abundant and can be intensified and diversified as well.'

Now let us see what had been achieved by the Five Years Plan drawn up by the Soviet experts. Or, at least let us examine what is stipulated in that plan?

The Five Years Plan sets the following targets:

a) Emancipation of the economy;
b) Bring prosperity;
c) Development of cultural, educational and health services.

While the above-mentioned are the declared targets of the plan, a study of the content of the plan proves quite the contrary.

According to the plan, Sudan's foreign trade would be tied completely to the Soviet Union and its East European satellites. As stipulated in the plan the volume of Sudan's trade with 'socialist' countries would be expanded and from them the Sudan would increase its import of machinery, timber cloth, ready-made clothes and sugar. This will constitute 44.3

per cent of the Sudan's total imports by the end of 1975. Thus the Sudan's economy would not only be far away from emancipation, but on the contrary would be controlled by Soviet social imperialism.

According to the plan, if the Sudan should be self-sufficient in flour, wheat, milk and milk products, canned fruits and vegetables, it would save some 6 million pounds. But facts have shown that this cannot be easily achieved, since production of most of these items is deteriorating under Soviet technique and planning.

At present, in official statistics on the direction of trade, we find the following:

Percentage Share of Main Suppliers

	1969	1970	1971	1972
USSR	4.9	8.6	6.8	4.5
Other 'socialist countries'		8.4	9.6	7.7

Percentage Share of Main Customers

	1969	1970	1971	1972
USSR	4.5	15.7	16.1	0.4
Other 'socialist countries'	8.6	6.7	7.8	7.7

The apparent decline in the volume of trade between the Sudan on the one hand and the USSR and its satellites on the other appears like a contradiction since it was supposed to rise as envisaged in the Five Years Plan. But this did not happen, since a major change in political relations had taken place between the Sudan and the USSR. In July 1971, when the Sudan's revisionist party organized their abortive military coup, the government dealt them a telling blow and some 'socialist' diplomatic missions were accused of being involved in the coup in one form or another.

Thus the decline in the volume of trade was meant to bring pressure to bear on the Sudanese Government to bring it down on its knees. But little has been achieved by such brazen blackmail!

During the whole of the last ten years, with all the bombastic statements about assisting and helping developing countries, the USSR offered the Sudan only two loans, one of 20 million roubles at a 2 per cent rate of interest, devoted to projects which have since proved failures, and the other is of two million roubles at 2.5 per cent rate of interest. But the real aim behind these two loans was not at all for helping the Sudan, but for justifying the presence of the so-called Soviet experts in the strategic areas of the Red Sea region and other parts of the country.

The plan talks about bringing prosperity to the Sudan. But when we closely examine the steps stipulated in the plan, we find the following facts:

According to the plan the export of cotton should rise during the five years by 0.6 per cent. The export of meat should be 3.4 per cent more. Cooking oil export will increase by 0.5 per cent, and metals export will be increased by 0.3 per cent.

While the plan envisaged these increases, it envisaged a decrease in the export of the following items:

Export of groundnuts will decrease by 0.9 per cent
Export of sesame will decrease by 3.7 per cent
Export of gum Arabic will decrease by 2.7 per cent
Export of oil cakes will decrease by 1.1 per cent.

This suffices to show what kind of prosperity the Soviet experts had in store for the Sudan and the Sudanese people!

As for the 'development' of cultural, educational and health services, all the stipulations in the plan in these fields were scrapped by the Sudanese authorities when the plan was revised, because they were not in line with the demands of the broad masses of the people.

The revision of the plan, which was considered a complete failure, was accompanied by the sacking from office of the Vice Minister of Planning and his assistant together with the Minister of Planning himself. The President of the Republic himself declared in public that the whole thing was child's play and the interests of the country were not taken into consideration when the plan was drawn up by Soviet 'experts'.

A. M. Kheir

A. M. Kheir is a Sudanese poet and journalist.

Chinese Labourers to New South Wales

Alan Dwight

As with the Indians there were strong factors acting against Chinese emigration —attachment to the soil and the custody of the family—past and present. And Imperial law made it an offence to leave 'the Middle Country'. This developed as early as the Han dynasty; Emperor Yuan-ti is reported to have said, 'It is instinctive for our subjects to be content with the soil and be cautious of migration.'[1]

Yet it is clear that migration from Southeast China took place for centuries despite imperial condemnation. There were urgent imperatives—population pressures on resources, famines, droughts, floods, pestilence, landlord exploitation and political upheavals. Fukien, Kwangtung and, to a much lesser extent, Kwangsi were the main centres of emigration. In the early 1850's most Chinese migrants to Australia came from Amoy in Fukien which had limited arable land and recurrent floods on the densely populated alluvial plains. The area, like Kwangtung, was rarely self-sufficient in rice.

Officials appear to have turned a blind eye to an emigration which they could not prevent and from which they often profited through bribes. They did not interfere as long as the recruits were poor and without influential relatives who could stir up trouble.

Labour recruits were often obtained as the result of debts incurred because of crop failure, gambling or opium. Crimps used various forms of deceit. Trade winds drove junks, overcrowded with merchants and recruits, to Penang which was reached in January or February after a journey that could last 40 days. Bargaining proceeded between merchant and employer, leisurely over cups of fragrant tea. An artisan might sell for 15 dollars, a coolie's price could be as low as two or three dollars if old or ill. Recruits may generally have expected to return home with wealth; many never gained even the passage money to return—sometimes because of addiction to gambling or opium (both of which were often encouraged by employers).

The first plan to gain coolies for Australia was not directly from China. G. F. Davison advertised in Sydney newspapers that his brother in Singapore could obtain coolies soon after their arrival there.[2] Australian colonists had long considered Asia 'the most natural source to which we can turn for an ample supply of industrious shepherds.'[3] And so they were interested in Davison's 1837 advertisements which praised the Chinese as 'hardworking and industrious', capable of skilled as well as general work. Forty

1 *The Han Records*, IX. Quoted in Ta Chen, *Chinese Migrations*, with Special Reference to Labour Conditions (Washington, 1923), p. 4.
2 *Sydney Herald*, June 12, 1837.
3 *Sydney Gazette*, February 3, 1842.

employers subscribed £7,000 to obtain 600 males. Newspaper criticism was aimed mostly at the moral danger of only importing males. Apparently the Chinese migrations were missed in 1838 and 1839 and the subscription money was returned.

Extension of Coolie Traffic

In 1841 Mauritius planters managed to obtain 160 Chinese labourers from Singapore and this led to demands from Australian employers, especially when they heard that the Mauritius legislature was subsidizing the import. The *Australasian Chronicle*—consistently hostile to the importing of coloured labour to compete with European workers—hastened to argue that Mauritius should not serve as a paradigm for New South Wales; work there was being done by ex-slaves. If, the editor argued, British migrants in New South Wales had to compete with cheap Asian labour, Great Britain would dishonour the promises implicit in her active encouragement of emigration to the colony.[4]

In 1847 the *Atlas* in a leader, entitled 'Convicts and Chinamen', indicated the advantages of using Chinese—their proximity, 'a proverbially temperate and industrious nation, they could live and save money even with a third of the wages needed by others. But the leader countered these advantages with the assertion that settlers preferred even the 'pollution' of convicts rather than 'be inundated with the benighted hordes of Asia'.[5]

Adam Bogue wrote to the *Atlas* telling of a visit he had made to Amoy. He noted the 'dense population', the poverty, 'their civility and kindness to Europeans, their general quiet and inoffensive manners, the tractability of their character, and their indomitable industry and other pursuits . . .'[6] Bogue had told F. D. Syme —a merchant resident in Amoy experienced in the coolie trade to Mauritius, Reunion and the Malaccas—that Australia would take 10,000 annually.

European participation in the trade direct from China seems to have started with James Tait at Amoy in the 1840's. In 1848 he arranged the first shipment of coolies to Australia (100 men and 21 boys) on Captain Larkins' *Nimrod*. The Chinese people in Amoy considered that it was slavery—the coolies had been *bought*—and there was bad feeling, especially among the parents of those 'bought' and they protested to the consul.

Tait also protested at the arrest of his crimp by the Chinese authorities and when Consul Layton investigated he discovered the indenturing. According to the agreement the Chinese were to serve Captain Larkins or his assignees for five years in New South Wales for a wage of $2.50 for the men and $1.50 for the boys, together with rations. Layton commented that China was well rid of the labourers who, he said, 'came from the lowest, poorest and most vicious classes.'[7]

The Chinese authorities were well aware of the arrangement. The consul was puzzled as to what he should do; he had to consider the safety of local British residents and also the future of British trade. Bewilderment led him to do nothing to prevent the shipment. On July 7 the barque *Nimrod* left Amoy and travelled via Ascension Islands to Sydney where it arrived on October 2. The *Herald* (October 3) commented that the labourers were all young and healthy and had been 'sent for at the instance of several parties for the service of shepherds, &c.' On November 16 the *Nimrod* carried 56 of them on to Moreton Bay where the urgency of labour had put employers into a panic. A letter to the *Herald* (at the time opposed to coolie labour) rejoiced at the rumoured expense of the importation—£12 per head;

4 September 1, 1842.
5 March 27, 1847.
6 March 25, 1847.
7 Layton to Bonham, an enclosure in Despatch 35—Grey to Fitzroy, February 27, 1849. Mitchell Library, Sydney.

that is, it was more expensive than the cost of a British migrant, the correspondent exulted.

Chinese Labourers in N.S.W.

Other Chinese labourers arrived. The *London* arrived on February 22 1849 from Hong Kong with 149; approximately one-third of these were sent on to Moreton Bay. On November 4 146 labourers left Amoy on the *Cadet*; during a difficult trip of four months eight died and there was a serious shortage of provisions. In April 1850 the *Cadet* arrived from Amoy with another 138 and during the following month the *Gazelle* from the same port arrived with 131. The *Duke of Roxburgh* in February 1851 brought 242 Amoy coolies and in November 225 (with a loss of ten). In December 1851 the *Arabia* conveyed to Sydney 179 from Amoy and the *Regis* nine from Shanghai.

Between October 1848 and December 1851 1,211 Chinese labourers arrived in New South Wales—516 for Moreton Bay. In 1852 small groups were sent to Wide Bay, further north; in the first two months at least 70 were sent from Sydney. By March 1852 ships were experiencing difficulty in selling their human cargo. Between 1848 and 1852 about 2,600 Chinese indentured labourers had arrived. The white population was over 115,000 but some comment was made when the rate of increase in the first half of 1852 was one-seventh Chinese.

Newspaper attitudes varied considerably. To those favouring the immigration the Chinese were industrious, enterprising, sober and tractable. To the *Sydney Guardian* (December 1, 1848) they had more virtues than vices but the latter included 'fawning' and 'proud' (Uriah Heep achieved this paradox), mendacious, covetous. To the Melbourne *Argus* (December 26, 1848) the faults were profligacy, unchasteness, deceitfulness and the praise—'careful, I think, honest, and exceedingly cleanly.' (Does the 'I think' modify 'careful' or 'honest'?)

There was an embryonic stage of the White Australia Policy in the denunciation of 'yellow and beastly strangers'.[7] The yellow had implications as in yellow jaundice whereas it could have been as accurate to describe the skin colour by the more flattering bronze or gold. Resentment was not only that of the in-group against the out-group; it had an economic basis. Australian workers saw the low wages of the Chinese as a threat to their higher wages. It was claimed that the Chinese could survive on 'rats, dogs, cats, mice, snakes, maggots, etc.' And this was incorporated in the developing stereotype; a reporter later referred to the Chinese as 'the rat-eating gentry'.[8]

The Chinese were used in a number of ways. Their undoubted skill in woodworking led to the situation in 1849 when probably half of the furniture manufactured in Sydney was made by Chinese. But an attempt to initiate them into fell-mongering led to organized protest.

At Barker's Woollen Mills 20 Chinese labourers had been wool washing, apparently without worker opposition. Then the Chinese were told to watch the more skilled fell-mongering. The implications were obvious, the European tradesmen refused to act as instructors and were dismissed. 'ALL PARTIES THAT ARE NOT FAVOURABLE TO CHINA EMIGRATION' (to quote a newspaper notice) met to set up a workers' organization 'to meet this unfair and unequal competition.'[9]

Popular disapprobation of coolie advocates was shown at the hustings. In the elections for the city of Sydney in July 1848 the appearance of W. C. Wentworth, an employer who used coolies,

7 *Empire*, March 24, 1848.
8 *Empire*, December 28, 1852.
9 *People's Advocate*, November 3, 1849.

was greeted with cries of 'No coolies, no cannibals, go down.' Yet with the restricted franchise of the period he was successful at the poll.

Workers at times took the law into their own hands. In an incident at Moreton Bay a gang of workers beat up Chinese—four were seriously wounded, two dead and ten were missing. The Chinese gained a reputation for violence; often this was the result of provocation by men who resented the Chinese working with them or instead of them. There were reports of gangs of Chinese taking the law into their hands. In 1852 some Chinese, armed with shear blades riveted to long poles, arrived at the head station but were driven off with a gun. The cause of the fracas is not stated.[10] At Carcoar a European shearer knocked down a Chinese. Some Chinese shepherds left their flocks and massed on a hill near the shearing shed, armed with pointed poles and a butcher's knife. Shearers, armed with short bludgeons, faced them in battle array but police and employers forced them to disperse before any bloodshed occurred.[11]

Employees generally resented the Chinese but for a time there was employer enthusiasm. In a personal letter written from Brisbane in 1849 a lady wrote:

> *This colony will suffer severely this year for the low price of wool last year and lower even this. Many of the settlers are bringing Chinese from Hong Kong to prevent absolute ruin . . . We can import* the Celestials *for about ten pounds per head at six pounds per year, and they will be able to grow wool at a very low rate. Those Chinese who have been brought into the country are found to be most excellent shepherds; they are even better than the Europeans. The only drawback there is with them, we do not understand one word of their dreadful language; but they do everything by signs most readily. We are going to get a lot of them as soon as possible, now that we know their value.*[12]

Employers seem generally to have shared the widespread prejudice against non-whites but justified their use in terms of inability to obtain white labour and low prices for their wool forcing them to obtain labour as cheap as possible. Their frequent use of the term 'tractable' suggests that coolies could be imposed on. In this they were often disappointed. They berated the Chinese for demanding changes in agreements, unable to see that the Chinese could not be expected to understand the actual value of wages before arrival and, especially with the inflation caused by the gold rushes, they claimed inability to live on the rations provided. Many Chinese solved the problem by absconding to join the gold rush. This led to a rapid drop in enthusiasm for the Chinese. Further disenchantment followed a large number of court cases where Chinese were accused of 'bloodthirstiness'. In some cases it was clear that they had been provoked. Sam Lin appeared before Sydney Police Court charged with absconding. His nose was damaged, his neck swollen. He refused to return to his work because he was afraid of another flogging.[13] Here the cruelty was obvious but it led to no reported comment from the court. Ticky and Lee Ar were charged at Maitland with being runaway servants, apparently arrested merely on suspicion. They named their masters, together with a graphic description of beatings. Ticky claimed that he had been tied up—suggesting treatment as an animal. Probably the treatment was aimed at preventing absconding.[14]

10 W. W. Armstrong, *Some Early Recollections of the Town and District of Rylstone* (1905, typescript held by Mitchell Library, Sydney), p. 55.
11 *Bathurst Free Press*, December 4, 1852.
12 C. Lawless to Mrs Pyne, March 15, 1849. Original held by the Historical Society of Queensland. Typescript copy held by Mitchell Library.
13 *Empire*, September 8, 1852.
14 *Maitland Mercury*, September 18, 1852.

Impact of the Gold Rush

Absconding and the failure to be 'tractable' led to a diminution of employer enthusiasm. The scarcity of labour had been the employers' motif in the late 1830s and the 1849s but rose in a crescendo of panic when the gold rushes of the 1850s began. It is an irony of history that as the country appeared by some as if it were being inundated by Chinese migrants to fill the supposed shortage of labour, the gold rush to Australia began.

At first employers were pleased to substitute Chinese for European servants who had deserted for the diggings but it was not long before the Chinese themselves joined the search for gold. It is difficult to decide when the first joined the search. In 1852 Sydney law courts were busy with runaway servants and ship deserters. On January 22, 21 cases of desertion were tried in Sydney. Three Chinese were tried for deserting; they had been arrested a few miles west of Sydney, presumably bound for the diggings.

Early in 1853 there were some 'stray sons of the Celestial Empire' at Forest Creek, 70 miles from Melbourne, and a correspondent of the *Sydney Herald* (February 2, 1853) when reporting this added:

> *Many of the runaway Chinese have here made large fortunes, some of the successful members of that nation are gone home, others are still here, and hope to do so when they have scraped together enough* ching ching.

Rather wryly he added the hope 'that their organs of conscientiousness (did he mean conscience?) may be worked as to include them to repay their passage-money to the masters from whom they bolted.'

Almost all the Chinese at that time would have arrived as indentured labourers or ship deserters. The successful few who had returned to South China carried news of the New Gold Mountain. The results can be seen in the passenger lists —503 arrived from Hongkong on one ship early in 1854.

In July 1852 the Master and Servant Act (9 Victoria No. 27 and 11 Victoria No. 9) was re-introduced for consideration and an important change was made so that it would include 'Chinese and other foreign labourers.' This was passed together with another Bill by that employer Council intended to discourage absconding by the Chinese, and that was the provision in the Gold Management Bill requiring foreigners to pay twice the licence fee paid by those who were British.

At this stage diggers seem to have had no strong resentment against the Chinese. Later there was considerable bitterness as the alluvial gold cut out and fortunes were harder to find. Some diggers opposed the discriminatory tax because they employed Chinese to dig for them.

Under the new regulations a Chinese desiring to obtain a gold lease had to prove that he had been 'discharged from his last place of service.' Language difficulties arose as commissioners on the goldfields were faced with non-comprehension about both the purchase of a licence and the production of discharge papers.

By 1854 the labour shortage was serious but there was a strong feeling at Moreton Bay that 'the offscourings of China and Hindostan' were no longer wanted. A clue as to the reason for the failure may be seen in Wentworth's statement:

> *The Chinese emigration had proved that the Chinamen did not prove a desirable class of labourers for the colony, not being sufficiently docile and obedient.*[15]

Wentworth had been involved in numerous law cases mainly involving absconding coolies.

The arrival of the *Rose of Sharon* in Melbourne early in 1854 made it clear

15 *Maitland Mercury*, December 18, 1852.

that the use of indentured Chinese labour was, at least temporarily, at an end. This ship arrived from Hongkong with 503 Chinese emigrants. They were not of the coolie class: they were reported to be 'superior in character and education'.[16] The Taiping rebellion may have driven some of these people from the country but it was clear that the gold mania of the New Gold Mountain was at work in South China. The ship was of a higher standard than the coolie ships, being well ventilated, and there was no serious sickness encountered on the passage.

Employers were no longer anxious to arrange indentured Chinese labour and those by the *Rose of Sharon* had probably paid their own way or had borrowed the passage money from Chinese brokers in Hongkong. Later, Chinese merchants in Australia arranged for other Chinese to be imported. If this were indentured labour it was arranged entirely among the Chinese.

Employers had believed that Chinese labour would solve all their labour problems, but Chinese labourers proved to be less than the expected docile and tractable. W. A. Duncan, Acting Government Resident at Brisbane, wrote of their 'avengeful temperaments when either thwarted or annoyed.'[17] There grew up the belief that Chinese authorities had taken the opportunity to unload criminals onto foreign countries.

Yet hostility on the part of Europeans may have tried what patience and docility the Chinese had. There is no doubt of animosity and the assurance by many Europeans that the Chinese were an inferior race. Nor would language misunderstandings have helped. Mime and gesture have limitations in communication and the frustration of incomprehension could easily have led to blows.

In court cases the Chinese usually appear as the assailants. Any provocation usually passes unmentioned in the brief newspaper reports. Language difficulties may have given the Chinese little, if any, participation in some cases. The magistrate—himself an employer—would tend to favour the overseer or the one in authority against the servant, whether Chinese or not, and he could easily have favoured the European against the Asian.

The pattern of many of the reports is almost identical. Ah Hung was found guilty of assaulting Edward Kelly, an overseer in the Moreton Bay District and sentenced to fourteen days in Brisbane gaol.[18] At this time two Chinese were in prison for assaulting an overseer of the same employee, perhaps the same overseer, and altogether there were 18 Chinese in prison in the Moreton Bay district.[19]

With an increasing number of cases of absconding and violence the popularity of the Chinese faded among employers and a report of early 1852 shows that a shipment of Chinese to Moreton Bay was not greatly in demand. Complaints were made of their 'laziness, their incompetency, their continued breaches of agreement, and, above all their bloodthirsty dispositions.'[20]

The community was faced by an embarrassing problem when Chinese vagrants appeared on the streets. In 1852 three 'wretched looking Chinamen' were found by the police 'in a destitute condition and half starved.' They were technically arrested out of 'motives of charity' and the magistrates sent them to the Benevolent Asylum.[21] Melbourne also had its 'unfortunates' wandering around 'in a deplorable condition', 'afraid of dying in a foreign country.'[22] By 1853 the number of Chinese paupers in Sydney had become such a problem that the mayor asked awkward questions after a case of pauperism had come before him:

16 *Sydney Herald*, March 7, 1854.
17 Enclosure in Despatch 167—Fitzroy to Newcastle, December 30, 1853. Mitchell Library, Sydney.
18 *Sydney Herald*, June 5, 1851.
19 *Empire*, May 5, 1851.
20 *Sydney Herald*, January 14, 1852.
21 *Maitland Mercury*, April 10, 1852.
22 *Argus*, June 20, 1842.

What happened to the Chinese if they became too ill to work?
Would employers take on the expense for a long illness?[23]

Some doubtless would have been humane but others would have discarded them as a piece of machinery is discarded when one has no further use for it.

The Improbability of Freedom

Employers condemned coolies who failed to keep the letter of agreements and law courts generally upheld the employers' objection. In the few cases where Chinese were successful they were defended by people such as G. R. Nichols and Hamilton Walsh who took on themselves, apparently without fee, the task of ensuring proper legal aid for these foreigners.

The agreement was said to be a safeguard against slavery, having been freely entered into by both contracting parties. Yet did the indentured labourer freely enter into the agreements?

What is the freedom behind the pressure of starvation? There may be free choice, even if the choice is between death and bondage, a choice difficult to be objective about if one is faced with such alternatives.

But there is less justification when the man kidnapped from the street is told that he must agree to the contract in the presence of the European protector or else be thrown back into the 'pig pen'—probably to be dealt with by the strong-armed *sam seng*. Or the recruit—after receiving money for his relatives, transport to the coastal town, food and lodging in the 'pig pen'—cannot repay expenses and is forced to migrate. He can only regret his past choice, perhaps made under the duress of a difficult situation or as the result of high pressure salesmanship. Or the man, as the result of a momentary impulse of avarice, loses the gamble between a tempting sum of money and putting his mark on a contract.

Deceitful promises may have played a more important part than actual kidnapping. The 1867 Resolution of the United States Congress—which condemned 'the traffic in labourers transported from China and other eastern countries, known as the coolies trade'—distinguished the traffic as 'a mode of enslaving men' from the African slave trade in its 'employment of fraud instead of force to make its victims captive.'[24] And so fraud achieved a legal force which could—as in Spanish Cuba—be virtually indistinguishable from slavery at its worst and was just as permanent (making the renewal of the contract unavoidable) and as cruel.

There were many parallels between the slave and coolie trades. Often the same personnel, depots and ships were involved especially at the beginning of the coolie trade. The recruiting seems often to have been kidnapping and at some periods and in some places this was quite usual.

A close parallel was the result of the agreement between the labourers and a named person 'or his assignees'. The phrase could be offensive, allowing the labourer to be sold or re-sold any number of times, sometimes linked to a piece of land. 'The chattel went with the conveyance.' On arrival in Cuba labourers were stripped and prospective buyers examined them as if they were livestock—a picture which immediately suggests slave markets.

There is no evidence to suggest that this happened in Australia with indentured labourers but the selling and re-selling of the contract that did occur can suggest the transaction of slave selling. Nichols managed the release of Aying (Ahing) by proving that the man's master was the Australian Club, and, as an agreement had to be mutual, there could be none between a person and something as ab-

23 *Sydney Herald*, June 17, 1853.
24 P. C. Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire* (London, 1923), p. 131.

stract as a club. A key point in the case was that Aying had been transferred three times since his arrival without his being consulted as, Nichols commented, 'the operation . . . observed in the sale and delivery of a bale of slops.'[25]

An advertisement appeared a number of times offering the *Strathisla Estate* on the Paterson River for Auction Sale. The advertisement included the notice:

> *With the permission of the Governor twelve assigned servants will be transferred to the purchaser of the homestead, as also the unexpired agreement of two years and a half with four coolies indentured to the present proprietor or his assigns.* [26]

Obviously that consent of the coolies had not been sought any more than had that of the criminals.

This was the foundation of an objection to Chinese immigration made to the Legislative Council in 1851 by Henry Grattan Douglass, honorary physician at Sydney hospital. To him the Chinese immigrants were slaves:

> *They (the Chinese) have no power to choose their own masters; they are shipped, landed and transferred to their owner without their knowing anything about it, while their agreements, signed without their being aware of their validity or force are rigidly exacted.* [27]

Perhaps less objectionable was that the nature of the work was decided by the employer without consulting the labourers' desires or qualifications. Agreements did not usually specify type of work—one went as far as to except mining work, although the labourers involved were said to be experienced in that.[28] In Simpson's agreement with Chinese labourers the latter agreed to serve 'in the capacity of Shepherd, Farm and General Servant, and Labourer'—comprehending all possible types of work.[29]

Abandonment

Henry Parkes represented wider interests than most Legislative Councillors. From being a poor immigrant tradesman he had become a spokesman in the Council for the working class. In August 1854 he successfully moved for the setting up of a Select Committee on Asiatic Labour.[30] This was to investigate conditions on coolie ships, the nature of the agreements and whether a 'Colonial Protectorate' should be set up. This move resulted from news that plans were afoot to obtain Indian coolies, now that there was widespread dissatisfaction among employers with the Chinese.

At the Committee's first meeting evidence was given by Andrew Shortrede, proprietor and editor of Hongkong's *China Mail*. His ten years in Hongkong led him to state of the coolie trade that there was 'nothing worse in the slave trade.' He told of kidnapping, barracoons and overcrowded coolie ships. George Sandeman, a Moreton Bay pastoralist, declared that the Chinese had 'great obstinacy of character' and two or three had been 'utterly unmanageable.' He preferred Indians. Other employers were dissatisfied with the Chinese; only one was pleased and he indicated that he had increased their wages well above the terms agreed on.

H. H. Browne, Immigration Agent, indicated methods by which shipping conditions for coolies should be improved so that the high mortality could be reduced. He was also certain that the Chinese did not understand their agreements.

Parkes compiled the Report which recommended an authoritative Colonial Protectorate, aimed at 'securing justice for a friendless immigrant' and to protect the colony from 'the introduction of ma-

25 *Empire*, December 9, 1851; *Sydney Herald*, December 10, 1851.
26 For example, *Australian*, May 23, 1840.
27 *People's Advocate*, November 29, 1851.
28 *Argus*, April 10, 1849.
29 Memorandum of Agreement between (Captain) T. B. Simpson and Khaw Lin. Mitchell Library, Sydney.
30 *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, 1854, II, pp. 920-946.

lignant and infectious diseases'. This proposal was not implemented because, employers decided, Chinese labour had proved unprofitable and by then it was clear that Indian labourers could not receive permission to leave India.

Importance of Coloured Labour

In the period studied the number of coloured labourers introduced was insufficient to make any considerable contribution to solving the talked-of urgent shortage of labour. Nor did it seriously affect jobs or the living wage of the workers.

The importance lay in providing a vision of cheap labour as an alternative to the convict system which ended in 1840, as well as to the so-called non-tractable Irish. It can be seen as one of the schemes to exploit the supposed super-abundance of labour in Asia and the South Seas. These schemes came into conflict with the vision of a British (or European) New Holland—white, Christian and free.

Another importance is in the way the workers became vocal and united. The development of the country required cheap labour and the employers, having got used to cheap convict labour, could not do without it. The workers' unity against the continuation of transportation in the *Hashemy* incident and in the mammoth anti-coolie meeting of 1843 in Sydney clearly demonstrated a growing worker solidarity against the pastoralist oligarchy. Of course there was opposition from others than the 'proletariat' including merchants and professional people.

The use of coolies seems to have aroused little enthusiasm except from the 'old Indian hands' and extensive landholders as Boyd, Leslie and Wentworth. Others—well represented in the Legislative Council—were prepared to accept it as an expedient, undesirable but necessary, to solve an immediate problem but of no permanent value. There seems to have been some racial prejudice when people preferred to preserve the British (or European) character of the colony and there was some fear of paganism, but the more vocal of the landholder-colonists preferred the risk of paganism to the fear of financial embarrassment and, perhaps, virtual extinction. And there were those to whom Hindu or Moslem paganism seemed a lesser evil than the swamping of the country by Irish Roman Catholics.

Yet the troubles experienced with recalcitrant coolies caused the fading of the dream of cheap malleable labourers. Enthusiasm waned. And in the gold rushes Indians, Chinese, South Pacific islanders—and many others—were drawn by the lure of abundant gold. The employers soon learnt that no form of indenture could shield their labourers from such a lure. Comparative wealth was the factor that led Asians to be indentured; when greater and sudden wealth was promised by gold easily won at the diggings, the indenture had much less appeal.

China in Revolution

A Memoir of China in Revolution

By Chester Ronning.
(Pantheon Books, New York, 1974.)

Chester Ronning was born in 1894 in Fancheng, Hupei, of missionary parents, spent his early childhood there, returned to China to teach from 1921 to 1927, and came back once again in 1945 to serve in the Canadian Embassy first in Chungking and then in Nanking. During the 1950s and 1960s, he participated in the Geneva Conferences on Korea and Laos. In 1966, he represented the Canadian Government in its effort to bring about talks between North Vietnam and the United States. In 1971 and 1973, he returned again to the land of his birth to see at first hand the transformation that had taken place in the intervening years.

These are the highlights of a life and a career which spanned most of the twentieth century, and witnessed the full progression of the Chinese revolution.

A Memoir of China is compiled from Ronning's notes, letters, and diary entries, supplemented by his recollections and interpretations of events that occurred during these crucial years in the history of modern China.

Ronning's recollections of the pre-Liberation period show an acute awareness of the growing degeneration of the old China, and later the corruption and ineptitude of the Kuomintang. As early as the beginning of the twentieth century, many of Ronning's Chinese classmates were voicing their dissatisfaction with the restrictions and customs of the old society and the Manchu dynasty. By the time Ronning returned to Fancheng as a young man in the early 1920s, almost all the staff and students of his school were members of the then revolutionary Kuomintang.

While Ronning served in the Canadian Embassy from 1945 to 1951, he was a witness to the collapse of the Kuomintang and the early days of the People's Republic. In Chungking, he met with Chou En-lai and other Chinese Communist representatives. He also visited H. H. Kung in his palatial mansion. Ronning describes the rampant inflation of the Kuomintang's last days and the increasing disillusionment of the Chinese people with that regime. By September 1948, he writes that all classes including the merchants had given up on the Nationalists. At Chou En-lai's Chungking house, Ronning met Liao Cheng-chih, son of Liao Chung-kai. The younger Liao had been held in prison by the Kuomintang for years and had refused to pledge allegiance to the Kuomintang in return for his release. Ronning also met a Canadian doctor who, prior to a visit to the liberated areas, had been skeptical about the Communists. He returned full of wonder that the Communists and the Kuomintang could be of the same nation. In the liberated areas he had seen little evidence of corruption or starvation, and he had come away with the distinct impression that the people supported the Communists.

Although Ronning's fluent Chinese enabled him to maintain more contacts than other Western diplomats, most were well aware of these facts and of the larger political situation they represented. The Canadian Ambassador, General Odlum, wrote a report heavily critical of Kuomintang corruption. Nevertheless, and this often was the justification for continued sup-

port of the Kuomintang, he felt that corruption was endemic to China and that Chiang Kai-shek personally was honest. Although foreign Governments were not blind to what was happening to China and although information contrasting life in the liberated areas was available to them, government policies were developed in spite of the realities of China.

This is one of the crucial points that emerges from Ronning's book. Junior officers such as Ronning, or on the American side John P. Davies and John S. Service, were aware of the facts and reporting them back to their respective Governments. In early 1946, Ronning wrote that American aid was going into the hands of the Four Families and not helping Nationalist troops. Service had written that and much more at least a year earlier. Yet despite the reports and the warnings, the United States continued to support the Kuomintang. US leaders defined their country's interests and foreign policy in terms of their own ideological preconceptions. And it was often American interests that determined the China policy of its allies.

Ronning describes superpower politics in action when he discusses Canada's problems over recognition of the People's Republic of China, and at the 1954 Geneva Conference. He had urged his Government to recognize the People's Republic of China early, while the US was putting pressure on the Canadians to delay recognition. By March 1950, Canadian China policy was being heavily influenced by the US. Even after the Korean War had ended, President Eisenhower reacted emotionally to the possibility of Canada's extending diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic. When Canadian leaders broached the subject to him in 1956, Eisenhower angrily retorted that Canadian recognition would lead European countries to recognize China, which would in turn result in China's admission to the United Nations. And if that happened, he declared, the US would withdraw from the world body and expell it from New York. Rather than risk the break-up of the UN, the Canadians dropped their plans for recognition.

Ronning's description of the Korean War and the 1954 Conference on Korea also shows how the US controlled UN war policy and thwarted efforts for a peace agreement. As early as November, 1950, Lester Pearson had suggested direct approaches to the Chinese and a ceasefire. But the US opposed this. According to Ronning, it was only continued pressure from US allies combined with the inability of UN forces to produce a victory on the battlefield that made the US finally accept an armistice agreement. Still, the US was able to prevent the conclusion of a peace treaty at Geneva, even though all of the other parties present, with the exception of South Korea, wanted one.

In recent years, Western prejudices about life in the new China have begun to fall away. However, there still is much that remains to be told about the activities, diplomatic and otherwise, of Western Governments in Asia. While an understanding of the origins of the Vietnam war is now relatively widespread in the West, the Korean war continues to be interpreted primarily in the traditional cold war terms of the 1950s. In this interpretation, Pyongyang and Peking are cast unconditionally in the role of the aggressor. Perhaps the most important contribution of Ronning's book is the new perspective his discussion of this period brings to the diplomatic activities surrounding the Korean war and the aborted peace conference that followed.

S. J. V.

Tang Murals

Tang Li Hsien Mu Pi Hua (Murals in the Tomb of Li Hsien of Tang)

Compiled by the Shensi Provincial Museum and CPAM, Shensi province.

(Wenwu Publication House, 1974, Peking.)

The excavation of the tomb of Li Hsien, Prince Chang-huai of Tang, which began on July 2, 1971, and was completed towards the end of February 1972, was an important event in the history of Chinese archaeology, if only for the fact that murals done in the early 8th century were discovered in the tomb in fairly good condition, with some of the colours, especially the red, still looking fresh after more than twelve centuries.

The album under review (captions and text in Chinese) faithfully reproduces all the salient sections of the murals, many accompanied with detail. All the 50 loose sheets following a long introductory note are in colour. I visited the site in early March 1972, almost immediately after the completion of the excavation. In fact, I saw artists still making copies of the murals in the tomb. As far as I can remember, the colours reproduced in the album are just like what I saw then.

The murals actually recorded the daily life of a Tang prince, or rather what the life of a crown prince of the Tang dynasty should be like. One would expect that at least some of the sections do depict what life was like for Li Hsien, who, though he died at the age of 32, was very much given to palace intrigues, debauchery and classic Confucian studies. The last were very much connected with his palace intrigues, of which more later.

Thus we see in the murals a long hunting procession, a polo game, women in waiting carrying food as well as musical instruments, midgets, and potentates from the border region minorities or even from foreign lands. They are obviously waiting for an audience with the crown prince, who as we know at least once acted as regent when his father was away from the capital. Many of them wear outlandish costumes and at least one has very prominent features, deep-set eyes and a big nose. Bald at the top, he wears long curly hair which comes down to his shoulders.

The polo game in the murals may be of particular interest to the West. This ancient game of the East, though it went out of fashion in China long ago, seems to have weathered the time well elsewhere. The game depicted in the murals, complete with the small ball and the crooked bat, is still very recognizable and bears a close resemblance to the game as it is played today in the West.

According to Chinese historical records, the game was also called, in two Chinese characters, *Po Lo*. It is obviously a transliteration of a non-Chinese term. Considering the fact that Tang's political power extended as far as the eastern and northern coasts of the Caspian Sea, it is quite possible that the game was introduced from somewhere in Central Asia. The founder of the Tang dynasty, Tai Tsung, being a great lover of horses, it is understandable that this game, which requires great skill in horsemanship, should become a palace favourite.

Li Hsien was the grandson of Tai Tsung and son of Kao Tsung and the celebrated Empress Wu, who for years after the death of her husband actually styled herself Emperor Tse Tien. She was a very capable woman and, with the help of a number of Legalist Ministers

whom she trusted, was able to further enhance the prosperity and glory of the dynasty. She abdicated at the old age of 83, in favour of her son, Chung Tsung, a younger brother of Li Hsien.

Li Hsien, known as a brilliant Confucian scholar at a very young age, was not on particularly good terms with his mother. When he was in his twenties, he gathered around himself a group of Confucian scholars and, with their help, annotated the *History of the Late Han Dynasty*. In the annotations he made tendentious remarks about dowager empresses of the late Han dynasty who took over power when their sons were young. This was obviously aimed at his mother who shared power with her husband and became very powerful even when her husband was still living. Li Hsien may well have been preparing grounds for a seizure of power from his mother in the event of his father's death. But even before that Li Hsien had a favourite courtier of his mother's assassinated. This led to a search of Li's quarters in the palace where a large quantity of arms was found. Because of this he was deposed as crown prince and sent into exile in Szechwan, where he later died and was given the title of Prince of Yung.

After Chung Tsung's accession to the throne and the death of Empress Wu, Li Hsien's body was moved back to Changan to be buried near his father and mother. When another of his younger brothers ascended the throne, Li Hsien was posthumously restored as the Crown Prince of Chang-huai and his tomb reconstructed to conform to his new title.

After the excavation of the tomb, an earlier layer of murals was found at a few places where the present murals had peeled off. This seems to show that during the reconstruction new murals were painted over the old to bring them also in line with the dead prince's new grandeur.

All these efforts done to exalt a dead and disgraced prince could very well have been one of the first signs of a Confucian restoration which set in no more than five years after the death of that remarkable woman, the Empress Wu.

L. T. Y.

On a mural on the eastern wall of the tunnel leading to Prince Changhuai's tomb, one sees three courtiers with another man, who is obviously a national minority potentate or someone from a foreign land. Note his prominent features and outlandish costume.

Also on the eastern wall a mural depicts a royal hunting procession.

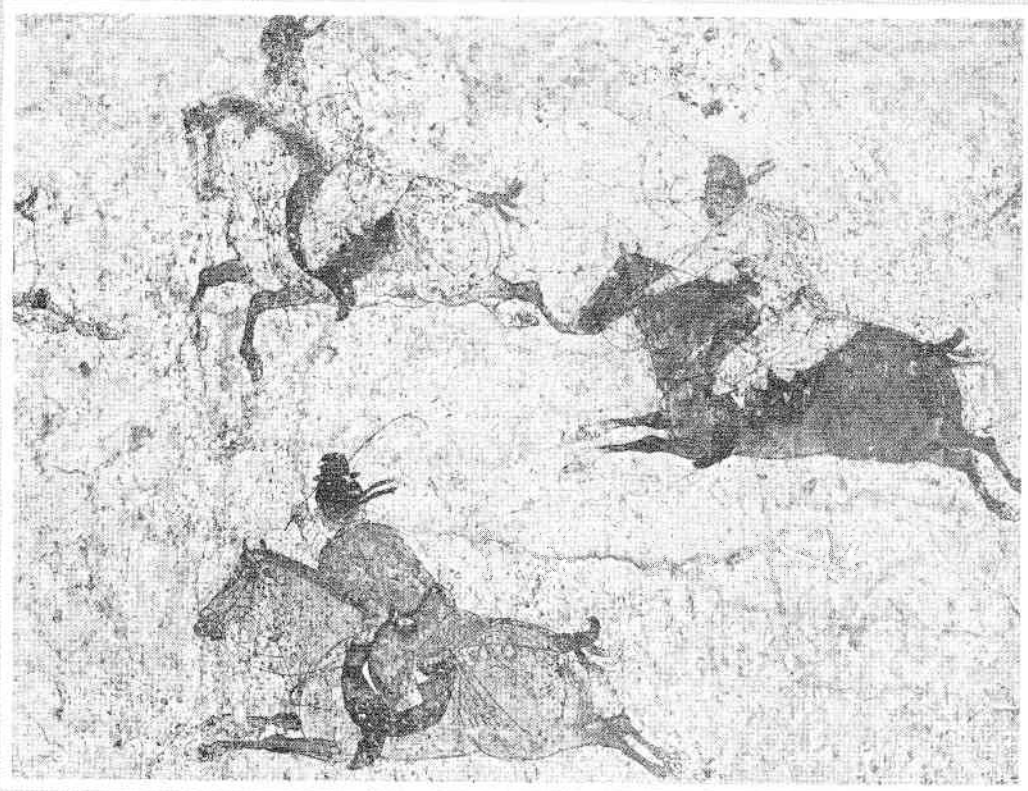
Detail of the mural on hunting. Note the cheetah behind the saddle of the horse in front of the picture.

On the southern wall of the front burial chamber are two palace attendants and a midget.

Three women attendants in the palace at leisure. The one on the left is admiring a flying bird, and the middle one is trying to catch a cicada on a tree. Is the third one day-dreaming?

From a mural on a wall of the rear burial chamber.

One polo player turns around to hit the ball behind his horse.



A polo game is in progress on the western wall of the tunnel.

A part of the mural on hunting on the eastern wall of the tunnel.

Members of the palace guard are painted on the eastern wall of the tunnel. The man on the right is obviously an officer of the guard.

ON MANY HORIZONS *news and rews*

Man Changes Colour

One moment 32-year-old Barend Arthur Monnery was white, the next, he was a Coloured man.

The change was made at his own request. Monnery applied to be reclassified under South Africa's race laws because he loves a Coloured woman, and they have three children from their six-year relationship.

It would not have been possible for his lover, Miss Edith Treadway, to become a white. That isn't done. But Monnery was able to cross the line to earn the legal right to live with her in a black township. But this also meant that he lost his £125-a-month 'white' job on the railways. Now he works for a private firm for £55-a-month.

As a Coloured, he can now no longer, technically at least, live in a 'white' area or enter 'white' cinemas, restaurants, hotels, trains or buses.

The Sunday Times,
London, 3 November

Of Rats and Men

There are 30 rats in Brazil to every human inhabitant and they consume 300,000 tons of food every day, a Brazilian scientist declared here yesterday.

AFP, Rio de Janeiro, 3 December

The Grain Is There

The Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Don Willesee, today expressed the view that there is enough grain in the world to accommodate the most needy countries.

The problem, he said, was how to make it available to them for immediate use.

Speaking at a press conference, Senator Willesee who heads his country's delegation to the 24th Colombo Plan Consultative Committee meeting which ends here today, said: 'The grain is there. The money is there. The shipping is there. The question is how to marry all three.'

AFP, Singapore, 5 December

281 Languages

There are 281 languages in India which are spoken by 5,000 people or more, according to a report in the Indian Parliament yesterday.

The Indian Government, however, recognises only 14 of them as national languages along with English.

South China Morning Post,
Hongkong, 12 December

Contraceptive for Men

A team of biologists has found on the Maluku (Moluccas) Islands what appears to be an effective contraceptive for men in the stem of the 'Talu-ir' plant, boiled in water and drunk.

The plant had apparently been used for a long time by the local men as a contraceptive, without any side effects or loss of sexual drive.

Reuter, Jakarta, 13 December

Nuclear Arms Here

A US Air Force officer has acknowledged that nuclear weapons were stored at Kadena air base on Okinawa before the island's reversion to Japanese rule in 1972, Japanese newspapers said today.

The newspapers quoted two opposition members of parliament as saying a lieutenant colonel in charge of munitions maintenance recently admitted the atomic weapons had been stored in the base's 'Area 4' ammunition depot before reversion.

UPI, Tokyo, 16 December

Oil Not To Blame

The French newsweekly, Le Point, today quoted the Shah of Iran as saying the rise in oil prices was responsible for a maximum of only two per cent of the world's 20 per cent inflation rate.

The Shah, according to the interview, added that the remaining 18 per cent rate was caused by the Western world's internal situation.

'The Western nations are not governed,' he was quoted as saying.

'Why? A thousand reasons why. Besides, it's less the fault of the leaders than of the political structures which make it impossible to govern them.'

Reuter, Paris, 29 December

A Baby Every 15 Seconds

A baby was born every 15 seconds in Japan last year, but 1974 saw a decline in the tempo of natural population growth for the first time in six years.

According to figures compiled by the Health and Welfare Ministry, the total number of babies born in 1974 reached an estimated 2,058,000, down 340,000 from the preceding year.

The report said Japan's population rose by 1,346,000 in 1974 compared with 1,383,000 during the previous year in terms of natural increase figures obtained by deducting the number of deaths from the number of births.

The nation's total population was 109,037,000 as of July 1 last year, according to the report.

AFP, Tokyo, 1 January

Books for Workers and Peasants

Last year was a record one for China's publishing houses. In the first nine months of 1974 alone no fewer than 2,100 million copies of 8,400 titles were published, the Hsinhua News Agency reported.

One of the guiding principles at present was to publish books which workers, peasants and soldiers needed and to write books for them that were profound and readable, the report said.

A book which has already sold 1.5 million copies is 'Notes on the Institution of Ducal States' whose authors are four workers of the Peking motor vehicle plant.

South China Morning Post, Hongkong, 7 January

Occupational Cancer

A total of 316 workers of seven major steel production plants throughout the country have died of occupational cancer, according to a survey by the National Federation of Iron and Steel Workers' Union.

The survey, conducted recently, covered various local plants of Nippon Steel Corpn, a plant of Nippon Kokan KK, the two plants of Kawasaki Steel Corpn, and a plant of Nakayama Steel Work, Ltd.

AFP, Kyushu, 8 January

Secret of Longevity

A woman who claims to be 120 years old, Mrs Savato Papadopoulos, today attributed her longevity to her diet—cooked vegetables with wine and ouzo 'in abundance.'

Ouzo is the Greek aperitif of grape alcohol flavoured with aniseed.

AFP, Athens, 8 January

Oil in Malacca Strait

The Association of Indonesian Fishermen has called on the Indonesian Government to impose heavy fines 'for every drop of oil' polluting Indonesian waters.

General Chairman of the Association Mr Sugiharto told newsmen that the oil pollution caused by the grounding of the Japanese supertanker Showa Maru in the Malacca Strait was harming the interests of the Indonesian fishermen.

Director General for the Indonesian Sea Communications Rear Admiral Haryono Nimpuno meanwhile regretted Japan's 'indifference' to warnings that the Malacca Straits was not safe for passage of tankers of more than 200,000 tons DWT.

AFP, Jakarta, 9 January

Row over Hair

This island city, where long-haired boys are

constantly warned they will be served last, now has another row on its hands—whether girls should also sport short hair only.

An evening newspaper quoted the parent of one schoolgirl as saying that a senior master had threatened the girl with dismissal unless she had her long hair cut.

The school's principal was quoted by the New Nation as saying: 'We have urged the students, including the girls, to keep their hair trimmed and short. The parents have also been advised on the matter.' He did not say how short the hair should be.

Reuter, Singapore, 10 January

Weekend Slave

An evacuee from cyclone-devastated Darwin, six fit four ins. barman-chef Gray Thomas, today offered himself as a slave for the weekend at a Sydney auction—and was snapped up for HK$200.

Reuter, Sydney, 11 January

Jobless Illegal

President Idi Amin has instructed the Justice Ministry to draft a decree making it illegal for anyone to be without work in Uganda, Radio Kampala reported.

People without jobs should get involved in agriculture, 'instead of waiting to become thieves,' he was quoted as saying.

Reuter, London, 12 January

Burakumin

In the Naniwa section of Osaka, an outcast ghetto for more than 400 years, the vocal, well-organized Buraku Liberation League has successfully pressed the local government to build new schools, public housing and centres for the elderly to replace the jumble of decaying wooden homes, many of them without toilets or plumbing.

There is free maternity care for Burakumin mothers now and free school lunches are provided for Burakumin children, descendants of people who were officially called Eta, or 'full of filth,' during Japan's long feudal era. Today there are estimated to be about two million Burakumin.

Hongkong Standard,
Hongkong, 13 January

Wrong or Not Wrong?

The military guard of honour in southern Brazil has hit the wrong note again, this time playing the Czarist national anthem in honour of the Soviet Ambassador.

A member of the Soviet Ambassador's entourage interrupted the baton-swinging major to inform him that the Czar had been overthrown 57 years ago.

Reuter, Porto Alegre, 25 January

Price of Pollution

The major Japanese chemical firm Chisso Corporation, held responsible for 'Minamata' mercury poisoning, has sought a 3,900 million yen (about HK$65 million) Government loan in an unprecedented move for official help.

Chisso, suffering from a multi-million dollar cumulative deficit due to swelling compensation payments for victims of the 'Minamata disease,' requested the loan from the state-financed Japan Development Bank, Government sources said.

But Chisso officials denied the loan is intended to finance compensation money.

Under a court ruling in March 1973, Chisso has paid nearly 20,000 million yen (about HK$333 million) to hundreds of victims.

AFP, Tokyo, 25 January

She's Hit by Recession

Charming bar hostess Akemi-San is downcast among the glittering neon lights that sparkle across Tokyo's famous Ginza district.

'I wonder what all those businessmen who used to spend a lot of money are doing now,' she says as she chain smokes while waiting for a customer to come and ask her to keep him company.

Akemi-San, 26, is one of the thousands of hostesses working in 2,000 bars, cabarets and night clubs on the Ginza, Tokyo's counterpart of Times Square in New York.

UPI, Tokyo, 25 January

KGB at Work

Soviet social-imperialists have been coercing Japanese fishermen operating in waters near the four Japanese northern islands to provide them with military and political information about Japan, according to Japanese press reports.

Japanese police authorities announced on January 24 the discovery of a case of intelligence collecting by a Japanese fishing boat captain under Soviet coercion. Masanori Sawata, captain of the Japanese fishing boat 'Koyomaru No. 11', was arrested last December 4.

Sawata confessed that by the time of his arrest last December, Soviet spy ships had made 11 secret 'contacts' with them and obtained from him such information as the strength of the Japanese Self-defence Forces in Hokkaido region, rosters of the Self-defence Forces, maps of cities, the Japanese people's movement for the return of the northern territories and the names of persons who went to see the graves of their kinsfolk in the northern territories. During each contact, he was interviewed alone by Soviet 'policemen' and an interpreter, while the other members of the 'Koyomaru No. 11' crew were locked up.

Hsinhua, Tokyo, 25 January

A New Minor Planet

A new minor planet, or asteroid, was discovered moving along a somewhat unusual orbit, it was announced by the Purple Mountain Observatory of the Chinese Academy of Sciences which discovered it.

It was discovered on December 28, 1974 when the observatory spotted a faint celestial body at right ascension 3 hours 4.3 minutes and declination plus 18 degress 13 minutes. It moved rapidly in a north by west direction with an angular velocity of more than half a degree per day. Preliminary calculations based on repeated observation reveal the following features of the orbit: its semi-major axis is smaller than that of the majority of other known asteroids but with a larger eccentricity than usual; its perihe-lion-distance is only 1.6 astronomical units (one astronomical unit is the semi-major axis of the orbit of the earth around the sun and amounts approximately to 150 million kilometres); and the orbital plane is inclined to that of the earth at an angle of 28 degrees. Since its perihelion-distance is small and it was discovered at a position in space very close to both the sun and the earth, the new asteroid appeared to be moving four or five times faster than the bulk of other asteroids that happened to be in the same part of the sky.

Hsinhua, Nanking, 3 February

Tokamak

A small experimental device (Tokamak) to achieve toroidal (ring-shaped) discharge in a high quasi-steady magnetic field for controlled thermonuclear fusion research was recently built and put into operation by the Institute of Physics of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. More than 800 discharges have already been made with this device.

This device for toroidal discharge in a high magnetic field is one of the ways to achieve controlled thermonuclear fusion.

Hsinhua, Peking, 4 February

Big Power Station on Yellow River

The Liuchiahsia Hydro-electric Power Station, the biggest in China, has gone into operation in the upper reaches of the Yellow River. This represents another giant step forward the Chinese people have taken in harnessing the Yellow River, historically the most harmful river in the country.

With a total capacity of 1,225,000 kilowatts, the station generates 5,7000 million kilowatt-hours of electricity a year, more than the annual total generated in the whole country on the eve of Liberation.

Built on the Northwest plateau, the power station utilizes the Yellow River's power resources to provide electricity for industrial and agricultural production and construction in Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai provinces. It also regulates the flow of the river to prevent flood, lessen the threat of ice-floes and facilitate irrigation and fish breeding.

Hsinhua, Lanchow, 4 February

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