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The Rise and Fall of Gang of Four



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COVER PICTURE

A painting by Kuan Liang under the title 'We Greet the Monkey King', a line in Chairman Mao's verse calling for struggle against revisionism.

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EASTERN DIARY

The higher one climbs, the more heavily one will fall. This is a Chinese proverb which may not be true all the time. But it did ring true when applied to the dramatic rise and the no less dramatic fall of the Gang of Four, all of which happened within a little over a decade. Little or absolutely nothing was in fact known of the four before 1964. It is true that during the Great Leap Forward Chang Chun-chiao wrote and published an article on the bourgeois right which caught Chairman Mao's attention. But the fact that the practical measure proposed by Chang—abolition of the wage system—was not adopted or even seriously discussed, showed that it was considered with a great deal of reservation. Chiang Ching was known only for the claim she staked out in 1964 on modern revolutionary operas. People vaguely remembered Yao Wen-yuan as a junior member on the editorial staff of the Shanghai *Wen Hui Pao* who climbed on the bandwagon of the anti-Rightist campaign to denounce his paper for its Rightist tendency. In the mid-sixties, Wang Hung-wen was completely unknown. In fact even his part in the January Revolution in Shanghai, which obviously started him on his upward swing, remains hazy to this day. And yet by April 1969 they were Political Bureau members or members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, or both. Only seven years passed, however, before the four were toppled in a clean sweep on October 6, 1976.

Now the four are under nationwide criticism and new facts about them are emerging every day. But with a fair knowledge of what happened in the Cultural Revolution and abundant information made available in the Chinese press since the beginning of the criticism of the four, it is already possible for one to put together a reasonably accurate story of how the four, taking advantage of the Cultural Revolution, intrigued their way into power, overplayed their hands and exposed themselves to the indignation of the people, thus precipitating their own sudden downfall.

Most of the activities of the four which led to their downfall were concentrated in the period after the beginning of 1974 with the launching of the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. It was in fact during that period that they over-reached themselves by stepping up their attack on Premier Chou

En-lai and large numbers of veteran revolutionary leaders, thus sealing their own fate. But their collaboration with Lin Piao was what started them on their quest for power, and their strategy of bringing down a large

number of veterans of the Chinese revolution was already visible in the early days of the Cultural Revolution and could also be identified with Lin. So I am beginning this story with the first signs of the Cultural Revolution.

The Rise and Fall of the Gang of Four

For the dregs which have been thrown up to the surface are but dregs, their surfacing can only enable people to see even more clearly what they really are. And being what they are, they will in the end sink again.

Lu Hsun

Revolutionary Operas

Chiang Ching's rise in the Cultural Revolution was based on the claim that she was 'the creator of the model theatrical works' and a 'standard-bearer of the revolution in literature and art.'

But it is a well-known fact that the revolution in literature and art was first launched by Chairman Mao at the Yen-an Forum in 1942 in which Chiang Ching could have played no meaningful role, much less standard-bearer. As to revolutionary Peking opera, Chiang Ching's involvement in this art form dates back only to 1964 when a festival of modern Peking operas was held in Peking on the approval of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, and at the suggestion of Ulanfu, a Vice-Premier of the Mongolian minority and an opera lover.

A considerable harvest of modern Peking operas was inspired by Chairman Mao's repeated calls for working class heroes to occupy the centre of the operatic stage. As early as the 1940's, Chairman Mao had hailed the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre for the staging of *Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels*, which recognizes the toiling people as the motive force in the making of history. In 1963 Chairman Mao complained that theatre, along with various other forms of art, was still dominated by 'the dead', i.e., emperors, prime ministers and generals of the olden days. Most of those operas staged at the festival and later to be known as model revolutionary theatrical works came into being around 1964 when revolutionary opera artists, in response

to Chairman Mao's criticism, devoted themselves to their creation. *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* was staged as early as 1958 by the Peking Opera Theatre of Shanghai. But even in 1963 Chiang Ching still spent a great deal of her time on old Peking operas, including *The Death of Tsutu*, a ghost, acrobatic opera which was also very much encouraged by the revisionist leadership in the Ministry of Culture at that time.

When Chiang Ching became an advisor to the festival of 1964, this recent convert surprised many with the zeal and gusto with which she applied herself to the new operas. At a meeting called by Premier Chou during the festival, Chiang Ching set herself up as the champion of revolutionary operas. She asked those opera artists present where their 'conscience' was when they persisted in staging operas eulogizing emperors and lords instead of the working people, though many of them had been working hard to promote revolutionary operas long before Chiang had shown any interest. At that time, however, few could have known that the enthusiasm she displayed was more for her personal advancement than for the promotion of revolutionary operas.

Soon she was taking advantage of the mistakes of people like Peng Chen who advocated the preservation of old Peking operas, and step by step she took over the leadership of various opera and ballet companies. Having made a few alterations here and there, she claimed authorship of five Peking operas, two ballets and one symphonic work and named them model revolutionary theatrical

works. Nobody was allowed to tamper with the eight works. When staging them or adapting them to other regional forms of opera, no one was to change a single word or a single note. At the same time regional operatic groups trying to produce their own revolutionary operas were frowned upon. Any other forms of art which could compete with the model works, such as films and straight plays, were likewise discouraged. For years all the movie studios in China did was film model works or documentaries. Almost all the model works were adapted from films or theatrical works of an earlier period, and all such original works had to be suppressed. The opera *White-Haired Girl* had been very popular, and musically it represents China's first successful attempt at blending Chinese and Western music. Most of its music, or at least its musical themes, went into the ballet adapted from it. But by blowing up its few shortcomings out of all proportion, Chiang Ching had the original opera shelved and its composer, Ma Ko, set aside. What was most insulting and distressing was that, after Ma's death, his obituary listed only a few of his works, and the best of them, his music for *The White-Haired Girl*, was not even mentioned! In order to conceal the fact that *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* was actually adapted from the popular novel *Tracks in the Snowy Forest* set in the War of Liberation in Northeast China, Chiang Ching would have changed the name of the hero in the opera, actually the name of a Liberation Army man who died on the battlefield towards the end of the Liberation War, had Chairman Mao not intervened and stopped her.

Later on we were to see how Chiang did everything to block the production of other forms of stage art, the re-staging of earlier plays and the rerunning of films made in the fifties and early sixties, just so that *her* works could monopolize the Chinese stage and screen, and even radio and television. Resentment ran high among the people and all Chairman Mao's and Premier Chou's exhortations to rectify this intolerable situation fell on deaf ears.

No real efforts were made to realize Chairman Mao's directive that literature and art should be inspired by a combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism. Nor was anything done to make 'a hundred flowers blossom' and 'weed through the old to bring forth the new' as Chairman Mao had called for. Instead, Chiang Ching laid

down a set of rules for Chinese revolutionary theatre which, if really followed, would have acted as a straitjacket on the very thing she said she was developing. Take for example what she called the rule of the 'three dominations': among all the characters, the positive ones should dominate the stage; among the positive ones, the heroes should dominate the stage; and among the heroes, the chief heroes should dominate the stage. She often used such rules as criteria to criticize works created by others. The fact is that rules like this could hardly apply to even *her own* works. Could one allow a supporting character, say an ordinary member of a PLA contingent in *Tiger Mountain*, who is certainly a positive character, if not a hero, by Chiang Ching's definition, dominate the stage when he appears at the same time as the chief villain, the boss of the Tiger Mountain? Worse, the dominating position Chiang gave to the heroes only made them into born supermen who were entirely isolated from the masses, and stood high above the masses they were supposed to serve.

An Opera Critique

As Chiang Ching thus pushed herself into the limelight, the Cultural Revolution was launched and this proved an absolute necessity. In 1959 Peng Teh-huai raised a hue and cry against the Great Leap Forward. He was voted down in the Party Central Committee, which fact cost him his job as Defence Minister. But neither he nor the opportunists behind him in the Party took this lying down. Taking advantage of the three difficult years and the necessary re-adjustment in industry and agriculture, Liu Shao-chi tried to reverse the advance of socialism in the Chinese countryside by advocating household farming and small private enterprises. In the field of propaganda and literature and art dominated by revisionists, all-out efforts were made to stage ghost operas or operas exalting either emperors and high-ranking officials in Chinese history or young, elegant dandies and their delicate lovers. Such works were designed either as vehicles for settling personal accounts or of personal revenge, thus playing down class struggle, or to undermine the spirit and confidence of the working class, all of which would tend to slow down socialist revolution or, worse, foster capitalist restoration. A sudden spate of operas and plays came into being, heavy with political overtones, and lauding good, upright officials

who, with the interests of the common people at heart, were not afraid of openly confronting the emperor. Among these were what was called the 'new historical opera'—*The Dismissal of Hai Jui*. No effort was spared to drive home the parallel between Hai Jui and Peng Teh-huai (Hai Jui, a mandarin at the Ming court, was once also a Defence Minister!) in order to impress the audience that the dismissal of Peng was wrong and that he should be reinstated.

So to stop this insidious drift towards revisionism, it was natural that following Chairman Mao's complaint that the Chinese stage was dominated by 'the dead', a first move in the form of a critical article should be made against this 'new historical opera', *The Dismissal of Hai Jui*. It was obviously Chairman Mao's idea to have such a critique written. But with the media and propaganda organs in Peking almost wholly controlled by Liu Shao-chi and his lieutenants, it was impossible to have such an article written in Peking, let alone have it published there. Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan were tipped off, and seizing this opportunity they drafted the article and had it published in Shanghai. Not to bias the issue from the very beginning, the name of the less known of the collaborators was used.

A recent check through old issues of *Wen Hui Pao* turned up material to show that Yao, a then young but prolific writer, was quite a nimble opportunist. Only a few weeks before the launching of the anti-Rightist campaign in 1957, Yao was still writing articles in his paper in sympathy with a Rightist writer in Shanghai. But soon he did a complete about-face, berating the same writer and thus setting himself up as an anti-Rightist hero. The same political wavering was again revealed in the article on the Hai Jui opera. Chairman Mao had made the point quite clear that, in stressing the 'dismissal' of Hai Jui, Wu Han was alluding to the dismissal of some one in present-day China, namely, Peng Teh-huai, and that only by bringing out this point could Wu Han's motivation be thoroughly exposed. But Yao, who had repeatedly praised Peng for his 'Party spirit', his 'revolutionary will of iron' and his 'outstanding skill in battle', deliberately slurred over this key point and weakened the political impact of the article. Chairman Mao was so unhappy with the article, which was published in *Wen Hui Pao* on November 10, 1965, that he soon had another written to drive home the meaning of the 'dismissal'.

Lin Piao-Chiang Ching Alliance

Because of Peng Chen's manipulation, the Cultural Revolution initiated by Chairman Mao did not get going until almost a year later, following the disbandment of the Cultural Revolution team led by Peng Chen and the setting up of a new one on May 16. On the same day a circular was issued by the Party Central Committee setting out the meaning and objectives of the Cultural Revolution, one of which was the toppling of 'persons in power in the Party taking the capitalist road.' This was followed by the First Marxist Big-character Poster which appeared in Peking University and was approved by Chairman Mao on June 1 for publication in the *People's Daily*. Chairman Mao's own big-character poster 'Bombard the Headquarters', was issued on August 5 and the resolution of the Party Central Committee on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (the Sixteen Points) was adopted on August 10.

But before this, in February, an alliance was sealed between Lin Piao and Chiang Ching when the latter was entrusted by the former with the supervision of a forum called by him to discuss literary and art work in the Liberation Army. At the forum, Lin Piao was lauded by Chiang Ching as 'a brilliant example in studying Chairman Mao's works', and, in turn, Lin told the gathering that Chiang was a 'thinker' and that she was 'strong in politics and well-versed in art.' Chen Po-ta, who may have brought the two together, compared Chiang with Dante of the European Renaissance and Lu Hsun of the May 4 Movement era.

That alliance was to last till September 13, 1971, when Lin Piao's plane crashed in Outer Mongolia after his attempted armed coup had been foiled. Immediately before that, Chiang Ching took a picture of Lin pretending to study Chairman Mao's works which was intended for publication on the following National Day.

Down with Everyone

Though Chairman Mao had clearly stated in the 'Sixteen Points' that capitalist roaders comprised merely a fraction of the cadres, the slogan which called upon the masses to 'suspect all and pull down everyone' was launched by Lin Piao and members of the Gang of Four very early on in the Cultural Revolution and had since persisted on and off in different forms till the downfall of the

Gang of Four.

When this slogan was criticized, Yao Wen-yuan put the blame on Tao Chu and the so-called May 16 Movement, a group of seemingly ultra-Leftist youths with a strong anarchist tendency. But the controversy over the slogan 'suspect all and pull down everyone' was already raging in the big-character posters for everyone to read in the autumn of 1966, and at that time nobody had yet heard of the May 16 Movement or even any single May 16 group. By September of 1967, however, this ultra-Leftist tendency had become so strong that the *Peopel's Daily* had to come out with an editorial warning that in no way was the Cultural Revolution to be considered a movement for struggling against all leading cadres, or against the masses. But that did not deter ultra-Leftists who had gone all out yelling for the blood of large numbers of leading cadres. Even a year later, when Tao Chu was finally toppled, the movement had not run out of steam.

The struggle against Chen Yi, Foreign Minister and close lieutenant of Premier Chou En-lai, was a typical case. On the surface the struggle launched against Chen was instigated by a bunch of young zealots who had set their hearts not only on criticizing Chen, but also on pulling him down. On their insistence, a meeting was finally called in July 1967 to criticize Chen Yi, provided that they criticize him, but did not demand his dismissal. At the meeting, however, a section of the gathering did not stick to their side of the agreement and started to yell: 'Down with Chen Yi!' On a matter of principle like this, Chou En-lai, who was also at the meeting, would not budge an inch. He walked out of the meeting in indignation, leaving orders for the security guards to accompany Chen safely away.

In the following month, a crowd besieged Chou with questions, arguments, complaints, and repeated demands to allow them to criticize Chen Yi again. For 18 hours Chou stood firm and went without either food or rest. When some threatened to intercept Chen Yi's car if he ever appeared in the street, or force their way into the Great Hall of the People where Chen was staying at the time, Chou was adamant. 'Whoever tries to intercept Chen Yi's car will find me right there with him,' he told the crowd. 'If any of you tries to grab and struggle with Comrade Chen Yi, I shall plant myself in front of the Great Hall of the People, and you'll have to walk over my body to get at him.' In actual fact, people

other than hooligans were trying to get at Chen and, through him, Chou En-lai. Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta had found Chou a stumbling-block in their way of getting to top posts in the Party and government. Moreover, Chang Chun-chiao's scheme of setting up a Shanghai commune had just been frustrated by Chou, with the support of Chairman Mao.

January Storm

The January Storm in Shanghai in 1967 was a fine example of the working class taking over power from a handful of capitalist-roaders who practised economism in an attempt to undermine the Cultural Revolution. Chang Chun-chiao was first opposed to the workers' move. When he learned later that Chairman Mao was with it, however, he immediately turned around and set himself up as leader of the 'January Revolution'. This, according to him, began a new era and out-ranked in importance even China's Liberation in 1949 and the smashing of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. Class relations in China had changed, he insisted. To match this 'importance', he set up the first city commune in Shanghai and began to boast about 'Chang Chun-chiao thought' as 'the fourth milestone of Marxism'. But with Chairman Mao's support, Premier Chou pointed out to Chang that the objective of the January Storm, like that of the Cultural Revolution of which it was a part, was to seize power from a handful of capitalist roaders. It could not mean and never was a change of regimes, nor the smashing of an old regime to give way to a new one. Having failed to obtain Chairman Mao's approval, the proposed commune was set aside. Weeks later, following the example of some provinces, a revolutionary committee was set up with the participation of revolutionary leading cadres and army representatives as well as young rebels. Chang Chun-chiao's original scheme was obviously based on the reactionary concept of 'suspecting all and pulling down everyone', which, though censured yet again, still persisted.

The meteoric rise of Wang Hung-wen began in the January Storm of 1967. Vague hints were made at the time about his going against the tide, but what tide and how? In fact his real role in the January Storm in Shanghai was never clearly spelled out until recently. According to big-character posters put up during the past few months at the No. 17 National Cotton Mill in Shanghai, where he was a worker after his demobilization from the

army and later became a member of the factory security section, he seemed to suddenly become politically active towards the end of 1966, and his power base was a fraternity of sworn brothers he had managed to gather, and organized more or less on the pattern of the old Shanghai underworld. At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, he tried to ingratiate himself with the work team sent by the original Municipal Party Committee, hoping that they would make him the head of the Cultural Revolution team of his factory. When the work team gave the job to some one else in the factory, he turned against them and he and his fraternity declared themselves 'rebels'. On the eve of the seizure of power by the Shanghai rebel workers, Wang Hung-wen got himself elected deputy commander of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters by flaunting his qualifications of being a 'demobilized armyman', 'factory security cadre' and 'member of the Communist Party' and promising to bring 3,000 men from his factory to the inauguration of the Rebel General Headquarters, a promise which he never kept. Obviously when Chang Chun-chiao decided to switch his support to the workers' side, he found in Wang and his fraternity a useful ally and immediately put them under his wing.

First Attack on Taching

Among the numerous manifestations of the concept of 'suspecting all and pulling down everyone' was what happened in Taching in 1967. A group of young 'rebels' from Peking came to this by then world re-nowned oilfield, ostensibly 'to learn from Taching'. After going through the motions of 'investigating the situation' there, they charged that Taching was inspired not by the thought of Mao Tsetung, but by the revisionism of Liu Shao-chi. They denounced Wang Chin-hsi, an oil worker who had risen from the rank-and-file to become the leading spirit of China's biggest oilfield, as a shady character with a questionable history.

Later on another group came from Peking to call an accusation meeting of workers, and charges were hurled at Wang Chin-hsi and the Taching leadership. Some-one shouted at Wang: 'You're not a man of iron (for that was what he had come to be called throughout the country because of his undaunted spirit). You're a man of mud.' Wang raised his head and replied: 'Whether I'm a man of iron or of mud doesn't matter. What matters is

whether Taching is a white banner or a red banner.' He then went on to review the history of Taching since its earliest days, and in a resolute voice he declared: 'Taching belongs to the 700 million people of China. All its successes have been victories for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Whoever tries to topple this red banner will be smashed.'

Such repeated attempts to run Taching down were obviously in line with Lin Piao's designs to oust Premier Chou whom he considered a stumbling-block to his taking over Party and state. But such attempts can also be traced to the Gang of Four, or at least to Chang Chun-chiao, their foremost schemer. For he was known to have said openly that Wang Chin-hsi could no longer be a revolutionary with the position and fame he had won. 'The privileged,' he said 'cannot have any desire for revolution; Wang can only transform himself into his opposite now.' The implication of this statement went much further than any single man. Chang was actually hinting that all those who had reached a high position in the Party would ipso facto turn revisionist. Here one sees a variation of the 'suspect all—pull down everyone' concept and also the beginning of what he was to advocate later—the theory that at least 75 per cent of leading cadres are bourgeois democrats and therefore necessarily capitalist roaders.

'Armed Struggles'

It was also in early 1967, after the nationwide movement to seize power was launched, that factionalism began to appear and violent struggles among the masses began to break out. In a sense it was probably unavoidable that heated debates among young people holding different views would at least in some cases develop into scuffles. But since Chairman Mao had made it very explicit that no violence would be condoned, it was up to the leaders in the Cultural Revolution team to do all in their power to discourage violence from the outset. Nevertheless, even at a time when violence was far from widespread, Chiang Ching chose to come up with the principle of 'using reasoning in attack and violence in defence'. Anyone could see that this was a dangerous proposition. In the first place it made no distinction whatsoever between the social classes involved or the difference between right and wrong. In the second place it was couched in such vague terms that it could

lend itself to all sorts of interpretation and pave the way for further and fiercer violence.

It is true that Marxists have never denied the importance of revolutionary violence. Revolution is violence. But for Marxists violence on the part of the revolutionary people should be used only against the enemy and not among themselves. Chiang Ching's woolly rhetoric, however, merely escalated factionalism and violence among the revolutionary masses. This escalation only benefited the enemies of the Cultural Revolution and made broad revolutionary unity impossible. Thus the forming of revolutionary committees at all levels was retarded. When factionalism and violence spread from schools into factories, even production broke down, and in some places equipment and products were smashed up. Because of such disturbances, industrial production suffered some reverses in 1967 and 1968.

Behind Chiang Ching's advocacy for violence was a sinister motive. The Gang of Four was obviously aware of their own weakness—the army was not in their hands. In spite of their alliance with Lin Piao, they knew that they could not go very far without the armed forces they could rely upon. The call for 'dragging out a handful in the army' was first heard in the middle of 1967. Its origin was traced to Wang Li, then much later to Chen Po-ta. But this was certainly connected with Chiang Ching's call for 'defence by violence'. While talk about 'dragging out a handful in the army' was being broadcast around, on July 31 Chang Chun-chiao circulated a proposal on the question of the so-called Shanghai workers' demand for a 'defence-by-violence organization'. He alleged that the proposal had been drawn up by him after hearing Chairman Mao talk about reforming the militia, and that it had been approved by the Chairman himself. With this he began to set up his 'reasoning in attack and violence in defence' contingents. Wang Hung-wen boasted that his militia ought to take over from public security departments and become the main agency in charge of law and order. Later he was to openly advocate a 'second armed forces headquarters' under Chang Chun-chiao and himself.

Greater Unity and Victories

Despite interference by Lin Piao and the Gang of Four, the setting up of revolutionary committees on the basis of the three-in-one combination (revolutionary cadres, army and

rebels) and the combination of old, middle-aged and young was finally completed by September 5, 1968. This was followed by Chairman Mao's directive on struggle-criticism-transformation. In-fighting in universities and schools had come to an end with the introduction of Workers' Mao Tsetung Thought Propaganda Teams, who now took a leading role in struggle-criticism-transformation activities in educational institutes. Responding to Chairman Mao's call, young people began to settle in the countryside and border regions. Cadres renewed their links with the working people by spending some time at May 7 cadre schools.

The 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee was held from August 13 to 31 that year, and Liu Shao-chi, who had been criticized in the press as China's Khrushchov, was officially expelled from the Party. The proletarian policy of uniting with the great majority, including the children of denounced cadres and members of the enemy classes, was given emphasis.

With the whole country aroused by the Soviet invasion of China's Chenpao Island in the Northeast, the Ninth Party Congress took place in Peking in April 1969. The enthusiasm awakened by Chairman Mao at the congress for unity and victory was marred by Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta. They put forward a draft political report incorporating an earlier thesis devised by Liu Shao-chi that the main contradiction lay between advanced production relations and lagging productive forces. The draft was rejected by the Party Central Committee and Lin Piao reluctantly agreed to read another report drafted by its own appointed committee.

The successful conclusion of the congress heightened people's enthusiasm for new unity and new victories. The 'liberation' of cadres soon got underway. Criticism of revisionism was launched. Chairman Mao's principle of 'grasping revolution, promoting production' was emphasized once again, and the question of industrialization and the mechanization of agriculture returned to the agenda. Chairman Mao's directives on the transformation of intellectuals and the establishing of socialist institutes of higher learning were circulated. In July 1970, it was announced that university students were to be enrolled again for the first time since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. According to regulations announced at that time, an applicant has to spend at

least two years as a worker, peasant or soldier, and be recommended by his superior with the approval of his fellow workers. He has also to go through appropriate tests for ascertaining his cultural level.

The Cultural Revolution had won a decisive victory and seemed to be entering a period of relative stability. With the programme of struggle-criticism-transformation, the revolution in education which began with the Cultural Revolution was now being consolidated, and its results institutionalized, to bring up a new generation of workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. Industrial and agricultural development was to be put into higher gear, and research by scientists both in laboratories and in collaboration with grass-root research workers among the labouring people was to be encouraged. Continuing to grasp revolution, the nation was poised for a leap forward in socialist construction.

The Lin Piao Debacle

In this new situation, Lin Piao began to feel the ground slip from under his feet. He felt that time was against him and he had to seize power now if he was ever to succeed. In September 1970 he took the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Party Central Committee by complete surprise by delivering a report on the question of 'geniuses'. The session had been called to discuss the convocation of the Fourth National Congress and the draft of a new Constitution to be submitted to the Congress. At Chairman Mao's recommendation, the office of Chairman of the People's Republic of China, which had been held first by Mao and later Liu Shao-chi, was to be abolished. To this, Lin and his handful of henchmen in the top Party leadership took strong exception. Lin wanted that office badly and refused to see himself deprived of such a position and all the power which would go with it. For his report on the question of 'geniuses', in fact the theory on which he based his claim to the office of head of state, Lin was criticized by Chairman Mao and a number of other Central Committee members. Chairman Mao was determined to help Lin see his own mistake and be won over to the position of the majority in the Central Committee.

But Lin was adamant. He refused to listen to Chairman Mao's or anybody else's arguments. Instead, he went on to scheme with

his handful of sworn followers, putting together the notorious 'Outline of the 571 Project', a blueprint for armed take-over of the Party and government, including even the assassination of Chairman Mao. The attempt was foiled, however, even before it was launched, and Lin and his closest followers fled the country in a Trident on September 13, 1971, in the direction of the Soviet Union. They were only 200 kilometres inside Outer Mongolia when their plane crashed, killing all on board.

Though the whole country was told of Lin Piao's attempted coup and his death in the air crash soon after the event, criticism of him in the press specified no one by name. 'Political swindlers like Liu Shao-chi' were criticized for their apriorism, and people were exhorted to give full play to the fine revolutionary style of political study closely integrated with practice. They were asked to study Chairman Mao's 'On Practice'. The criteria by which one can distinguish between genuine and pseudo-Marxists was summarized by Chairman Mao in the 'three do's and three don'ts': 'Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and above-board, and don't intrigue and conspire.' 'Political swindlers like Liu Shao-chi' were criticized for divorcing politics from practical work, and theory from practice. Their assertion that 'it is all right for politics to sweep aside practical work' was vehemently denounced. The correct relations between agriculture and light and heavy industry once again received attention. The stereotyped literary style spread by Lin Piao, again without naming names, was to be set right. Modernization was put on the agenda for the first time in years. To bring the intellectuals' initiative into full play, correct implementation of the Party's policy towards them was urged. Cadres were exhorted to carry on the revolution, work for progress and evaluate themselves in an objective way.

Temporary Eclipse

Many of these points were similar to those made now in relation to the Gang of Four. And one can well imagine the predicament the four were in at that time, particularly because their close relations with Lin Piao, including Chiang Ching's personal association with Lin and his wife, were pretty well known. And in the early seventies after the exposure of Lin, one did somehow feel that the four were going through a political eclipse. They were less

in the public eye and made less noise. But they did not completely fade from the picture. The downfall of Chen Po-ta and Wang Li left them in control of some of the most sensitive of the media, including the Party journal *Red Flag*. Chiang still had a great deal of pull in the field of literature and art, and the four were building up their power base in universities and schools. In the autumn of 1971, Yao Wen-yuan was powerful enough to suppress an editorial on the mechanization of agriculture. This had been written for the *People's Daily* following the trend of thinking revealed at a national congress on that subject convened by the State Council under instructions from the Party Central Committee.

But even in those fields they had come under pressure. In 1972 Chairman Mao added his support to the growing general dissatisfaction with the scarcity of theatrical works. In talking to an actor he said there had been too few of those works and it was necessary to make the stage blossom anew.

At a meeting with film workers, Premier Chou said: 'The masses have been complaining that there are too few films . . . Right they are. This has not only been true with films, but also in publishing . . . The masses have an urgent desire for films and books, but have been given too few . . . We must give them new revolutionary works.'

Scientific Research in Universities

The importance of basic theoretical research in the natural sciences, a department which had been ignored because of the strait-jacket put on institutes concerned by Lin Piao's followers, was raised once again by Premier Chou En-lai in 1970 and, after the death of Lin Piao, in 1972. In that year, Professor Yang Chen-ning visited China and suggested to Peking University and the Institute of Physics of the Academy of Sciences that study and research should be promoted in the field of basic theory. After a meeting with Yang on July 14, the Premier said: 'Yang Chen-ning was very straightforward. Chairman Mao thought highly of him after reading the minutes of his talks.' The Premier then said to Professor Chou Pei-yuan, China's leading physicist and Vice-Chairman of the Peking University revolutionary committee: 'Build up your university's science departments and raise the level of basic theoretical research. This is a task I am entrusting

you with. If there are any snags, push them aside; any obstacles, remove them.' Based on this instruction, a project to strengthen basic theoretical research and teaching in Peking and Tsinghua Universities was drafted and submitted to the Premier. On November 8 he returned the document with the comment: 'Revise this document carefully . . . with due regard to the respective characteristics of the two universities. Present it to the faculties and to new and old students for serious discussion. Then submit it for scrutiny to the scientific education section (of the State Council) before sending it on to me.' Following his instruction, a project was finally drawn up and submitted to the State Council. Though the Gang of Four were able to make a great deal of hullabaloo against the project, they were compelled to have Chou Pei-yuan's article on the revolution in scientific education in comprehensive universities published in the *Guangming Daily* on October 6.

Blank Examination Paper

Chang Chun-chiao felt strongly about the shameful end of Lin Piao. He lamented that whatever power they had gained in collaboration with Lin was now completely lost. There would have to be a second seizure of power, he told his confidants. Though their all-out attempt to seize back power did not start until 1974 in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, initial skirmishes took place in the summer of 1973, again in the field of education.

In April 1973 the State Council pointed out in a circular on the 1973 enrolment of university and college students: the principle of enrolling outstanding workers, peasants and soldiers with two years of practical experience, and the principle of having the masses review and recommend every candidate must be strictly adhered to. On the basis of political qualification, the candidate's cultural level should also be taken into careful consideration. For that purpose, a candidate must go through cultural tests in order to have his level of basic knowledge and his ability to analyse and solve problems ascertained. But at the same time measures must be taken to avoid 'putting marks in command'. This was actually a re-iteration of general principles laid down for the first post-Cultural Revolution enrolment in 1970.

One of the Gang of Four's henchmen in Liaoning was touched to the quick and react-

ed vehemently. (In the Chinese press his name was withheld, obviously out of the respect for the Chinese principle of pre-judging none of the top villains' followers until his degree of involvement is fully revealed. For convenience's sake let us call him L.) He immediately went to Peking where he closeted himself in with a sworn follower of the Gang of Four at one of the universities. Upon his return to Liaoning, he declared: 'They can go ahead with their cultural tests, but I reserve my right to criticize.'

Hsingcheng was one of the places in Liaoning where a pilot set of cultural tests was held. Candidates were allowed to refer to books and questions were in no way designed to catch them out. But even before the results were known, L began to castigate the tests as 'an attempt at retaliation by the bourgeoisie'. In Peking Chang Chun-chiao echoed that the tests would close the doors to youths for whom the proletariat holds out great hopes and heighten the expectation of the revisionists. On July 10, at a briefing session on cultural tests, the case of Chang Tieh-sheng, a production team leader of a commune at Hsingcheng, was brought up. Chang was

said to have turned in a blank paper with a letter addressed to 'the leadership.' L jumped at it. He ordered the paper and letter to be sent to the *Liaoning Daily* for publication under an editor's note, eulogizing the young man for his spirit of 'going against the tide'.

But when the final copy for publication was in, it must have been disappointing to L. Chang's father was a small-time capitalist of dubious political and historical background, and Chang himself was so anxious to be enrolled that he had tried pulling every string available to him. Even his letter to the 'respected leadership' concludes with the following: 'I do hope consideration will be given to me as a production team leader that I am, that I may realize my heart's desire and ideal.' Blind with a desire to hurl this young man at the State Council, L crossed out this last sentence in the letter and inserted into the editor's note the remark that 'no political or historical problems have been found' among Chang's family members and their social contacts.

Thus expunged of incriminating remarks, the letter, along with the editor's note, was published in the *Liaoning Daily* on July 19 and reproduced the following day in the *Peo-*

Ten Counter-accusations

When criticizing the film based on Taching Oilfield—The Pioneers—Chiang Ching and her cronies levelled at the film 'ten accusations'. Recently at the National Conference on Learning from Taching in Industry, Vice-Premier Yu Chiu-li brought upon the Gang of Four also ten accusations. They are, in his words:

(1) They viciously attacked Taching's basic experience of getting things going with Chairman Mao's two theses and opposed the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the industrial front. Chairman Mao's brilliant works, 'On Practice' and 'On Contradiction', are scientific summaries of the experience of the Chinese people's protracted revolutionary struggle, a development of Marxist philosophy and an important theoretical basis on which our Party shapes its line, principles and policies. If the Taching workers, with just the blue sky over their heads and the grasslands under their feet, had not armed themselves with the dialectical and historical materialist world outlook of the proletariat in changing the world, could they have overcome so many difficulties and opened such a big oilfield at such unusually high speed? If

Taching had not used Mao Tsetung Thought to build up a revolutionized contingent of the 'Iron Man' type, could it have withstood the storms and won one victory after another in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines? By opposing Taching's experience of getting things going by studying Chairman Mao's two theses, the Gang of Four attempted to tear down the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and confuse people's thinking with their idealist and metaphysical nonsense so as to push their ultra-Right counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

(2) They tampered with the Party's basic line and opposed deep-going education in this line on the industrial front. Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, put forward the great theory of

ple's Daily in Peking. Chang was not only admitted to an agricultural college in Liaoning, but also appointed to its revolutionary committee. He became an overnight celebrity as 'the candidate who turned in a blank paper'. To be exact even that is a misnomer. For in that science paper, he did in fact answer six of the minor questions in the chemistry section and got six marks out of a possible hundred. In the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and that of fighting back at attempts to reverse correct verdicts, Chang was to become the Gang of Four's chief loudspeaker when they challenged the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line at every turn.

Later in the year, a teenage girl student was set up by Chiang Ching's No. 1 errand woman to stir up teacher-student confrontation, eliminate all discipline and make the normal holding of classes impossible. Chaos and even destruction began to spread through schools and colleges.

Going Against the Tide

There was no lack of people who deliberately went against the tide to criticize the

continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and formulated the basic line for our Party, which is the life-line for all our work. Betraying the Party's basic line, the Gang of Four brazenly slandered education in the basic line as 'criticism of the petty bourgeoisie by the big bourgeoisie' and slandered Taching's class education in the basic line which contrasts past bitterness with today's happiness as 'vulgarization' and 'outdated'. They deliberately distorted the principal contradiction during the historical period of socialism, turned things upside down as to the relations between the enemy and ourselves, set as target of their 'revolution' to be overthrown leading cadres at various levels who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and incited landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and old and new bourgeois elements to rebel against the proletariat in an attempt to topple the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

(3) They formed a bourgeois factionalist set-up, ganging together to pursue their own interests and usurp supreme leadership of the Party. They tried everything in their power to undermine the Party's centralized leadership

Gang of Four for their evil-doing. In the case of the teenage girl mentioned above for example, three young men working in a regimental political department of the Inner Mongolian Construction Corps wrote a letter to the girl warning her that others might be using her for their ulterior motives. The three armymen pointed out to her that teachers and students are comrades in revolution. They ought to help each other make mutual political and ideological progress and not wrangle over minor matters. This angered Chiang Ching's errand woman so much that, with Chiang's support, she had a letter written in the young girl's name, accusing the three of being spokesmen for counter-revolutionary restorationists. On Chiang's instructions, the ghost-written letter was published but not the letter by the three. It was stressed in an accompanying headline that the three were members of an Inner Mongolian Construction Corps unit. Pressure was also put on the unit and the local public security department to prosecute the three. But these local units, with the support of the people there, refused to take any action against the three. In fact the young girl also received many similar letters from old workers in Peking, asking her to beware of any malicious manipulation.

and incite people to 'kick aside' the Party committees to make revolution' at Taching and elsewhere in the country. But for the Communist Party, there would have been no new China and no victory for socialism, and we would have nothing. If the Party were kicked aside, where would the revolution be! Their 'revolution' was counter-revolution, which meant overthrowing the Communist Party and placing themselves in its stead. If this sinister gang of counter-revolutionaries came to power, it would mean the Kuomintang reactionaries and fascists coming to power, and our country would change its political colour and turn into a colony of social-imperialism and imperialism, and the labouring people would be again thrown into the abyss of misery.

(4) They opposed reliance on the working class and incited bourgeois factionalism so as to split the ranks of the working class. They slandered as a 'political pick-pocket' the 'Iron Man' Comrade Wang Chin-hsi, a vanguard fighter of the Chinese working class who dedicated his whole life to the revolution with boundless devotion. They labelled as 'people with vested interests' and 'forces for restoration' heroes and model workers in

Between July 1973 and August 1975, Chu Ching-to, an actor and martial arts instructor with the Shanghai Chekiang Opera Theatre wrote three letters to Chairman Mao charging Chang Chun-chiao with maligning Chen Yi behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. In the last two of the three letters he denounced Chang Chun-chiao for not being open and above-board, for hiding the true state-of-affairs in the Shanghai militia from the Central Committee, for being deceitful, and for being implicated in Lin Piao's restorationist plot. Public security personnel ordered to arrest and investigate Chu insisted that Chu's was not a case of contradictions between the people and the enemy and that he should be released forthwith.

Lin Piao and Confucius

At the beginning of 1974, a few months after the Tenth Party Congress, the Gang of Four became increasingly dissatisfied with the rehabilitation of large numbers of cadres loyal to Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line, and their own failure to nominate many of their cronies to the Central Committee. They saw Premier Chou's failing health and

Taching and other sectors of the country's industry known for their great contributions to the socialist revolution and construction. They tried in every way to discredit all advanced units and individuals who had been commended by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. On the other hand, they honoured ruffraff, bullies, embezzlers, grafters, people guilty of beating, smashing and looting and new counter-revolutionaries.

(5) They brandished the cudgel of the 'theory of productive forces' everywhere to oppose building socialism with energetic efforts. Not knowing how to work a machine, grow a crop or fight a battle but being masters at sucking the blood of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, they had the impudence to slander Taching, which had made great contributions and performed outstanding deeds for the proletariat, as a 'sinister example in following the theory of productive forces.' They slandered workers throughout the country who persisted in grasping revolution and promoting production as 'working to lay the foundations for capitalism.' In so doing they aimed to sabotage the socialist economy and undermine the material basis of

Chairman Mao's ageing as an opportunity for seizing greater power again, and in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they directed the criticism at Premier Chou and other members of the Political Bureau instead of at either of the supposed targets.

On January 24 and 25, they called two separate meetings of military and civilian personnel in Peking without consulting Chairman Mao or the Political Bureau. At the meetings, Chiang Ching was repeatedly lauded by her two lieutenants. Material presented for criticism was said to be compiled entirely under the 'direct concern' and 'concrete guidance' of 'Comrade Chiang', whose name came up again and again in the speeches. To criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, they added criticism of using personal relations for private advantages. The latter should be criticized. But treating it on a par with Lin Piao and Confucius would be tantamount to assigning large numbers of cadres to the enemy camp and summarily pushing them aside. The Gang made no secret of their attack being primarily directed against the army. They talked about blazing trails into the army and sending men like Yang Tsu-jung (a PLA hero in a Peking opera who penetrates

the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(6) They opposed the establishment and improvement of rational rules and regulations in socialist enterprises and smeared Taching as a 'typical example in controlling, checking and suppressing the workers.' Chang Chun-chiao went so far as to equate the rules and regulations which the workers consciously observed with the feudal yoke which the landlords used to oppress the peasants. He yelled: 'Taching's system of personal responsibility is no innovation at all. When Wang Hsi-feng straightened up Takuan yuan she was introducing a system of personal responsibility for the women servants and handmaids.'*

(7) They opposed Taching's revolutionary style of being honest and strict, denigrating it as 'imposing spiritual fetters' and 'practising

* Chang Chun-chiao was alluding to an episode in the classical Chinese novel *Dream of the Red Chamber*, in which Wang Hsi-feng, the young lady who manages her father-in-law's manor-house and the huge garden Takuan yuan attached to it, allotted specific responsibilities to each and every servant, maid or slave-girl to put the household back in order. In this way Chang was trying to insinuate that Taching's management was similar to the management of a feudal household.

a Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang to collect information and pave the way for a PLA raid on the gang) into different army units! A number of instructions were sent out by Chiang Ching, some of which even suggested 'trail-blazing' into the PLA General Staff!

Chairman Mao soon learned about their activities. Charging that 'metaphysics, one-sidedness, is rampant', he stopped the planned distribution of a tape made at the January 25 meeting. On March 20 he criticized Chiang Ching for her failure to carry out instructions and her amassing of special privileges. At the Political Bureau meeting on July 17, Chairman Mao warned the Gang of Four: 'You'd better be careful, don't let yourselves become a small faction of four.'

At the same time, the media under their control, and *Red Flag* in particular, under the pretext of criticizing Confucius published a number of historical articles in reality directed against Premier Chou En-lai. Not long after the Tenth Party Congress there was an article published criticizing a prime minister who served under Chin Shih-Huang-Ti and was later forced to commit suicide, calling him an eclectic. It pleased Chiang Ching a

slavishness.' By opposing Taching's 'three rules for being honest', they were encouraging lying, double-dealing, conspiring and intriguing. In opposing Taching's 'four regulations for being strict', they aimed to sabotage the revolutionary discipline of the proletariat so that they themselves could do as they wished. Didn't Lin Piao say that 'without telling lies one cannot achieve great things'? The Gang of Four and Lin Piao were of the same stock.

(8) They opposed socialist accumulation and slandered fulfilment of the task for handing in financial returns according to the state plan as 'putting profit in command.' Without accumulation there could be no expanded reproduction and development of socialist undertakings. The Gang of Four deliberately blurred the demarcation between socialist accumulation and the capitalist practice of putting profit in command, confused people and caused many enterprises to run at a loss for years on end, all for the purpose of dissipating the wealth of our socialist country.

(9) They propagated such reactionary slogans as 'We prefer workers without culture' and opposed people becoming both red and

great deal. She called for further criticism of 'Confucian prime ministers' and 'the great Confucian of the present time'. Thus a string of prime ministers during the Han and earlier dynasties came under fire. Confucius was criticized as a prime minister, though only an acting one. The Lord of Chou, first prime minister of the Chou dynasty, was not spared either. This ancient statesman lived some 800 years before Confucius and from a historical point of view was considered a progressive. He helped found the centralized Kingdom of Chou which formed the core of a network of alliances and laid the basis of China's eventual unification. That Confucius should preach restoration of rites formulated by this Lord of Chou cannot be blamed upon him. After all he could not have suspected that 800 years later some one would try to apply a set of rites and regulations he drew up to strengthen the kingdom he helped found and later governed. Strictly speaking Chi was his surname, but unfortunately he had the character Chou in his title, and so had to be 'bombarded'. For Chiang Ching was hardly concerned with historical truth.

Two Empresses

In the same vein, Chiang Ching's scribes

expert and training the proletariat's own experts. It would be impossible to realize the four modernizations and build our country into a powerful socialist state without a high degree of political consciousness, a developed culture and a mammoth army of proletarian scientific and technical personnel. The Gang of Four tried to dampen the enthusiasm of the masses of cadres, workers and technicians to study politics, raise their educational level and learn professional skills and techniques for the revolution. Their purpose was to turn our country back to a state of ignorance and backwardness so that they, the 'standard-bearers' with 'culture', could ride roughshod over the labouring people.

(10) They slandered the stipulations of our proletarian state on strengthening planned management as 'revisionist decrees' and tried their utmost to oppose socialist economic planning. Those regions and departments under their control went their own way without restraint in production, recruiting workers, exchanging products, fixing prices and starting construction projects, which greatly intensified the spread of capitalism and crippled our socialist economy.

lavished praise upon Empress Lu, wife of Liu Pang, the first emperor of Han. This schemer of a woman was said to be a Legalist who succeeded to her husband's throne and upheld his Legalist policies. In actual fact she was only manoeuvring to put her brothers and nephews into important military positions, thereby acquiring the empire for her own clan. In the end this landed her in trouble with her husband's former lieutenants who restored the empire to the Liu family. Chiang Ching of course chose to ignore the last days of Empress Lu's reign. But again truth was none of her concern. Historical facts were considered only in so far as they could be distorted to strengthen her claim to the country's top position.

As if Empress Lu was not enough to back up Chiang Ching's claim to the 'throne' (she actually said that there would be 'empresses' even in a socialist society). Empress Wu was also added to the list by Chiang Ching's scribes—among them Liang Hsiao, the pseudonym for a group of writers recruited by the Gang of Four from among the faculties of Peking and Tsinghua Universities. Wu was a minor concubine of the founder of the Tang dynasty, Emperor Tai Tsung. After his death, his son, Emperor Kao Tsung, was so captivated by this woman, who was actually five years his senior, that he made her his Empress in complete disregard of the opposition of at least two of his prime ministers (during the Tang dynasty there were usually three or more prime ministers at any time forming a council under the emperor). Being of indifferent health and mentally a weakling of an emperor, he soon handed over the reins of the state to his wife. After his death, she pushed aside her two sons to proclaim herself 'Emperor'. She was a capable woman and her dynasty thrived under her reign (Chiang Ching has actually pitifully little to compare to her in this respect). But she was also known for her cruelty, vindictiveness and tyranny. She put to death all those who were opposed to her or even so much as criticized her, including her own son, grandson, granddaughter and the empress she had displaced. Moreover she never forgave the two prime ministers who advised her husband against making her empress. Under Liang Hsiao's pen, however, Empress Wu became an entirely different woman. Both she and her husband were said to be anti-Confucian Legalists and because of his 'old age' he ceded power to his wife so she could carry on his 'Legalist line'. (At that time the emperor was

actually 33 and his wife 38!) The two prime ministers, whom she put to death, were accused by Liang Hsiao of being Confucian, though they had been trusted prime ministers of Emperor Tai Tsung whom Liang exalted as a 'Legalist emperor'! The motive behind such historical distortion was only too obvious.

The Battle of the Hsishas

Also during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the Gang of Four, as part of their attempt at seizing power, spread their tentacles out towards the navy. Their interest in it had begun much earlier. In the years 1964-1971 Chiang Ching paid three visits to the naval forces on Hainan. While there she acted as if she were over-all commander of the Liberation Army, and on each different occasion wore either an army or navy or airforce uniform. She and her gang visited army and naval commands, spoke at meetings, and brought reference materials for the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, maintaining a constant battery of attacks against Premier Chou and other leaders of the Party Central Committee.

In January 1974 the armed forces, fishermen and militiamen on the Hsisha Islands in the South China Sea warded off invading forces of the Saigon regime and recovered the three islands of Kanchuan, Shanhu and Chinyin. The combined Chinese forces were highly commended by the State Council and the Party Military Commission on January 23 for their victorious operations. Five days later, without the knowledge of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, Chiang Ching sent the Hsisha forces a 'letter of congratulation' in her name. Without a single word about the leading role played by the Party Central Committee and the Party Military Commission in the battle of the Hsishas, nor their concern over it, Chiang Ching tried to set herself up as the sole leader in the Party Central Committee preoccupied with the forces on the Hsishas. As if this were not enough, she sent a 'representative' of hers to the Hsishas to 'greet' the military and civilians on the front. When the 'representative' arrived in Kwangchow, he took the Kwangchow command headquarters to task for failing to hold a big meeting in acclamation of Chiang Ching's letter. 'This is a matter of your attitude towards a leader in the Central Committee,' he lectured the commanding officers. Once on the Hsishas, he patted everyone on the back and offered them Chiang Ching's warm regards.

Painters in China Today

Han Suyin

X is a painter who incurred the displeasure of Chiang Ching about three years ago, by painting a bird which she denounced as 'lugubrious and cynical'. She deemed it insulting to herself and 'who insults me insults the Party.' This was the way she proceeded to harass and persecute all those she did not like; and since she seems to have had a persecution complex, no one knew when she would fix a baleful eye on a person and declare loudly: 'This is not a good person.' Upon which, immediately, the unlucky man or woman was harassed by an 'investigation team.'

So X was held in custody, not in a jail, but in a room in the Art Institute where he taught

painting, while the investigation team interrogated him. 'Why did you paint this bird? What was your hidden intention? Who instigated you to paint this bird?' 'They were always looking for someone behind the scenes,' says X. 'They wanted us to denounce someone higher up; and by that they meant one of the old, able administrators around Chou En-lai. The Gang of Four's campaign in art and literature, which devastated these sectors in the last five years, were really aimed at denouncing Chou En-lai and the older cadres, especially the Long Marchers, as 'capitalist roaders'.

'But my friends all stuck by me. They

However, his real task was to return to Peking with a 'poem reportage', a term he had racked his brain to coin. The word 'reportage' would vouch for the 'truth' of what he wrote, whilst 'poem' would give the author a great deal of licence. The result was a sickening adulation of Chiang Ching. A photograph taken by Chiang and reproduced on a calendar became a 'silent order' and a 'spiritual atom bomb' which a captain gazed at for encouragement before he gave the order: 'Fire!' and which inspired his men to disregard all perils. There was also a sea breeze which brought a resounding voice bidding the men to 'throw out all invaders'—a remark said to have been made by Chiang Ching some four years ago when she visited Hainan. The 'poem reportage', was dragged out into almost a thousand lines, published in newspapers and printed in beautifully bound pamphlets to be circulated inside and outside China. Had it not been for the serious nature of what the Gang of Four set out to achieve, the whole episode, including the 'poem reportage', could have been treated as a bad joke.

The Feng Qing

On May Day 1974 the 10,000-ton freighter Feng Qing, built at a Shanghai shipyard, sailed for Europe. Her 32,000-mile voyage took her across the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans

before she returned to Shanghai 150 days later on the eve of China's National Day. This was not the first time that a 10,000-ton class ship built in China had crossed the oceans. For two years such ships had sailed across the seas to Canada and West Africa, yet the Gang of Four had shown not a single trace of interest in them. Nevertheless, when the Feng Qing returned, Chang Chun-chiao ordered there to be a rousing welcome and lengthy stories in the newspapers. One did not have to look very far for the motivation of this sudden enthusiasm. The press was full of stories blowing up certain differences the shipping company had had with the shipyard, slandering the former for 'worshipping foreign things', and at the same time hinting there were very important people behind the shipping company. It was then that the Fourth National People's Congress was about to be convened. Obviously to bag most of the important posts, the Gang of Four had decided they needed something which they could throw at Premier Chou and his faithful lieutenants, and the Feng Qing was precisely that. But as it turned out, in spite of all the dust they had kicked up, they failed miserably to blind any one.

Lee Tsung-ying

(To be continued in our next issue)

never abandoned me. "Don't give in, don't agree that you had evil intent; stick it out," they whispered to me. At the time we all whispered, we didn't dare to speak out loud, as if all walls had ears; we were so terrorized.'

After six weeks of harassment the news of this arbitrary detention came to Chou En-lai, already in hospital, very ill with cancer. He gave orders immediately, and X was released to return home. But meanwhile X's wife and child had lost the small house they occupied and were relegated, in the same compound, to two tiny rooms which had been used for storage. The two rooms were 3 yards by 3, and 2 yards by 3 yards, respectively. They were windowless, airless, and there was no toilet, bathroom, or kitchen. To cook, his wife had to stand outside in the courtyard, in the bitter cold, over a small earth stove. To use the toilet, they had to go to the public conveniences in the street. . . . They had to keep the electric light on all day, to see in the dark hovel they now lived in. Their bed filled one room; in the other they ate and lived, and X went on painting. 'You can't paint in that hole,' the investigators gloated. 'But I proved them wrong,' says X. 'I pinned my paper to the wall, and painted and painted.' To prove it he unrolls a huge, magnificent scroll of painting; it is five feet tall and 18 feet long. 'I painted it segment by segment, standing up.' And this is only one of many such paintings he did in the hovel. 'The Gang of Four, Chiang Ching and the three men who were with her, were cowards,' says X. 'I didn't bow down to their bullying. And all my friends came. They had to stand in the courtyard, queuing up to see me, for I could not admit in this tiny space more than two at a time, and we were crowded then.' For four years, X endured this discomfort. 'None of my friends gave me up. And the four did not dare to order them not to come to see me.'

Y is another classical painter; his mountains and river landscapes are famous. He painted an eagle over a stream, and was accused of painting symbolically 'a return of the bourgeoisie.' He was blacklisted, along with so many other painters. His works could not be found nor reproduced. At the famous shop of Jung Pao Chai, which has specialized, for over two centuries, in the exact reproduction of famous originals (and the reproductions are so good that it is almost impossible to tell them apart from the original works—except that the price is very low) people came in

vain asking for these painters. Like X, Y accumulated paintings at home, and hid them by giving them away to friends and acquaintances. For in China's system painters give away, generously, their paintings, never asking for any money. It must be said that all artists, since the revolution, are on a salary basis, and painters too. Although the 'Gang of Four' proceeded to cut their salaries while 'investigation' was on, this was stopped, again by Chou En-lai, who insisted that salaries must be paid, for 'no family must suffer.'

'When I painted, they criticized my paintings as reactionary. I did not paint, and then they came to ask me why I did not paint.' So Y went sick with 'heart trouble and high blood pressure.' The hospitals in China harboured a great many artists and older cadres, whom kindly doctors found variously afflicted with obscure diseases. . . . Since medical care is free, they went there. 'When the four were arrested, the hospitals emptied in a day.'

'On October 7 four of my friends came to see me,' says another painter, Z. 'They stood outside, and whispered in my ear: "They've been nabbed." I could not believe it; I went to take a drink of wine and my wife said: "Why do you drink in the early morning?" "Let us go and take a walk," I said. In the street I whispered the news to her. Then we held hands for a long while, hoping, hoping. . . "Let us go and buy some wine, in case it is true," my wife said. But when we got to the wine shop there was a huge queue; workers, small employees, everyone was buying wine. Then we knew it was true. In a day, all the wine stores were empty. Nobody spoke, but everyone was smiling; and people who did not know each other looked into each other's eyes and shook hands.'

Today these painters, some of them world famous, have been restored to dignity, respect; X has a big, light studio; his works are coming out of oblivion, out of cupboards and hidden places. Despite the 'White terror' practised by the Gang of Four, no painter turned on his colleagues to denounce them; I have not heard of any. It is not the case, alas, among writers. At least one poet used to go weekly to Chiang Ching, to 'report' on his fellow-poets and writers. 'He hoped to become a Vice-Minister; a good many young, ignorant people were promised great jobs if they denounced their elders.'

I have spent the last two months not only interviewing famous professional painters, but



Han Suyin (extreme right) interviewing in Peking Huang Chou (third from left), and faculty members and students of the Central School of Fine Arts.

also going to factories and villages to see painting done there. For it is not true that it is the Chinese revolution which suppressed painting in China. It is quite the opposite.

In 1949, when Liberation came, the professional painters in China were leading lives of great misery, barely surviving through the sale of their paintings. Then at Liberation all artists—painters, writers, musicians—for the first time knew security. They were all put on pay, to assure their material existence. They also enjoyed all-expenses-paid travel to collect material for their work, and from the start Chou En-lai gave special attention to them. It was Chou who gathered a great many works of art to adorn public buildings, hotels, etc. 'But the Gang of Four hated him, they removed the paintings he had selected for a hotel; they criticized other major paintings, even those that Chairman Mao liked particularly, as 'revisionist'. 'Actually Premier Chou was the man who understood and carried out intelligently Mao's policies towards the intelligentsia, scientists and artists.' Many painters told me how Chou saw them per-

sonally, encouraged them to travel and to go among the people, the workers in the factories and the peasants, to see the transformations taking place in China. Mao's general directive 'Art must serve the people, the peasants, the workers, the soldiers' did *not* mean the stunting of art, but an expanded art. After all, Chinese painting had suffered quite a serious decline before the revolution, it had become repetitive and without content. However, just before the revolution, some major painters had been evolving new techniques; and after the revolution, Chou encouraged them to get away from the superficial and the mechanical. 'Chinese classical painting was capable of great expansion and development, and Chou En-lai saw it.' He activated the expansion of art academies. This 'modernization' did not go without, at first, some awkward experiments. 'We got some ill-balanced paintings, an old-style landscape with a tractor right in the middle of it,' says one artist. But in the first 15 years after Liberation; some excellent works did emerge.

Out of this wise policy came a massive de-

velopment of painting in China, especially at the Great Leap Forward of 1958. It was then that peasants and workers started painting, and drawing. Every factory set up blackboards, on which workers drew in chalk. But soon they were drawing on paper. Whole villages started painting in the fire and enthusiasm of the Great Leap, painting on the walls of houses, anywhere. This gave rise, for instance, to the excellent peasant paintings of Huhsien, of which a sample of eighty works have now toured Europe and are touring Canada, awakening great interest by their high quality.

It was in 1958 that professional painters and art academy teachers started classes in painting and drawing for the peasants and the workers. 'I only had a week of teaching,' says to me Li Feng-lan, a peasant woman painter, who continues to live in her poor peasant house, hoes the fields, and paints on village walls in her spare time. (Her paintings have received wide acclaim in Paris.) 'But of course we never kept our paintings; we did them in the course of our great movements to improve agriculture, and we rubbed them off every six months and painted new ones.' In a society which is *not* money-minded, there is no monetary value attached to such paintings. 'We can always paint new ones,' say the peasants, laughing. This enormous creativity, this talent, is one of the wonders of China's people; but I, personally, wish more of their works had been kept.

In every factory in China today, there is a 'cultural centre', more or less well developed. In a precision instruments factory in Sian, there are 45 full-fledged worker-painters, whose works have been exhibited, and who also operate an art magazine, a newspaper, a literary magazine, all within the factory, but much relished by the city's people. In the shipbuilding yards of Shanghai, I saw three workers sketching in the middle of the machinery. Here again, much of the work has not been kept. But among the paintings I saw, great skill and a quality of fresh vitality is maintained. However, there is a very big difference between worker painting and peasant painting; worker painting seems afflicted by a ponderous display of muscular men and women, all wearing a big, toothy smile. I think it has to do with the idea of 'heroism'. The working class, in a socialist society, is the leading class; and hence, instead of a normal flow of the painter's view of the world, there is a determination to depict

worker types a bit larger than life. But it is in massive group paintings that the workers are at their best, and I have collected one or two remarkable pieces.

This is what the Chinese revolution did; make art, music, painting, writing, not the privilege of the few, but something normal, a creative expression of the many. Incidentally, no one in China has ever heard of 'socialist realism' in painting. Under the remarkable Chou En-lai—who seems to have had time for everything and everyone, except himself, for he worked until too ill to stand up—Chinese painting was flexible enough to absorb the new, utilizing the wonderful, century-old techniques of this magnificent art; to produce not only landscape, birds and flowers, but also truly modern painting, and in many original ways. The only thing that was frowned upon was abstract painting.

*

Then came the 'White terror' or 'the Plague'. These are some of the names given to the Gang of Four—Chiang Ching and the three men who, with her, in their lust for power, almost wrecked China's industry, education, and art.

'They continued where that fascist, Lin Piao, had begun, with violence that we had never seen before, and which was directly against Mao's policies,' says to me the famous painter Kuan Shan-yueh.

Instead of the general directives of Mao, that art must reflect the transformations of socialism, and be for the people, they issued 'art directives' as absolute rules. There must be more political content to the paintings, they said. They held, in 1974, an exhibition of 'black paintings', that is, paintings they labelled 'counter-revolutionary, revisionist, capitalist-roading art,' and most of the renowned painters then came under the black list. But the blight also spread to the factories and to the communes.

'They almost destroyed, within the last ten years, folk art in China,' says the head of a handicrafts factory. 'Fortunately, we saved samples from the past.' 'There has been no proletarian art of any kind between the creation of the *Internationale* and the day that Chiang Ching started the new operas,' screamed Yao Wen-yuan, Chang Chun-chiao, and Wang Hung-wen, Chiang Ching's three helpers.

'They negated all art, all creation, everything between 1870 and the advent of Chiang Ching,' say the old painters.

Nobody in China denies that Chinese opera had to be renovated; but what everyone says is that Chiang Ching utilized her part in this renovation to manufacture her own tyranny, and destroy everyone and anyone who did not pander to her and her views.

The blight affected the factory cultural centres. As a result, all art became poster art, but of the soviet type. Herculean workers with enormous biceps and bulging eyes (very un-Chinese looking) wield torches in white-gloved hands. Buxom girls stand pressing pamphlets (issued by the Gang of Four) to their rounded tunics. 'We had to denounce capitalist roaders in our paintings. The capitalist roaders *must be* the older cadres, the seasoned Long Marchers, the members of the Central Committee and the politburo whom the Gang of Four had on their lists to kill off; and it was all designed against Chou En-lai.' This is what the workers say. No wonder that, when the Gang of Four were arrested, the workers were among the first in China to draw funny, witty cartoons, some of the best I have seen. A new art form, the political cartoon, has suddenly burst forth everywhere in China; exhibitions of these have been held; and I understand the best will be kept as works of art.

Even peasant painting was affected. I spent two days visiting Huhsien, the village of paint-

ers, and other surrounding villages (there are over 800 peasant painters in that one county of 400,000 people). The last pieces, done under the directives of the four, show a serious decline in artistic expression. 'They told us to draw only denunciation of high capitalist roaders. We had never seen a high capitalist roader, what he looked like. We didn't know what to draw.'

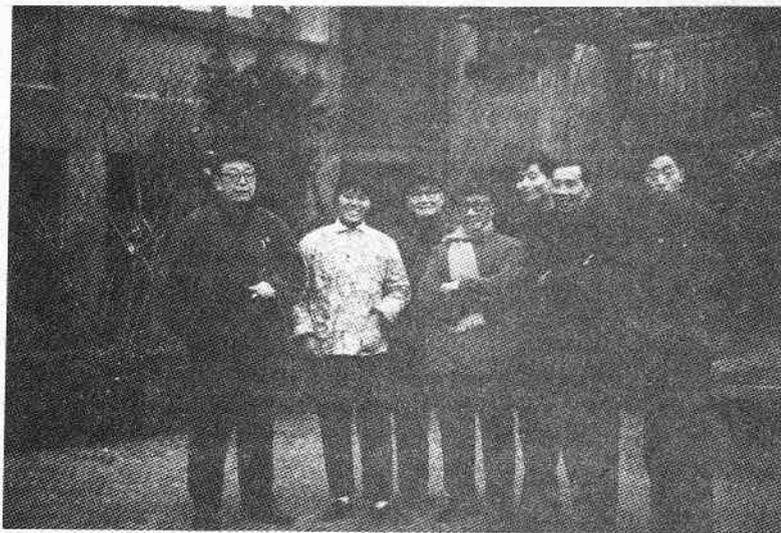
The professional and traditional painters fill in the picture. 'The Gang of Four said painting must not only be a denunciation of capitalist roaders, but contain: *three peaks, or three high points*. These were: Painting must be of positive characters only. Of heroic positive characters only. Of important heroic characters only.'

'This meant the end of Chinese painting as an art,' says to me the eminent painter Lin Feng-mien, whose works are prized in the West. 'It negated two thousand years of Chinese painting, of landscape, birds, flowers, that lovely flow of the land and its people which has delighted so many. Chiang Ching denounced *all* paintings which Chou En-lai had encouraged, even the enormous painting: *See How Beautiful China Is*, done by two famous painters, and highly appreciated by Mao Tsetung (the painting hangs in the Great Hall of the People).'

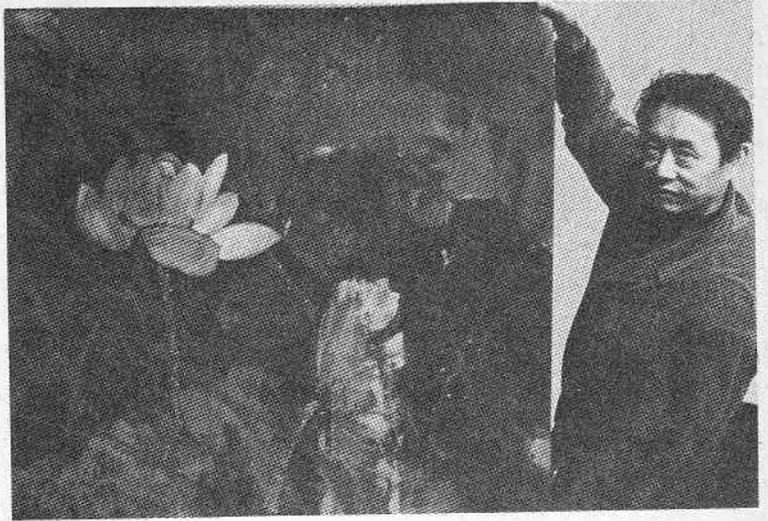
'I couldn't paint a thing,' says Tang Yun, aged 76, a talented old painter. 'How does one paint a positive bird, a heroic important flower?' This meant, actually, only paintings



Painter Kuan Shan-yueh in Kwangchow.



(From left to right in front) Tang Yu; Tsao Hsiu-wen, peasant painter; Lin Feng-mien, well-known artist; Shen Jo-chien, and an unidentified worker painter. The two in the back are Kuan Liang (left) and another unidentified worker painter.



Huang Yung-yu showing how he was able to complete this huge painting of lotus in his small room.



Huang Chou with his painting of an old man from Sinkiang.

of the Gang of Four itself, and of their followers. Nothing else.'

'I couldn't do any woodcuts,' says Shen Jo-chieh, whose woodcuts are highly valued in Japan. 'Every woodcut had to show a "positive, heroic character", denouncing a "capitalist roader".'

The academies of Chinese painting in Canton and in Peking were closed down as 'suspect. . . for investigation.' Kuan Liang, another famous artist, who drew and painted scenes from the old operas, was persecuted. He had painted the famous Monkey-God beating down a devil, the white-boned witch. Today, all over China, Chiang Ching is called the white-boned witch, and figurines of the monkey beating her down are on sale to the great delight of children.

Perhaps because he had drawn magpies, Chiang Ching, who always thought people were talking about her (and they were), black-listed and isolated the eminent painter Lin Feng-mien. 'Now no one comes to see you,' gloated one of Chiang Ching's followers. 'You are wrong,' the painter replied. 'My Lady Colour comes to see me every day.'

Huang Chou, a young and lively painter, went to Sinkiang and painted the wild asses roaming the desert. For this he was called anti-Party. . . the four saw in the asses an

allusion to themselves.

The famous Li Ke-jan, now 70, perhaps one of China's greatest painters, says: 'They tried to destroy all Chinese painting. Chinese painting is based on the use of black ink. "No one must use black in any painting," the four laid down.' In the art academy where he taught, they turned the students against the teachers. They also turned the amateur worker and peasant artists against the professionals who came to teach them. They said: 'There is no need for the young to practise.' Li's paintings of rocks and mountains were banned because 'no rocks must be shown when painting mountains,' and 'there must be no rain landscapes.' Yet rocks, rain, form an essential part of Chinese painting.

Today the plague is over; the academies re-opened; the young crowd round to learn basic techniques of Chinese painting; and the shop of Yung Pao Chai is filled with workers and peasants, clamouring to look at paintings. Major exhibitions will be held, in the spirit of the wide opening in the world of art.

'Perhaps this last tyranny, which the people have rejected with such open loathing, has been good,' says Kuan Shan-yueh, twinkling with happiness. 'We have become integrated with our people, and know how to serve them, in the best way. And now they want good painting, and they have good taste.'

Earthquakes

Husein Rofé

Causes

The Byzantine Emperor Justinian attributed the outbreak of earthquakes to unnatural sexual intercourse, which he therefore made a capital offence. Today it is known that their cause is to be sought rather in geophysical attempts to compensate for the imbalance resulting from prolonged stresses which build up over faults or fractures within the earth. The study of these movements is one of the bases of modern scientific earthquake forecasting, since we know that shock waves can be set off by sudden slips along the faults in opposite directions.

This 'slip theory' is generally referred to as elastic rebound. Unfortunately it does not satisfactorily account for the deep focus type of quakes which may take place at up to 700 km below the earth's surface. Seismic activity is also now being linked to orogeny, the growth and subsidence of mountains, in which such processes as erosion may gradually disturb the equilibrium in the earth's crust. Other possible causes involve continental drift, Wegener's now fashionable theory that the continents once formed a single mass and are gradually withdrawing from each other. Yet other contributory factors are man-made underground nuclear explosions and dam building.

Seismology, the study of earthquakes, is a branch of geophysics, less than a century old. On the positive side, its data also assist oil prospectors through what they reveal of subsurface structures, while in some countries such as New Zealand seismic information has also served to search out coal and mineral resources in addition to sources of geothermal power. It can detect underground explosions and even the presence of submarines on the seabed.

In ancient times, it was common to attribute quakes to planetary movements and to predict them by astrology, especially in relation to the respective positions of the sun, moon and earth. This tendency even persists today, though it has been adapted

to the 11-year sunspot cycle. Impending disasters can also be triggered off by adverse meteorological conditions, though most popular lore linking earthquakes and the weather is misguided.

On an average, earthquakes kill about 20,000 persons annually, doing much less damage than many famines, floods, typhoons and virulent epidemics (cf. the 20 million deaths from the 1918 influenza epidemic). Although there are hundreds of minor quakes every year, only two or three of these are usually serious.

The beginnings of seismology

The earliest known attempt to construct a device to register earthquakes came from Han China (AD 143); it consisted of eight dragons, each facing one of the compass points of Chinese geomancy, with a ball in its jaws. Agitation of the apparatus caused one of the creatures to release a ball, indicating the direction of the disturbance. It is in and around China that the greatest loss of life from seismic causes is traditionally recorded, though this should be seen in relation to the numerical predominance of the Chinese race. The Shensi disaster of 1556 killed 830,000 persons, while reports of the deaths in the 1920 Kansu quake vary from 180,000 to one million, and figures for Tangshan in 1976 are similar.

Japan suffers from constant convulsions, and it was the English scientist John Milne's observations there a century ago that inaugurated international collaboration for the establishment of seismographic stations round the world, the seismograph having been invented in 1855 by Palmieri, director of the Vesuvius observatory. There were 13 such stations at the beginning of this century, and today they number about 1,000.

Ideally, recording instruments are located in underground vaults, isolated from external noise or major fluctuations in temperature and pressure. Correlation of data has long been hampered by the lack of standardiza-

tion, though this is now being achieved. Modern refinements include specialized tape recorders which register ultra low-frequency signals on magnetic tape. These are then converted into figures for computerization purposes.

Prediction

Much progress has been made in the last 15 years, particularly in the United States and China. Successful forecasts were made for two Californian quakes in 1974, and for the southern Liaoning one in China's Northeast on February 4, 1975 (magnitude 7.2), in addition to a further dozen or so recent cases in China which probably resulted in the saving of numerous lives. Since the system is yet in its infancy, naturally some mistakes are still being made: the public in both America and China has become restless when predicted quakes failed to materialize, while an even more powerful shock than that of Southern Liaoning went unannounced in Hopei in 1976. At all events, the Chinese seem to be leading the world in this field today and their methods have been paid tribute to by American scientists.

Forecasting will however prove a mixed blessing, certainly for capitalist societies. A Colorado research team recently established that 3-year advance forecasts could provoke economic loss comparable to that of the earthquake itself, in addition to social disorders, speculation on depressed real estate, and the curtailment of insurance facilities. For such reasons, public warnings will not lightly be issued, while the subject of their legal implications still remains obscure.

In the case of the southern Liaoning disturbance, a town was destroyed but only about 400 out of the million people in the area succumbed. Throughout China, some 100,000 persons report all suspicious behaviour that could relate to impending seismic shocks and they prepare the public for such emergencies. Warnings include unaccustomed animal behaviour and changes in the water-level of wells. Such signs noted in December 1973 led to a mass evacuation of a southern Liaoning region just in time for the ensuing earthquake.

Another aspect receiving attention is the general world-wide earthquake pattern. There was very great activity recorded at the turn of the century, e.g. 21 quakes of magnitude 8 and above between 1903 and 1906, in Japan,

Colombia, California, the Aleutian Islands, Chile, New Guinea and Sinkiang (in that order). Since then the main periods of activity have been 1941-43 and 1960-61, while we appear to be in the middle of another such phase.

Intensity and magnitude

Seismic intensity is based on the modified Mercalli scale, in which 12 gradings relate to subjective impressions. Magnitude—as registered by seismographs—is quite a separate evaluation, on the Richter scale, where figures are normally from 0 to 9 (though negative values also exist). Both these scales rise by logarithmic progression, and magnitudes above 7 are very severe indeed, while 9 has never yet been recorded. Anything above 5 involves considerable damage, M2 is the smallest shock most people will usually notice, and M8.9 would be equivalent to the energy contained in a 100-megaton nuclear bomb. The Richter scale was devised in 1935, originally to measure Californian shocks. Newspaper reports frequently confuse these scales of intensity and magnitude.

Intensity of course varies from place to place for the same disturbance. It permits establishment of the epicentre or point directly above the focus of the shock, where the cause may be an underground rupture as much as 100 m below. Where the focus is shallow, effects tend to be more serious though they affect a smaller area.

Earthquakes can occur virtually anywhere on the globe, though 80% of them originate from a belt bordering the Pacific Ocean (itself a comparatively immune zone). The secondary major belt extends from mid-Atlantic to the Himalayas, mostly close to 35°N., then plunging down to Indonesia. It largely parallels volcanic belts as does the primary zone; shocks that precede and follow volcanic eruptions are also registered by the seismographs.

Within hours or days of a major earthquake there is often a second quake of almost equal magnitude (after-shock), though one recent case where this apparently did not occur was in the Bucharest quake of March 4, 1977 (at 9.21 p.m.). It only lasted 50 seconds but damaged practically every building in the centre of the Romanian capital. Smaller after-shocks may run into hundreds in a single night, and even continue for up to a year afterwards, striking terror into the hearts

of the survivors of the main disaster.

Some important earthquake areas

The importance of faults has been exhaustively studied for the well-known San Andreas Fault in California, which stretches 560 miles down the state and the ocean, causing the earth's crust to slide in opposite directions. It was responsible for the San Francisco earthquake of April 18, 1906, which is remembered chiefly for the damage and loss resulting from fires, while the number of dead was between 400 and 700 only. San Andreas has recently been very much in the news again, and the *International Herald Tribune* of March 15, 1977, stated:

'Because of historical patterns along the San Andreas Fault which extends through central California from north of San Francisco to the Mexican border, geologists generally agree that a major earthquake is inevitable.' An abnormal bulge has appeared along the fault and 'similar uplifts have been detected in the past shortly before earthquakes occurred' though it 'might have no relation to a future earthquake.' All that Dr Castle, a US expert, was prepared to say (perhaps not wishing to spread panic) was that the earth's undulations 'are a real mystery.'

Central America is another troubled area and, when I was in Guatemala in mid-November 1972, I heard much talk of popular belief in an imminent earthquake, based on the theory of a rhythmical recurrence every 200 years. There had been the great earthquake of June 3, 1773, and in fact I lived in Antigua (the old capital, surrounded by a ring of volcanoes) right next door to the ruin of the most beautiful church, which had then been destroyed. However I have not discovered evidence of a similar catastrophe in 1573 and history does not go back much earlier. The fact remains that within a month there was a most violent quake in Nicaragua, a few hundred miles to the south, while in Guatemala itself there was another major disaster soon afterwards, but slightly later than forecast.

In New Zealand, earthquakes are common and do much damage to property but cause little loss of life; we must of course remember that the national population is only around three million. Research in the country is aided by volunteers who complete special forms each time they feel an earthquake,

assessing its intensity, duration and other useful information.

There is also great seismic activity in Central Asia though it receives little international publicity owing to the sparse population and little loss of life or property (cf. Mongolia 1957). Across the Chinese frontier, matters are more serious.

The great Kansu earthquake of late 1920 ranks among the world's great tragedies, together with those of Lisbon (1755), Tokyo (1923) and Chile (1960). It produced profound modifications of the landscape because the local soil is loess, a kind that is tightly packed and slides about easily when moist. This sliding led to the burial alive of whole families, walled up in their hillside homes. Seven Chinese provinces were devastated over an area of 2,400 sq miles, covering a densely populated region and killing quarter of a million people at a conservative estimate. Among the dead was a well-known Muslim religious leader named Ma (a common Islamic surname in China, being the first syllable of Muhammad). He lived in a cave with 300 followers, none of whose bodies was ever recovered. Two-thirds of the dead were Chinese Muslims, whom other Chinese promptly qualified as having been singled out for divine displeasure!

Whole villages disappeared beneath massive landslides, while large segments of ground were displaced a mile and more. The plight of the survivors was accentuated by the disaster striking on a cold autumn night. The region was in fact so isolated and so perturbed that the world knew of the disaster by seismograph weeks before any survivors provided eye-witness accounts.

When living in Tokyo, I used to feel occasional jolts almost weekly, though none was serious. However, Osaka was destroyed in 1854, Gifu (near Nagoya) in 1891 and much of Tokyo-Yokohama in 1923, followed by Fukui in 1948 and Niigata in 1964, to name but a few.

In the Philippines there is also pronounced seismic activity, which rarely results in much loss of life. However, the Lanao region of western Mindanao is a danger spot, of which Haroun Tazieff wrote in 1962: 'the obvious presence of a violently active focus under this part of Mindanao provides it with the dismal certainty of future catastrophe.' His prophecy was fulfilled in 1976 and probably will be again.

The Tsunami

The great Lisbon earthquake took place on November 1, 1755, when most of the population were in church. Among the greatest upheavals in recent times, it was followed by a so-called seismic wave, or *tsunami*, resulting in 60,000 deaths, or killing one quarter of the metropolitan population. It also broke in two the Tower of Hassan in the Moroccan capital, 500 miles away, caused the water-level of Scottish lochs to vary a few feet, and shook most of Europe, also affecting lakes in Finland. The historical importance of this disaster is the incentive it provided for the scientific study of seismic phenomena. Meanwhile, Lisbon remains prone to such disturbances and is thought by some experts to be due for yet another serious calamity within the next half-century.

The *tsunami* is caused by a sinking of the seabed, which causes the sea first to recede and then to rush back. The resulting wave can be 300 miles long and travel at 400 mph, while its height has been known to exceed 30 m (even 40 m in the case of the Krakatau volcanic outburst, off Sumatra, when ships anchored off Valparaiso 12,000 miles away in Chile were severely buffeted). Hawaii is particularly exposed to such waves as a result of earth-

quakes on both sides of the Pacific which occasion *tsunami* travelling in opposite directions.

The great Tokyo earthquake destroyed half a million homes, while 76 fires broke out simultaneously. At least 38,000 deaths were caused by the *tsunami* alone, and the shore line rose and fell about 10 m. Finally the Chilean quake of May 22, 1960, caused US\$20 million worth of damage when its *tsunami* passed Hawaii; it then went on to cause a further \$70 million worth in Japan. Another *tsunami* from the Aleutians had traversed the Pacific to Chile via Hawaii in April 1946 at an average speed of 445 mph!

Safety measures

How can we try to shelter ourselves against such majestic cataclysms? While most damage is caused by falling man-made structures, more materials fall into the street than within houses. Everyone prefers to shelter outdoors in tents but it may make more sense to seek refuge under a reinforced part of the house or a heavy table, rather than rush out into the street, at least during the initial shock. Lighting of fires should be avoided since only those with tanks or swimming pools can extinguish fires once the water-main fails, as inevitably happens.



chinese arts and crafts

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Chinese Paintings Today



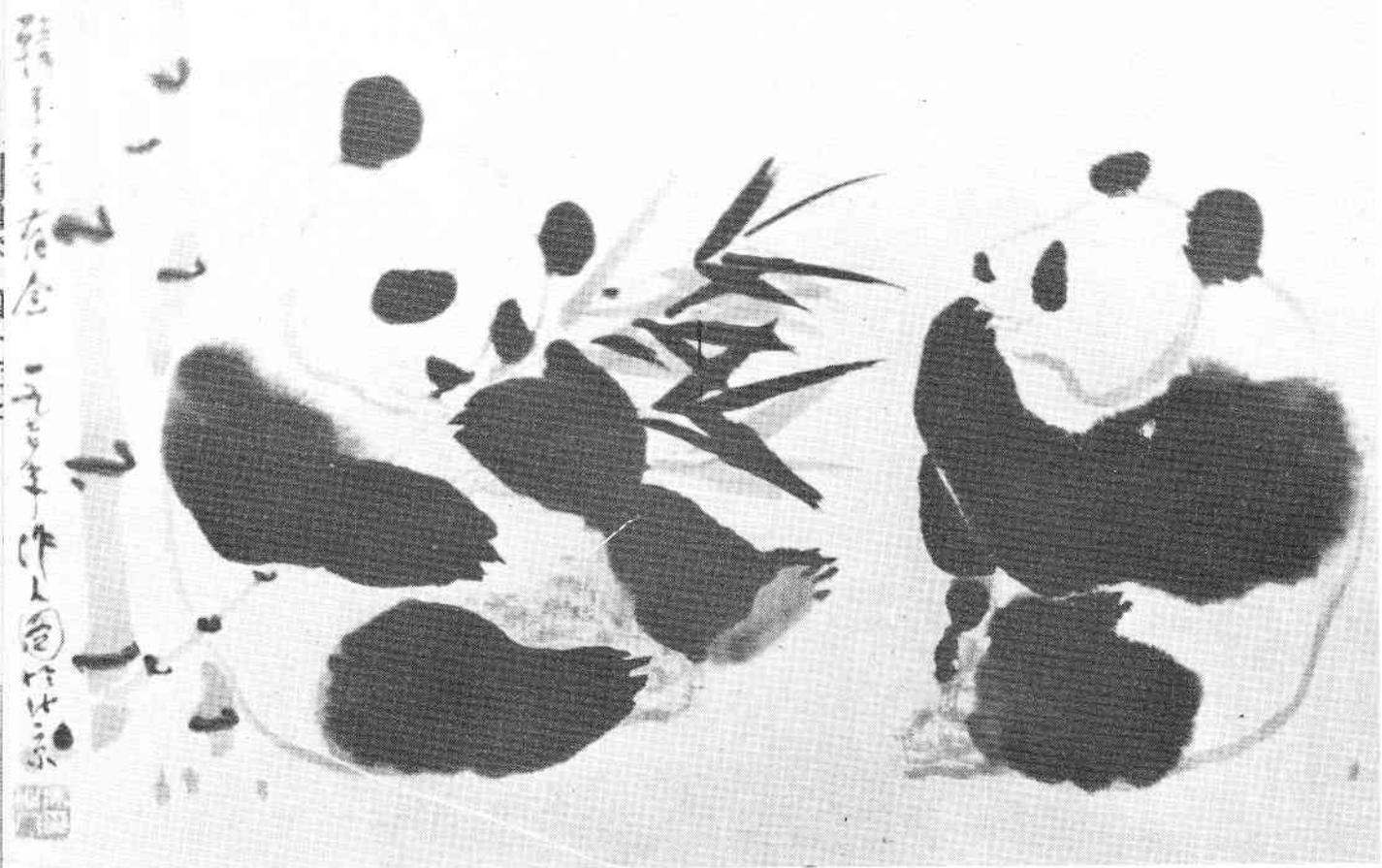
Harbinger of Spring *Kuan Shan-yueh*



Huang Yung-yu

Lin Feng-mien

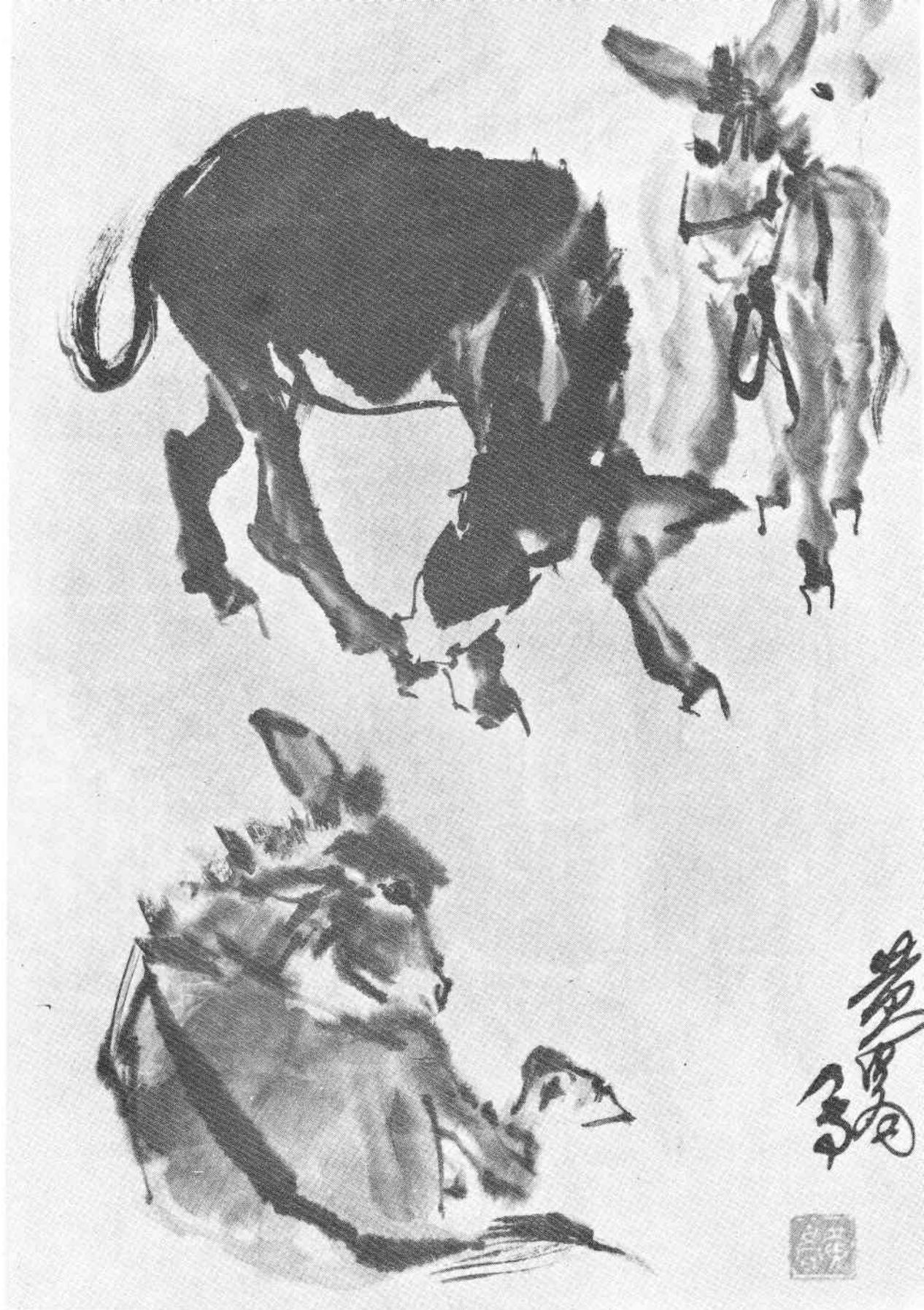




Giant Pandas *Wu Tso-jen*

Picturesque Yangshuo *Li Ko-jan*





Donkeys *Huang Chou*



Plum Blossoms Village

Li Ko-jan

Shantung Spring

Rewi Alley

In Peking, there were only hints of spring. In Tsinan, Shantung, the willows were green, and apricot blossom flaunted its glory high. I came to the familiar room in the familiar comfortable guesthouse. Mid March of 1977, and it was good to be amongst the tough, determined people of Shantung again. Looking down from the plane on the way in, one could see the Yellow River, dyked high and securely, water being taken from it for rice fields beside. Rice in Shantung? Almost unthought of in the old day, but in the new there is perhaps something like 13,300 hectares of it. The fight too has been against alkaline soils, and against drought. For more wheat and less reliance on corn, sorghum and sweet potatoes. For new industry and new communications. Not an easy fight, but one that is being steadily won.

Tsinan is now a city of one million two hundred thousand people. Noticeable since my last visit is a supplement to the bus system in the form of trackless trams, electrically powered.

Tsinan to Tzupo

Industry in Tsinan is becoming highly developed. Indeed the day we set out to go west, factories on the outskirts were interspersed with fields of wheat, and everywhere on, into and through the Tzupo municipality, wheat fields were interspersed by factories. Tzupo with its five divisions which roughly correspond to five counties, has 2,000,000 people now, 550,000 of them mostly factory workers in the town portions, and the rest commune farmers who cultivate 93,330 hectares of land, all but 26,667 hectares of hills and downs irrigated. Which means a great deal in a drought spring, as the one of 1977 turned out to be. Four thousand commune workers are now completing an irrigation system that will bring water to 14,667 hectares of the higher country. It entails as the main piece of work the cutting of a tunnel through a mountain for 11,000 metres. 6,000 metres of this work has been completed and the remaining 4,000 will be done before mid summer. Canals and aqueducts to distribute the water have already been constructed. The water will come from the Taiho reservoir, and will give adequate

drinking supplies to 16,000 people for whom water has always been deficient. In one hill family, the son was sent to work on the tunnel, but unfortunately was killed in an explosion accident. His mother promptly sent her only daughter to take his place in the work team.

South from Yitu

At Yitu, we turned south taking the main highway to Linchu. Before leaving Tzupo municipality we saw an exhibition of new Poshan pottery, and were impressed with the advance made over the past few years. In Yitu, a new city is being built north of the old one. As one comes into Linchu, one sees mulberry trees on every side. The county, which is 80% hills and downs, has ten million mulberries. Besides the main crops of wheat and corn, a good deal of tobacco leaf is grown here. The county is part of the Changwei prefecture which has long been noted for the excellence of its tobacco crop.

We were honoured on arrival at Linchu, to be the first guests at the still not quite finished guesthouse, and over tea talked with an old cadre about some aspects of the anti-Japanese struggle in these parts. There were 380,000 people in the county when the invaders systematically set out to destroy it and make it a no-man's-land. By the end of 1942, there were but 80,000 left. Wolves took over deserted peasant homes, and reared their cubs inside. From the hills, the remnant of the people fought on. Today the county has a population of around 700,000.

Fighting Drought

All the way down the highways from Tsinan, folk were out fighting drought. Truckfuls of school children were coming out from the city to join them. Workers' families in industrial areas were also marching out to help and see that all the winter wheat get a first good drenching. Many new wells were being dug. At one place around ten thousand commune members were digging a new river-bed, giving a straight run to a river that had previously wandered all over the place. The soil from the new digging went towards building up the old river-bed into flat fields. The place

was the Date Garden commune in Changchiu county, of the Tai-an prefecture. With new industrialization and farm mechanization, the highways become crowded, and the going is consequently rather slow. A few years ago, only a few major cities in Shantung turned out tractors. Now almost every one of the bigger rural centres does, and these with their trailers are now competing with horse and donkey carts on the roads. In a province where the people are noted for eating garlic, Changchiu is perhaps the most famous garlic-producing one. Truck and bus transport has increased enormously.

One of the sights of the day that came vividly back to mind as I typed these lines in Linchu was the frequent one of school children, with Little Red Soldier banners, out in force making an exercise and a game as well of getting water where needed. Good training for the many struggles the youngsters will have to face all through their lives, to be taken cheerfully and in their stride.

At Linchu

One of our stops was made at Hsiyu Tsun, a charming valley village across which one of the bigger viaducts of the main west canal ran, to enter a 200-metre-long tunnel through a mountain there. The main west canal is, like the main east one, a thing of aqueducts, tunnels, mountain cuttings, and rock excavation as it winds around the mountain escarpment, finding its way out to the downs below. In Hsiyu Tsun, there is a spring from which water is pumped up to dry land around the terraced hilltops when needed to give crops a soaking. There had been no rain here this spring, and no snow in winter, following a dry autumn, so that water supplies had to be husbanded and made spin out to give all crops enough at the right time. In Hsiyu Tsun were two stone tablets which had once been in a temple there that has disappeared. One of the 43rd year of the Wan Li period of the Ming dynasty tells of a disaster due to continuous drought, and another of the 8th year of the Yung Cheng period of Ching, when there came a great flood which swept all before it. In the great drought nothing would grow, trees died. 80% of the strong ones going off as refugees, the pathetic remainder reduced to cannibalism to let some survive.

Sungshan Reservoir

When it came to putting in the Sungshan

reservoir dam, there were several opinions about the possibility. One said that the rock there was not strong enough to take the weight of water, so it was no use thinking about it. But the people dug foundations for the dam down for over 18 metres and found good, solid rock, on which their dam of 42 metres above ground could be raised. It now stands securely, 873 metres long served by flood diversion gates, 65 metres wide, with five sluice-gates installed. Capacity of the reservoir is 52,300,000 cubic metres, which makes it one of the three of its kind in the county. It is on the north side of the Yimeng mountain region. Started in April 1966, it was finished in nine months. Its completion has made it possible to terrace 3,330 hectares of hillsides, with the expectancy of good crops, and to irrigate 5,667 hectares in all. Since its installation, grain production on hillside lands has risen steadily so that folk take even dry, barren hillsides covered with a rubble of stones, as we saw at the Hsienchu brigade, terrace them, and carry in loess, building up terrace fronts often for as much as two metres with hauled-in soil. When there is water, so much can be done, they all agree. Afforestation on the hills in the vicinity of the reservoir has included the planting of cypress trees, walnuts, chestnuts, haws and other such hard fruits on terraces cut out. The sluice-gates are subject to regular test so that they are ready for any emergency. The old river-bed below the dam was a beautiful sight as we looked down it. Willows green, and fruit trees in red blossom, with crops verdant.

We drove across country to see the biggest of the four main reservoirs of the county. It is counted as large, being of two hundred million cubic metres in capacity. The other three, in the 50-million range, being medium. It is the Yehyuan irrigation system dam, which collects the waters from three rivers and holds them behind a 2,900-metre-long dam, with high dykes on each side of it. It irrigates not only in Linchu, but also in Shoukuang and Yitu counties, making heavy crops possible on 16,667 hectares of land. It was once but an idle dream to think of crops much over 0.75 ton a hectare around Linchu. Now with harvests topping 7.5 tons a hectare, people are setting targets to gain 15 tons. The engineer at the reservoir opened one of the ten flood diversion sluice-gates a little, and water rushed down the channel, big fish jumping around in it, youngsters chasing downstream leaping over the big stones to catch them.

There are many pumping stations in the county, for the land is mainly rugged. We went to one where water is raised 64 metres high, serving 533 hectares of land in the Yeh-yuan commune. After admiring the way it was hoisted seemingly so easily by three pumps, we went down to the bottom of the valley there, where lies a scenic lake served by bubbling springs. It is called Laolung Wan, and has a painting of bamboos which has been carved on stone, said to be of the art of the famous Yangchow painter, Cheng Pan-chiao. We rested for a while in a delightful summer house in a secluded cove, before starting back for the city again. A mass of children from the commune school near by came to farewell us, as well nourished and healthy a bunch as one would find anywhere. They were certainly pleasant to look at. It was the day for their spring sports meeting and they were obviously determined to enjoy it to the fullest.

Tobacco and Industry

Tobacco leaf has for many years been an important product of the central and south Shantung areas, especially around the prefectural capital of Changwei, the region in which Linchu lies, so that its growing becomes an important subsidiary crop in the county. In Changchiu and Yitu on the way to Linchu, we had noticed many coal-heated beds for growing sweet potato seedlings. Here, in Linchu, there were many beds covered with plastic sheeting raising tobacco plants until the temperature outside is suitable for spring transplanting. The production for the county is around 21,000 tons a year.

As in all counties in the area, industry is more developed than in most hinterland counties. The value of production in Linchu, for instance, exceeds 82,000,000 yuan a year, more than that in Yitu and Changchiu. Linchu turns out its own 25-h.p. tractors, which sell to the communes for 8,000 yuan, and are well received. It has a large silk filature to process its own silk cocoons, makes fertilizer, cement, engine building, agricultural tools, rubber tyres, and other necessities. Counting commune factories, but not brigade ones, the county has 125 plants.

At best in the old society, there were 84 schools, all of them primary. Now there are 995, with 152 of them middle schools. Medicine alike is universal, right down to brigade level. Good results have been gained here with acupuncture. Many varieties of medicinal

herbs are collected from the hills around. The people are pleased with the barefoot doctor system, which gives immediate help with most of the sickness encountered.

Damage done by this group and their followers was serious. 'If you work hard, you support old cadres who are all revisionists. Power belongs to us. . . .' and so on with like nonsense, setting up warring groups with the inevitable result that production suffered, and cynicism spread, young folk hardly knowing what to believe in some cases. The four are counted amongst the great pests of 1976, which included drought, some flooding, nine hailstorms, and some cold spells at the wrong time. But victory over all pests gave the people new encouragement, as the year came to an end.

Changshan Commune

We left Linchu early one morning on the main road south, leaving it after some fifty kilometres to branch up amongst the hills to the Changshan commune, once one of the poorest in the locality. Liberated in 1943, it has always managed to hold its own, and today its commune centre is alive with new construction all around. Out of its 40,000 people, it has selected a vanguard brigade of 850, mainly young folk who for the past three years have been building a big dam of cut stone up one of its valleys. Already 30 metres high, 294 metres long, and 20 metres wide at the base, it has only ten metres more to be added, and they have the flood diversion channel completed before going into full use. It holds back six million cubic metres of water, enough to irrigate 1,333 hectares of dry land, and will be completed by June 1977, it is estimated. It will also power a small electric plant, and allow for a highway to cross the valley on its summit. Already it has taken 670,000 work days, it being estimated that it will need 750,000 in all. The county has helped with a third of the cost, the commune and two brigades supplying the rest. One hundred and two of the stone masons are young women. The project actually is a school for all, so that when it is completed, the construction brigade will be able to undertake other similar ones. While workers cut stone blocks and trimmed them, the loudspeaker was giving an outline history of the revolution from the first beginnings on up to the attempt at takeover of the Gang of Four. A cold wind blew down the valley, but many of the young men working had thrown

their winter padded short coats open. It is an area of hilltops, there being 139 in the commune. The commune has 24 brigades and 246 production teams. A people of great determination and resourcefulness. With work like this being done, no wonder Linchu is now rated an all Tachai county.

Chunan

We passed through Chuhsien, once capital of the small kingdom of Chu in the Warring States period and then in the evening got to Chunan. Though a good deal south of Linchu, its spring is quite a way behind, explained by the fact that here the cold winds come in from the sea. Neither willows nor apricot blossoms were out, though we were in the last part of March. Chunan has a glorious history, being a War of Resistance base for the Eighth Route Army, and later being the administrative centre for Shantung in the War of Liberation, a place that has produced many fine cadres now in different parts of the land. Chunan today is a Tachai model county, and seems to be, on coming into it, model in more ways than the one of making bad lands into good lands, and raising the quality of life accordingly. It is quite spick and span and well laid out. Whitewashed houses are the rule here and in villages around.

Chunan has a population of 820,000 people, farming 82,670 hectares of land, a good deal—70%—of which are hills and downs. 23 factories are now operating in the county town and 78 in communes. Industrial production is planned to be worth 35,000,000 yuan in 1977. There was no industry here in the old days. There are 185 big, medium and small reservoirs in the county, 1,174 pond reservoirs, and 589 big-mouthed wells. There are also 253 mechanized wells that reach deeper levels. The four biggest reservoirs were started and completed around the Great Leap Forward period, the Tushan one of 276 million cubic metres capacity, the Hsiangti, and three others of around 50 million cubic metres, canals and laterals from all of which make a network over the 41,330 hectares of irrigated land. All of this work has taken an incredible amount of stone cutting and transport, the dams alone for the four big reservoirs each being 600-800 metres long, while the canal system has made 30 tunnels necessary, in all 86,000 metres long, so that it is obvious that the spirit to do was very highly developed. In the old days, had there been a long drought such as the present one, refugees would have

been drifting off to other provinces.

Pre-Liberation

When one realizes the degeneracy of the old society in the pre-Liberation period, one can understand how the people threw themselves into the struggle to build anew. Chunan had many scourges beside the natural ones that continually afflicted it. The Japanese drove in ferociously, and the Kuomintang followed. One big landlord, who owned all the land around Hsiaotien and Tatien, had properties in seven other Shantung counties, as well as in two other provinces. He had his own gunmen, who at times would playfully shoot people for target practice. Altogether he had over 3,000 hectares of the best land. It was not easy to track down all of his properties, as at times he had his sons and grandsons take different family names, and to own this or that, so disguising his real holdings. The old society, because of its nature, produced many such. There is much more that could be said on this one case, however, for it illustrates the bankrupt system the forces for Liberation struggled against. The Chuang family of landlords and despots came to the area from south of the Yangtze in the Ming dynasty. The people called the family chief 'Chuang the King of Hell' for he and his minions really made hell on earth for the peasants. All the way through their known history they have stolen and looted. One, who was a general in the Ming dynasty, managed to get himself put in charge of Yellow River Conservancy. He returned to Shantung with 80 carts of silver ingots, jade and so on, the spoils of office. In Kuomintang times, a descendant managed to get the position of Controller of the Mint for a time and was able to steal 100,000 silver dollars in four months. They had hoisted themselves into a position to steal, and never mind how many flags changed. As long as the old order went on, they could buy positions, hold office and thieve from it. Their spoilt children terrorized the people around. One liked to play with falcons. One of his birds came down into a farm yard and was killing the chickens when the farmer, thinking it was just a hawk, killed it. He was hung up, and beaten nearly to death, then later made to bury the bird in a coffin with ceremonies, and entertain the landlord's thugs to a banquet. He had to give up his land, and the whole family starved, he and two children dying of hunger. Another young lord, on being given a new rifle, shot a

hired hand and killed him with it to see how the new toy worked. In all such cases there was no way to appeal, for all the local officials were puppets of Chuang the King of Hell.

The Four Pests in Chunan

Chiang Ching's followers did much damage in the Linyi prefecture, though in Chunan county they could not wreak all the damage they wanted. The people at that time compared them to monkeys, running around with sticks, their followers to pigs, as they lay around eating but doing nothing, while the ordinary folk were like working cattle. Material damage wrought was considerable in grain production during the period. To the four, all old cadres were part of the enemy, to be brought down. 'Down with quality,' they said, 'down with expertise, down with experience, down with talk of production, to work hard is to be a fool, and those advocating it deserve to be crushed!' Such was part of their song, which with the backing of the Gang of Four leaderships, did much to confuse. They were out to create chaos, and so give themselves the chance to seize total power. In Chunan, they negated all that had been done, said that they were the stick to stir still waters, to beat the dog so that it bites, ever trying to attack the county Party committee so that it could be controlled by them. Such was the enemy within in the period of the rise of the Gang of Four. No wonder that now there is a general revulsion against them!

Health and Education

Health work is on parallel with the best all over the countryside throughout China today. Birth control has reduced the number of births to 1.3% of the 98,000 women of child-bearing age, 77,690 are now sterile. In one commune, the rate of births has been brought down to 0.8%. There were 26,000 babies in 1970, 9,800 in 1976. In education there are 227 middle schools, with over 52,000 students, and 3,764 teachers. Then there are 918 primary schools, with 136,000 youngsters, and 5,311 teachers. The schools I saw were usually constructed of grey or red stone blocks, as is much of the newer commune housing.

Wangchia Fangchien Brigade

I was surprised to see tea bushes growing

on one hillside on our way out to the Fangchien commune, and its famous Wangchia Fangchien brigade. Friends said that the county now gathers 100 tons of tea a year. At the Wangchia Fangchien village, its two famous leaders, Wang Chi-tung and Wang Tung-ying, met us and took us into their big reception room, hung with scrolls left by visitors. The brigade is well known, as it was this one that received a special citation from Chairman Mao in 1955, when it was still a cooperative. Though that was 21 years ago, the words of the commendation still inspire. 113 hectares, or 90% of the arable land, has been made into flat, Tachai terraces. They have 143 hectares of land altogether, for their 37 families and 1,750 people. In 1976, they gained 10.5 tons of grain a hectare. The main crop is wheat, but they also produce *kaoliang* and peanuts. They have 370 tons of grain in their brigade reserve, and 620,000 yuan in their reserve funds. Cash distribution per head in 1976 was 207 yuan. Grain ration, 240 kilos a head. Medicine, school fees and all costs of food processing are carried by the brigade. In 1970 the brigade built a reservoir that holds 450,000 cubic metres of water. It helped the commune also in the building of a 1,300-metre-long aqueduct of cut stone, across a near-by valley, as well as constructing 18,000 metres of laterals for its own land.

We went to see the stone carving work which is a speciality of the brigade. Four workrooms had lads and lasses carving different kinds of stone for the export market. They had sent representatives to Chingtien in Chekiang, where soapstone is well carved, to get ideas and method, though the various kinds of colour stone in Chunan are considerably harder. The results are pleasing. In the compound yard was a stone lantern of the old Tang dynasty type, popular still in Japan. It had been made also for the export trade, where there is a demand for such.

The brigade has an exhibition of its work, and of conditions under the old society. We stopped to look at its school and to enjoy the children for a while. In agricultural production the brigade gains 5.7 tons of grain a hectare, and 3 tons of peanuts on land suited for them. It gives a grain ration of 250 kilos a head.

Brigade Spirit

A brigade like this one is full of human

stories. We met the 81-year-old Wang Tung-chang, chairman of the first cooperative. Now a widower, he has two sons who are cadres in the south. One of them wrote him to come and live out his days in peace and quietness in the south, but the old man sturdily refused. 'I am a Party member. How can I leave the struggle when I can still do things, and go to sit in idleness?' And as ever now, he goes on finding ways to be useful to others, and keeping spirit high amongst the people around. Then there is Wang Shang-ting, who reared two fat pigs to sell for his son's wedding ceremony, saying that there was no money for even a small celebration at his own, and he would like to see the son have a better deal. But then came the call for mechanization, so the family decided to put the money into that, instead of into a feast.

The brigade had for long wanted an office building, but when materials had been assembled, everyone thought it should go into building a new school for their 500 young folk. So this was done. The next year, stone and timber were assembled for the office building once again, but there was a very rich crop, and need for more grain storage space, so a granary was built. The third attempt was frustrated when it was decided that what was most needed was an exhibition hall that would show the many visitors what the brigade had done in an easy and clear way. So exhibition hall it was. The office building still belongs to the future! Wang Ting-ho was a man of over 60 when the call came to have stone slabs cut with which to line the irrigation lateral system. Some members urged that the stone be bought and hauled in by hired trucks or tractors, but others said that all should stick to the principle of self-reliance wherever possible. Wang Ting-ho led twelve members, and went up into the mountains 20 kilometres away, staying there for six years, until the task was done. Then one of the young members organized a group of youths with 180 wheelbarrows, to get the slabs to where they were needed. Back and forth, to and fro, it is estimated that the young people covered a total of 430,000 kilometres in getting the task completed. The wheelbarrows were rubber-tyred, and each could carry two big slabs, or four of the smaller ones.

To the Lichiatsai Brigade

All that was left of a promise of rain was a cold wind blowing in from the eastern sea

when we set out from the county centre to go the 45 kilometres to the Lichiatsai brigade of the Tashan commune. A real Tachai brigade is this one, which has accomplished a great deal from very little. The very little consisted of a series of rocky mountains, some wide, eroded river-beds, washed-out gullies, poor soil with a high admixture of coarse sand, which if the weather was favourable would grow peanuts or sweet potatoes, but not much grain. Subject to both drought and flood, insect pests and summer storms, the scattered five villages which now make up the brigade led a precarious existence. Today numbers have increased, there being 1,100 families making up 4,900 people, who live from the 333 hectares of land that now has been made arable. Five ranges of mountains make up 800 more hectares, on which fir trees have been planted. The mountains provide the source for the stone slabs used to build the new village, to construct aqueducts with, and to line the staircase laterals that run over hillsides and downs.

Before leaving Chunan city, we had spent an evening looking at old movies taken of dam construction here, which have put on record the immense spirit of the people in those days, a spirit now being so strongly revived. As southern Shantung around Chunan had been one of the three main bases for the Eighth Route Army in Shantung, liberation came to these mountains as early as 1940, though, with war the main problem, not so much could be done on construction. At that time the land was divided up into a patchwork of small plots, it being told how one farmer wondering if all the work of the day had been finished, counted up his plots, and found one missing. Counted again and again until at last he picked up his grass-woven rain cape to go home, and lo! behold! the missing field was right beneath it! Today's Tachai fields so magnificently made into flat terraces that allow for the new mechanization to be used. Laterals from one source or another, where water is stored, come over the land staircase fashion, and serve each terrace. For wheat fields, loess has been carried in to give the sandy soil some body. In the old days, five days in the growing season without rain was considered drought. As for a seven-month drought like the one of spring 1977, why, then people would start streaming off to the Northeast, or to other provinces. For those who stayed, often the only way was to find a landlord who would give keep for work done. Even in good times, meals were poor.

Thin millet gruel with a sweet potato in it, and not much more. In every heavy summer rain both banks of the two rivers would overflow, the dykes being of coarse sandy soil and not being strong enough to resist, so that the bones of the mountains in the shape of big stones and more sand would spread over grain fields.

After the end of the wars, the people could turn with one heart to construction. One big problem had to be faced as work on irrigation went on. Water, on reaching the subsoil, simply drained away. To remedy this situation, the topsoil had to be removed, and loose rock under it had to be crushed and tamped down. Easier to say than to do, but anyway, it was done. Dams, pumping stations, aqueducts, some constructed entirely from stone slabs for their framework including 10-metre-long stone slab uprights, had to be installed. From each reservoir, stone slabs to line the laterals with, many, many miles of them, had to be cut, hauled and installed.

Old Superstitions

Old superstitions amongst local folk had to be brought down. Two big rocks that spelt *yin* and *yang* must not be touched, or dire calamities would befall. The youth teams sent them hurtling down. Old folk held their breath, but nothing happened. A long rock leading out from grain fields into the mountain had an elevated spine along its back, undoubtedly a sleeping dragon, the old folk thought, and must not be touched. How convenient for cutting out slabs, youth said, and forthwith proceeded to use it to do so.

The Old Man and the Mountain

In the village is a three-metre-high plaque on which is written Chairman Mao's words on the *Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*. It is in this spirit that work has gone ahead. The toughest time was getting up from under three-quarters of a ton a hectare at Liberation, to the first 4.5 tons. With that base being laid, things came more readily. To see a team of women folk marching from the fields for lunch makes one realize what great spirit is still alive. They march like a victorious army, shovels on their shoulders. Four old irrigation technicians, of the period 20 years ago, now have youngsters attached to them as learners. All those are in their sixties. In getting 90% of their land irrigated, old lands and newly re-

claimed ones also, over 4,000,000 work days have been spent. Work points here are not over rich, bringing one yuan a day as a rule, and the grain ration is the ordinary average for good brigades, 225 kilos. We went up on to the summit of Putao Shan, and looked over the county around. It was quite a steep ride up in a jeep, but well worth it. Then down to a valley bottom, where there is a big open-mouth well that taps a water strata, and keeps filled, so that water can be pumped from it up 150 metres of iron pipe line to levels 64 metres above the valley floor. Just one of the many pieces of work the brigade has put in. 'After 1955, we decided to re-dyke the rivers, and constructed 33 dykes. For irrigation channels, we have installed 32 sluice-gates. . . . by 1980 we expect to have gone a long way forward in mechanization. Now we have 18 tractors and four trucks, but there is still much hand work. By then, too, we will have over 95% of all land irrigated'—and so the story of one brigade in the countryside of a hinterland Shantung county unfolds, with so much more to say than has been said here.

Brigade Overcomes Illiteracy

Chunan is an amazing place to study from a Tachai point of view. The poor, rock-covered hills and downs support an organized people who go on creating a great deal from so very little, and make better people of themselves in so doing.

Kaochialiu Kou—the 'Willow Tree Valley of the Kao Family'—lies around thirty kilometres northwest of the city, on some high downs, surrounded by rocky mountains. It once lay in a valley, but has given over that area to crop land, building its new village on a solid rock hilltop near by.

Amongst early struggles, that of overcoming illiteracy rated high. There was a population of 840 then, of whom only seven could read and write. Five of these were of the landlord or rich-peasant class. Amongst the poor peasants who took power, none was literate. Land reform was carried out, mutual aid groups formed, and when the first cooperative was formed in 1953, most of the people joined enthusiastically. But then came the problem of good accounting, so essential in any productive organization. Complete honesty was not enough. Ability had to go with it, and the two young men picked, Wu Tsung-ying and An Sze-ling, were good and determined, but Wu could not write two of

the characters in his own name, and An not even one. They made pictures of things and people, learning some characters as they went, but their accounts got in so bad a mess that quite a few people left the cooperative and went back to work as individual farmers in the old way. The cooperative was called 'Red Flag', but the name alone could not carry it through. The more conservative farmers called for cooperative disbandment. Some thought that the cooperative ought to send out young people to study, but the Party group instead started a class of 115 for literacy and book-keeping. Its main teacher at first was an upper primary schoolboy, not yet graduated, from an outside school who went off to his school in the mornings and came back to teach in the evenings. The class worked hard, full time for two and a half months, graduating nine who had a good all-round base for continuing study and 92 who could enter accounts. It was called the Chi Kung study group, starting off with learning the names of people, places, products, and then the numbers with some arithmetic. They made up a lesson book for peasant illiterates, the *Chi Kung Character Study*. The class produced an outstanding 13½-year-old boy who became the first accountant, and has continued to be so through the past 20-odd years since, much respected and liked, as one who has given so much and so ably from his early years.

The success of the first study group gave the people confidence. 'Why, now we can see that reading and writing is not just the prerogative of the gentry. Its something we all can do,' they said, as a literacy movement spread through the cooperative, people writing characters on familiar things, naming them, doing wall pictures of animals, etc. with big characters plainly written beside them. Those who had been in the study group taught others, families taught each other at home, grandchildren taught grandmothers. Part-time classes were organized, where one new character a day was added. A report of the work done in literacy was made, which got to Chairman Mao, and was highly commended, the citation encouraging everyone. A People's School was set up, and work deepened, as was work on the regular primary school for children. In the Cultural Revolution the study of the three short essays of Chairman Mao brought better political understanding to all, and sated an appetite to know more, and an ability to analyze better.

We visited sparetime study classes of both young and middle-aged women, a lively kindergarten, an exhibition hall that shows many pictures of growth from the old society onwards, a public library and then on to the splendidly housed nine-year brigade school, which take pupils through all primary and middle school grades. We watched classes learning advanced mathematics, chemistry, and so on. The school has 450 in primary grades, 240 in lower-middle, and 169 in upper-middle ones. Buildings for all of these were newly constructed of cut stone, as is the new housing for brigade members, and the big assembly hall they call *Dawu* (Big house) here, where the young folk put on a lively entertainment for us. One of the songs was sung by a bevy of young wives, who were exhorting one of their number who already had two daughters, and wanted to go on child-bearing till she got a son, telling her that in the new day, girls were just as valuable as boys. In the brigade there are 1,063 people in school classes, with 79% of the people taking some part in education.

A recent brigade project has been cutting through a stone hill to make a course for a river that once wound its way across the valley. There is no sign of the river-bed now, simply flat land beautifully tailored and green with winter wheat. The brigade has one reservoir with 1,000,000 cubic metres of water, and four pond reservoirs, along with three big-mouth wells, now being able to irrigate 81% of its arable land.

Some of the People

Chang Sze-en, the brigade leader, is a stoutish man in his forties, jovial and an ideal peasant-leader type. The Youth League secretary Yan Wei-feng, a girl graduate from the lower-middle school, is also on the provincial Youth League committee. Well versed in the problems of the brigade she has grown up in, she is busy now in the campaign to criticize the Gang of Four, and to learn from Lei Feng, an army lad who led an exemplary life, giving his all for the people. Wei Yuan-ho is leader of the forestry team. Becoming literate, he read all he could on the subject of trees. Finding out through his reading that in some places were grafted in to hill bramble stocks, he tried it on the hills around the brigade with complete success. 'It certainly pays to be able to read,' he said contentedly. Yen Ju-li is an early leader in mass education work and, like

all other administrative cadres, takes his shift with production work in the brigade. Some may wonder how society in Shantung, noted for its holding to old forms, could have advanced so rapidly over the Liberation years. The answer lies in the work put in by the Communist Party in the years of the Wars of Resistance and Liberation, getting the people to understand that they must depend on themselves, and that the Communist Party was their own party, working for them, fighting and dying for and with them, helping them to solve each and every problem that comes up, right on through the years. No success dropped suddenly down from heaven. Each step had to be fought through.

Tushan Reservoir

Branching off from the big village of Ta-an, on the highway going north of Chunan, we ran up a valley to where the Tushan Reservoir lay placidly amongst the hills. With a morning mist amongst them, the mountains in blue running along the left of us were especially lovely. Up on top of the reservoir, the north-west wind caught us with its full blast. The morning temperature was 2°C below zero. Facing us across the reservoir, which curled up valleys amongst the hills, lay the peak called Mati Shan—Horse Hoof Mountain. It was where the woman rebel Yan Miaochen of the Sung dynasty (AD 960–1279) had her headquarters. She had a traitor amongst her leadership who engineered splits that destroyed her movement.

The dam, reservoir and the irrigation system from it is the biggest piece of engineering work the county has carried through so far. Started in the Great Leap Forward of 1958, it was finished nine months later. It is 184 metres wide at the base, and 631 metres long at the summit, and is 29 metres high. The flood diversion channel is 52 metres wide, and has seven sluice-gates. The reservoir covers 431 square kilometres, with a capacity of 276,000,000 cubic metres. Amongst the difficulties of 1976 came a very heavy rain in Honan. It was also threatened in Shantung, so instructions went out to reduce the water in reservoirs as a safety measure. Then in midsummer came the huge earthquake in the Tangshan and Tientsin areas to the north. It seemed that shakes would continue, so again reservoir waters were reduced. Following that, a seven-month drought did not bring in new water supplies, so the dry spring of 1977

has had to be faced with less irrigation water than usual, causing quite a spate of well digging to supplement. In all, however, the reservoir and its irrigation works have been an immense success, raising production levels vastly on the communes below, of which it irrigates 23,300 hectares, as well as land in two adjacent counties.

The county is now setting up a small hydro-electric generating plant to use some of the excess water which summer rains bring, a 160-metre-long tunnel has been constructed, taking reservoir water under the dam to where the new plant is under construction. Four turbines and generators are being installed, each one capable of delivering 800 kw. For the four months of the rainy season, full capacity will be gained. Then for 8 months only two generators will be in action, but every bit of power is useful in a county like Chunan, where much power has to be used to carry water high up on to downs and hillsides.

A Brigade Model in Research

Coming down from Tushan, we ran out over the wide plains of this part of Chunan, until we came to the Pantuan brigade of the Linchien commune. The brigade leader was a well-known old Eighth Route Army fighter Chi Ching-chuan, who had anchored back here in his old home after discharge, and was supported in research by a young enthusiast, Chi Ching-ching. The brigade is near the Su River, and is one of 464 families, 1,960 people, who farm 120 hectares of flat land, previously mainly owned by a few landlord and rich peasants, and gaining only low production. Then came Liberation, and water began to flow. In 1964 there was the Tachai movement, which pointed out that there needed to be a revolution in farm method. In 1963, a start had been made to do research in the brigade with a middle school graduate and some primary school ones, working on 1/3 hectare of land. In the following years the number of workers allocated was 45, and the land increased to 8.7 hectares, the group being now a whole production team of the brigade. It divided into five sections. The first working on high, stable yield, which included research on insect pests, and eradication, second on seed selection and sowing method. Third, hybridization, fourth on weather and timing of planting, and fifth on soil analysis and fertilizers. A laboratory and a weather station were set up. Then in the brigade a technical night school for agricul-

tural research was organized, and experimental work started with the militia and brigade school classes cooperating, all of which was part of the mass cooperation any successful research project needs.

Some 300 kinds of wheat seed have been experimented with, for wheat is the main crop here. Work on *kaoliang* and corn hybridization has also been done. Some thirteen varieties of wheat seed are adjudged the best, of which Chunan 10, which is one especially adapted for the locality, gives a high yield, often 9 tons of wheat alone per hectare. A girl of the brigade marrying into another brigade likes to take along some especially selected wheat seed as a present to her mother-in-law. From 1971 to 1976 some 2,000 tons of good seed have been sold to the state from this brigade. In the brigade itself, the grain total had been raised to 10.2 tons a hectare by 1974, 11.3 tons in 1975, and 12.4 tons in 1976. In wheat alone, 6 tons a hectare was harvested in 1970 and 7.5 tons a hectare in 1976. The target is 15 tons a hectare all round by 1980.

People's Livelihood

People's livelihood has improved greatly, step by step, all the way from Liberation. 500 new rooms of brick have been built and plans are made to re-house the whole brigade now. The brigade school now takes pupils right through from primary to graduation from upper-middle school. The grain ration is 250 kilos a year, and mechanization is in line with the other good vanguard brigades of the county. A lot has been done, and there is still a great deal to do, but looking at this brigade, one has the feeling that quite definitely an old land is changing to become a new land, now with steady experienced and thoughtful hands and hearts at the helm. The revolution enters a new stage.

Gang of Four in Linyi

The loafers and scamps the Gang of Four counted amongst their followers had a heyday in the counties of the Linyi prefecture which included Chunan. Their main attention was concentrated in the Linyi prefectural seat and the surrounding countryside and rose to a peak in 1974. Their groups fought each other, and avowedly were out to create chaos. In whatever the communes they could reach, they gave out the reserve grain, and distribut-

ed the reserve funds, ordering all members, whether they worked or not, to receive maximum work points. They removed all restrictions on early marriage or any form of birth control. They encouraged private trading, and labelled as revisionist anyone who worked hard. They stole arms and terrorized with murders. Members of their gang robbed banks, drove out party officials in county and prefectural offices, overturned commune organization in many cases, stopped all industrial work and made for chaos in the schools with teachers being looked on as the 'enemy'. Things got to such a state that the provincial government had to send in the army in 1975 to restore order and halt the damage being done. From being the leading prefecture for production in Shantung, it dropped back far down the list, with but 60% of its former industrial and agricultural production by 1976. But the people then became very much awake, and thoroughly understood the great threat the gang had been to them, whole-heartedly supporting Chairman Hua and the new leadership in their efforts to bring China forward. The depredations to morale and production caused by the Gang of Four in the Linyi prefecture make for a bitter page in the history of the region, one which all would like to forget, except for the fact that there is much to be learnt from it to guard against anything of the kind arising in the future.

The old cadres did not give up, but stayed at their posts everywhere possible. The stronger brigades could resist the infiltrators no matter under what authority they came, and continued their work. Most damage was done around the prefectural city of Linyi, and counties near by. The move by the provincial government came just in time to halt the madness.

From Chunan to Tai-an

We left Chunan quite early one morning and went southwest to Linyi, the prefectural seat, where we made a call at the Memorial Park for war dead. A beautiful park of 16 hectares in extent, with many trees. In the centre is a column with words written by Chairman Mao, and the most impressive tomb being that of Lo Ping-hui, the vice commander of the New Fourth Route Army under Chen Yi which moved up from northern Kiangsu into the Yi Meng mountain complex and southern Shantung, connecting with the Eighth Route Army which was leading the resistance there. There is a statue of Lo Ping-

Barefoot Doctors and Los Angeles Nursery*

Margaret Stanley

As a nurse I've accepted the fact that priority time and attention are given to emergencies. In 1947 I learned that there were emergencies in many aspects of life in North China. Under wartime conditions, the Yen-an government advised young people not to marry until after the emergency. Wives and mothers working in our hospital longed for the end of the emergency when they, their husbands, children, and elders might be reunited and live together again under one family roof. I yearned for an end to casualty emergencies. Life was harsh for many people and problems in health, education, agriculture, economics, all cried out for immediate attention. But as long as Chinese were fighting against Chinese, what chance was there for improvement?

Later, I learned that some reforms in agriculture and women's rights as well as health care had been taking place all around us in Shensi and Shansi. It was remarkable that in the midst of civil war, our medical team could function in the role we had set out to fill—teaching in the International Peace Hospital.

* This is the fourth of Margaret Stanley's five articles on life in Yen-an around in 1947.

hui inside his tomb pavilion, showing him to be a stocky, heavily built man of generous proportions. He was of minority stock and joined the army as an enlisted man in Kunning Yunnan, finally becoming convinced of the rightness of the Red Army cause, revolting with his militia troops in Ki-an, Kiangsi to start on what was to be a brilliant career as a Red Army commander. The full story of his battles would make up a truly fascinating book, if they could be collected. Behind his tomb in Linyi, there is that of Hsi Po—Hans Shippe, my German friend of Shanghai days, who once often wrote in the Institute of Pacific Relations journal under the pen-name of Asiaticus. He had come with the New Fourth Army, and was killed by the enemy along with his two guards and interpreter in the Yi Meng area, his remains later being removed to the Linyi Memorial Park in 1963,

We lived, perhaps, in a microcosm of North China society during that fall and winter except that, for us foreigners, life and work continued without disruption; whereas, tragedy and crisis were part of daily lives of the Chinese we lived amongst. I have sometimes wondered what contribution I made by being there, but there has never been any question in my mind as to motivation—to live my ideal of people-to-people friendship.

By the beginning of autumn we were settled in our permanent hospital in Hsiapeita, Shansi. I missed my friends Wu Ming-ching and Yen Sung, who had been transferred to other medical units, but found a new friend in Li Ping, a young woman surgeon who came to work with us. She was seriously dedicated to her work, but was also fun-loving.

A class of about two dozen teenage boys walked hundreds of li during the summer to find our hospital. They told me that they kept cool on their hot summer's trek by eating tadpoles from streams they waded. 'We came to be your nurses,' they insisted. It was our job, then, to teach them. If it hadn't been for those devoted teenagers doing work of nurses in war-torn China, many patients would

one of the 60,000 fighters who died for the people in southern Shantung. At the end of 1941, the Japanese Imperial Army mustered a big force of four divisions, around 50,000 men, to eliminate the guerillas entirely from the Yi Meng area and elsewhere, in the region. One of the Japanese brigades intercepted by chance a New Fourth Army headquarters group on the early morning of November 31, 1941. The group was defended by only one company of fighters and so there were many losses. Hsi Po was killed in Yinan county by the Meng River in the valley called Wutao Ko, near the mountain called Taching Shan. Despite this one success, the big enemy *saotang*—extermination drive—was a failure, and later a memorial meeting was held by the resistance forces for those who had given their lives, including Hsi Po. His example greatly encouraged all for facing the same enemy as they

have gone unattended. Boys and girls with little education in science or hygiene as I knew it, learned eagerly from those who did have medical background. Their experience was limited, but their courage and confidence and ability to apply what they learned for the benefit of patients was not.

Our move to a new location east of the Yellow River may have paralleled military drives eastward. Or maybe there was less fighting everywhere during cold weather and shorter days. At any rate, fewer new patients and more long-term patients were admitted to our hospital with wounds which had not healed, with complications, or chronic problems. We held classes based on case studies of such patients whose conditions and treatment illustrated basic medical problems, thus providing students with first-hand experience to substantiate textbook lessons. It seemed that teachers had no sooner given lectures or demonstrations than the information had spread throughout the hospital community and become general knowledge even to *hsiao kui*, cook, and *mafoo*. Practice and proficient skills took longer to achieve.

We heard about a Canadian surgeon whose work with the Eighth Route Army troops during anti-Japanese warfare had become legend. After his untimely death from septicemia in 1939, his Chinese assistants carried on and taught others what he had taught them. He had worked under conditions and in caves similar to those we worked in. In fact, our hospital was named the Dr Norman Bethune International Peace Hospital in his honour.

Unbeknownst to us at that time, we were

themselves. At Chingming, which falls in April each year, children and people of Linyi come to bring flowers and pay respects, and then the impressive tomb of Hsi Po gets its full measure of attention, and the story of this practical student of Karl Marx is listened to again.

The Tai Miao

In Tai-an city, we spent an hour or so in the temples and grounds of the Tai Miao, a famous relic that stands looking up at the stone *paifang* (a doorway-like monument) that marks the foot of the ascent of Mount Tai. There is an exhibition of antiquities that have been unearthed near by, and then there is the famous mural of a Sung dynasty emperor visiting the place. It is like a long scroll,

at the wellspring of what has by now, thirty years later, developed into the 'barefoot doctor' health care system in China. In the 1970's health workers with varying amounts of medical training provide primary health care across the land of China for its 900,000,000 inhabitants.

The term 'barefoot' has a cogent meaning. Going barefoot in old China was unthinkable for anyone who could afford shoes, especially women. Being a barefoot doctor now does not mean going without shoes, but rather that a health worker lives and works among the people whose health needs he or she serves on a person-to-person basis.

I was unaware at the time I lived in North China in 1947 of the extent of the change processes in motion. Though I heard the word *Kehming* in song and slogan, it was not until recently I realized its significance. *Kehming* is an old word from the *Yi Ching* classics. It means 'change fate' and was adopted by Sun Yat-sen for use in his early twentieth century revolution and since the 1940s by those who follow the 'Yenan Way'.

We saw our medical and nursing students gradually advance from one level of competence to higher levels. Selected *hsiao kui* served as apprentices to pharmacists, lab technicians, nurses and as assistants to would-be doctors. Nurses showing ability were advanced to positions as head nurses and then on to become internes and eventually doctors.

When I returned to China in 1972 I was asked if I were a doctor by those who knew I had been a nurse in 1947. According to the Chinese

and always fascinates with its varied detail. In the compound children were practising *wushu* (Chinese martial art) after their school day, and putting a good deal of life in it. Amongst them were some real experts whose movements were full of streamlined grace and beauty, fun to watch.

We looked at the old stones of different dynasties, especially admiring the bold handwriting of the Sung artist, Mi Fu. In the evening at dinner friends told something of the progress of the 6,900,000 people of the Tai-an prefecture in their ten counties, of the damage done by the Gang of Four, and of how the spirit to dare and do was still very much alive, then of how pleased the people were with their new leadership, which was putting first things first, and giving confidence all around.

way of doing things, it was only natural for me to progress from being nurse to being doctor after building upon experience and accumulating skills over the years.

I taught students how to sterilize surgical instruments by boiling them for twenty minutes in an iron cooking pot on the hospital stove which was formerly a peasant household cooking stove. Once when supervising preparations for surgery, I lifted the lid of the steaming pot on the stove to find not only the forceps I expected to see there, but also a few eggs nestled in, all covered with bubbling, boiling water. Someone had put the precious water to maximum practical use.

When I supervised night-duty nurses, I set the alarm clock borrowed from surgery for 11:00 p.m. Over my warmest padded suit I donned a white on-duty hospital gown and covered my hair with a triangular white turban. I used my flashlight in order to see my way to the nurses' office in a central location among the ward-caves. It was set apart, in a compound with three small caves near by where seriously ill men lay—those patients needing frequent attention night and day. On this particular night, four nurses, all teenage boys, were reporting off duty to the four coming on night shift. Two oil lamps (small pottery bowls with wicks of twisted cotton swimming in hemp oil) tried to brighten the cave, but it was a poor show compared with brilliant full moon outside. A white cotton sheet covered the doorway. Paper covered the crisscross bamboo window slats. Still, the cold night air came in gusts through holes near the ceiling. Two nurses, one on each shift, carefully checked office equipment and medicines together. Equipment consisted of: one thermometer (for 164 patients), eight forceps, one hot-water bottle, five wash basins, fifty-two sulfathiazole tablets, twenty-four acetylsalicylic acid tablets, two pencils.

The off-going evening nurses removed gowns grimy with coal dust; poked the fire in the stove outside the office door, and departed for their caves talking loudly, lighting their way with a large twisted wick of cotton dipped in oil and held aloft. The oldest of the night nurses took charge. He checked over each chart and we made rounds to see every patient. A cry came from a close-by cave, 'Nurse!' (*hu shih*). Three nurses and I answered his call, taking along the wooden dressing tray with dried milk tins containing sterile gauze, cotton balls, forceps, Scultetus binder. A nurse carried a paper-covered wooden

frame lantern with a small oil lamp inside. The lantern was held high by one while another changed dressings. I was tempted to shine my flashlight onto the working area but because flashlights were few and batteries irreplaceable and because there might be a future moment when it would be even more useful, I refrained. A third carried a kettle of boiled water from the stove. We went to the farthest wards where drinking water or medicine or bedpans were given as required. Bandages which had worked loose had to be re-applied. We took turns going back down the unlighted path to the office for more bandages or water.

In one small cave where a non-ambulant patient lay, a village elder was assigned (in lieu of some taxes), keeping watch all night, tending needs of the helpless patient or calling a nurse when necessary. He squatted on his haunches against the wall, dressed in loose-fitting trousers with goatskin coat hanging loosely about his shoulders, a miniature bonfire of twigs on the floor in front of him. Tobacco was piled on a square of cloth beside the little fire. He carried coals from the fire with chopsticks to light his foot-long pipe. Each puff required emptying and refilling the small pipebowl and a relight with flint. His wavering shadow danced against walls of that cave where straight sides curved to meet rounded ceiling.

As we made our way back to the office, walking slowly in the dark, down paths from cave to cave, my companion stopped suddenly, stared into what appeared to me to be an empty dark-blank hillside and whispered, 'Fox!' Quickly scooping up stones, they threw them in the direction where they said they had seen a fox's eyes. Foxes were said to be common in the area, and not feared as dangerous, but stories of fierce wolves caused alarm. One nurse when on night duty always carried a rifle across his back in case a wolf should appear.

We had no sooner reached the office than we heard harsh, persistent squeals from the pigpen next door. When the sound began to fade I thought at once of wolves carrying away pigs, those animals the cook had herded for many a li, his meat supply for the hospital. The head nurse grabbed flashlight and dashed in the direction from whence the sounds came. The rest of us followed. One truant animal was found outside its pen, unhurt. The cook who slept in his kitchen above the nurses' office came hurrying out to see if his pork sup-

ply was safe.

All was well after nurses and cook together managed to put the pigs back into their pen and barricade the gate with stones and logs.

Toward dawn the silence of the coldest part of the night was broken by activity of sweeping office floor and compound and bustle of nurses distributing hot wash water to awakening patients. Familiar undercurrent—rhythmic chop-chopping of vegetables from kitchen accompanied a swell of singing from patients leaving their dark cave interiors for sunlit courtyards. Puffs of blue smoke rose from chimneys high on the hillsides, whose stoves were deep within.

By full daylight, day-duty nurses were in the office and ready for work. I stayed through morning report, noting that gowns looked dirtier by daylight. I knew that sometimes there was not any soap for laundry. I, too, washed my clothes in the cold stream and could not keep them as white as I wished.

My diary recounts a most unusual experience on January 2, 1948. While I was passing the time of day with a village official, a woman shouted to him from down the street to 'Come quick!' I followed to the doorway where she stood, and entered at her bidding. And this is what I saw: A man with opium pellets in his fist was struggling with a toothless old lady and a young man, each holding one of his wrists. His wife sat on one end of their *kang*, sobbing. The official and another man leapt up onto the *kang*, grabbed the man who was described as an opium addict, and wrenched the pellets out of his hand. The man sank down onto the *kang*. The old toothless one crouched beside him. A blind

boy rested his head against me. I patted his head to soothe him as well as myself. I could feel, rather than fully understand, what was said during those few dramatic, intense moments. The cave was soon filled with neighbours, each person commenting upon the situation. I saw one woman secrete the opium inside her clothing.

We found time on December days off to enjoy our favourite winter pastime—sliding down frozen waterfalls. Li Ping, Wu Ming-ching or Yen Sung when they came to visit, other MT 19 members, and I enjoyed nothing more than walking in new snow to a frozen stream, clambering up hillsides to slide down icy waterfalls. We kept warm from laughter and exertion. In that white winter world of fluffy snow, realities of the bleak landscape were softened.

Between Western and Chinese New Years, I walked to a medical conference held in Sanchao. There we discussed plans for continuing the work of the Friends Service Unit in Liberated Areas. We talked with Dr Ma Haiteh, Dr Su Ching-kuan, and Dr King Mo-jo as well as others.

After that meeting at medical headquarters, I accepted an invitation to visit a nursery in a near-by village. There I was introduced to Miss Siu, the public health nurse graduate of Peking Union Medical College School of Nursing who was director, and who welcomed me to the 'Los Angeles Nursery'. It seemed too incongruous to believe, to find a model nursery with such a name in such a spot so remote from its patron American city. I could think of no greater contrast in towns than between the cave village near Sanchao and Los Angeles, California.

Northeast Asia in Retrospect

David Conde

We of northeast Asia have long been—for several thousand years at least—accustomed to Peking taking the leadership in many of the affairs of mankind of this region.

In view of the recent past it was disappointing to have an 11-member delegation of American palaeontologists, who visited China last summer, assert on their return: 'There is a lack of emphasis in China on comparative

studies and little is said about archaeology in Japan, Africa or North America.'

The timing of the expression of this opinion was most unfortunate for within three months—in October 1976—truly great archaeological news was released in Washington of the ancient migration of Asian peoples across the land-bridge that existed thousands of years ago. The study was to find the bones and

artifacts of the earliest migrants. Previously Soviet scientists had done the most work on the Siberian travels of these northeast Asian travelers, and now the Americans are to devote three years and funds to find the story of those who reached the American end of the land-bridge.

Land-bridge

Dr Robert E. Ackerman of Washington State University said that as early as 30,000 to 50,000 years ago people started to drift across the connection between Alaska and Siberia. 'When people say land-bridge, they think of a narrow stretch,' Ackerman said, 'but this bridge was probably 1,500 miles wide in parts and contained a variety of living conditions.'

Other scientists said the bridge probably began sinking about 14,000 years ago and was under water about 10,000 years ago. The ice of the Ice Age melted and the ocean water level had risen. Dr William S. Guthrie of the University of Alaska told a press conference that early man had slowly moved across the bridge, probably following animal herds. 'In fact,' he added, 'early man probably had no idea they were going to a new continent.'

In describing this three-year massive international co-operative research venture, Dr Guthrie said, 'The specific aim of this project is to get a full picture of what life was like back then and hopefully to find camp-sites and fossils.'

Dr William Irving of the University of Toronto said they had found tools and animal bones in the charred remains of camp-sites that had been dated about 12,000 years ago. The 'dig' called 'Dry Creek' is located about 75 miles south of Fairbanks, Alaska. The tools and artifacts are made of bone and stone. Dr Irving also revealed that during the past summer they had found a human jawbone, containing a molar tooth of an early man. It was not dated yet, but is believed to be more than 20,000 years in 'age'. He said this find came from the 'Old Crow site' in the Canadian Yukon.

Dr William R. Powers of the University of Alaska, the co-director of the project, said some of the 'stone and bone projectiles and tools well represented Asian-Siberian stone technology ...'

'Little is known about the migration of humans across the plateau that linked Siberia

and Alaska during the Ice Age when ocean levels were much lower than they are today. The bridge link was last submerged about 10,000 years ago. The age of the earliest humans in North America is unknown but there have been estimates placing humans in the New World about 60,000 years ago.'

News from Peking tells of great studies that reach into the past as well as the more publicized research and ways of living today and tomorrow.

Based on the study of fossils of the upper cave men found in China in 1949—before Liberation—foreign scholars stated that the few individuals found in the upper cave belonged to three racial types, Eskimoids, Melaneoids and Mongoloids. In reporting this palaeo-anthropological research, China's scholars reviewed this and other data that have been discovered in the past 25 years. As a result these Chinese scientists state their belief that American Indians, Eskimos and Chinese all may be the descendants of the cave men who once lived near Peking. The article reviews studies of the Yuanmou apeman who lived 1.7 million years ago.

The upper cavemen of this study lived near Choukoutien, the cave home of the original Peking Man, 50 kilometres southwest of Peking. These fossils were found in 1929, showing he had lived there 500,000 years ago. 'Upper caveman' lived further up the mountain. The report concluded, 'The evidence, both positive and negative, confirms the continuity of cultural tradition in China's early period.'

Japan Searches the Past

In Japan too scholars have been very successful in finding an ancient camp-site near Tokyo. In August 1976 Professor Teruya Esaka of Keio University reported the discovery of the oldest axe-head and stone tools known in Japan, about 30,000 years old, in Tokyo's Sugunami Ward. This report states: 'Most scholars believe that it was during the Ice Age that mankind came over to Japan. During the Ice Age, land water was frozen so it did not pour into the sea. Consequently the sea level was substantially lower than in other periods. It is believed that some "land-bridges" were formed between the Asiatic continent and the Japanese archipelago where the sea bottom was exposed and the first Japanese came over to the islands pursuing elephants and deer.'

China in the Northeast

While the life-span of China's unique civilization is known to stretch back at least 5,000 years, going back beyond the Shang dynasty in the Wei River basin in Shensi, Shansi and western Honan prefectures, it is likewise recognized by the world as an unprecedented span of human civilization and purposeful livelihood.

China's written history of these ancient times in this northeast Asia area was the only one available, for China was the first to have a written language in Asia.

Because this portentous triangle between Peking, Pyongyang and Tokyo promises to be ever eventful, it might be useful to recount some of the historical highlights of this historical area. You need to be in Japan but a short time to know that the histories of both Japan and Korea are incomplete regarding the dark episodes while perhaps amplifying the 'glorious' details. Also such a historical study will show the annual weather pattern and its routine has a definite effect on the various people that make the population of northeast Asia.

I have been in Japan about 20 years and I have long noted the paths and antics of the typhoons that sweep up from Indonesia in the south, northward to Kyushu (Japan's southernmost island) and then turn in over the mainland in the region of South Korea. The hot sun of each summer makes the motive force for each year's typhoons, and has done so for thousands of years, sweeping along boats and people.

This natural blending of peoples, moving them from the south to the north, is a sort of age-long nature's wedding, taking place in Korea, Japan and certainly China.

Americans or Asians?

Consider 'northeast Asia' the land area embracing Siberia, Korea, Japan, Manchuria and Mongolia and in view of the history of the Ainu and some recent archaeological discoveries, I at least want to ask: 'Should it also not include Alaska, the Aleutian Islands and a part of California?'

In the case of the Ainus in northeast Asia, the Eskimos of the north, the Indians of the Americas, should it not be asked if they are Asian or 'American' people?

When the Chinese exploration force voluntarily withdrew from that area now called 'Korea', Peking, under its original name of Chi, in the first century was the capital of the feudal state of Yen under the Chou dynasty, and had already been an important city for a thousand years.

Peking is one of the world's oldest cities but the people of northeast Asia had lived in this region for several thousand years before the settlement was first built. Crochery has been found of these early residents of northeast Asia dating back to several thousand BC. The legendary Emperor Shun (23rd century BC) is said to have hailed from the northeastern tribes, perhaps Manchuria.

The Korea, China and Japan Triangle

About 108 BC, the Korean peninsula was occupied by many tribes, 'of differing stock, language and institutions', in the words of the venerable historian Keith Murdoch, and undoubtedly these tribes 'entered the country by land from the north. . . .the people of the extreme southwest (of Korea) were very different, having come overseas and being of southern origin.'

Of the social structure of the people living about 1500 BC on the peninsula now called 'Korea', not much is known; but they are known to have lived in caves facing the south for the warmth of the sun. And being in the Peking area (as it was to be later named) it is known that the Chinese entered the Korean peninsula in the period 202 BC to about 108 BC, finding it occupied by different tribes speaking different languages. At that time the Chinese were the only people in Asia and one of the few in the world having a written language, making it possible for them to compile a history with the records of their travels, events and visitors.

From these very early records we learn that the Chinese knew of Japan and referred to it as the land of Wo. In 48 BC it is a matter of record that pirates from Wo raided the Korean peninsula. The earliest inhabitants of the Japan islands were the Ainus, a Caucasian tribe from the north, said to come from the region of the Amur River delta. The Ainus were called Yemishi in the earliest Japanese records—*Kejiki*—'Record of Ancient Mariners'. The Ainus pushed as far south as Kyushu in the probably unoccupied Japanese islands. The Ainus were a hunting and fishing people who followed food wherever it could

'be found and the tribe was identified by its cult of bear veneration and likewise its tradition of leaving shell mounds that loomed along the seashore of particular abundant seas, near where freshwater rivers dumped their fish into the sea. These trademark shell-mounds have been found as far apart as Japan, Honshu and Hokkaido to Alaska and northern California near San Francisco.

The Chinese forces withdrew from the entire Korean peninsula about 108 BC and soon after in the first century, three native tribal kingdoms were formed. In the north the Kingdom of Koguryu was established in 37 BC, lasting until AD 668. As it was located so far to the north in the present Korea, it had few relations with Japan, or Wo.

This is the nation known as Koma in Japan's books but the Japanese never occupied any part of this northern Korean land.

In the southern part of the peninsula two separate states were born and the oldest was Silla, founded on the Japan Sea coast in 57 BC. The third kingdom, called Pakche by the Koreans and Kudara by the Japanese, lasted from 17 BC to AD 660 and stretched along the Yellow Sea coast, near China. It was from Pakche that Japan received its first Chinese culture, Korea becoming traditionally the bearer of such literature and art.

In AD 661 a Japanese invasion fleet attacking Korea encountered 170 Chinese sail boats off the mouth of the Pekchon River and as British historian Murdoch noted in his sober *History of Japan*: this was the 'end of all official Japanese attempts on Korea for 930 years.'

From the year 1 BC to AD 1500 Japan was under China's cultural influence, but then went its own acquisitive way, driven, its leaders said, by economic necessity.

When in AD 552 the compassionate Buddhist religion was introduced from Korea into Japan, it was regulated and manipulated on behalf of a totally unmoral government. When Zen buddhism was imported from China by Nichiren, it too was completely dehumanized and made an adjunct of statecraft. For many centuries in Japan, the Buddhist temple was the local *za*, or money lender at high interest rates.

From AD 710 to 793, Japan was in the Nara period, 'the Golden Age of Buddhism' when Japan's royal family was most influenced by China's culture.

As the semi-official *Japan Year Book* boldly states: 'The Government rather avoided the trouble of Korean Peninsula intercourse and concentrated its power on better administration of home affairs, encouraging intercourse with China in order to bring Chinese civilization into Japanese life. . . ' One of the most impressive (on paper) at this time, AD 645, was the Imperial family Taika Reformation (great reformation) which was to correct the crimes of social inequities, which were almost coeval with the birth of Japan itself. The nearly lowest class were the *yakko*—serfs and beneath them the slaves, many of them captured and brought from Korea, owned by the clan families and nearly all the shrines and temples. The royal Reformation was to end the crime of being rich among the many poor, ordering that 'all private land was to become the property of all the people' and all such land 'confiscated should be divided among the people.'

In AD 734 and after labour of three years forced from the people, plus the vast mountain of the malleable metal squeezed from the people, a *Daibutsu*, or great statue to Buddha, was built in Nara. This cold statue never reflected the warmth of Buddha nor did the compassion of Buddhism ever penetrate into the brains or hearts of Japan's cruel rulers. When this *Daibutsu* was burned down, perhaps by the tyrannized slaves who were the builders of the image, this was the fiery end of the kingly way founded on and reflecting as in a bent mirror, a culture of China. This time marked the start of a military era, when power went to military commanders. To prepare for war to the north on the Ainu occupying most of Japan down to the mid region, the emperor commissioned the top commander as *shogun*—'barbarian subduing general'. This was the end of the Nara period, which had lasted from AD 710 to 993. It was followed by the 'way of the warrior'—*bushido*—and was named the Kamakura shogunate which lasted from 1192 to 1337.

Kamakura Shogunate

Thinking that the symbol of Buddhism would be useful in controlling the hungry and unruly people, the *shogun* ordered the building of another but slightly smaller *Daibutsu* than the one burned in Nara. Another statue was built near Edo's seashore with as little effect upon the economic-shaped morality as had made the hunger-weather prevail in Kamakura as well as Nara. The soldiers of the

BOOK SECTION

Taiping Rebel—the Deposition of Li Hsiu-cheng—by C. A. Curwen (Cambridge University Press, 1977, 357 pages).

The Taiping Revolution of the mid-nineteenth century was a curtain raiser to the Chinese revolution of this one. Needless to say, all material concerning it, in China or abroad, is still of immense interest to the many historians of the period who go on studying its every aspect.

This book, well set out by Dr Curwen of the University of London, carefully annotated, with copious appendices glossary, bibliography and index, will be a great help to all who take interest in the subject, for most of the assessments made so far are recorded, while many details previously not collected together have been included for reference. The main thesis concerns the Taiwan-published copy of what purports

Kamakura shogunate talked much of the 'morality of the masses' as they polished their swords or tested their new guns.

Slavery was as widespread as before and now many slaves were employed (forced to work) in the 'government factories' of the *shogun*. Soon different military men established the Muromachi shogunate lasting from 1338 to 1602 with headquarters in Kyoto. Trade with the outside world began in this period when the Portuguese ships arrived in 1543. What was important domestically was the introduction of fire-arms giving each clan leader the dream of now winning military power and become *shogun*.

These troubled times were not good for prosperity or calm and soon another strongman, Ieyasu Tokugawa then founded his shogunate in Edo (Tokyo) which lasted from 1603 to 1847. Tokugawa had a flair for monopoly practice although this was still the age of feudalism and the time of monopoly capitalism was yet to come. The *shogun* again divided all the land of Japan, with plots being set aside for the imperial household and all the prominent shrines. By calculation it was ascertained that over 90% of all the land of Japan went to members of the Tokugawa family and their favourites in the courtly and military ranks. To assure loyalty among such a large body of 'followers' the *shogun* decreed that all of the 214 *daimyo* (great feudal lords) must spend half of their time in Edo, where he could watch them. They must have this second headquarters with half their soldiers

to be the original deposition of Li Hsiu-cheng, the Loyal King of the final Nanking period of the Taiping Revolution. It is stated that this copy was photographed from the original deposition in the hands of the family of Tseng Kuo-fan in Hunan, where it was stated to have been held after it was made.

With the help of explosives provided by British imperialism, the wall of Taiping-held Nanking was mined, and enough blown up to permit the Manchu's army investing the city to enter. The outnumbered Taipings evacuated as they could, the Chung Wang, Li Hsiu-cheng, giving his good horse to the young Emperor, a court-brought-up boy of sixteen, to make his escape on. That was the last we have from reliable sources on Li Hsiu-cheng. After that, reports differ, depositions differ. It is said that Li Hsiu-cheng was brought before Tseng Kuo-chuan, brother of Tseng Kuo-fan, the Manchu dynasty commander, and was slashed on the arm and side, while the Taiping Emperor's brother Hung Jen-ta was tortured beside him. Later the Chung Wang was paraded in a wooden cage, and was subject to lengthy interrogations. Finally when Tseng Kuo-fan and his staff arrived in Nan-

at his capital for half of the time and the other half could be spent at the 'home' castle.

In reality this meant that Tokyo became a city of brothels, as a result of the decree of the Tokugawa *shogun*, expanding from a small fishing village on Tokyo Bay into a huge, rich 'sin city' able to accommodate all the major lords and their samurai followers for a full year every other year while the middlesized lords were only compelled to reside in Edo for half the year in bondage.

In every case all wives were compelled to stay at home while the daughters of the poor were packaged commodities, being substitute wives for the army of samurai serving each lord in numbers ranging from scores to thousands. A large number of merchants and innkeepers flocked to Edo to become rich from the traffic in sex, and all the great merchant-banker families made their start in this hot and corrupt soil of Edo.

By 1716 Yoshimune Tokugawa had inherited the shogunate and Japan was in economic crisis and the newer *shogun* became even more repressive in taxing the landlords, farmers and merchants, including those who dealt in female flesh. By this time the role of feudalism had been played out, the choice land all grabbed by a few strong hands and the wealth of the nation in the form of slaves or gold, had all been piled up. The Tokugawa shogunate was the last. It was to end in 1867 and even before then plans were made to use the new guns against Korea and China.

king, he was shut in an iron-bar cage, and told to write. Inside the next seven days before his execution he is said to have written at the rate of around four thousand five hundred characters a day, as well as being interrogated during that time by Tseng Kuo-fan and others—an extraordinary feat for anyone, let alone for one who had come through such traumatic experiences. He had no expectation but that of a quick death, was fettered and locked in an iron cage. The deposition he is said to have written was the basis for the one swiftly sent to Lay, the British Commissioner of Customs at Shanghai, and at once published by the Presbyterian Press there. The Taiping Revolution was still on, in many parts of the country, and foreign ships were necessary to transport Manchu troops, give them communication, arms, etc. All the foreign traders' gains of the two opium wars would have been lost had the Taiping won, so for the profiteers in opium and so on, the stakes were high. The deposition was used then as a highly useful piece of propaganda against the Taipings. The original document in the hands of the descendants of Tseng Kuo-fan was jealously guarded, for obviously there was something really important to hide. It was the basis for modern criticism of Li Hsiu-cheng in 1964 by Chi Peng-yu.

As forgery of documents, addition of 'confessions and regrets', etc. were a part and parcel of *yamen* rule under the Manchus, any kind of handwriting or writer's style could be copied with absolute ease—for them child's play. The deposition certainly had all kinds of deletions and additions made by many of Tseng's staff, before the amended draft was brought to him for final correction. We just do not have any real way of knowing the truth of anything that happened at that time. Actually, the only way we can judge is by assessing the characters of the two chief persons involved—Tseng Kuo-fan and Li Hsiu-cheng. Tseng Kuo-fan was an outstanding member of the Hunan scholar-official gentry. Cunning, ruthless, and enormously rich, he was a complete traitor to his people, and an abject servant of the corrupt Manchu dynasty, whose rule he helped so well to perpetuate. At the time of the Taiping Revolution, he was nicknamed the 'head shaver' as he crudely had executed so many thousands of people. War profits, collected during his suppression of the revolution, made both him and his brother much richer. His diary, written in the finest classical style, was the favourite reading of Chiang Kai-shek, who would scan a page every day, and then go on ordering more communists killed. For his services to the Manchus, he was created a marquis, and his brother an earl. As a cynical, tricky, brilliant intellectual, he has been well supported by old-style worshippers of his type, both Chinese and foreign, lining up with him in contempt for any kind of people's hero. Birds of a feather fly together.

Li Hsiu-cheng was of peasant Hakka stock, his forefathers having come to Kwangsi from Hopping in northeastern Kwangtung. He was an illiterate charcoal burner when he joined up with the Taiping armies. While in the Taiping revolution, he educated

himself and was widely known as an able administrator, gaining deep affection from amongst the people, who felt strongly that he worked for them. As a military commander, he was known as practical, gallant, and able. A. D. Lindley, the Englishman who fought in the Taiping Army with him, was unstinted in his admiration for his high qualities and character. After the death of the ailing Taiping Emperor, Hung Hsiu-chuan, he was left in actual command of the besieged city of Nanking, and did his best with the small force left to him, to try and halt enemy mining of the walls. The mistake of lodging the hopes of the revolution inside a walled city, and the death of the best Taiping commanders as a result of internecine strife, were severe set-backs. The cause the Taipings fought for did live, however, in the hearts of the people, right on to the later Boxer revolution, then into the Great Revolution and thereafter on to the present.

A careful reading of Dr Curwen's book makes one feel more than ever that a full and correct evaluation of the so-called deposition of Li Hsiu-cheng, edited by Tseng Kuo-fan, has yet to be made. This, too, despite all that has been said by the academics of subsequent times, right up to this present. There evidently is the line of the sly elegant aristocrat, the rascal Tseng Kuo-fan, out to deceive and to use his prey to his fullest advantage, and then that of the rebel peasant, Li Hsiu-cheng. Two lines, clear and definite. Never believe the enemy!

NSC

Indian Foreign Policy: The Nehru Years— *Edited by B. R. Nanda (Vikas Publishing Ltd., Delhi, 1976.)*

This commemorative work consists of a collection of highly competent studies contributed by a coterie of India's distinguished academics and retired diplomats. Its editor, Shri B. R. Nanda, is Director of The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in New Delhi. Practically all the contributors can be said to hold up Nehru in a combination of respect, reverence, and awe. In short, a strong case of 'personality cult' has been posthumously built around the name of Nehru—especially among those Indian liberals over the age of 45. Strictly speaking, the Nanda volume contains relatively minor revelations about India's foreign relations under Nehru, though most of the non-academic contributors have had direct personal contacts with the late premier. In order to gain insights from different perspectives, readers would be greatly benefited from perusing the works by such Western scholars and diplomats as Neville Maxwell, Walter Crocker, J. K. Galbraith, Chester Bowles, Michael Brecher, and Norman Cousins as well as those by Indian academics of different political persuasions.

The main topics covered in this volume include India's relations with Pakistan, China, the United States, the Soviet Union, Southeast Asia, the Arab world, and the Commonwealth. Crucial issues per-

taining to disarmament and international economic cooperation have also been dealt with with a good sense of balance. Above all, it is Nehru's non-alignment policy in international relations that forms the main thread of the contributors' discourses. Girilal Jain, a resident editor of *The Times of India*, avers that Nehru was an 'important spokesman for the Third World' in the whole decade before 1962: 'A smaller man may have either succumbed to Western pressures or leaned heavily towards the Soviet bloc. He did neither.' But one is tempted to question the fairness of the following assertion made by D. R. SarDesai, a history professor at the University of Southern California: 'Since late 1962, Indian foreign policy has operated in two worlds: the narrow area of the Sino-Indian conflict; and the wider area of international affairs, where India continues to adhere to non-alignment.' Suffice it to say that New Delhi's role in the breakup of Pakistan, India's implicit alignment with Moscow by means of a 'friendship treaty', and the 1975 annexation of Sikkim do not in any way help India's image as a peace-loving and self-righteous nation in the eyes of many Third World leaders.

In contradistinction to those contributors who take a highly moralistic stand, K. Subrahmanyam, former Director of Indian Institute of Defence Study and Analyses, sees nitty-gritty realism in Nehru's approach:

Non-alignment was not merely a moral stand. As Nehru himself explained to the Parliament, it was, in fact, also based on considerations of India's national interest. It was a strategy by which he was trying to derive out of the world balance of forces the maximum cover for India's security. Given the long association with the English-speaking world and the Western orientation of our élite, he had to be very cautious in developing India's relationship with the Soviet Union. Even the non-alignment policy came under severe criticism from large sections of our élite who preferred an outright alignment with the West.

With reference to the Sino-Indian border conflict of 1962, the late President Ayub Khan of Pakistan mentioned in his memoir that the Indian Government was trying to make a mountain out of a molehill. Neville Maxwell's highly acclaimed work, *India's China War*, tends to support the thrust of the late President's proposition. Moreover, the Western-oriented élite in New Delhi promptly 'took advantage' of the tense Cold War situation to start an anti-China propaganda in the so-called 'liberal circles' in the United States and Western Europe. Domestically, those in control of the mass media had been so busy spreading the rumour that the Chinese Communists were in the process of mounting a mass-scale invasion to conquer India. When the armed conflict eventually broke out on the eastern sector of the long Sino-Indian border, many surprised eyebrows were raised; according to Shri Subrahmanyam, 'the possibility of the Chinese launching a very carefully controlled limited operation, with very limited political ob-

jectives, appears to have been overlooked altogether, both in the services and political circles, including the Prime Minister.' Despite the voluminous anti-Peking propaganda emanating from India in 1962-64, most of the Western experts on Asian affairs were skeptical about New Delhi's claim regarding China's intention to occupy India or 'to cut India in half'—the latter had almost become a military *fait accompli* within a month of the border conflict.

The 1962 conflict brought a formal end to the period of *Hindi-Chinni bhai-bhaüsm* ('Indian-Chinese Brotherhood'). In *India's China War* Neville Maxwell argued that the root cause for the border dispute lay in New Delhi's refusal to admit that there was a dispute, defending its own version of the frontier line as a matter of 'national dignity and self-respect.' John Gittings, a British political commentator, has analyzed the course of Sino-India relations in *The World and China, 1922-1972*:

India was a more complicated question [than pre-1972 Japan]. China did not object to India giving the Dalai Lama sanctuary after the Tibetan rebellion in March 1959 but did complain of the activities of Kuomintang and American agents on Indian soil. They were 'surprised', not yet outraged, by Nehru's behaviour. Peking's Ambassador to India appealed to the Indian Foreign Secretary not to forget the two countries' common concern to oppose US imperialism... Within months, in the Chinese view, India had gone out of its way to antagonize China in the East, unilaterally modifying parts of the McMahon line in its own favour and provoking incidents on the Sino-Indian border. Logically India's relations in the West came under scrutiny; its stubbornness on the border must have an international class basis. This the Chinese found in the contradictions between India's national and big bourgeoisie, and the latter's dependence on Western monopoly capital. The former, including Nehru, were still judged to share some common anti-imperialist ground with China.

Nevertheless China could not fail to notice India's growing economic dependence upon the United States, and to conclude that 'The more anti-Chinese India is, the greater is the increase in US aid.' Perhaps a more painful grievance, though not publicly expressed at the time, was that which the Russians caused by remaining ostentatiously neutral at the height of border tensions. The Tass statement of 9 September 1959, which simply deplored the Sino-Indian clashes without apportioning blame, was regarded by Peking as the first open display of Sino-Soviet differences before the eyes of the world.

In July 1940 (that is to say, in the middle of the Second World War and nine years before the founding of the PRC), Chairman Mao Tsetung wrote a personal letter to Jawaharlal Nehru, in which he emphasized a political point that was later unfortunately ignored by many leaders in independent India: 'Our emancipation, the emancipation of the Indian people

and the Chinese, will be the signal of the emancipation of all the down-trodden and oppressed.' Outwardly some of these leaders professed friendship and goodwill toward new China, but inwardly they were 'jealous,' 'arrogant,' and even 'resentful.' Dr Michael Brecher, a Canadian political scientist with considerable sympathy for India, had spent several days interviewing Nehru in 1956. Here is what he said about the Indian premier's inner thoughts in his political biography on Nehru:

[He] has made abundantly clear that he considers [the Himalayan border states] to be in India's 'sphere of influence'. Nor is he oblivious to the inevitable long-run rivalry between Democratic India and Communist China for the leadership of Asia. He knows full well, but never admits in public, that the ideologically uncommitted countries of the area are watching the contest between Delhi and Peking, particularly in the economic realm, to see which system can 'deliver the goods'. He knows that the fate of Asia hangs in the balance—and hopes that sympathetic Western statesmen will realize the implications of the contest before it is too late.

In terms of financial assistance and moral support, the Indian Government had received aplenty from both the Americans and West Europeans before December 1971. But in the view of many Indian and non-Indian scholars, the Indian society must be rejuvenated and strengthened through its own rich human and physical resources that await to be tapped and harnessed. Professor Bhabani Sen Gupta (City University of New York), one of the most astute students on Indian politics, has alluded to the eventuality of a political thunderstorm:

It will probably be a long time before India is caught in a revolutionary political crisis. The society is interlaced with 'trenches,' to use the expression of Antonio Gramsci, of which the caste system, the docility of the people born of fatalism, the linguistic diversities, the feuds between the two principal religious communities, and between the land-owning high castes and the landless 'untouchables,' and the gross disparities in economic development and levels of political consciousness are the most noteworthy. There is no revolutionary political challenge to the system at this moment, and none is likely to develop in the next ten years. The pressure upon the system will come from the middle classes of the urban areas, spear-headed probably by restless, unemployed, and alienated youth. However, unrest will almost certainly begin to penetrate the peasant masses in the countryside, and once this happens, the system will probably start to break down. (Italics supplied)

That the Indian society may need a more drastic transformation also finds its supporters in the United States. Writing in *The New York Times*, Bernard Weintraub stated in no uncertain terms: 'India . . . is immersed in a deepening economic and political crisis marked by agitation, self-questioning drift. Food

shortages, corruption, radicalism, inflation, indecision, oil prices, the sluggish bureaucracy, the population spiral, declining income, and lagging production have interlocked, creating a sense of cynicism and gloom.'

Despite the unfortunate state of affairs between New Delhi and Peking since 1962, the Chinese people do strongly feel that amity is much more preferable to enmity, and they are openly apprehensive of Moscow's hotbreathed embrace (as exemplified in the Soviet-Indian 'friendship treaty') of India following the latter's war with Islamabad over Bangladesh (then as part of Pakistan), undoubtedly with the active encouragement and energetic support of the Soviet Union. Mr James Reston of *The New York Times*, who is considered to be America's leading political columnist, has keenly observed that 'India has won the battle for East Pakistan, but in the larger perspective of world politics, this is not the main thing. For the Soviet Union has emerged from this avoidable conflict as the military arsenal and political defender of India, with access for Moscow's rising naval power to the Indian Ocean, and a base of political and military operation on China's southern flank.'

As a result of the 1971 war and its acceptance of Moscow's sugar-coated inducement, India has become more isolated than ever before in the Third World. Such former 'donor states' as the US, Britain, France, and West Germany are quite taken aback by India's abrupt and seemingly irrational turn to Moscow. In a recent issue of the *Journal of International Affairs* (Columbia University), Professor Sen Gupta had to politely call attention to New Delhi's isolation in the international arena:

The United States Government, while conceding India's primacy in South Asia, also saw in the outcome of the 1971 war a geopolitical expansion of Soviet influence and power. . . Indeed, India was seen as but a minor actor, an instrument used by Moscow to establish its hegemony over South Asia and the Indian Ocean, and to make war with China. India's geographical neighbours and ideological friends in the Third World were more awed than thrilled by the Indian intervention in the Bangladesh struggle. By and large, the Afro-Asians saw Soviet power lurking behind India's newly acquired glory. Even in 1972 the Indian (and Soviet) images of the new political realities in the subcontinent were at variance with the images of the rest of the world, especially those of the United States and China. India perceived the foremost task of its primacy as reshaping subcontinental relations and giving the area a strategic harmony. To China, and less explicitly to the United States, it was the Soviet Union, not India, which appeared to dominate the South Asian political and security scenario.

In a way one can say that most Indian leaders, while fully aware of all the ugly features of the old-styled imperialism, are oblivious of the new-styled social-imperialist bearing gifts. So far the polar bear has already made immense inroads in the Indian

Ocean area. In the judgment of Girilal Jain of *The Times of India*, as a consequence of the so-called 'friendship treaty' the Soviet position 'is bound to be strengthened from the Mediterranean to the Straits of Malacca. Even its detractors in the Arab world will revise their views about it.'

That there are still many Indian leaders who are literally unaware of Soviet intentions in southern Asia can in part be glimpsed from this very innocent remark by a former Indian ambassador to the Soviet Union, who is a contributor to the Nanda volume: 'Thousands of Soviet experts and technical personnel have come and stayed and worked in India; and there has not been even the whisper of a suspicion that any of them has indulged in any undesirable activities.' However, in a special issue devoted to a scrutiny of 'KGB in Asia,' the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (December 31, 1976) had this to say about the Soviet intelligence organization's nefarious activities in the motherland of Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore:

It is in the Subcontinent—from Burma to Afghanistan—that Moscow has most succeeded in increasing its influence in pursuit of the same thrust southwards towards the Indian Ocean which motivated the Czars.

Like Bangladesh, India has been one of Moscow's great success stories, with an enormous expansion of influence achieved under the first years of Mrs Indira Gandhi's premiership . . . The cornerstone of the Soviet Union's influence in India is of course the Communist Party of India (CPI), one of the most loyal of Moscow's disciple parties. It has played a useful role in coalition with Mrs Gandhi's Congress party, backing her dismantling of democracy . . . The Russians continue their prime task of infiltrating the Congress party and promoting the position of the CPI, while ensuring that it continues to toe the Moscow line. About 500 Russian officials at present in India are pursuing this aim, of which total about 175 do so clandestinely as KGB or GRU officers.

Even before his death Nehru was held in great reverence by most of the Western-oriented intellectuals. Now there seems to be a 'cult of personality' building up posthumously around Nehruji's fame—albeit without the saintly quality and common touch of Mahatma Gandhi. He was a learned, stern, and aristocratic nationalist. He cared passionately about ideas, and he did seem to care about the people—more than as political objects. He had his own strengths and weaknesses—and limitations. Over the last decade many Western intellectuals tend to magnify Nehru's failure in not having brought international recognition, political stability, economic prosperity, and social justice to India during the last years of his life. Their expectations appear to be too high. As Neville Maxwell has so eloquently argued in a study entitled 'Jawaharlal Nehru: Of Pride and Principle' in *Foreign Affairs* (April 1974), Nehru did play a notable role in mediating a number of threatening disputes during the height of the Cold

War. (In the opinion of these reviewers, the late Prime Minister was ably assisted by V. K. Krishna Menon, Sardar K. M. Panikkar, and other experienced diplomats.) One example about India's mediatory role will suffice. According to Surjit Mansingh (co-author of *Diplomatic History of Modern India*), 'India's diplomats, fed by information from Ambassador K. M. Panikkar in Peking, often defended China's entry on the side of North Korea as "defensive", and criticized the militancy of American policy in Asia.' K. P. S. Menon, one of India's veteran diplomats (now retired), put it with just a slightly different angle: 'The fact is that there was a situation in which Russian leaders took a macabre pleasure. Here were Americans, Chinese, North Koreans and South Koreans merrily killing one another, and not a Russian soldier was involved.'

The late Secretary of State Dulles used to call Nehru's policy of non-alignment 'short-sighted and immoral' Because of this, he was rightly ridiculed and even condemned by knowledgeable leaders in Western countries and the Third World. But, as Premier Chou En-lai had repeatedly warned, the ghost of John Foster Dulles presently resides in the Kremlin. To the many people who bear only goodwill toward the Indian nation, New Delhi's signing of the thinly disguised 'friendship treaty' with Moscow signifies only too well that the Indira Gandhi government has deviated from, if not abandoned, the non-alignment policy bequeathed by the proud and strong-willed Nehru. Internally India will most likely face turmoil and uncertainty in the political, economic, and social fields in the next several years. At this time it is perhaps appropriate to introduce the perceptive observation made by Professor Sen Gupta as the conclusion of this review:

In spite of some of the attributes of a primary regional power, India's integrative role in the subcontinent . . . has been frustrated by the ability of Pakistan to refuse to bend to this role, by India's failure to satisfy Bangladesh's political and economic demands, and by the inclination of China and the United States to see India not so much as an autonomous regional power but as a vehicle for expansion of Soviet influence. Meanwhile, India's domestic power base is threatened by a severe economic crisis which may bring about large-scale political and social instability during the coming years. Without a strong, dynamic, and internationally credible social base of power—which can come only from a radical re-ordering of the social system—India, with its vast manpower and untapped and immobilized resources, will remain for an indefinite period a potential major power, a disquieting question mark on the Asian firmament, feared by the small and disdained by the rich and the strong, a mixture of high hopes and saddening disappointments, but always compelling the world's attention. For what happens in and to India, happens to one-sixth of mankind.

Carroll Stevens
Lillian Yee

ON MANY HORIZONS *news and views*

Women Take up Arms

The Tunisian Government decided to put into practice the female military service as from 1977 to reinforce national defence. In Bizerte, a female group recently set up in a military school has recruited 140 girls from the seventh-year secondary school students. They will be sent to different military organs after finishing a six-month course of military training.

Hsinhua, Tunis, 17 March

New Hospitals

According to preliminary statistics of the Lao Public Health Ministry, hospitals with a total of over 2,600 beds have been set up in 95 of the 120 districts of the country by the end of last year. There were smaller hospitals with a total of over 1,700 beds in more than 400 villages out of a total of over 840. Clinics were set up in over 2,000 of the 10,000 hamlets in the country with over 3,000 public health workers taking charge.

Hsinhua, Vientiane, 20 March

All by Themselves

The Malagasy Tamatave Oil Refinery has been working well after overcoming difficulties caused by the withdrawal of foreign technicians since its nationalization. Now all the directors, engineers, technicians and mechanics of the refinery are Madagascans. With an annual capacity of 750,000 tons, it has a surplus output for export to other African countries.

Hsinhua, Tananarive, 28 March

Brick-laying School

Guyana set up its first brick-laying school today to train more people in the use of clay products in home building and other construction projects. 22 students, including 8 females, are enrolled in the first course of the training school, at which all teachers are Guyanese. The entire course will be based on the study-labour principle.

Hsinhua, Georgetown, 28 March

Improved Coffee

Recently, Mexican scientific research workers have bred through cross fertilization an improved coffee, which can resist coffee rust, a disease causing great losses to the coffee production of some Latin American countries.

Hsinhua, Mexico City, 1 April

41 Die in Indira's Prisons

At least 41 political prisoners died in Indian jails during the emergency, it was revealed today.

The Home Minister, Mr Charan Singh, told Parliament that each death would be investigated.

He said more than 34,630 people had been detained under the internal security Act of the former Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi.

The Minister also revealed that an investigation will be held into the jail treatment given to the Janata Party leader, Mr Jayaprakash Narayan.

AP, New Delhi, 6 April

Ancient China-Siam Link

Six Chinese junks, believed to have sunk in the 13th century, have been found off the coast of southern Thailand, a Fine Arts Department spokesman has announced.

The spokesman said several valuable porcelain pieces from the Sung (960-1279) and Ming (1368-1644) dynasties were found by divers. The junks are located in shallow waters of Nakhon Si Thammarat province, 375 miles south of Bangkok.

AP, Bangkok, 10 April

Hospital in China

The way Shanghai psychoneurological hospital treated its patients greatly impressed Professor Bruca Rosar, a pathologist who headed a visiting group of Australian Doctors' Reforms Society to China. He told Ta Kung Pao reporter on his arrival here with the group from Kwangchow last Saturday that the patients were encouraged to have confidence and optimism in their treatment. Their active and earnest cooperation with their doctors usually induced early recovery and return to work.

Mr Rosar observed that in China there are really few people suffering from mental illnesses. This is mainly due to the security they have in their work, their livelihood and other aspects. Such security is closely linked with the superiority of socialism, Mr Rosar remarked.

Ta Kung Pao,
Hongkong, 14 April

Ape Jaw-bone 8m Years Old

An almost complete lower jaw-bone belonging to an ancient ape which lived some eight million years ago was found recently in Lufeng county of Yunnan province.

This important discovery provided convincing evidence to support the proposition that southern

China was an important area where the earliest humans came into being.

A joint expedition sent by the Institute of Vertebrate Paleontology and Paleoanthropology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Yunnan Provincial Museum excavated the fossil in the Shihhuipa colliery which has long been known as a source of fossils from ancient ape.

Hsinhua, Kunming, 17 April

'White Men from Angola'

King Hassan of Morocco said he has proof Cubans are fighting in Zaire alongside an invading force from neighbouring Angola.

In a Moroccan Television interview, the King said he had a report from Colonel Abdallah of the Moroccan Expeditionary Force in Zaire's Shaba province—the former secessionist Katanga Republic—informing him that a wounded Katangese ex-gendarme had been captured and admitted that his unit was accompanied by 'white men from Angola.'

They were obviously Cubans, the King said. There was evidence also of Cuban involvement in the invaders' logistic methods, arms, training and rank structures.

AFP, Rabat, 19 April

Acupuncture in Panama

A decree was recently issued by the Panamanian Government to adopt acupuncture treatment in the country.

Panama showed a keen interest in the well-known acupuncture. A television seminar was arranged on this subject here last evening. The participants made an extensive analysis of the theory and practice of acupuncture. They pointed out that this treatment is very old in the East, but new to the West. Because of the present-day developments and achievements of acupuncture, we should study and master it to complete the Western medical science, they added.

Hsinhua, Panama City, 19 April

Price for MiG 25

The Soviet Union has demanded Japan pay 7.7 million roubles (about HK\$51.5 million) compensation for Japan's divulging classified information about its MiG 25 jet fighter to the West, a leading Japanese daily reported today.

The Mainichi Shimbun, quoting Government sources, said that the Soviet Ambassador to Japan, Mr Dmitri Polyanski, made the request on two separate occasions recently.

AFP, Tokyo, 19 April

Cubans in Libya

Cuban troops have appeared for the first time in the streets of Tripoli and Benghazi, Libya's two larg-

est cities, the newspaper Al Akhbar said Sunday.

At the same time, the newspaper said, Cuban and Soviet vessels are unloading weapons and tanks at the ports of Benghazi and Tobruk, 'which are working day and night to handle the shipments,' the newspaper said.

The same newspaper had reported earlier this month that Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, during his recent Africa tour, which included Libya, promised strongman Col. Moammar Khadafy 7,000 men to shore up his regime.

UPI, Cairo, 23 April

Ancient Human Sacrifice

The 250 pits containing slaves killed as human sacrifices dating back more than 3,000 years were discovered near Wukuan village in Anyang city, Honan province, by the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences last summer. Anyang is a site noted for archaeological discoveries.

The excavation belonging to the Shang dynasty (16th-11th century BC) offers significant scientific data for research into China's slave society.

Yin Hsu, in present-day Anyang, is the ruins of the capital of the Yin-Shang dynasty during the later period of the Shang dynasty. Large numbers of slaves were killed as funerary human sacrifices or as sacrifices to the ancestors of the nobility.

Hsinhua, Chengchow, 27 April

Land of 1,000 Lakes

A comprehensive survey Chinese scientific workers carried out on the Chinghai-Tibet Plateau has established that Tibet has 1,000 lakes, big and small, about half of all in China. Together they cover nearly 30,000 square kilometres, approximately one third of the country's total.

Most of the lakes are situated at 4,000 metres above sea level and some in northern Tibet are as high as 5,500 metres.

Hsinhua, Lhasa, 28 April

'Cancer Map'

There were more lung cancer victims in coastal cities while the number of overall cancer-induced deaths was larger in western Japan than other areas, the first nationwide 'cancer map' published shows.

The semi-governmental Council of Epidemiological Study on Distribution of Adult Diseases yesterday made public a large chart of the Japanese archipelago carefully painted in five colours—ranging from red to blue—each indicating the rate of deaths from cancer in the coloured area. It was based on a 1969-1972 national survey.

Council officials said the map, the first of its kind, was made for more extensive study on the still-elusive killer disease and its future prevention.

Heart disease and cancer remain the leading killer in Japan. About 140,000 Japanese died of cancer last year, according to the council.

AFP, Tokyo, 2 May

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Ceramic horses modelled after tri-colour glazed pottery horses of the Tang dynasty are produced in Loyang in Honan, a production centre of such pottery in China. Here are two of those horses.