EASTERN HORIZON

monthly review

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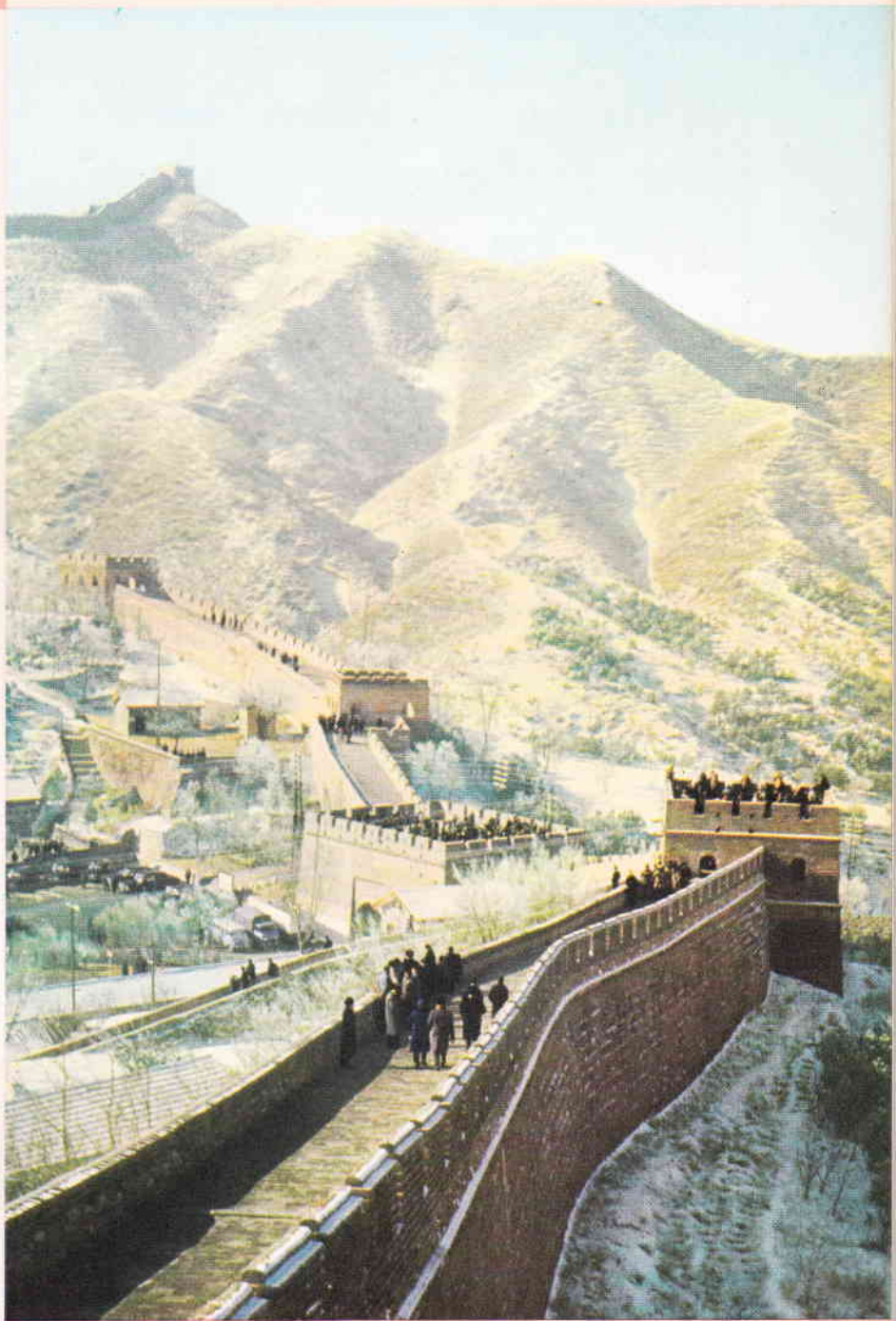

Poetry of Ho Chi Minh

Hongkong University Students on China Visit

In Memory of Edgar Snow

1972

EASTERN HORIZON monthly review

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EASTERN DIARY

The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.

This is the inscription in bold white characters on red one sees on entering the Palace Museum in Peking, once known as the Forbidden City.

This is a quotation from Chairman Mao and it may well sum up a view of history now prevailing in China. If the people alone are the motive force in the making of world history, they will also decide the future course of the world.

During President Nixon's visit to China, a great deal was said about the great American people and the great Chinese people. It was acknowledged more than once that to promote the normalisation of relations between China and the United States and enhance mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of the two countries is their strong desire and in their interest.

This was no mere rhetorics. For as far as the Chinese leaders are concerned, it has long been their deep conviction that it is the people who ultimately decide the course of history and the future of mankind.

It was obviously out of this conviction that Premier Chou En-lai said:

> *The times are advancing and the world changing. We are deeply convinced that the strength of the people is powerful, and that whatever zigzags and reverses there will be in the development of history, the general trend of the world is definitely towards light and not darkness.*

The one-week visit made by President Nixon to China was an event unprecedented in the history of the relations between China and the United States and no one can deny its importance, whether he is for or against it. But however much one might like to think that the week had changed the world, the week could probably be better described as a culmination of great developments which had taken place and a landmark on the course of a changing world. It may also provide a new starting point for the Chinese and the American peoples to continue to work for the realisation of their common desire.

After the publication of the Shanghai Communique, Chang Chun-chiao, Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, said of the visit: 'We Shanghai people, like the rest of the Chinese people, welcome this positive move which is in conformity with the common desire of the Chinese and American peoples. We are glad that the Chinese and US sides, after consultations over these days, reached agreement on a joint communique in Shanghai today.'

*

It is said that China has finally returned to the international community. This is an over-simplification which could be misleading. It is true that during the past two decades and more persistent efforts have been made to isolate China from the rest of the world. But she was never completely isolated. Even at the time of the Soviet betrayal, China maintained friendly, or even close, relations with a number of countries and she had friends all over the world. But it is also true that her relations with foreign countries have developed rapidly in the past year, culminating finally in the restoration of her rights in the United Nations. This was also a landmark on the course

of the changing world, a world turning away and revolting against superpower hegemony.

Now that China is in the United Nations, there is clearly an attempt to picture China as a big power, or even a superpower of tomorrow, which aspires to lead the Third World. The idea for any country to lead the world and to throw its weight about is the very anathema to Chairman Mao's view of the world. After the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations, we quoted in these columns the second stanza of a poem by Chairman Mao. The full verse may bring home more fully the message carried by the lines. So here it is:

Wind and rain escorted Spring's departure,
Flying snow welcomes Spring's return.
On the ice-clad rock rising high and sheer,
A flower blooms sweet and fair.

Sweet and fair, she craves not Spring for herself alone,
To be the harbinger of Spring she is content.
When the mountain flowers are in full bloom,
She will smile mingling in their midst.

This was written in the winter of 1961 at a time when an adverse current had been stirred up on the international scene against China and a campaign had been mounted to isolate her from all sides. While confident that all these efforts would crumble, Chairman Mao envisaged China being back among friends, not to crave Spring for herself alone, but to be content with smiling, mingling in the midst of all the other flowers.

Of course, carried away by the victories the Chinese people had won and revolting at a tendency in certain quarters to worship all things foreign, some people were at one time led astray by ultra-Leftist tendencies, which verged on chauvinism, to picture China as being the centre of the world. But this was only a transient aberration and those affected by it were soon taught to discard this erroneous notion. In the United Nations and elsewhere, Chinese representatives have again and again emphasised the equality of nations, big and small, and professed that China, being a developing country, is a member of the Third World. Prime Minister Dominic Mintoff of Malta, when he visited China recently, was accorded a welcome which befits the head of state of any country, big or small, though he was from a country with a population of 300,000. He himself was obviously aware of this when he referred to the equality which existed between the world's most populous country and its least populous country.

In the revised version of the modern Peking opera *On the Docks* one notices that among the numerous alterations a line, which read in a previous version as 'The hearts of the awakened people (of the world) all turn to Peking' has been rewritten and now reads: 'The hearts of the awakened people are all linked together.' Works such as this are mainly for the education of the Chinese people and not aimed at a non-Chinese audience. So the revision can only be construed as a sincere effort to put relations between the different nations and countries in their right perspective for the Chinese people. It has been common practice for each country to exaggerate its own role in the world. Rare is a country which meticulously teaches its people to respect all other peoples as their equals. Even when China renders aid to other countries, it is stressed that aid and assistance are always mutual and never unilateral.

*

A visit to the ancient Chinese capital of Sian was almost a journey to the days of the illustrious dynasties and even far beyond. A group of seven journalists from Hongkong, we saw in Sian the remains of the ancient capital, the Big Wild Goose Pagoda of Tang built to keep the sutras brought back from India by the Buddhist monk Hsuan Tsang, the tomb

of Empress Wu, the excavated tombs of one of her sons and two of her grandchildren. We also visited the museum which shelters a portion of the excavated site of a neolithic village which existed some 5,000 years ago.

These and other similar visits reminded us of all the rumours about the wholesale destruction of historic sites and ancient cultural relics during the Cultural Revolution. It is true that at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution there was a tendency among the young people to reject everything ancient. But it is equally true that wherever we went, whether in Peking, Hangchow or Sian, we found historic sites and ancient artifacts kept in good condition. In Hangchow I made a point of seeing the famous Lingyin Temple. The towering Buddha and the immense hall that shelters it were there in all their glory. The hall and the huge statue were in fact rebuilt after Liberation, a thunderstorm in the late forties having completely destroyed that part of the temple.

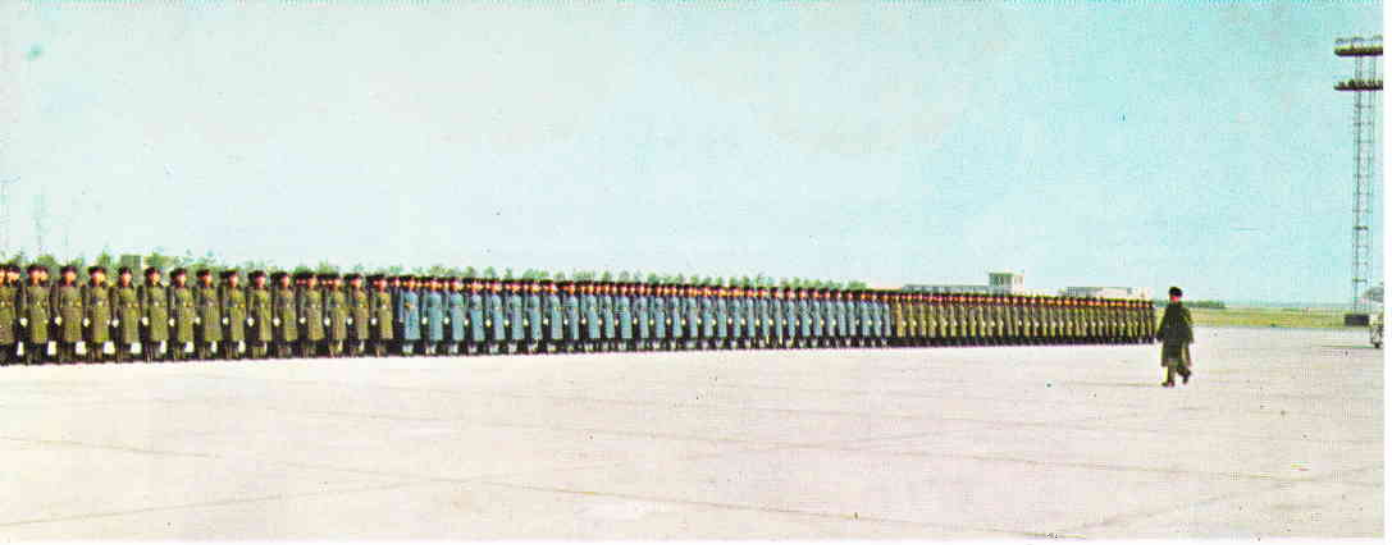
But let us come back to Sian. The visit to the Panpo Museum some six kilometres outside the city was a fascinating experience. On the excavated site one had the feeling that the people who lived there some 5,000 years had just moved away. They had pulled up all the wooden shafts which formed the supports for their huts, leaving holes in the ground arranged in circles or rectangles. Within these one can discern where the former dwellers slept and where their fire places were. One was almost tempted to feel the depressions, where the fire places must have been, to see if they were not still warm. Pots and pans lay around among the ruins. They were made in the kilns near by, one of which is still preserved in an exhibition hall in the museum compound. A fire must have occurred in one of the huts and, paradoxically, it helped to preserve the only trace of the wooden shafts which once formed the supports of all the huts there. Ashes are still visible on that particular site, but elsewhere nothing remains of the wooden shafts.

Huge rectangular dug-outs found here and there among the huts must once have been the common store-rooms of the villagers and a big earthen stove is probably where they had their communal kitchen for a long time. The earth around was burnt brown two or three feet deep. A section of a ditch, six metres deep and six metres wide, is still there. This is apparently the remains of a moat. Was it built to keep out wild animals or human marauders?

In the exhibition halls around, one sees various artifacts found on the site. There are tools and weapons made of either stone or animal bone. What is most interesting is a fish-hook which, apart from the fact that it is made of bone, looks in every way like its modern counterparts.

Pottery is abundant, of both fine and coarse finish. They are of three colours: white, grey and a brownish red, some showing two or all of the three colours. Among the pottery one finds a two-tier pot which undoubtedly served as a steamer. Living by the Tsan River, these ancient villagers must have been fond of fish. A fish motif dominates the designs on the pottery. Various signs inscribed on the pottery can well be the rudiments of a written script. Unwittingly a potter left the impressions of fabrics and straw mats on a few earthen bowls, enabling us to know that his contemporaries had mastered the art of spinning and weaving. Millet grain and vegetable seeds found in pots bear witness to the existence of agriculture. Pigs, dogs, horses, cows, sheep and chickens had been domesticated. There was evidence that the community once settled there was in the matriarchal stage.

The site was first discovered in the spring of 1953 when a industrial plant was to have been built near by and a road was to run right over the site. Upon the discovery the building project was revised to avoid the site and large-scale excava-



The Chinese guard of honour waiting at Peking airport for President Nixon.

A girl having a tooth extracted under acupuncture anaesthesia in the Third Teaching Hospital of the Peking Medical College. Looking on are American journalists and others.

The imperial palace under snow at the time of President Nixon's visit.

American journalists in action in a commune near Peking.

A music group of a PLA unit stationed near Peking.

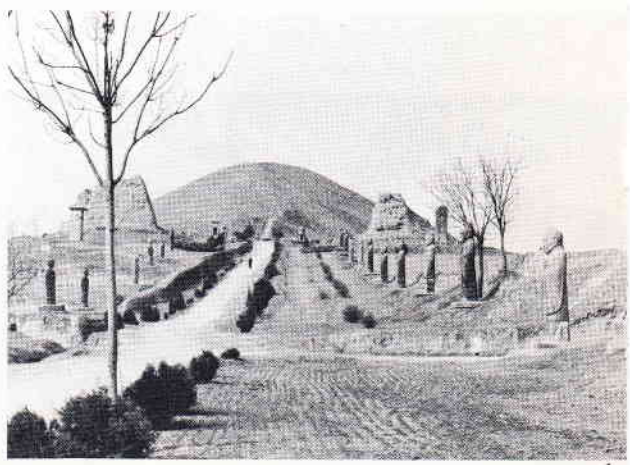
Students of a commune junior middle school doing calisthenics (above) and studying in class.

A pottery figurine unearthed near Sian. It is among the thousands of funeral articles buried with Prince Yi-teh. The prince, a grandson of the famous Empress of Tang, was put to death together with his sister Princess Yung-tai and her husband by order of their grandmother, at least so is it recorded in the History of Tang.

1 The third-of-a-mile-long passage, lined with stone figures, leading to the tomb of Empress Wu and her husband, Kaotsung of Tang.

2 A part of the 64 statues at the tomb of Empress Wu depicting potentates and envoys from foreign lands once at the Tang court. A great deal of vandalism had occurred here before Liberation. Almost all of the heads of the statues were broken off to be sold to collectors at high prices.

3 One of the pair of stone horses on wings mounting guard at the entry of the sepulchral passage of the tomb of Empress Wu.



A part of the murals on the walls of the tunnel leading to the grave of Prince Yi-teh.

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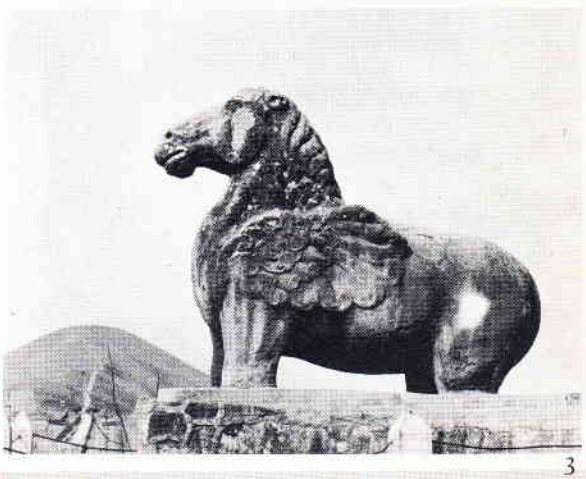

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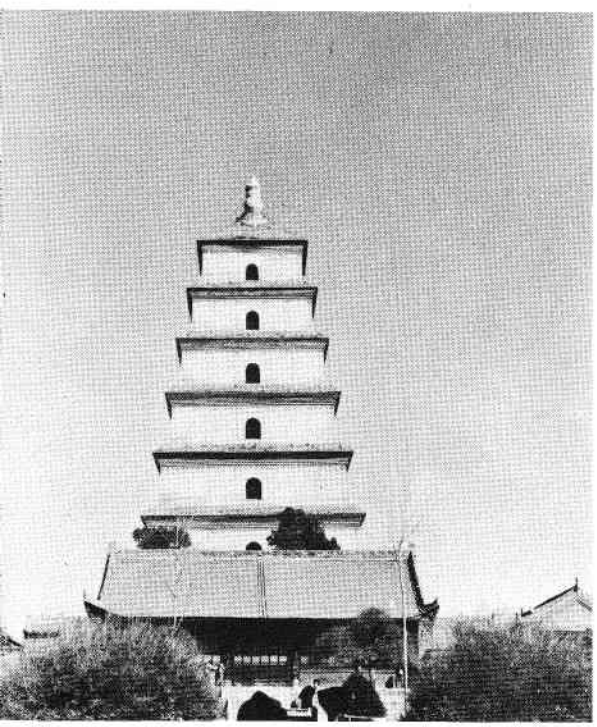
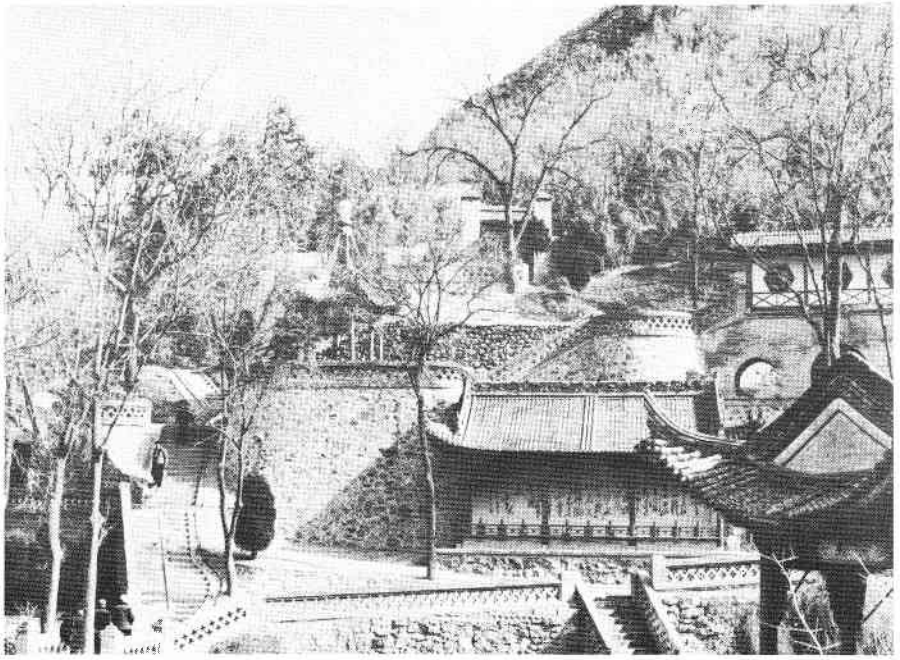
Sian, the capital of 11 Chinese dynasties including Tang, as it is seen from the top of the Big Wild



The Wild Goose Pagoda built in mid 7th century to hoard the sutras brought back from India by the celebrated Buddhist Monk Hsuan Tsang.

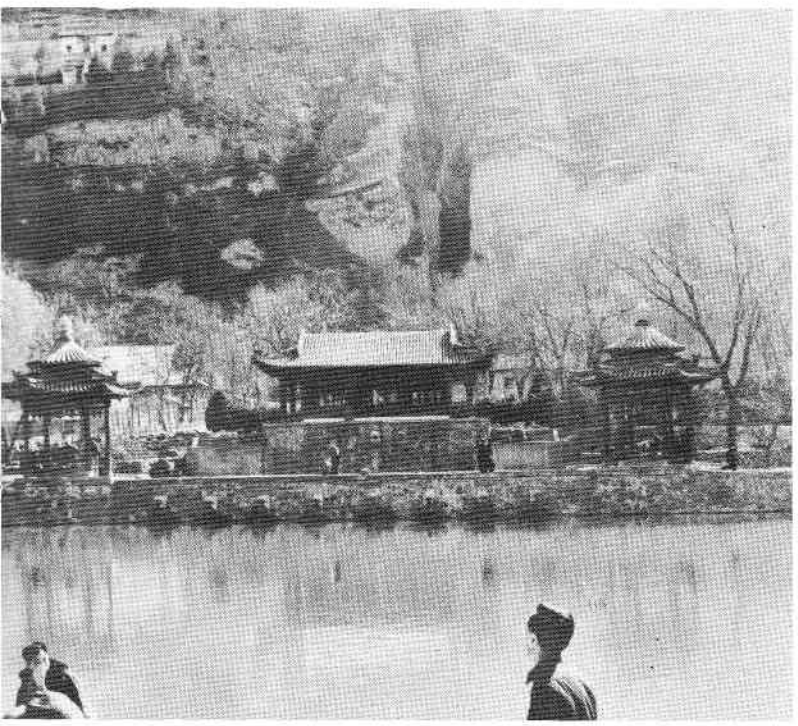
One of the statues lining the sepulchral passage at the tomb of Empress Wu.

Goose Pagoda.

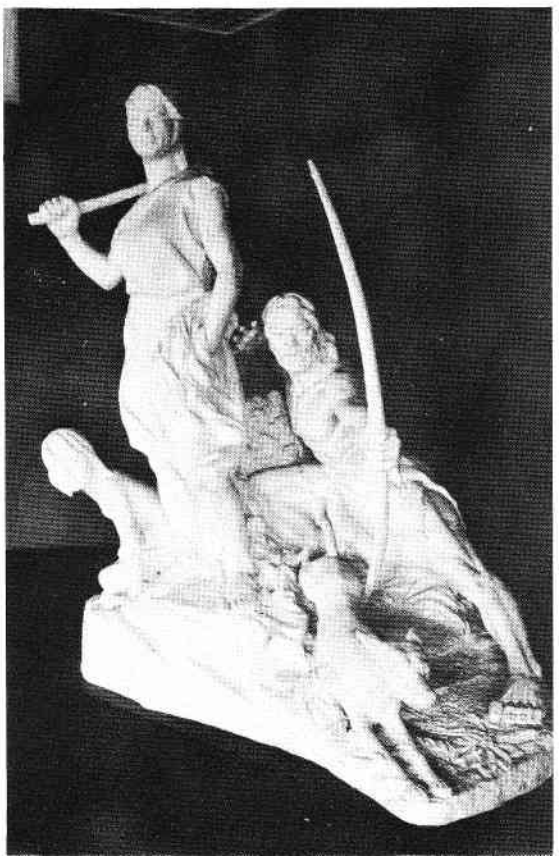


A corner of the famous hot-spring resort Hua-ching Chih, which received half a million bathers last year. The hot spring is said to be a favourite spot of the well-known imperial concubine Yang Kwei Fei of Tang.

An artist's reconstruction of people who inhabitated some 5,000 years ago the neolithic village at Panpo near Sian.



A pond in Hua-ching Chih filled with water from the hot springs.



The vegetable corner in a commune co-op near Peking.

A indoor swimming pool in the Peking College of Physical Culture.

tions were carried out between autumn 1954 and summer 1957. Exploratory drillings showed that the area covers about five hectares. Excavations were carried out on one fifth of the area and what we now see under shelter is again about one third of the excavated area. The museum was completed in the winter of 1957. Since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution the display in the various halls has been re-arranged to give more prominence to the concept that labour creates the world.

Further out of Sian we visited the three tombs of the offspring of Empress Wu. The excavation of one of the three, the tomb of Princess Yungtai, was completed before the Cultural Revolution, whereas that of the other two was completed only recently. Murals were found along the tunnels leading to all of the three graves. In the two recently excavated, the colours look as if they were painted yesterday instead of more than 1,200 years ago. These murals show buildings of the Tang period, dignitaries in the costumes of the Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, etc., at the Tang court, a polo game, a cavalcade, and various arrays of officials and palace guards.

All the three tombs were looted some two centuries after the burial. The looters made away with all the gold and silver in the tombs but left the ceramics intact. They were of course of little value at that time. In one of the tombs a skeleton was found near the opening believed to have been made by the looters. Besides lay an axe and under it a few gold and silver pieces. This might be the remains of one of the looters, either killed in an accident or murdered by his accomplices. Ironically it was his death that has kept those few gold and silver pieces intact for the posterity.

*

People like us, as well as other visitors from abroad, are met with a genuine warmth wherever they go in China. The solicitude showered upon us was sometimes almost embarrassing. In Hangchow, for example, some of us took a bus to the Lingyin Temple. The seats were all taken. But as soon as we got aboard, many stood up to give their seats to us. When we declined, some even went to the length of getting off to make us take their seats.

In Peking, a colleague and I were looking around in the Hsinhua Bookshop on Wangfuchin Street. Incidentally, I had never seen a bookshop so crowded. Suddenly a great number of people converged on a counter. Out of curiosity, we went over to see what was happening and found that a reprinted edition of Fan Wen-lan's *Concise History of China* had just been issued and was on sale. The crowd was asked to queue up when we approached the counter. Naturally we moved into the queue. But a shop assistant spotted us by our outlandish garb. He beckoned us to go over to the counter and there and then handed us each a copy of the work. The people in the queue did not seem to mind at all.

The first three volumes of the *Concise History of China* were first published in Yenan in 1940. They were revised and the revised edition was published in 1954. The evaluation of Chinese history has undergone changes in many respects in the past 18 years. For one, Confucius has been given a re-appraisal. In Fan's book, though Confucius is criticised for being 'more conservative than progressive', he is considered a representative of the rising landed class of the Spring and Autumn period in which he lived who contended with the still powerful feudal overlords of the time. He is described as 'a great representative of the ancient Chinese civilisation.' 'The feudal era of China is over, and so is Confucius as an idol to be worshipped,' the author wrote. 'But the great contribution he made to the ancient civi-

lisation and his lofty position in history are not lost.' But most of the historians in China now tend to take a much more critical view. This was also voiced by an editorial of the three leading publications in Peking commemorating the jubilee of the May 4th Movement. 'The Confucian doctrine,' it read, 'represented the interests of the declined slave-owners class. For more than 2,000 years, it was upheld by the feudal exploiting class as an inviolable law. It was instrumental in protecting slavery and feudalism.' This view was echoed in a recent article discussing Confucius' theories on education. Related to this change of appraisal is the prevailing tendency to put the beginning of feudal society in China sometime during the Warring States period (403—221 BC) instead of at the beginning of the Chou Dynasty (circa 1066 BC). The latter view was once commonly held and was also acceded to by Fan.

The fact that Fan's book was republished does not, and cannot, indicate that there has been a reversal in the appraisal. It represented rather the practice of Chairman Mao's theory of 'letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend.' As he said:

> *Different forms and styles in art should develop freely and different schools in science should contend freely. We think that it is harmful to the growth of art and science if administrative measures are used to impose one particular style of art or school of thought and to ban another. Questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. They should not be settled in summary fashion.*

This, though, may not be entirely limited to the fields of art and science, if the application of the theory elsewhere may vary somewhat. A *Red Flag* article entitled 'Attach Importance to the Role of Teachers by Negative Example' was recently given prominence in a number of Chinese publications, including the *People's Daily*.

Citing the example of the publication of recent speeches made by a Soviet representative at the United Nations and criticising 'some comrades' for being doubtful about publishing the counter-revolutionary sayings and actions of 'teachers by negative example', the article stresses:

> *Truth exists when contrasted with falsehood, and develops in the struggle against it. It is not possible to deepen our knowledge of positive things without contrasting them with negative ones.*

The settlement of such differences and the deepening of the people's understanding and knowledge of what is right and what is wrong, however, do not end with publishing counter-revolutionary sayings and actions, but can only be attained through revolutionary mass criticism.

While we are on the subject, it may not be irrelevant to mention the now often cited *Tsankao Hsiaoshi* or 'Reference Information'. Published daily for some fifteen years and having attained a circulation greater than that of the *People's Daily*, this newspaper has only been known to the outside world quite recently. A unique feature of this paper is that it prints no editorial comments of its own. In tabloid form, it contains four full pages of news reports and articles taken mostly from bourgeois wire services and newspapers, often *in toto*. When we were in Peking in February, for example, we read in this paper a slightly abridged version of the statement made by the Kuomintang regime in Taiwan on President Nixon's visit to China. Even the very derogatory references to the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government were left intact.

Some would say that the circulation of this paper is restricted. If it is so, it is at least no more, and possibly much less, limited in circulation than the so-called serious bourgeois newspapers in the outside world. It virtually goes to anyone

who cares. It is not available at newsstands, but it goes daily to individual subscribers, who include not only cadres of all ranks but also college and senior middle school students. Group subscriptions go as far as such grassroot units as workshops and production teams.

In Peking we made arrangements to have the paper sent to our hotel rooms every day. We found that it has a much fuller coverage of international news than any of the papers we read in Hongkong. Though it is in tabloid size, it is in small print and contains no pictures, advertisements or frivolous matter. It is four full pages of serious news reports and articles. Reading it we had the feeling that the translators went out of their way to be faithful to the original. What surprised us was that in Sian we were able to read the paper of only one day before.

It made me chuckle when it occurred to me how the outside world was told by numerous newsmen that the Chinese people were not told of this or that simply because, to the knowledge of these newsmen, the *People's Daily* had not printed this or that.

Lee Tsung-ying

The Edgar Snow I Knew

Rewi Alley

I first met Edgar Snow in Inner Mongolia when I was on my way to work on a famine relief project in 1929. At that time I merely thought of him as an American journalist—the man who comes and watches others doing things, and while being mildly interested, is chiefly out to get a 'story' as part of his business of living. Through subsequent years I met him occasionally though, in the main, he lived in old Peking which I, who lived then in Shanghai, did not often visit. Then in 1936 there came a call from the Long March fighters of the Red Army for a foreign bourgeois journalist who would come to them and tell the truth as he saw it, so that the world could understand them. They also asked for a Western-style doctor.

At that time I attended group meetings of a Marxist Study Group in Shanghai, one other member of which was a young American doctor, George Hatem, afterwards known in China as Ma Hai-teh. George had been working with me in the factory inspectorate of the Shanghai International Settlement doing research on industrial health amongst Shanghai apprentices, and had progressed politically in the process. When the proposition came for him to drop all and go to the Red Army, he immediately accepted the challenge and offered his services. The next thing was to find the journalist, and Edgar Snow was approached.

It was not an easy path that was laid down in front of him. There was a vicious anti-communist campaign going on in China. Anyone with communist sympathies amongst the Chinese population was singled out, usually jailed and often shot. A whole horde of police and special service agents were engaged on this, ably assisted by foreign secret service organisations. There were vast Kuomintang armies spread out over the country, trying to kill off any accused of 'Left' thinking of any kind. The path to the Red Army, then at the last stages of the Long March, lay through the barren, wild, bandit-ridden North-west of China, a land of great poverty and denial, where officials would only travel if surrounded by many guards and high security care.

Despite the fact that he had very little ready cash with which to prepare for such an adventure, Ed consented to make the try. Ma Hai-teh set off first, but arrangements which had been made in Sian to smuggle him through failed and he was forced to return unhappily to Shanghai—which was certainly no encouragement to Ed. But next time things went better. Ed and George started out together and in Sian operations on the underground worked smoothly. Both got through the countryside out of that great walled North-western city and George was soon making his way to the Long March Army in Kansu while Ed was on his way to Pao-an, in north Shensi, which Mao

Tsetung and Chou En-lai, with a portion of the Long March Army, had already reached.

There were many hazards in the countryside. Not so long previously a foreign famine relief member had been killed by bandits. There was the threat to health and life; typhus from body lice reaped a very high mortality rate from foreigners—dysentery also. North-western food habits were very different from the foreigners'. There was the language difficulty; Ed had little Chinese, George none at all. Travel was laboriously slow and tiring and on the roads Ed's smattering of Mandarin was of little help with the broad Shensi dialect and its entirely new range of idiom.

In Pao-an and later in Yenan Ed grew to know and admire Chairman Mao and Chou En-lai. He could well see that in these who wore the rough garb of peasants lay unsurpassed qualities of leadership. 'The new men' he called them and their comrades, in early recognition of what was to be their great role in history. He not only wrote of them clearly and with understanding, he loved them for the gallant, thoughtful fighters they were. For the first time a readable first-hand account of China's Red Army as a principled force of revolutionaries began to emerge and take form in his classic *Red Star Over China*—a book that went into many editions in a great many languages and did an enormous amount to enlighten readers all over the world. It was first published in 1937 and has been re-issued many times since then.

After its publication Ed worked in Peking on translations from some of the leading Chinese progressive writers of the time whose works were adding to the ferment amongst Chinese rebel youth. Stories by the incomparable Lu Hsun and those by Mao Tun and others were amongst these writings. He dedicated this work to Soong Ching Ling (the widow of Dr Sun Yat-sen), who ever remained in his mind as one completely dedicated and incorruptible, an example for all.

Then came the storm of the Japanese attack on Shanghai, and Ed came to cover the story for US papers. Together with many Chinese city people we stood on top of a building in the old French Concession throwing down steamed bread to hungry folk in the Chinese city which had been cut off temporarily from food supplies. Together we stood on Bund building tops with Evans Carlson, the US Army officer, watching the burning of Pootung. Together we were actually looking at another scene in the first act in the great drama that spelt the liberation of one quarter of the world from the oppression of the old order, but for the moment our minds were dulled by the ferocity and chaos of it all. Said Ed, 'It is so big! How can one write it?'

Later I took my plan for the establishment of Gung Ho—the movement for a line of co-operative industry in the unoccupied regions of China—to Ed, so that he edited and added to it, getting it printed and published. It was then taken by international friends Ed had made to the provisional Chinese capital at Wuhan; not only taken there but sold to an unwilling Kuomintang as a popular front measure. Gung Ho became the 'in' thing of the moment and the setting up of the Indusco Committee by another friend of Ed's, Ida Pruitt, in the USA brought so much US sympathy and help that the Kuomintang —then almost ready to give up the fight —was immensely impressed and Gung Ho, as one of the efforts holding the Kuomintang to at least nominal resistance, became more important. Ed's role in the beginnings of all of this therefore was an essential one.

Ed wrote his next book, which came out in England as *Scorched Earth* and in the USA as *The Battle for Asia* and gave his story of many aspects of the struggle much to the increased understanding of peoples all over the world. In the setting up of the International Committee for

Gung Ho in Hongkong he was a staunch help; for without any International Committee there all financial help from outside China would have had to go through the Kuomintang—which would have been the end of it. The lust for any kind of foreign exchange by Kuomintang officials of the time was insatiable. They did not believe the war could be won and all wanted to make a nest-egg abroad. So many were absolute thieves and saboteurs.

To write *Scorched Earth* Ed went to live at Baguio in the Philippines and while there he stimulated the organisation of Gung Ho committees, getting me to travel over there during a convalescent period after a severe bout of malaria with which I had been laid low in Hongkong when on a quick visit there from Kiangsi to an International Committee meeting. Ed had the late Evans Carlson staying with him also and encouraged Evans to come with me to visit Gung Ho in the field. We went through the Japanese lines by boat at night from Waichow in Kwangtung to do this. Evans travelled with me through co-operative work in many provinces; and up to the Gung Ho work at Moulin in the New Fourth Army region; then back with me by bus and truck through Kwangsi and Kweichow to Chungking. Later Evans called his US marine raiders who operated at Guadalcanal 'Gung Ho Raiders' after our movement in China. (The term 'Gung Ho' has since established itself as an American idiom.—Editor)

Ed watched all this and continued to struggle for our support. But he was a journalist. He had to follow the news, so as the Second World War broke he was in many other parts of the world writing, editing, organising his own life anew in the USA. It was 1960 before he revisited China and once more met up with old friends, getting the material for his book *The Other Side of the River*. I travelled to old Yenan with him, and also in Honan for a time. He did a great deal of other travel on that trip, which took several months. In 1965 he came again but did not get his material published before the Cultural Revolution broke and all had changed again—so that the material he assembled has remained on one side. In 1970 he was invited again, an invitation that was charged with meaning for it was the first time that China had made a gesture to the West for some years. He came, and his interviews with Chairman Mao and Premier Chou received wide publicity in both the US and European news media. But he was already a sick man. He still wrote fast and well but got tired so much more easily than he once did. Yet he preserved a wonderfully youthful spirit and his strong sense of humour which carried him far. His wife Lois came with him this time and gave invaluable secretarial help, so that his articles appeared around the world in rapid succession. He himself was intensely thrilled by his interviews with Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai, for his great admiration for these people's leaders had never dimmed —on the contrary, became ever brighter.

On his return to Switzerland sickness plagued him. He had had an operation before coming to China and now faced another. Yet his letters were always optimistic for his work, and for the future of China, looking forward to a new visit in the not too distant future.

But it was not to be. The scourge that mankind, with all its science, has been unable to eliminate took hold of him and carried him off on a cold February day in 1972 at his home at Eysins in Switzerland. His friends were good to him. Chairman Mao sent his old comrade, Ma Hai-teh, together with other Chinese doctors and nurses, to take care of him at the last. A friend of the people of China passed on, as so many who fought for the great change for one quarter of mankind have already passed on, with the world richer because they have lived and worked to the best of their understanding.

Although one knew he was very sick, when the telegramme brought the news

of his death it was a shock. The daily paper in Christchurch, New Zealand (where I then was) carried his picture, and as I looked again into those quiet, inquiring eyes I saw once more that cold, hard country of China's North-west and felt for a moment the dust-laden winds that drum, carrying the thought of so many gallant fighters who have given their all so that others might live better. Ed, I felt, was in good company. Inadequately, I wrote the following lines:—

EDGAR SNOW—IN MEMORIAM

Looking out at me
from the morning's paper
the quiet steady face
the understanding eyes
of the American dreamer
who saw how dreams
could be made come true
and who caught some
of the fire of the Chinese
Revolution and its leadership
so that along with them
did he fight with his pen
for all he came to believe in.

Yes he suffered all right
not simple to face those wild
North-west highlands in search
of the Red Army that
the then world called bandits
only to be exterminated;
not simple to get their
story and paint it so deftly
so that it rocked around
the world in every major
language.

He did not die rich
this good American; never
with more than just
enough to get by; yet
ever with ordinary people
millions of them
hanging on his words
gaining through him
new clarity.

Gone from us in body
his spirit living through
his writing is this man
whose heart was with
fighters and to whom
youth of the future will look
in gratitude for the classic
Red Star Over China
that ever remained his star
his hope for a saner
cleaner world to be.

The Poetry of Ho Chi Minh

E. San Juan, Jr.

In August 1924 Ho Chi Minh, then known as the Vietnamese patriot Nguyen Ai Quoc, was arrested by the Kuomintang police on his way to Chungking to represent the Vietminh Front and win support for it from the Chiang Kai-shek Government.

In retrospect, the incident was a fine ironic lesson for the poet. Ho was subsequently confined in numerous filthy jails, starved and humiliated. By some uncanny dialectic twist, his predicament begot enduring works of art: Ho's prison poems. His places of confinement—Tsingsi, Nanning, Kweilin, Liuchow, etc.—mark the stations of the heroic spirit of Ho Chi Minh. They incarnate in their sordid and outrageous existence the triumphant revolutionary will of the Communist leader who led the courageous people of Vietnam—the masses of workers and peasants—to victory.

Practical Application of Materialist Dialectics

Ho's poems written in prison entitled *Prison Diary* (published in English translation by Real Dragon Press, Berkeley, 1971, with a preface by Phan Nhuan) reveal the essential humanity of this great fighter for socialist democracy and human liberation. His poetic interpretation of experience embodies in dramatic and lyrical forms the fundamental truths enunciated by Chairman Mao, such as: 'The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history'; 'Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people'; 'Revolution is the main trend in the world today,' and so forth.

Ho Chi Minh's *Prison Diary* exemplifies in structure and substance the main objective of the lucid and seminal guidelines established by Chairman Mao concerning art and literature in his widely-read 'Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art' (May 1942). Intensely subjective and moodily introspective, *Prison Diary* subsumes the private consciousness of the poet in the fictive persona of Ho the prisoner. Ho's poetic method validates the ego's insights by focusing it in the typical figure of the poet who then speaks for all the mute victims of colonial injustice and imperialist oppression. Consequently the subjective appeal is qualified and included in the larger design of the representative and typical consciousness of the revolutionary agent.

In effect, Ho's poetry exhibits the practical application of materialist dialectics in transforming personal experience into moving and persuasive universal works of art.

The Poem as Revolutionary Weapon

Ho's poems are charged with the au-

thentic vibrations of moral revolt against colonial exploitation. They are singularly animated by the complex sensibility of a man with an abundant love for his suffering fellowmen and an enormous gusto for life. In 'Autumn Night', the poet subdues his distress poignantly:

. . .My dream intertwines with sadness like a skein of a thousand threads.
Innocent, I have now endured a whole year in prison.
Using my tears for ink, I turn my thoughts into verses.

But these verses are not merely self-indulgent exercises; rather, they serve the prime function of collective protest because they are conceived in the full awareness of the historical demands of the class struggle:

ON READING 'ANTHOLOGY OF A THOUSAND POETS'

The ancients used to like to sing about natural beauty:
Snow and flowers, moon and wind, mists, mountains, and rivers.
Today we should make poems including iron and steel,
And the poet also should know how to lead an attack.

Ho kept the immediacy of the class struggle and the national democratic revolution spearheaded by the proletariat in the forefront of his mind. He elaborated frequently on the theme of revolutionary dedication:

AT THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE FOURTH ZONE OF RESISTANCE

I have travelled the thirteen districts of Kwangsi Province,
And tasted the pleasures of eighteen different prisons.
What crime have I committed, I keep on asking?
The crime of being devoted to my people.

The poet's ordeals in jail, a subject liable to sentimental exaggeration by self-centered petty-bourgeois writers, receive a homely but powerful metaphoric representation. Ho's technique of analogy recalls the Oriental tradition of the Japanese *haiku*, the Malay *pantun*, and the Filipino *tanaga*:

LISTENING TO THE RICE-POUNDING

How much the rice must suffer under the pestle!
But, after the pounding, it comes out white like cotton.
The same thing often happens to men in this world:
Misfortune's workshop turns them into polished jade.

That is why, as the poet claims in 'Seriously Ill,' amid his intolerable afflictions, 'instead of weeping, I prefer to keep singing.'

Toward a Marxist Poetics

Social being or social practice determines the consciousness of men. This principle Ho embodies in his reflections on the educational value of suffering. In the time-honoured fashion of freedom fighters everywhere, Ho believes that experience forges the character of men and tempers the iron in the soul. But the sufferings, privations, anguish and pain are not tolerated or accepted merely for their own aesthetic merit. On the contrary, they are re-shaped and assimilated in the poet's ideological outlook. Ho regards his prison-stay not as a necessary ritual for ascetic sainthood—a goal alien to Marxist humanism. On the contrary, his agonising ordeals serve in the final analysis to heighten man's spontaneous and creative appreciation of the world.

A mature realistic perspective emerges from the poet's totalising assessment of his sojourn in prison conveyed in 'At the End of Four Months':

'One day in jail is equal to a thousand years outside it . . .'
How right were the ancients, expressing it in those words!
Four months leading a life in which there is nothing human

Have aged me more than ten years.
Yes: in a whole four months I have never eaten my fill,
In four months I have never had a comfortable night's sleep,
In four months I have never changed my clothes, and in four months
I have never taken a bath.
So: I have lost a tooth, my hair has grown grey,
And, lean and black as a demon gnawed by hunger,
I am covered with scabies. Fortunately
Being stubborn and patient, never yielding an inch,
Though physically I suffer, my spirit is unshaken.

He confronts the truth of his particular condition with a mixture of stoic fortitude, anxious detachment, and constantly renewed militant daring. Thus he refuses to be resigned, instead he vows to strengthen his determination in combatting wayward thoughts, ultimately hoping to vanquish the enemy that incarcerates his body.

One memorable testimony of Ho's dialectical vision of the revolutionary experience is found in 'Advice to Oneself':

Without the cold and desolation of winter
There could not be the warmth and splendour of spring.
Calamity has tempered and hardened me,
And turned my mind into steel.

The poet's conviction of the positive value of suffering informs a majority of the poems in *Prison Diary*. It underlies his conception of man's worth as unfolded and guaranteed in class war, especially in the revolutionary strivings of the oppressed peoples against imperialism and for national liberation.

The philosophy of Marxism-Leninism—historical and dialectical materialism—provides Ho's art with a correct, dynamic and progressive orientation. For example, Ho recognises that labour creates everything of value in this world ('Road Menders', 'Prison Life', etc.). Man's nature is shaped by changing historical circumstances while man himself endeavours to alter or modify these circumstances. Ho affirms this thesis in 'Midnight':

Faces all have an honest look in sleep.
Only when they wake does good or evil show in them.
Good and evil are not qualities born in man:
More often than not, they arise from our education.

History is presented as a purposeful record of the colonised people's struggle against the decadent forces of imperialism and its local running dogs. The traditional image of the dragon invests the didactic thrust of these lines with sensuous immediacy and classic dignity:

. . . People who come out of prison can build up the country.
Misfortune is a test of people's fidelity.
Those who protest at injustice are people of true merit.
When the prison-doors are opened the real dragon will fly out.

(from 'Word-Play')

In 'The Eleventh of November', Ho captures graphically the evolving panorama of the war against Japanese fascism in epigrammatic strokes, summing up thus:

. . . All over Asia flutter the anti-Japanese flags:
Big flags or little flags—they are not all the same.
Of course, big flags we must have, but we need the little flags, too.

Compare this with the poem 'Alert in Vietnam', notable for its austere simplicity of utterance, a style which functions as the vehicle of a recurrent emotional tension:

Better death than slavery! Everywhere in my country
The red flags are fluttering again.
Oh, what it is to be a prisoner at such a time!
When shall I be set free, to take my part in the battle?

Only By Human Effort Can Man Liberate Himself

In 'A Milestone', Ho chooses a common object to symbolise the progressive motivation that propels history. Using the same dominant image of the road, the poem 'On the Road' allegorises the truth of social practice as the test of ideas, theory, hopes, plans, aspirations:

Only when out on the road can we take stock of our dangers.
After we climb one mountain, another looms into view:
But, once we have struggled up to the top of the mountain range,
More than ten thousand li can be surveyed at a glance.

The metaphor of the way or path of struggle recurs in 'Hard Is the Road of Life' as a counterpointing motif to the static condition of imprisonment. But here the personal vicissitudes of the poet-prisoner are sublimated, dwindle in importance as a special category, and become simply an instance of a general but historically defined occurrence. The tone and framework of parable used by the poet evokes a peculiar response in us, a response akin to what Brecht calls 'Alienation Effect'—an illusion of distance resulting from the gestural and reportorial cast of the whole poem. Hence, quantity of facts undergo a qualitative change—a transmutation mediated by Ho's sensibility:

I

Having climbed over steep mountains and high peaks,
How should I expect on the plains to meet greater danger?
In the mountains, I met the tiger and come out unscathed:
On the plains, I encountered men, and was thrown into prison.

II

I was a representative of Vietnam
On my way to China to meet an important personage.
On the quiet road a sudden storm broke loose,
And I was thrust into jail as an honoured guest.

III

I am a straightforward man with no crime on my conscience,
But I was accused of being a spy for China.
So life, you see, is never a very smooth business,
And now the present bristles with difficulties.

A Commitment to the Human World

Throughout his incarceration, Ho never yielded to despair, for the simple reason that he never abandoned the concrete sensuous reality around him. That is, he never surrendered himself to the temptations of futile idealism and utopian romanticism—a common malady of intellectuals in crisis, as attested to by the lugubrious confessions in *The God That Failed* and other shameless apologetics. 'Twilight' confirms this loving commitment to the world in motion:

Now the wind's edge is sharpened on mountain rocks.
The spear of cold pierces the branches of trees.
The gong from a far-off pagoda hastens
The traveller's steps, and boys are playing flutes
As they drive the buffaloes home across the twilight.

Opposing forces in the world unite and struggle together, just as contradictory forces in society unite and impel social development on to a higher historical stage. 'Arrival at Tienpao' witnesses the morning's splendour framed by the edge of a cesspool. Changes in the material environment register the meaning of time and space in the response of living persons:

MORNING SUNSHINE

The morning sunshine penetrates into the prison,
Sweeping away the smoke and burning away the mist.

The breath of life fills the whole universe,
And smiles light up the faces of all the prisoners.

In life, appearances deceive but the man who grasps the truth of objective reality based on man's mode of production, a reality that transcends private notions and impulses, is sustained by a knowledge on which the efficacy of revolutionary practice is based. Two poems indicate Ho's radical and impassioned faith in the existence of a law-governed reality containing the limits and possibilities of action:

MORNING

I

Every morning the sun, emerging over the wall,
Darts its rays against the gate, but the gate remains locked.
Inside the prison, the ward is shrouded in darkness,
But we know outside the rising sun has shone.

II

Once awake, everyone starts on the hunt for lice.
At eight o'clock the gong sounds for the morning meal.
Come on! Let's go and eat to our heart's content.
For all we have suffered, there must be good times coming.

NIGHTFALL

Wearily to the wood the birds fly seeking rest.
Across the empty sky a lonely cloud is drifting.
Far away in a mountain village, a young girl grinds out maize.
When the maize is all ground, the fire burns red in the oven.

This latter poem exhibits in an oblique manner Ho's commitment to the Marxist principle that man's productive activity conditions ultimately and in the long run the relations among men and the cultural or ideological milieu of a given society at a certain historical period.

Dialectic of the Imagination

Throughout his reveries and meditations on his plight, Ho repudiated escapism to an ivory tower of metaphysical idealism. He repudiated the tendency of petty-bourgeois individualists to succumb to desperate fantasies. The whole of *Prison Diary* implicitly attacks petty bourgeois alienation and opportunism. Consider Ho's strong attachment to the inescapable demands of objective reality:

NOON

In the cell, how lovely it is to have a siesta!
For hours we are carried away in a sound sleep.
I dream of riding a dragon up into heaven . . .
Waking, I'm brought abruptly back into prison.

A wry and sometimes sardonic humour characterises many poems consisting of notations of prison life: 'No Smoking', 'Leaping', 'The Charges', 'The Inn', 'The Dog-Meat at Paosiang', and others. Ho records the restrictions of prison life as absurd and anti-human disruptions of the human moral order actualised in revolutionary action. While sharply critical of the degrading conditions of prison and the brutal treatment of prisoners by the vicious Kuomintang soldiers, Ho refrains from abstract generalisations.

Ho's virtue principally inheres in his consistent application of Lenin's dictum concerning dialectics as 'the concrete analysis of concrete conditions.' This may be illustrated by the poem 'Mr Mo, the Head-Warder':

The head-warder at Pinyang has a golden heart.
He buys rice for the prisoners with his own money.
At night he takes off the fetters to let us sleep.

He never resorts to force, but only to kindness.

Here Ho perceives the exceptional case—the negation of the negation, so to speak. In actuality, Ho simply pursued his vocation as a sincere revolutionary artist, exercising a strenuous but discriminating sympathy within the limits of the virile discipline imposed by the partisan stand of Marxism-Leninism.

From Knowledge to Pleasure

Accompanying the poet's warm generosity of spirit, compassion, and solidarity with the oppressed is a knowing detachment required of the artist who seeks to transcribe the complex process of objective reality. Ho can thus afford the luxury of ironic witticism in poems like 'Something to Smile At', or 'Wife of a Conscript Deserter':

One day you went away, not to come back again,
Leaving me alone in our rooms, with sadness for companion.
The authorities, having pity on my loneliness,
Invited me to live temporarily in the prison.

In 'Writing a Petition for a Jail-Mate' where Ho helps a fellow prisoner draw up a petition, aping officialese jargon, the poet is astonished by the exuberant gratitude of his friend. Man can remain human in prison, Ho asserts, so long as he adheres firmly to his identity as a revolutionary protagonist. Even prison is dominated by the corrupt business practices of the bourgeoisie, as Ho critically points out in 'Entrance Fee' and other pieces. In 'The Leg-Irons', Ho describes how people readily sacrifice freedom for the comfort and security of unthinking servitude. Even in prison, the rich and the poor are treated differently, as Ho observes in 'Imprisoned for Gambling'.

Beyond the Charity of Absolutes

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that Ho, in trying to comprehend the exigencies of the prison system, forgave his enemies and (like Tolstoy, for example) failed to resist what men generally hold as remediable historical evils. On the contrary, Ho vigorously denounced the anti-people tyranny of the Kuomintang bandit-gang and, by implication, the monstrous abuses of the colonial exploiters. Ho raged intensely against the deprivation of freedom as an insufferable violation of the natural process, of life's primordial rhythm:

RESTRICTIONS

To live without freedom is a truly wretched state.
Even the calls of nature are governed by restrictions!
When the door is opened, the belly is not ready to ease itself.
When the call of nature is pressing, the door remains shut.

Amid and beneath the contradictions of the social process, the struggle of the poet's mind proceeds with the inevitability of the season's maturation:

AUTUMN IMPRESSIONS

I

At about ten o'clock the Great Bear tops the mountain.
The cricket's song, rising and fading, announces autumn.
What does the prisoner care for the changing seasons?
Only one change he dreams of: his liberation.

II

Last year at the beginning of autumn I was free.
This year autumn finds me in the depths of a prison.
As for services rendered my country, I surely may claim
This autumn has been just as productive as the last.

Style and Ideology

What is probably the most distinguished quality of Ho's poems which may be identified with the tradition of classical Japanese and Chinese poetry is sensitive attention to the flux of natural phenomena. This is deepened and complicated by Ho's visionary but paradoxically realistic rendering of psychological responses and impressions. This style can be explained by Ho's revolutionary faith, his vision of socialist equality and prosperity arising from the concrete grasp of objective material reality. A profound belief in the truth of material reality, as mirrored for instance in the modulation of the seasons, manifests itself in the calm and assured statements of 'Fine Weather':

Everything evolves, it is the cycle of nature:
After the rainy days, the fine weather comes.
In an instant, the whole world shakes off its damp clothes,
Thousands of li of mountains unfurl their brocade carpet.
Under the warm sun and the clean wind, the flowers smile.
In the big trees with branches washed clean, the birds make chorus.
Warmth fills the heart of man, and life reawakens.
Bitterness now makes way for happiness.
This is how nature wills it.

Characteristically, Ho achieves a quiet and subtle expression of his emotions by a constant fidelity to what is happening around him, as in 'On a Boat for Nanning'. Describing the swift gliding of fishermen's boats around him while his legs are manacled, Ho suggests the antinatural injustice of his plight. His materialist poetics succeed in fusing the impulse to freedom and the obedience to the order of a humanised nature. It succeeds also in harmonising the will of the revolutionary and the objective demands of socio-historical existence, as many poems confirm.

But, as in all revolutionary poets, nature is there not to be worshipped but to be understood and transformed in revolutionary practice. Nature acquires significance only because man interacts with it in the social process of making a living.

In 'Morning Scene', Ho notes how the prison-cell bars the sunlight from penetrating into his quarters. This fact is, however, only a temporary accident, not a permanent condition. Indeed the force of nature and life—the live of the working class, in particular—cannot be suppressed.

Ho's Example Today

On May 10, 1969, Ho Chi Minh drew up his testament affirming among others his faith that 'Our rivers, our mountains, our people will always be; the American aggressors defeated, we will build a country ten times more beautiful.' His prison poems anticipate Ho's declaration of unshakable faith in the Vietnamese people's indomitable will, in the victorious destiny of the mass line.

Ho's materialist poetics brilliantly fulfill what Chairman Mao in his Yenan lecture asserted as the purpose of culture: 'All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers.' Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary practice in art and in life serves today as a mighty weapon, an inexhaustible inspiration to all artists and intellectuals in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are today waging the ideological and armed struggle against US imperialism, for the cause of national democracy, freedom, equality, and socialist liberation.

Profits, Polarisation and Progress

The Lessons of the 'Decade of Development'

Keith Buchanan

In 1961 U Thant proclaimed the beginning of the UN Decade of Development. A massive effort from rich and poor nations alike was to initiate the process of world development, defined as 'economic progress plus social reform'.

Towards the end of the decade Ivan Illich summed up what had been achieved:

> *the majority of men have less food now than in 1945, less actual care in sickness, less meaningful work, less protection. . . . More people suffer from hunger, pain, and exposure in 1969 than they did at the end of World War II, not only numerically, but also as a percentage of the world population.*

Denis Goulet, writing in *The Center Magazine*, tersely summed up the decade as 'The Disappointing Decade of Development'. We are now well into the second Decade of Development and the economic and social data available, and the tensions and the desperation born of these economic and social conditions, suggest that the global planners are heading for a repetition of the disappointments of the 1960s. And this is because there's been little attempt to profit from the mistakes of this earlier essay in global development.

Many Third World countries, and the élites who represent them in the various UN agencies, are acutely sensitive to the dangers of economic and political colonialism but strangely blind to the dangers of cultural colonisation. Except in the East Asian socialist bloc, development models have been largely derived from the over-developed societies of the White North. The underlying philosophy was well expressed by the Chairman of OECD's Development Assistance Committee, that global development strategy

> *should promote feelings of capacity to dominate one's environment and to improve one's economic and social position.*

That the attempts to dominate the environment are resulting in what may be irreversible damage to the eco-systems which sustain life in the developed societies and their satellite zones, that the obsession with improvement of one's economic and social position is a major factor in the social and psychic breakdown of the affluent nations—those things are neglected as

> *the rich and schooled and old of the world try to share their dubious blessings by foisting their pre-packaged solutions on to the Third World.*

And the eagerness with which the élites of the emergent nations seize the pre-packaged solutions propounded is a tribute to the efficiency of the educational processing to which these groups have been subjected by the White North—and an index of the gap between them and

the largely peasant, largely collective, societies whose interests they are supposed to represent.

The lessons to be learnt from the First Decade of Development fall, it seems, into two broad but overlapping groups—the largely technical lessons and those which, for want of a better term, may be called the human/ecological lessons.

Perhaps the first and most important lesson is that most of the highly developed technologies exported by the White North—and this applies whether the 'exporting' society is communist or capitalist—are of limited value in a Third World context. At times, indeed, they may be clearly injurious in their impact. Partly this is because a new technology cannot be grafted onto an unchanged social base; if it is to bring benefits to the whole society, traditional social and economic structures (and especially class relations) must be re-shaped. This is illustrated clearly by the Green Revolution in South Asia which has benefited chiefly the wealthy farmers, accelerated the growth of a landless class, and thereby aggravated tensions in the countryside. In the words of a report by the Indian Home Ministry

> *the new technology and strategy, having been geared to goals of production, with secondary regard to social imperatives, have brought about a situation in which elements of disparity, instability and unrest are becoming conspicuous.*

This Indian experience is multiplied throughout the Third World: the new technology can be made use of *by those who can afford it*, and, because of its dependence on imported fertilisers, farm machinery, and even seeds, it increases the dependent state of Third World economies. Surpluses mount, yet hunger worsens. As a spokesman for US agribusiness pointed out, the mistake was made of '*confusing need with demand*'. The possibility of eliminating hunger is real—yet if this is to be achieved it has to be recognised that hunger is basically a problem of social relations, not productivity—and few UN agencies, few governments represented in UN, have allowed this reality to distract them from carefully preserving the *status quo*.

In other cases, the negative or injurious impact of the technology of the White North results from the failure to take into account the major divergences between the human and physical environments of the North and the South. Given the high population densities—and the rapid increase of population—in many Third World countries, labour is one of the cheapest factors in production and massive unemployment and underemployment dictate a labour-intensive development policy. Industrialisation along capital-intensive lines is, however, seen as the essential path towards modernisation. The acceptance of this view by many of the Western-trained élites means not only that any benefits from industrialisation accrue to a small group, leaving the mass of the population untouched (relatively perhaps worse off), but also that the condition of financial and technical dependence on the White North (which provides the capital and machines) is further increased. And examples of the destructive impact of an ecologically ignorant technology, obsessed with 'dominating the environment', are numerous; perhaps the outstanding example is the Aswan High Dam. This was hailed as a major Soviet contribution to Egyptian development; today, as the full extent of the ecological damage it is causing becomes apparent, it is seen more clearly as a major catastrophe, in the same tradition as the British Groundnuts Scheme or the cropping of the Great Plains at earlier dates. Does this exploitation and destruction of nature by advanced technology reflect the pre-occupation of the White North with *domination* as a social value?

The second major lesson is that aid is no substitute for self-help. By the end of 1968 the total external public debt of the Third World was US$48 billion, cost-

ing $4.2 billion to service; if present trends continue, it is estimated that by 1975 virtually all the money reaching the Third World will be needed to meet interest charges and repayment on monies already borrowed from the affluent nations. Given such conditions a larger flow of private investment, as recommended by the Pearson Commission, is, in Michael Kidron's words, simply 'to condone the continued desperation of the underdeveloped world.' Moreover, aid and investment tend to be deflected into those sectors most profitable to the donor country rather than into those sectors most desirable from the point of view of the overall development of the recipient economy. And the fact that a good deal of aid is 'tied' to the purchase of specific items of equipment, which may be over-costly or over-sophisticated for Third World conditions, introduces another element of distortion. We must, moreover, bear in mind the reality that no nation is homogeneous, that aid tends to get into the hands of what have been termed 'client élites' and doesn't get much further; it simply permits them to maintain a high level of consumption or, if they do invest, it is usually in sectors whose development is in their own narrow interests rather than the interests of the majority of the population. Even aid granted on a government-to-government basis, as is Soviet aid to India, can be used in such a way as to strengthen the hold of the 'big bourgeoisie' over the economy. . . .

The third lesson which may be drawn from the disappointments of the '60s is that the belief that population control is the magic key to development has little basis in fact. As the Africa Research Group underlines:

> *when the world's population screams out for the possibility for life, the development experts talk about perfecting programmes to control their births.*

The simplistic approach of the demographic 'experts' to development ignores the truth that man is a producer as well as a consumer, that a healthy, educated and mobilised population is a *resource*, the most precious of all resources. It ignores the fact that successful programmes of family planning demand social change and education; they follow, rather than initiate, economic development. It ignores the fact that the parents of the next generation are already born and that their numbers are such that, even if average family size were to be cut by 50 per cent the absolute increment of population would, in 20 years time, still be as large as today's increment in many areas. These realities dictate the pattern of development as observed earlier—and it's not the aid-based, capital-intensive, pattern the majority of Third World nations have been sold . . . And for those who blanch at the prospects of another two decades of population growth in the Third World it might be stressed that far more important than growth in numbers is growth in consumption. Indeed, it can be argued that a drastic cutting-back of the extravagant consumption levels in the over-developed nations—which appropriate some 85 per cent of the world's raw materials—would contribute more to the long-term development of the Third World than all the grandiose family-planning projects. Or does the White North's pre-occupation with slowing down population growth in the Third World spring from an awareness that, even at current low levels of raw material consumption, an expanding population will inevitably threaten the resources on which the affluence of the North has been built?

What we have called the 'human/ecological' lessons can be discussed more briefly.

Chief among these is the fact that the concept of 'development' was always too narrow, being regarded as virtually synonymous with 'maximisation of GNP', and only incidentally related to 'people'. That real development involves the development of all men—and of the

whole man—was overlooked in the obsession with GNP. But, as Robert Lekachman has observed, for most purposes the GNP is not only 'worse than uninformative; it is very close to an idiot's measure of economic welfare'—and an increasing number of economists are beginning to agree with this viewpoint.

One of the major results of GNP-orientated development has been the temptation to 'build on the best' for in this way a more rapid rate of growth can be ensured. But such a policy has, throughout the Third World, resulted in increasing polarisation, at both the regional and the class levels. The *regional* manifestations of this process are the export-oriented enclave economy or the over-developed primate city, both representing extensions of the economic system of the White North, rather than developments of the economy of the country in which they are located and both having relatively limited 'dynamising' effects on the local economy. *Within society*, the process of polarisation shows itself in the widening gap between the peasant and urban masses on one hand and the 'client élites' on the other. The latter are, by the 'modernisers' and development 'experts', regarded as playing in their country the role played by the entrepreneurs of the White North in the 19th century. Such a parallel is imperfect, for though these élites may enjoy a dominant role in their own society they occupy a very junior role in relation to the commercial/industrial élites of the North; their chief importance is that they constitute vitally important (if small) cogs in the machinery of exploitation. Given this policy of 'building on the best', GNP may certainly grow—while whole areas, and the great majority of the population, may stagnate for they are, in effect, denied access to their own resources which are appropriated by alien or indigenous minorities.

Finally, while no one can deny the technological progress of many Third World countries during the 'Decade of Development' the recognition must carry with it numerous qualifications. The new and imported technologies have remained the preserve of a small élite—and have contributed significantly to consolidating the power and wealth of this élite. For the great mass of people technology has remained, in Richard Hensman's words, 'the hostile and hideous science and technology of impoverishment and exploitation'. And, as in Europe in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution, technological progress has involved an immense—yet today avoidable—human cost; the individual continues to be sacrificed to the imperatives of 'progress' and the social and economic viability of whole cultures becomes increasingly precarious. Their ecological viability too—for it should be stressed that the transfer of the technologies of the White North involves also the transfer of the whole process of environmental destruction associated with these technologies . . . .

Unless these lessons are well learned the Second Decade of Development promises to repeat the disappointments of the first—on a more massive scale and with social and ecological destruction increasing at an exponential rate. Yet there is no inevitability about this—for, as the Chinese quarter of humanity is demonstrating, poverty *can* be eliminated, the processes of regional and social polarisation *can* be arrested, technology *can* be humanised, a cultural diversity *can* be promoted . . . But these things can be accomplished only through a development policy aimed at achieving 'fullness of good rather than mere abundance of goods'; by a policy which recognises, as the Chinese have done, that, without an imposed austerity, misery is, as Denis Goulet observes, '*ipso facto* imposed on all who do not enjoy privileged positions'; by a policy which recognises clearly that it is not the 'experts', not the 'élites', but

'the people, and the people alone(who) are the motive force in the making of world history.' Whether, of their own free will, the 'client élites' of the Free World (who've never had it so good) will recognise this truth, whether the overdeveloped nations will accept the 'voluntary frugality' which is an essential corollary of a policy of imposed austerity in the Third World, is more dubious. What is abundantly clear is that without these things all the talk about 'eliminating poverty', about 'world development', is a sham and a cruel mockery and that an increasing proportion of the Third World's peoples are beginning to suspect that this is the case. Under these circumstances, and given the accelerating pace of human and ecological destruction which is the price paid for following profit-oriented patterns of development, an increasing number of countries will turn to the Chinese development model as the only workable alternative, as the only model which will make possible the development of all men and of the whole man and which is at the same time ecologically viable. . . .

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New Industrial City in Inner Mongolia

A new industrial city named Haipowan carved out of wilderness now stands proudly on the Ordos Highlands in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

The opening up of coal and iron mines in the area has provided the new city with over 40 factories and mines, complete with schools, hospitals, department stores and other urban facilities. Surrounded by fertile fields, the city has a population of 100,000.

The mountain range near Haipowan abounds in coal, iron, lead and zinc, and material for producing lime, cement and glass. The Party and Government have paid great attention since Liberation to socialist construction of the border regions inhabited by the minority peoples. Large numbers of workers and technicians from other parts of the country arrived in the area in 1958 to build the new city.

Since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, the workers have made many technical innovations. The city's total industrial output value in 1971 topped the state target and was 62 per cent greater than in 1970 and treble that of 1965, the year preceding the Cultural Revolution.

Finance, trade, culture, education and medical health work has also made progress. About 100 nurseries, kindergartens and primary and middle schools have been set up in the city proper and industrial and mining areas and all school-age children are enrolled. The city has set up two state farms and many factories and mines have their own centres of farm and sideline production. Last year the city grew 15,000 tons of vegetables and met almost all its needs.

Hsinhua, Huhehot, 31 March

A Revolutionary Ballet

Mark J. Scher

Last year, for the first time since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, China released two feature films which have since been shown around the world, including the United States. One of them is the film version of *The Red Detachment of Women*, a modern revolutionary ballet. Although the film version was released only last year, the work has over the past seven years been the subject of 'struggle-criticism-transformation' involving the highest levels of the Party, with the direct participation of Chiang Ching.

The Red Detachment of Women was originally the theme of a feature film made in 1964 based on a story written by Liang Hsin. First drafted in 1958, it was written and revised in 1959 and 1960. The scenario of the film was written by Hsieh Chin, but this first film version contained a number of serious ideological errors. On the advice of Chiang Ching, *The Red Detachment of Women* was staged for the first time as a ballet in October 1964 during the celebrations of the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. At this time Chairman Mao attended its performance and declared that in this new version 'the orientation is correct, the revolutionisation successful, and the artistic quality good.' This was just the beginning, however, of a fierce struggle which was to take place between two lines in the arts in general. *The Red Detachment of Women* was one of the centres of contention. Chou Yang, Vice-Director of the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Minister of Culture, leading the proponents of bourgeois art, opposed the new ballet version of *The Red Detachment of Women* and attempted to change its direction. Calling the work an 'ugly daughter-in-law' and 'crude stuff', they tried to keep Mao's instructions from the cast and continued to show their film version which was being screened as late as June 1966, when I saw it in Harbin.

The Red Detachment of Women is set in the Second Revolutionary Civil War Period (1927-1937) and is the story of a Red Army Women's Company operating on Hainan Island. Wu Ching-hua, a poor peasant's daughter, is a slave in the house of a despotic landlord, Tyrant of the South (Nan Pa-tien). The ballet opens with Ching-hua chained to a post in Tyrant's dungeon where she is being beaten for having attempted to escape. When she is unchained, she kicks over her captor and escapes into a near-by coconut grove. Hotly pursued, she is recaptured, badly beaten, and left for dead. Hung Chang-ching, the Party representative of the Red base area, and Pang, his messenger, passing through the area on a

scouting mission, come upon the barely revived Ching-hua. They listen to her story, and advise her to go to the Red base. Ching-hua arrives at the Red base while the Red Army men and civilians are celebrating the formation of the Red Army Women's Company. She is warmly received and accepted into their ranks. (The new version contrasts with the feature film in which her freedom is purchased from Tyrant by Hung Chang-ching, and Ching-hua lacks the defiance portrayed in the ballet.)

Tyrant of the South holds a grand party on his birthday. Hung Chang-ching, disguised as a wealthy overseas Chinese merchant, comes with Pang and others to offer his congratulations. After presenting a gift, he is invited to stay the night in the manor as the landlord's guest. Meanwhile, it has been planned that that night Hung will fire a signal shot for the Red Army to attack the manor, while he and his group strike from within. Wu Ching-hua, however, in disguise, has slipped into the house. Upon sighting Tyrant, she impulsively fires a shot at him. The Red Army men outside mistake this for Hung's signal and prematurely storm the manor. Tyrant and his chief henchmen Lao Szu escape in the confusion. After the stronghold is taken, the Red Army men distribute the stored grain to the local people who hold a celebration. However, Ching-hua's breach of discipline has upset the original plan. Her reckless action stemming from her purely personal desire for revenge becomes a lesson to the whole company to follow Chairman Mao's teaching: 'Only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation.' Ching-hua begins to understand that she must fight for the emancipation of all mankind all her life.

The Company learns that reactionary Kuomintang troops are moving to attack the Red base. The Red Army, militiamen, and Red Guards immediately go to intercept the enemy at a mountain pass. After bitter fighting Hung orders the men to move out, while he remains behind to delay the enemy. Seriously wounded and unconscious, he is taken prisoner by Tyrant and his men. Meanwhile, fresh Red Army units begin to move in against Tyrant's men. Tyrant, trying to save himself from total defeat, attempts to coerce an agreement from Hung who indignantly refuses. Fearless and heroic, Hung dies a martyr's death. When the Red Army arrives at Tyrant's manor, Ching-hua shoots the despotic landlord, killing him on the spot. Strengthened by more volunteers, the Red Army Women's Company marches forward.

The Red Detachment of Women was the first notable example of an art work carrying out Mao's concept of 'making foreign things serve China', and as such it is also the first example of Mao's thought being applied to remould ballet. The introduction of ballet into China dates back to the thirties when Russian émigrés started a ballet school in Shanghai, but it never got very far, most of the students being Europeans living in Shanghai. In 1954 the Peking Dancing Academy was founded; in 1957 a ballet department was set up. In 1959 the first experimental ballet troupe was organised. During this period full-length performances of *Vain Precautions*, *The Corsair*, *Swan Lake*, *Giselle*, and *Notre Dame de Paris* as well as scenes from other ballets were given.

Historically, ballet has been a classical Western art form foreign to China and monopolised by the bourgeoisie. Mao's directive to 'make foreign things serve China' meant, however, that ballet was to 'serve' the proletariat, the workers, and the peasants rather than the bourgeoisie. Chou Yang and his followers, however, asserted that ballet must be 'thoroughly Western' and that it was the 'acme of art, something that cannot be surpassed.'

In terms of theme and presentation

this meant that aristocrats, swans, and immortals should be portrayed, not workers, peasants, and soldiers, that only so-called 'eternal themes' such as love, life and death, virtue and evil should be depicted, not the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat. They said that 'China's first ballet must be *Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-tai*', a Romeo and Juliet type story of love between a fair lady and a poor scholar in ancient China. In contrast, the ballet *The Red Detachment of Women* has as its theme Mao's thesis of 'armed revolution to oppose armed counter-revolution.'

In form and content classical European ballets like Giselle and Swan Lake are essentially romantic. This imparts to their mode of dancing a distinctive style, an ethereal quality, often as if the dancers were floating in the air. With content and form closely linked, over the centuries ballet evolved an aesthetic theory and a whole set of conventions to express its romantic spirit.

Thus, when staging the revolutionary ballet *The Red Detachment of Women*, the old choreography was found to be far from adequate, and some dances completely unusable. As old characters were driven off the stage and replaced with workers, peasants, and soldiers, form too had to be changed accordingly. A new choreography had to be created which reflected the 'fresh, lively Chinese style and spirit which the common people of China love', and which followed as well Mao's directions that heroic figures be depicted 'on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life.'

Suitable features of Chinese drama and folk dance were adapted to a new ballet choreography. For instance, one characteristic feature of the new choreography is the *liang-hsiang*, a still statuesque pose taken from the conventions of Peking opera. The *liang-hsiang* is meant to reveal clearly the essence of a character from his first appearance. Thus when Hung Chang-ching appears at Tyrant's manor, his radiant upright pose shines above the stooped decrepitude of Tyrant's henchmen, unmistakably identifying his heroic goodness. Conventional movements and gestures of Peking opera have also been adapted to the purposes of ballet. For example, in the ballet's final scene, Wu Ching-hua uses the 'reclining fish' movement of Peking opera as she leaps and kills the escaping Tyrant. The spinning somersaults she makes during her flogging in the first scene symbolise her fiery rebellious character, quite a different sort of heroic than is usually seen in the more demure females of classical ballet.

In classical ballet the corps de ballet, which in effect represent the masses, usually performs dances which have little or nothing to do with the main theme and plot of the ballet, being empty in content and mainly for decorative purposes. Lin Mo-han supported this view of the corps de ballet, and, in opposing Chiang Ching, asserted that ballet should 'concentrate on one individual and one action,' glorifying the bourgeois struggle of the individual rather than the collective struggles and experiences of the masses.

In *The Red Detachment of Women*, however, group dances have important dramatic functions. For example, in the first scene the dance of the four slave girls in sympathy with the suffering of Wu Ching-hua underscores how closely Ching-hua's fate is linked with others like her. In subsequent scenes such group dances as the bayonet dance, the shooting dance, the grenade-throwing dance, as well as the dagger dance, the litchi dance, and the straw hat dance, all take their motifs from the theme of the ballet, portraying in some dances the militancy of the Women's Detachment and in others the close ties between the army and the people.

The struggle over this ballet dealt with many questions, often seemingly

small details of form which implied much larger political meanings. In the scene 'Going to His Death', Hung Chang-ching executes a series of leaps while the stooped enemy appears like a gang of crawling, stray dogs, and the militant song 'Forward, Forward!' plays in the background —a very graphic composition of revolutionary romanticism. Lin Mo-han said, however, that since Hung is seriously wounded, it is not realistic for him to stand up chest high and head raised. This was in contradiction to Chiang Ching's instruction to portray the earlier generation of revolutionaries as splendid figures.

In another instance, Chiang Ching had urged the use of more folk music, but Lin Mo-han said that folk music was 'rather insipid', 'not very beautiful', and 'somewhat wooden'. In the second scene, however, young people perform the sword dance of the Li nationality; in the third scene Li girls dance a traditional dance, as do the guerillas and the people in the fourth scene.

In the initial planning for the ballet, Lin Mo-han said that the heroine should look sad and distressed, and that for her to lift a fist would not be appropriate to her character. This was how she was portrayed in the original feature film. However, Chiang Ching instructed that Wu Ching-hua's spirit of revolt should be strengthened. It was reported that after each meeting Chiang Ching had with the cast, Lin Mo-han called another meeting to oppose her views. Chou Yang and his followers resorted to many tactics in an attempt to destroy the revolutionary character of *The Red Detachment of Women*, even going to the extreme of drastically distorting Chiang Ching's views out of all recognition. This tactic of waving the red flag to oppose the red flag was often used during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Traditional ballet theory holds that choreography should be subordinate to the musical score which is the determining factor. In breaking with this dogma, the music of *The Red Detachment of Women* works to bring out the portrayal of proletarian heroes. It follows two principles: simplicity and clarity. These mean, in effect, that the melody must be appropriate to the content, be easily understood and remembered, and suit the dancing. To achieve a Chinese style and spirit, traditional Chinese instruments were added to the orchestra. Lin Mo-han opposed this development, saying that traditional instruments were capable of producing only 'a wooden sound'.

Although the Peking Film Studio had filmed many stage productions before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, all too often these productions when adapted to the screen lacked the spirit of the original stage version. Either adding extra scenes in the hopes of smoothing the stage version, or, at the other extreme, just mechanically transplanting the stage version to the screen, the techniques for transferring stage productions to the screen were not successful.

As was discovered by film artists, however, through cinematographic technique film can recreate heroic images in a more impressive and poignant manner than the stage, which is bound by many limitations. Film artists discovered that to avoid the magnification of negative characters, to avoid giving them undue strength, or allowing them to overshadow positive characters, the proper choice of angles would bring the positive characters into prominence. When a character strikes a *liang-hsiang*, through the proper use of close-up shots facial expressions, particularly about the eyes, can be revealed with extreme clarity and detail. The heroes can be revealed in even bolder and greater relief than on the stage.

All Weak-kneed and Bureaucratic Thinking—OUT!

*Joris Ivens interviewed by Martin Even**

In 1949 the People's Republic of China took over, without any changes, the set-up inherited from the Chiang Kai-shek period and the period of Japanese occupation and semi-colonialism. The studios and cinemas were nationalised.

How was Chinese cinema organised at this time?

Chinese cinema first saw the light of day in Yenan in 1938. The revolutionary film-makers went into battle against the Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek armed with their cameras. These films were shown after the take-over in 1949 in cinemas which up till then had only shown American films. The Central Studio for Documentaries and Newsreels in Peking was established in 1953 by these film-makers from the liberated zones who constituted a minority. There they were joined by a younger generation, now in their thirties and forties, who had taken up the struggle just before or just after Liberation, and technicians and film-makers from the Kuomintang studios. The studio in Peking, like those in Canton, Shanghai, Shenyang and Sian, is a large one. Each studio has several departments, for fiction films, newsreels, documentaries and animation. Before the Cultural Revolution each section functioned in isolation with its own rigid administrative hierarchy.

The Peking studio for documentaries and newsreels, which is the one I know best, was established in 1953 and as in many other industries, administration and production were modelled on Soviet lines. For instance, a system of production bonuses was instituted. This meant that producers working on a foreign language copy of a film earned a bonus on every reel, in addition to their salary. This resulted in producers losing sight of the real purpose of their work and concentrating instead on quantity and market value.

Producers and editors were only interested in their own social success and prestige. Their high standard of living and their exclusive clique existence away from the problems of the masses cut them off from 90 per cent of the population.

Liu Shao-chi was all in favour of this state of affairs—the re-appearance of a new privileged class was the pre-requisite to ousting the working class from power. With the Mayor of Peking, Peng Chen, he saw to it that the studios produced films to enhance their reputation. Under the management of this 'bourgeois high command' three of the four full-length films produced in 1962 were works inspired by them. These dealt with ancient architecture, the imperial city of Peking, and the life of a famous actor in the Peking Opera. Only one dealt with the then crucial problem of the Sino-Indian conflict. Shorts were affected in the same way: A Rainbow in Mankind, The Four Seasons, A Study of Lights . . . The studios were required

* The Dutch film producer, Joris Ivens, is a close and sympathetic observer of contemporary China. In 1939 he made the famous documentary, in China, *400 Million*. During the Sino-Japanese war he was present at the birth of revolutionary Chinese cinema. He took part in it, donating a camera to Mao Tsetung's Army. . . .

He recently returned to the People's Republic of China with Marceline Loridan. He talks here of the new departure taken by Chinese cinema during the Cultural Revolution.

(By Courtesy of *Le Monde*)

to produce films specifically for export, such as Dance of the Fish, The Tea House, Why Tortoises Sulk.

These examples show just how real was the struggle up to the Cultural Revolution. While these films were being made, others, on workers and peasants and the struggle of the Chinese people, were just not made.

All this, and the producers and editors, the 'gentlemen' film-makers, came under criticism during the Cultural Revolution. Under their orders the workers were not able to have their say. The 'gentlemen' were only interested in working for their own prestige. Art was their own property and their films were made for their own pleasure and without a thought for workers, peasants and soldiers. Like the workers and peasants, the studio workers could only handle tools and not the pen. Ninety per cent of them kept quiet. Before the Cultural Revolution a producer was never seen carrying a reel of film. One of them whom I've known for a number of years said to me: 'During the Cultural Revolution I came in for a good deal of criticism and it did me a lot of good. I came down from my pedestal. Still, in 1936 at the age of 16, I became involved in the struggle and with my camera took part in quite a few battles against the Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek. After 1949 I just rested on my laurels. I thought that that was it! The responsibilities I took on seemed to me richly deserved. I was attracted by ideas of the good life and gradually I let myself be influenced and drawn along. I had forgotten the fundamental question—Who is to be served through Art—the workers and peasants or the bourgeoisie? Now I'm living my young days again.'

In film studios, as in the universities and factories, everything has been turned upside down. The masses have helped the cadres transform their thinking about the world and to rid themselves of their selfish attitudes. It's been possible to re-educate most of them.

In the Peking studio for documentaries and newsreels a revolutionary committee was formed in 1968. It is made up of studio and laboratory workers, technicians and cadres, representatives nominated by the masses, and removable by them. This is the triple union, put into practice everywhere by the Cultural Revolution. The administrative structures have been simplified. The committee is at one and the same time an administrative and political organ. The separation between State and Party has been done away with. The other triple union is one of generations—the youngsters, adults and older generations all work together.

With these new structures, how is a film made?

The political, ideological, and economic problems which have to be met in the struggle for the building of socialism are gone over. The theme of a film is chosen for its educational and instructional value at a given moment of the political struggle in China. It is never just a question of working up enthusiasm but of explaining mistakes and set-backs and learning the appropriate lessons from them. Recently for instance a film has been made with a philosophical theme—the application of a dialectical approach to the preservation of tomatoes.

Three main principles guide the film-makers in their work. Firstly, autonomy and responsibility. Once created the film team should be autonomous. In a way it becomes a political unit, a responsible political body. All weak-kneed and bureaucratic thinking must be got rid of. A team should be able to decide to go here, rather than there, even to stop shooting. Chou En-lai himself has told film-makers to adopt a courageous attacking posture and to take up the challenge of responsibility. Secondly, work is done collectively. Now, a team is made up of producer and technicians, but everyone, without exception, participates in planning and producing the film. At the studio, all the workers, even the ones in the canteen, add their bit.

The producer is there but he is not a bit like a producer over here. Of course his job is to provide an overall view of the film at any given moment, just as it is over here, but with the difference that he has to take into account everybody's viewpoint. Not only must he have an overall picture of the film but above all, and ever present in his mind, he must have an overall picture of the political struggle which is going on at that time. Finally, he is accountable, in every sense of the word, to the film team, to the studio workers and studio management, and, most importantly of all, to prospective audiences, for the film.

A film is not the property of the producer. The scenario and production of a film are not products of his mind alone, or of his personal

preferences and intuitions. The film is made in close collaboration with those who are going to be filmed, the workers and peasants. For the film on the preservation of tomatoes the film team went to live with the workers at the relevant vegetable distribution centre, living with them in the true sense of the word, helping with transportation, unloading, cooking, housework . . . Shooting lasted a long time. Each scene shot with the workers was shown to them, discussed, shot a second time and so on. As the woman producer told us, the film was made completely under the guidance of the workers.

A further result of all these changes is that important modifications have been made in procedural technique. Previously teams were over-manned and the strict demarcation of technical jobs required narrow specialisations. Only 35 mm film was used. Everything was very cumbersome and bureaucratic. Today the film teams are small and a start has been made in using synchronous 16 mm film. Big changes have taken place in studio administration. The five managerial posts which gave absolute power to the general manager, the administrative manager, the technical manager, the production manager and chief editor have been done away with, along with a hundred other posts filled by section heads, and the thirty departments under their orders. Today the leading group is made up of five people, each assisted by three others from the departments of production, administration, political affairs, and finance.

Before the Cultural Revolution one man alone decided on what was to be done with a film. Today a group of cadres, operators, workers and producers, elected by the studio workers, judge the quality of a film and decide on future films. This group is accountable both to the workers and the leading group.

The leading group considers the point of view, not necessarily unanimous, of this group and puts it to the studio workers as a whole. On the basis of the view expressed by all the workers the leading group then makes a decision on the film.

How are the films distributed?

All the cinemas are open. Tickets are very cheap, only a fifth of a *yuan*. During my last trip they were showing Vietnamese, Korean and Palestinian films. Two or three thousand copies are made on 35 mm, 16 mm, and even 8 mm. The films are distributed throughout the country, in towns and villages and mountainous regions. Mobile teams are moving about from place to place all the time. Sometimes they even use a bicycle to drive the generator.

But don't think they are satisfied with the system and think of leaving it as it is. They are aware of its shortcomings. For them, this is only the first step. . . .

A Doctor on the Ulan Chap Grassland

Chen Li-hua, a midwife of the Tientsin Central Maternity Hospital, came with her family to the Ulan Chap Grassland in Inner Mongolia and settled in the Tumuerhai area in August 1970. When she first went to work in the local hospital, she had many difficulties. She was not accustomed to the life there, and there was a language barrier. The hospital leadership and poor and lower-middle herdsmen took good care of her and her family. She was determined to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian line in medical and health work and serve the local people well.

After having saved a child late one night, Chen Li-hua was asked to see another woman who had been in difficult labour for three days. Chen found that the baby was dead and she had to take measures to save the mother. The child was removed, but the mother was in a coma because of hemorrhage and exhaustion. Chen gave her injections and blood and saline transfusions. When the patient regained consciousness on the afternoon of the second day, she found Chen had stayed at her side right through.

At this time, some one said that a poor herdswoman was running a high fever after childbirth and was in critical condition. Chen, already very tired, offered to go and treat her. Comrades around urged her to rest, but she refused. She took up her medical kit and left.

It was snowing heavily and every step forward was difficult. When Chen Li-hua came to the patient's home, it was late at night. The patient was in a coma. Emergency treatment and nursing saved the patient. She took Chen's hands in hers and said with gratitude: 'You are really a good doctor sent by Chairman Mao!'

New Zealand and China

Rewi Alley

I had come back to my homeland of New Zealand from China in 1960, then again in the New Zealand summer of 1964-5. This time I arrived at the end of October 1971 and stayed until March 1972.

I found the people more comfortable, outwardly more prosperous, but there was a widespread inner disquiet caused by the rising prices, the falling dollar and the lack of certainty as to the way ahead.

Meetings to which I was invited to speak on China were better attended than they had been on past visits. More people really wanted to know about China, especially about the struggle for a transformation of thinking that has been going on there. Questions after each meeting showed much intelligent interest even though the perennials—'What about Tibet?' and 'What about China and Pakistan?' — did come up each time.

The Word 'Imperialism'

People, I found, still stick at the word 'imperialism' in any application to New Zealand, although New Year Honours were still being conferred in the name of the defunct 'British Empire' — long supposed to be a member of the Commonwealth and now on the point of being absorbed into the E.E.C.

How could we be imperialists, folks ask? Have you not heard of the many demonstrations against the US aggression in Indochina? Against racism in South Africa? Against New Zealand's participation in the Indochina War as a vassal of the US?

True, there is a growing section of New Zealand opinion that is increasingly progressive in its political thinking. Yet the Government of New Zealand, while withdrawing its troops from Vietnam, still trains Vietnamese puppet specialists in its universities who will go into the US-paid-for warlord army when they return. It also trains Cambodian officers in South Vietnam to strengthen the US puppet Lon Nol. Granted that in all of this they do as Australia does, the Australia that also follows the US baton. Australia, that with New Zealand form neo-colonialist-controlled bastions of Western imperialism in the South Pacific, is now menaced by the rebirth of the old Japanese imperialism which so rapidly and ably sets out to supplant American and British ones there. One-third of Australia's total exports now go to Japan and the figure is increasing. There are Japanese loans to Australia. Both Australia and New Zealand then become or start to become economic colonies of the revived imperialism of Japan, and the pace of Japanese economic infiltration in every possible field accelerates. In consequence there is widespread fear amongst the thinking people of both New Zealand and Australia that

their ruling class, which continues to promise them ever-increasing prosperity, will betray them in its own interests—in the hope that any new imperialism will use them as its own men, as the previous ones have done.

The old imperialists do not slacken their hold, however. New Zealand, unlike China, still has no national shipping line of its own. It is dependent on foreign shipping monopoly which raises freight charges as it wishes, and then blames the necessity for such on to the seamen's demand for adequate wages. There has been talk of New Zealand going into partnership with Taiwan-based shipbuilding firms, evidently without much thought being given to all that this entails. To seek such an agreement with China, however, would still be almost unthinkable.

A standing insult to the neighbours of Australia and New Zealand is the local racist policy in immigration, which gives Japanese imperialism a good excuse for its expansionist stance. Even today a New Zealander of Chinese descent is refused the right to enter Australia as easily as other New Zealanders, a situation which is acquiesced to by the New Zealand Government. In the field of labour workers are brought to New Zealand from the Pacific Islands for short terms to do rough work at lower wages than those which would have to be paid to New Zealanders. This provides a pattern which the swiftly penetrating Japanese imperialism will not be slow to follow as it gains more control in its new southward drive.

Neighbours

All this of course only if New Zealand still continues to snub its most powerful and potentially most friendly neighbour, the People's Republic of China, with its 800 million people. What does China want of New Zealand? It wants to see New Zealand a truly independent country, building up a more self-sufficient economy, helping to raise standards in all Polynesia, free from racism and all the other evils of white chauvinism; a country really able to speak for itself and not as an adjunct to foreign imperialism. The fact that New Zealand sends troops to try to halt people's movements in Southeast Asia loses vast credit for her amongst the Chinese people.

China herself has no troops outside her own borders. She has no desire nor need for foreign expansionism. At present she is engaged in a gigantic effort of construction, seen as much in the struggle to create a new man as in that to make material progress. Unlike the situation in New Zealand, additional comfort and the mad pursuit of individual happiness are not the mainsprings. 'Why do we live?' 'Who are our friends and who are our enemies?' 'Let us serve the people not only of our own land but also those of the hungry and exploited classes around the whole world.' 'Let us make for true working-class internationalism in the spirit of Norman Bethune.' All of these are common thoughts and motivations in China today. In New Zealand the general idea is that wealth is created by selling and buying. In China, in the struggle for self-sufficiency at all levels, the idea of putting theory into practice and the need to create anew is uppermost. In New Zealand, it is all prizes to the clever boy or girl, with the whole Western world open to them if they decide to go away and find more lucrative jobs. In China the people know they pay for all education and they want youth trained who will strengthen the groups from which they come and help to raise standards all round. Examinations today take a much lower position than they did. The future of the clever youngster is to use his cleverness to serve the people better, not to make a profit from them.

When I was in New Zealand, the Mayor of Tauranga said: 'What country would allow a person like Rewi Alley to come back to spend his declining years,

and the first thing he does is rubbish New Zealand?' In my own thinking I do feel that New Zealand is a courageous country with a kindly and hardworking people of whose positive contributions I as a New Zealander feel proud. The only people in New Zealand I would 'rubbish' would be those whose insatiable greed overwhelms every better instinct they may possess, the potential traitors, the swift talkers and opportunists whose aims are entirely selfish and who have no regard at all for the well-being of the mass of the people.

We have much to learn from China and it is important that we come to realise this while there is still time to do so. In the new world, of which New Zealand can be so much a part, it will not be the greatest prizes to the most eager to grab them but instead the slogan of work together for the benefit of those who in a down-right practical way really get out to build a new age. In this, the experience of the Chinese Revolution, which continues from one stage to the next, is of great value. Someone said to me during my travels in New Zealand that while farm communes were all right for China they would never do in New Zealand. But the big question is, what kind of New Zealand are we going to have in the future? To be self-sufficient and to be able to stand up against a thing like revived Japanese imperialism New Zealand would need a population of around fifteen million. How best to farm all the available land would be a matter for the New Zealand people to decide. If they continued with the unscientific system of private ownership of their major resources they would have to face increasing contradictions without any clear way of solving them. It will then be obvious that an adequate system of collective working together will have to be evolved; and at this stage a study of the Chinese rural commune will be of considerable value.

New Zealanders and Chinese

Surely, New Zealanders enjoy a high standard of comfort. The New Zealander consumes 24 gallons of beer a year not counting his intake of other stronger alcoholic beverages. He also drinks 25 gallons of milk, eats 40 lb of apples and 25 dozen eggs a year. The New Zealanders have the highest figure of livestock per person, including around 60,000,000 sheep. They also have high rates in coronary and mental disease while the habit of drug addiction borrowed from the US has risen amongst some groups of young people. Young folk have enormous energy—both Maori and *pakeha* (the European majority)—much of which is put into sport. Youngsters in high schools are often politically in advance of their elders, a much greater degree of understanding being evident than would have been the case in my own schoolboy days. Anarchistic thought based on individual freedoms to gratify every passing whim, as well as ultra-left groupings, are common amongst university students. Again, there has been a very radical change amongst all of these during the past decade. More do try and think politically, though a common aim in line with New Zealand's basic needs is still lacking. There is a new and healthy simplicity in students' dress. The summer is bright with barefooted youngsters in shorts, and well-bronzed skins.

In China there is not the long string of owner-driven cars burning up imported fuels we see in New Zealand. Consequently, and also because there is strict prohibition of alcohol to drivers, road accidents are fewer. Public transport there is highly developed and for short distances the bicycle is used. 'Quite primitive,' the Western businessman would probably say. Yet the meaning of life does not necessarily come clear through the medium of the latest in imported passenger cars; nor does the kind of self-sufficiency that makes for real national in-

dependence. China is not plagued with 'bikies' on their Hondas, Suzukis or other Japanese-made motor bicycles, in gangs who frequently during my short stay in New Zealand would descend on a place and 'rubbish' it, leaving broken window panes and beer bottles in their wake—but broken beer bottles, thrown out of speeding cars, are quite a feature of New Zealand roadsides. Pollution by industry is common in all industrialising countries. The difference between New Zealand and China is that there is not only a strong awareness of the problem but also much being done to meet it, as I have seen myself in the latter land.

China's re-occupation of her rightful seat in the UN she helped to found was hailed by most UN members, including Britain and Canada, as a positive, constructive step in bettering international relations. New Zealand and Australia voted against China, together with some backward ex-French colonies, some small Latin American dictatorships, South Africa, Lon Nol's puppet Cambodia, the dictatorships of Bolivia and Brazil, Lesotho and other unpopular African regimes; plus the two dominating imperialist countries who want Taiwan for their own, the USA and Japan, both of whom have their own plans for the control of the Pacific. It will be a very long time before this UN vote is forgotten in China. The smug satisfaction of those of the ruling class of New Zealand and Australia who have achieved such material comfort will have to change and give place to an awareness that it is indeed unwise to insult our greatest neighbour, which is not the USA nor Japan, but People's China. Of the 2,270 US military installations outside the USA, quite a few are maintained on the occupied Chinese province of Taiwan.

In New Zealand there are the so-called space-tracking stations operated by the US at Woodbourne at Blenheim and Mount John at Tekapo, against which there have been demonstrations by those who oppose the inclusion of New Zealand in the US missile world network. (The American base at Christchurch through which US planes fly to their McMurdo Sound base in Antartica will be referred to in following pages.)

For China the problem of the liberation of Taiwan is not in the long run a difficult one, despite the fact that the US has poured its billions into that country—that is about as big as the province of Canterbury—to try to make a show place out of it and to try to prostitute it.

Basic Understanding Lacking

For New Zealand to get out of the clutches of imperialist monopoly, entailing a complete change in its establishment, is a much harder thing to do. Youngsters are radical until they get families and jobs, when they are liable to relapse into comfortable bourgeois habits of thinking, with no cultural revolution appearing to shake them back into a progressive state of mind. Yet the gap between the haves and the have-nots does widen. The rich do get richer and now the poor begin to get poorer. New Zealand must come to terms with other lands of the Pacific if she is to progress and attain an independent status. Yet any really basic understanding of the one-quarter of the world that is China is lacking. This may be in part due to anti-Chinese agitation by the politicians of the pioneer days of New Zealand who sought to promote the idea that the Chinese were scarcely human. Much is also due to the general feeling that New Zealand is 'sitting pretty' and has no need to be concerned about its neighbours. There is little appreciation of Chinese history or culture and of late years red-baiting has provided an additional front on which to attack China's people and policy. The work of the New Zealand-China Society has been epic in trying to change some of these attitudes, and notable contributions have been made by visiting speakers like Han Suyin and

Felix Greene to better understanding. Delegations to China, young and old, have returned and made their contributions also, but there is still a very long way to go before there is mass understanding on any great scale. The pamphlet *New Zealand and China* which is an article by the now ex-Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Sir Keith Holyoake, published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Wellington, shows how very little is known or understood about the actual state of affairs in the China of today. It states that China attacked India, thus starting the 1962 war, which is not true. It says that the Great Leap Forward failed disastrously, which it did not; in most of its aspects it was a huge success. It says, 'A system based on a denial of human nature is not likely to be realised on any large scale, and Mao's has already failed.' An obvious untruth. The section of the pamphlet dealing with Chinese policy in Asia is too confused, too US-slanted to be more than a tendentious rigmarole. In the discussion on Taiwan under the 'Nationalist Government' of Chiang Kai-shek, already referred to as being so corrupt that it could not maintain control of the mainland, the pamphlet eulogises the same government for having brought about (in Taiwan) 'one of the highest living standards and the most rapidly-growing economies in Asia.' The fact is that Taiwan, as said earlier, has been selected by US-Japanese interests to be made into a showplace for imperialism just as old Nanking City was selected to be made into a showplace by the Kuomintang when there. Billions have been pitched into it from the USA. Hordes of 'do-gooders' have added their contributions in men and money.

Amongst New Zealanders of Chinese descent there is now more willingness to consider themselves 'Kiwis' than in other days. More of them have entered the ranks of the professions and not a few have married outside the old Chinese community. They are now no longer only market-gardeners or laundrymen, avocations they entered after the end of the gold-mining rush of the early pioneer days. They too have their place in that history and it will be remembered that the first dairy factory in the country, the beginnings of a major industry, was one started by Chinese in Taranaki. Studying in the universities now are many Malayans of Chinese extraction, as well as not a few from Singapore, North Kalimantan and elsewhere. There are also some from Hongkong and Taiwan.

New Invaders

In industry there are some promising signs, showing what the New Zealand workers can do. Small machine and precision tools are now beginning to go into the export trade while more of New Zealand's own machine tooling is being made at home. But imports of Japanese cars and motor vehicles grow steadily. Industry is far behind that of any Chinese province of approximately comparable area. Even tiny Albania in rugged Western Europe, a country about the size of Nelson—one of the smaller provinces in New Zealand—has a state shipping line of twenty-one ships, plying around the world. As said earlier, all of the shipping serving New Zealand's export trade is owned by firms in other countries. Now the squeeze of higher freight rates comes not only from British monopoly but also from Japanese. In January 1972 it was reported that New Zealand had to accept new Japanese freight rates though they were much higher than those of a competing Danish firm. Japanese contractors working on the extensions to the Auckland Harbour Bridge complained about the efficiency of New Zealand workers, obviously steering towards the time when Japanese workers could be brought in by their successors. Japanese land owners are already beginning to appear on the New Zealand scene and one hopes that they are not of the political complexion of those

Australia has recently invited into its Northern Territory. These, as shown in a recent television documentary seen in New Zealand, are fascist, John Birch types, who buy up land for a song, clear off the trees and convert it into cattle-raising country. One who was interviewed, a rancher millionaire, said he left the USA because the black people were becoming too 'uppity'. In Australia, he felt, he could still shoot down an Old Australian and get away with it. There are plenty of young people in both New Zealand and Australia who, if they were given a way, could develop the hinterland and who are not fascist white trash. Good, adventurous, intelligent youth, properly organised, could do better than any scabby bunch of thieving Texan money hogs.

Nevertheless, New Zealand is still in a position to be able to select her immigrants. How long that will last will depend upon developments in the Pacific, the New Zealand-Japanese market, and so on. As a country of around fifteen million she should be—when she goes socialist, as indeed she must—better able to achieve economic independence than she is with three million at present. She does not need land-grabbing capitalists, foreign investors, but under a new economic system would need good hard-working immigrants who will make the most of the land and its resources. At present the New Zealand-Chinese community is around ten thousand people only. In the interests of a sounder economy it could well be enlarged. The wealth of a land is in its people and their ability to produce creatively. It does not come from reckless selling of its birthright, cash down.

In China of Kuomintang days foreign interests said there was no oil. It all had to come from US oil companies. Nevertheless they managed to take over 55 per cent of the shares of the China Petroleum Company, just in case. Today the people of China have taken charge. Plenty of oil is found for ample self-sufficiency. No profits go to foreign investors, and the ability of the Chinese people to be successful, all-round oil men has been highly developed.

'Scientific Base'

South of New Zealand, usually reached from the US base on the International Airport area of Christchurch, New Zealand, is the US base at McMurdo Sound, supposed to be one for scientific purposes only. In the past few years however a regular stream of generals, admirals and so on of the US establishment have been making their way there. There have also been US biological experts and many missile ones including the Nazi scientists Dr Wernher von Braun and E. Stulhinger, the perfectors of the VI and VII missiles that shattered so much of London in World War II. South African apartheid advocates with their New Zealand supporters have made visits to the base, as has also the US fascist leader Goldwater. In the demonstration against Goldwater, who appeared on television the same evening with his 'Bomb the irrigation dykes of North Vietnam,' 'Bomb Hanoi' cries which followed his infamous one 'Bomb Vietnam back into the Stone Age', protestors were out in force and the police made arrests. By and large sympathy was with the protestors, not the infamous Goldwater.

How many fully realise the implications of these trips to McMurdo is not known but thoughtful people in New Zealand are beginning to wake up a bit these days, and the old order is not having all its own way. New Zealand is important to those who would rule the world by force but what they do with that force is painfully clear to an increasing number of young New Zealanders who watch the Vietnam picture with horror.

In China the idea of going back into the hills collectively and working on afforestation or on some big irrigation project would appeal to enough youth to en-

sure that there would be no problem about getting the task done. But the years of affluence in New Zealand and the standards of comfort that have been set would preclude pioneering in the way it was done half a century ago. In the hinterland now one sees much hill land that was cleared in former times returning to gorse, scrub and fern. The back valley where I worked for six years in the twenties is now deserted, rich though the country is. The average young man on marriage expects to be able to arrange for a house, wall to wall carpets, television, and all the rest, all on hire-purchase plan, along with some kind of car, and to live not too far away from city life. Truly, individual effort even if situated in scenic loveliness gets to be very lonely; and communal effort, except in a Maori Pa, has not yet been tried.

On New Zealand city streets and at holiday spots in summertime, one sees beautifully limbed and well-dressed children, though a fair number of the smaller ones are too fat. In contrast with China, one does not see youngsters doing anything but play—usually with little sense of being part of the life of the community. No marching off to the countryside to plant trees, harvest, or whatever the call may have been for. In the average home children in New Zealand look at television a good deal. A typical programme might show US 'Wild West' movies or perhaps a crime story with Detective 'Red Herring'; the 'baddies' secret communists allied to 'Albanians and Chinks' and the 'goodies' the detectives and security men. The effect of this kind of viewing on children of all ages is well illustrated in the following story, told to me by a New Zealand mother. A New Zealand family had lost a grandmother. Her daughter had to break the news to the three-year-old grandchild, whose immediate question was, 'Who shot her?' There are on the other hand not a few quite thoughtful and provocative TV programmes. Youth therefore is presented with a very mixed brew, though in the main it is the successful individual who is starred, and the so-called superior role of Western capitalism in the world today. The news media are quite frankly partisan in this and brainwashes quite successfully, it must be said. The present appearance of and rise in unemployment however does make a great number of people do some re-thinking.

In New Zealand the rate of increase amongst Maoris and Polynesian islanders is very much greater than that of the *pakeha* or white-skinned people. There is also an increasing tendency to intermarry, however, so that now a great many *pakeha* people have Maori relatives. But there is still some considerable way to go before the old ideas of white superiority are universally discarded as the 'white trash' they are.

Foreign Aid

With regard to Women's Liberation, though New Zealand was the first nation to gain women's suffrage, their struggle to obtain 'equal pay for equal work' (equal with men) has still only been partially successful. There are still spheres where there is considerable inequality and the battle in New Zealand to deal with this problem goes on. Actually there cannot be any real Women's Liberation under the old society and many women are realising that.

New Zealand is still Europe-oriented. English feudal forms are still popular. As in the old neo-colonialist China, the word 'imported' on consumer goods has the connotation of being superior to those made at home. In New Zealand people are brainwashed to feel that it really cannot be done so well in their own land, that for them prosperity is a matter of simply selling their resources. In China self-sufficiency at all levels is encouraged in every way possible. People are proud of China-made goods.

In aid to other countries New Zealand provides education for Southeast Asian

students at her universities and sends lecturers to universities like those in Thailand where upper-class students are given a stereotyped copy of Western academic training but with no practical application. New Zealand also helps to build strategic roads in North Thailand to help the Bangkok Government to suppress the Thai Liberation Army and to keep the country safe for US and Japanese investment. New Zealand sends troops to assist the Malayan establishment to maintain its hold. It trains officers for the US puppet Lon Nol regime of Cambodia.

China too carries out a programme of foreign aid. She is putting in a railway for Tanzania and Zambia, a harbour in Mauretania, factories and hospitals in other African and Asian countries, always doing her best to get people to help themselves. Though she has a highly developed textile industry herself, which exports around the world, she has given several countries textile plants so that they can make their own textiles and be independent.

In China the political structure is based on the small working group, in which people all know each other, and can well select their representatives to higher levels. In New Zealand there is the old parliamentary structure, with politicians entering the race as a business, part of the acquisitive society. In a recent straw poll of many of the newly enfranchised electors of the 20-21 group in New Zealand, sixty per cent said they did not intend to exercise their voting power as neither of the two parties seeking to govern the country had enough in the way of constructive planning for them. Yet again, few of the youth would join together to spend time in a real political study group, or subject themselves to any loss of what they would call their individual freedom in order to play their own part constructively as political beings. Fewer still would realise a fact that most Chinese would acknowledge that in actuality to have 'no politics' is the worst kind of politics. Fewer again would acknowledge, as the average Chinese does, that politics must lead in everything; that the correct theory gives spirit, and spirit changes to matter.

There is however a very sturdy desire to demolish old tabus that are part of an unscientific order. In the manner of old Chinese monks who withdrew from society and established themselves in some pleasant secluded spot, there are those who set up communes so as to be free from all that might contaminate them. Others join with hippy or other protest groups as their form of rejection of the old order. None has seen the bitterness, denial and death that came to the Chinese people as that old order declined. They cheer themselves with the thought, 'It can never happen here.' Which is not so. It can.

So Different

There are some relatively small things that strike one as being so different, when one returns from China: the youngsters playing cowboys in Wild-West hats and big pistols in holsters, out to shoot down the Injun in approved TV style; the bananas in fruit shops from Ecuador, grape-fruit from Jamaica, oranges from California, when farmers are leaving their rich fruit-growing lands in near-by Polynesia and coming to New Zealand in search of work. In China the doctrine of self-sufficiency is taken very seriously, and that of racism even more so. New Zealand compromises herself officially by sending off athletic and sports teams to apartheid South Africa with police protection against protestors. At the same time she blithely expects to have the multi-racial Commonwealth Games in Christchurch in 1974, in the face of growing international indignation at racism of any kind. Have her cake and eat it too. So much is she cut off from the realities of the international situation. China is a socialist State and profit does not come first. New Zealand

is a traders' world and immediate profit is the first consideration. It is very hard for people to think in other terms, especially as they have become used to considerable affluence, which they somehow feel is due to their own superiority over less-favoured peoples. This piece of mysticism is not the prevailing thought trend in China.

Since I was last in New Zealand, there has been a great spate of building new universities. Big complexes with modern facilities. In China, following the Cultural Revolution, there has been a move away from the super-campus and one towards relating university life to the problems that have to be faced in the world outside. In consequence there would not be a magnificent School of Forestry at the University of Canterbury as there is today. It would perhaps be somewhere along the railway line on the Westland side of Arthur's Pass, teaching how to make use of the gorse-covered slopes there to plant timber that could be harvested almost like wheat, as is done with that magnificent tree the China Pine in Hunan and Kiangsi. China has found that the product of the great university does not always look kindly at getting down to essentials in the tough hinterland. The struggle in New Zealand is to get through the University course and with a good enough graduation paper to gain a job. For students to go out and actually plant and rear trees, gaining as much practical knowledge as they did theoretical, there would be little enthusiasm with things as they are in New Zealand education today.

In China, as Chairman Mao has so clearly pointed out, class struggle continues after the first successes of the revolution. In New Zealand class struggle of course goes on strongly in its various forms, whether it is the Prime Minister denouncing seamen or the people denouncing butcher Suharto on his government-invited visit to New Zealand last February, when shouts of 'Up with the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party)' rang out again—the first time he could have heard such since his take-over of the Indonesia which is New Zealand's closest Asian neighbour.

New Zealand today is at the crossroads. Much depends on the next steps taken. Youth is in revolt. Massive contradictions rise up, which the old order gives no solution to. Many folk look to China and marvel at a land with no inflation, no price rises, no interior or external loans, and a growing economy. Look, and wonder with the looking.

Sewage Water Irrigates Land

A new industrial city in North China has succeeded in using industrial waste water and other filthy water in the city to irrigate farmland. As a result of more than ten years of experiment in treating and using the sewage water, the city is effectively bringing pollution under control and making industrial waste serve agricultural production.

The capital of Hopei Province, Shihchiachuang, daily discharges large quantities of sewage as industry and the urban population grow.

The city now has five waste water disposal centres and a pumping station and irrigation ditches totalling more than 100 kilometres in length have been dug. Practically all the 400,000 tons of sewage daily discharged by the city's factories and living quarters is concentrated, treated and drained off to irrigate 12,930 hectares of cropland.

The amount of fertiliser contained in each ton of treated sewage is equivalent to 383 grammes of ammonium sulphate. Land irrigated with treated waste water yields 1.125 to 1.5 tons more grain per hectare than that irrigated with fresh water when other factors remain unchanged.

Hsinhua, Shihchiachuang, 8 April

The Political Economy of Vietnamisation

Gordon White

'As I look around the room it occurs to me that this Chamber might well become a happy exception to the policy of Vietnamisation. For if the number of American businessmen increases as the US mission is drawn down, it will provide an indication of Vietnam's eventual return to a more normal economic and social climate'. Ellsworth Bunker, in an address to the American Chamber of Commerce, Saigon, January 20, 1972.

'Vietnamisation requires that economic aid to the GVN (Government of South Vietnam) be regarded as an integral part of the war effort. . . . At this stage in the war, the role of economic factors in successful Vietnamisation requires greater concern than do the relations between political conditions and military performance.' . . . Guy Pauker of the Rand Corporation in 'An Essay on Vietnamisation', written for the US Department of Defence's Advanced Research Projects Agency (No. 189-1), March 1971. 'When the United States disengages militarily in Asia, they have to engage economically more and more to help the Asian countries to take the responsibility of their own fate.' . . . Nguyen Van Thieu in an American TV interview, July 16, 1970.

As direct US military ground involvement in the war in South Vietnam declines, the role of American military and economic aid in maintaining a strong anti-communist government in Saigon becomes more important. The Saigon armed forces are, of course, totally dependent on the US for military materiel and technique, and large scale military aid is scheduled to pour in over the next few years. This article focusses on the role of economic aid and private foreign investment in the strategy of Vietnamisation and the plans that are now beginning to be put into action for the hypothesised economic future of an 'independent' South Vietnam after peace has been restored on American terms.

US officials see the tasks of Vietnamisation in the economic realm to be basically twofold. First, the US must maintain economic aid at levels high enough to guarantee the continued stability of the Thieu regime by helping it to maintain a political economy in South Vietnam which minimises the possibility of disruptive political activity stemming from economic discontent—this policy must be pursued in the face of political pressures from the US Congress against the continuance of high aid-levels. Increased economic aid must be provided to cushion the impact of American military disengagement. Second, while eventually planning to reduce the presently enormous degree of dependence of South Vietnam on US government aid by restructuring the South Vietnamese economy through the stimulation of foreign investment and export industries, the US

must do this in such a way as not to seriously impair American influence on the policies of the regime in Saigon. American private investment is clearly seen as playing an important role in this transition which will integrate South Vietnam into the world capitalist economy.

This economic strategy is an integral part of a wider US programme of Vietnamisation which intends to continue the war by proxy, maintain a staunchly anti-communist authoritarian government in Saigon and retain a dominant US influence over the domestic politics of South Vietnam. In the eyes of the Nixon Administration, apart from the convincing political and military reasons why Vietnamisation is incompatible with a strategy aiming at a real political settlement through peace negotiations in Paris and the replacement of the Thieu regime, there are also convincing economic reasons. The present military dictatorship must be maintained. If power were shared among South Vietnamese political forces and the US commitment to Thieu were to slacken, Americans feel that this would bring economic chaos and open the political door for the National Liberation Front. An authoritarian government like Thieu's is necessary for economic stability and real peace initiatives become peace scares. If a coalition government were formed in South Vietnam with NLF participation, moreover, US economic aid would, it is felt, probably be terminated either as a result of the US Congress's reluctance to bankroll a South Vietnamese regime with Communists in it, or because such a regime might refuse US aid—either way, American leverage on the situation would decline drastically.

American economic assistance to Vietnam began in 1950 when a special economic mission was set up in Saigon to cooperate with the French high commission in aiding the 'newly independent' governments of Indochina. Direct US aid dates from the temporary partition of North and South Vietnam in 1954. In the six years since the major American military build-up (1966-1971), US economic assistance has exceeded US$4 billion, averaging well over $600 million per year. Before running into problems with the US Senate in late 1971, gross economic assistance for the fiscal year 1972 was budgeted at $761 million, an increase of $175 million over 1971, which includes the USAID (US Agency for International Development) budget, a Department of Defence (DOD) funded project programme and funds from the PL 480 Food for Peace Program. The total USAID budget request for fiscal year 1972 was $565 million and it contained four major items:

a. the *Commercial Import Program* (CIP): projected for $300 million in 1972. These funds are tied to the import of US goods, which are primarily consumer items, raw materials for Vietnamese industries, machinery and petroleum products. This programme provides most of the foreign exchange resources of Saigon and helps maintain economic stability by restraining inflation. The 'counterpart' piastres which the local importer pays for these goods are deposited in a special account and used to finance Saigon's military and civilian programmes.

b. the *Project Aid Program:* projected for $90 million in 1972, this finances infra-structure, education, pacification, refugee resettlement and public health projects which are largely carried out by US contracting firms.

c. The *Land Reform Program:* budgeted for $15 million in 1972, these funds pay compensation for land redistributed under the Land to the Tiller Program, instituted in March 1970.

d. the *Economic Support Fund* (ESF): budgeted for $150 million for 1972, this is a new USAID program of untied import financing designed to cushion the economic effects of US military disengagement, particularly

on South Vietnam's balance of payments situation. South Vietnam's annual exports have averaged about $12 million over the last few years, while its annual imports have reached the $700 million mark. In fact, South Vietnam's imports of cosmetics and other such drug-store items exceed its total exports. Up till recently, the deficit has partly been made up by CIP counterpart funds and government-owned foreign exchange which was mainly generated by the purchase of piastres by the US government which were used to cover the expenses of the US effort here. The income from these piastre sales has declined as the US military presence has decreased and it was to make up for this that USAID proposed the ESF.

Apart from these four items, $108 million of 'Food for Peace' (PL 480) funds were budgeted for fiscal year 1972: this includes Title II funds which provide food for refugees and other indigents and Title II which is dollar financing of food and other US agricultural imports to guarantee adequate supplies in the marketplace at acceptable prices. The bulk of the piastres generated from Title I imports are used to support Saigon's military budget.

At present, the South Vietnamese economy is hopelessly dependent on a high level of US aid. The majority of Saigon's budget revenues derive from this source and aid-subsidies allow increasingly heavy deficit-financing. For example, Saigon's 1969 budget of 142.8 billion piastres depended on 76.3 billion piastres revenue provided by the US. US aid was to cover 50 per cent of the 61 billion piastres budget deficit in fiscal year 1971. From US aid come the imported consumer goods which placate urban consumer demand and cut inflation. Many urban consumers, particularly in Saigon, have become 'hooked' on foreign products. South Vietnam used to export sugar, but now consumers prefer the foreign white refined stuff; in the past commercial cooking oil was not used, but now it is in widespread use. From US aid comes pork barrel funds to opposition groups to buy off potentially disruptive opposition groups. From US aid come money and privileges which are dispensed as patronage by the Thieu government to its supporters, pay the salaries of the Armed Forces and the Government bureaucracy and maintain Thieu's personal political machine (for example, through a liberal Presidential slush fund) of province, district and village chiefs. US money is the fuel and corruption is the oil of the machine.

Apart from revenues from USAID-administered funds, moreover, 1970-1972 saw an increase in DOD financing of 'military-related' pacification programmes, expansion of the National Police and the Chieu Hoi programme for NLF defectors (budgeted for $985 million in fiscal year 1972).

From the purely economic point of view, of course, the South Vietnamese economy is irrational, but, politically speaking, the US and Thieu have seen major advantages in the past three years in not disturbing the status quo by major economic reform. American advisers who have taken the purely economic point of view have argued that more pressure be exerted on the Thieu regime to correct some of the imbalances and live within its means. Other more idealistic US advisers have decried the state of the economy as a prime indicator of the 'decay' of the South Vietnamese regime. But those advisers and 'academic' consultants, such as Guy Pauker of the Rand Corporation, who are aware of the inter-relationships between politics and economics, have perceived the potential political advantages of this kind of economic dependence and the political dangers of too rapid reforms.

In the eyes of the more sophisticated American advisers, Thieu's very economic dependence on US aid gives him two big

advantages over the enemy: first, he is able to avoid certain economic decisions which would, in a more 'normal' economy, have unpleasant political consequences; second, he can take economic decisions which are calculated to generate political support without the political and economic costs which would result in a 'normal' economy.

Because the majority of his budget revenues come from external sources, Thieu has been able to keep taxation relatively low. For example, land taxes in the Delta are extremely low (in the Mytho area, for example, they are 118 piastres, or US 27 cents, per hectare). This gives him a theoretical advantage over the NLF because the NLF must levy taxes to support its 300,000 cadres in South Vietnam. Because the salaries of the Armed Forces are paid largely by the Americans, the Army does not have to 'live off the land' through hoary government war-levies or direct extraction from the population through requisitioning, stealing or looting. Again this puts the NLF at a theoretical disadvantage because much of its military revenues are generated inside the country. Because of the CIP, moreover the Thieu government is able to avoid drastic austerity measures to curb inflation and thus avoids provoking the political resentment of urban consumers.

Thieu has also been enabled to pursue relatively 'cost-free' policies designed to bring him political support or at least to neutralise potential opposition. One facet of this freedom has been the programme over the past three years to win the acquiescence if not support of the rural population, which is seen by Saigon's counter-insurgency experts as the main source of recruitment and support for the NLF. Beginning in 1967, and particularly over the past three years, Saigon's economic policies have emphasised the economic well-being of the peasants to the detriment of the urban dwellers. Previously, price control and import policies had favoured urban consumers and discriminated against the rural population. Agricultural development has been pushed, particularly in the Delta, through a package of policies designed to maintain and increase the purchasing power of the peasant, for example by letting the price of rice keep pace with inflation, providing imported fertiliser at artificially low prices and ameliorating the terms of trade between countryside and city to the benefit of the former. The Land to the Tiller programme was inaugurated in 1970 with an initial grant from the US and the costs of compensation are being borne by US aid funds. The primary purpose of these programmes is political rather than developmental; the major impetus for pushing them is the desire to eradicate NLF support in the countryside rather than a genuine attempt to lay the basis for sustained economic development and comprehensive social justice. The US-Thieu strategy has changed, in fact, from trying to win the hearts and minds of the peasants to trying to buy them. Though urban dwellers have suffered from inflation and, more recently from the devaluation of the piastre, Thieu's plan is to rely on US-aid funded food and consumer good imports to satisfy consumer demand, hold prices down and keep economic discontent within bounds. Without major commitments of funds from the US these rural and urban programmes would be infeasible.

Economic rewards have also been held out to 'reasonable' urban opposition elements such as certain leaders in the previously militant Buddhist An Quang Church. Militant elements are then isolated and dealt with through police repression. Ever since the overthrow of Diem, for example, the Buddhists have gotten a share of American aid goodies: there are large and imposing new pagodas in Saigon and elsewhere; a Buddhist cultural centre is rising in Hue. Scholarships are available each year for students at the Buddhist University, Van Hanh, to study in US universities.

Another interesting case of this politico-economic strategy in action was the decision in 1970 to provide supplemental aid for food and housing for (South Vietnamese Army) soldiers and their dependents. The theory was that without these supplements, these soldiers would resent their bad living conditions and would be susceptible to NLF propaganda. Pauker states the *rationale* quite clearly: 'The argument set forth (by some Americans officials) is that if the South Vietnamese believe that they fight for a "just cause", they should not need American money to perform better and should indeed reject the notion of acting as if they were our "mercenaries". NVA/VC (North Vietnamese Army/Vietcong) morale is mentioned as strikingly in contrast with this "mercenary" mentality of RVNAF (South Vietnamese Armed Forces) and conclusions are drawn about the respective chances for victory of the two systems. Such moral judgements and factual inferences aside, the question is whether for a fraction of the material cost of our military presence in South Vietnam (and at hardly any political cost to us) one could increase substantially the odds that RVNF will not be defeated by the NVA/VC forces . . . If simultaneously with the weapons needed for the future defence of South Vietnam, RVNAF also receives the material benefits that would make their use desirable from the personal point of view of the individual soldier, we will have turned the tables on the NVA/VC forces and will leave behind, as we exit, a power structure that the Communists will find extremely difficult to destroy.'

In short, economics and politics have been blended to form part of the general strategy of Vietnamising the war and winning it as well. In these economic policies, 'politics is in command, but its purpose is counter-revolutionary.'

But such a high degree of dependence on high levels of US government aid cannot last indefinitely. On the one hand, the US Government has made several attempts to transfer some of the aid burden to other nations and international organisations. For example, at the Nixon-Sato meeting in Washington in late 1970, the US asked Japan for a US$150 million aid grant to South Vietnam as part of an overall aid programme for Indochina. Japanese government aid to South Vietnam did in fact increase during late 1970 and 1971, extending outside the realm of 'humanitarian' projects to provide aid-grants and soft-loans for power plants.

On the other hand steps must be taken to reduce the amount of dependence on external assistance while at the same time not endangering the politico-economic stability of the Thieu regime in the process. The basic underlying guarantee of the success of this transition is a high level of external aid for at least the next four or five years and the increasing redirection of aid funds towards 'development' projects. Special subsidies have been designed, such as the ESF, which serve to cushion the economic effects of the American military disengagement. But certain steps must also be taken to correct some of the basic imbalances in the South Vietnamese economy and eventually bring about the gradual tapering off of American aid, perhaps after a decade of economic transition. The implementation of these transitional steps has received a stimulus from the US Senate rejection of the Foreign Aid Bill in November 1971 and the threat that Congressional pressures may curtail or even terminate aid to South Vietnam.

In 1970, there was a debate among American aid officials about the speed and nature of the policies necessary to make the South Vietnamese economy less dependent on US government funding. According to the *Washington Post*, USAID policy in early 1970 had originally been to require the South Vietnamese Government to increase taxation sharply and take other strict control measures to

reshape South Vietnam's imbalanced economy. This policy was scrapped, however, because it ignored important political realities and threatened the stability of the regime—the new policy was to request reforms but not 'sudden and harsh measures'. Economics Minister Pham Kim Ngoc complained that if he tried to increase taxation by a considerable amount, it would be the city people who would suffer; 'I don't have an administrative structure to tax the people in the countryside,' he added. Excessive alienation of the urban population was deemed politically unwise and, though at the prompting of the US Government a five-point programme of anti-inflationary reforms was enacted in late 1970 (including changes in exchange rate, increased tax collection, removal of import-export licensing restrictions), it was not as thorough-going as many economics-minded US officials privately would have liked.

The Senate 'rebellion' of November 1971 and the consequent uncertainty concerning future aid levels necessitated the speeding up of the time-table for transition. An economic reform package, which had originally been planned for early 1972, was unveiled by Thieu on November 15 and hailed as a major step towards economic 'self-reliance'. This package described by Economics Minister Pham Kim Ngoc as 'Vietnamisation of the economy' was put together by a group of American-trained Vietnamese economists and aims at reducing the degree of economic dependence on the US by stimulating export industries and encouraging foreign investment.

One key aspect of the new economic reforms is a new investment law which offers attractive incentives for foreign capital to provide the financial basis of a new economic system not directly dependent on US government aid. The new system would in effect be South Vietnam's 'dark at the end of the tunnel' as a small subordinate unit in the 'Free World' economy. It is worth stressing, however, that such plans together with long-term development projections such as the Lilienthal Report, assume that the war will peter out within the next two years—if this does not happen, as is likely given the continued capacity and determination of the DRV (Democratic Republic of Vietnam) and NLF, they will be relegated to the realm of wishful thinking.

In the words of the GVN Economic Reform document of November 15, 1972, the investment climate in South Vietnam has been 'suffocating'. The previous investment law, promulgated in 1963, was 'obsolete' and 'lacked appropriate attraction and incentives', particularly when compared to neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia. According to the US Commercial Attaché in Saigon, Saigon has a 'bad record' to live down in its relations with prospective foreign investors. A conversation in late January 1972 with the Japanese Commercial Attaché, Mr Nishimura, uncovered some of the conflicts. He maintained that Japanese investment in South Vietnam was at a 'low level' and companies were still reluctant to make major capital commitments. He listed seven companies with projects in operation or in the planning stages and compared them with the 150 Japanese companies operating in Thailand. Of these seven companies, all of which are joint ventures, two are already in operation (Mitsubishi's 'Vinapiro', producing engines for tractors and small boats with a capitalisation of US$300,000; Taiyo Fisheries' 'Mekong Fishery Products' with an investment of $100,000), two are in temporary operation (Matsushita's 'Vietnamese National', $600,000 which assembles radios—a new factory is scheduled to be completed in the fall of 1972; Sanyo's 'Sanyo Industries' assembling radios and TVs with $180,000 so far), one is under construction (Sony's $290,000 radio-TV assembly plant) and two more agricultural ma-

chinery factories are in the planning stages.

Although he said that the main factor which has prevented Japanese business from making large inputs into South Vietnam is that of military security ('many think the situation is very bad'), he mentioned several cases where prospective Japanese investors complained of excessive red tape, bureaucratic delays and frequent changes of policy. He was cautious about prediction: 'There's a bright future here maybe, but there's a need for changes first.' He added that the new liberal investment law would help create 'momentum', and that continued US economic aid would provide a 'better climate for Japanese investment'.

There has clearly been pressure exerted on Saigon to ameliorate conditions for foreign investment and the US mission here sees Thieu's economic reform package, particularly the new investment law, as a major step in the right direction. In fact, Thieu's proclamation on the subject read as if it had been drafted by the American Embassy's Commercial Section, both in style and content. According to US economic experts in Saigon, the new investment law would put South Vietnam pretty much on a par with other Southeast Asian countries in terms of encouraging foreign investment. It provides generous terms for the remittance of profits, a guarantee that the Government will not nationalise foreign enterprises, a five-year tax holiday, etc.

The major question, of course, is whether foreign businessmen, notably American and Japanese, are interested in making large investments in South Vietnam. Many are interested but few are eager. There is still a lack of confidence in the US-Thieu's ability to bring the war to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion. This uncertainty is intensified by doubts about the future of US economic aid. In a letter from Sesto Vecchi, President of the American Chamber of Commerce in Vietnam (ACCV), reprinted in the ACCV *Bulletin* and addressed to the Council Chairman of the Asian-Pacific Council of American Chambers of Commerce, he states that a termination of US aid would have devastating effects on the 'fragile beginnings being made by American business here. . . . It is only very recently that American business has begun to think in terms of giving Vietnam a fair look. Many here have laboured long to achieve this small gain. The momentum in this favourable direction, which it has taken so long to develop, the nascent self-confidence of the Vietnamese Government, and the improvements in business climate which this confidence has begun to engender, will be lost with the elimination of American aid. It seems to us both a great shame and a waste that such progress, which is after all the aim of the aid programme, should die aborting.'

The ACCV *Bulletin* also notes that 'without a realistic aid programme for Vietnam, discussion of other aspects of the Vietnamese economy is meaningless . . . cancellation of aid will immediately result in an end to any effective American investment here—as virtually all such investment is presently dependent on AID-financed credits. It will also eliminate the ability of American companies and suppliers to sell their products in the Vietnamese market.' The *Bulletin* adds that, without the credits available through the aid programme, companies such as Ford, American Motors, Singer and Reynolds will be unable to follow through on investment projects they have recently initiated for Vietnam.

Ambassador Bunker attempted to allay some of these fears in his speech to the ACCV on January 20, 1972. He stated that 'The level for 1972 import financing will depend on what the US Congress finally votes. There will be cuts compared to what we asked for but I think the amounts will be sufficient to keep the stabilisation effort on a fairly even keel in 1972, with something left over for development . . . I believe that the American

people will continue to provide Vietnam with the necessary military and economic support needed to ensure that the progress that has been made in recent years will continue . . . ' He also mentioned improvements in the investment through the new economic reforms and was guardedly optimistic about the political situation in South Vietnam. But his speech was full of qualification and his analysis of the military situation ambiguous and insufficiently optimistic to satisfy a prospective investor worried about military security.

Nevertheless, certain steps are being taken by both government and business to facilitate the planned transition from public to private US investment in the South Vietnamese economy. The US Embassy has taken steps to encourage those US companies who have been doing contract work for the US Government in South Vietnam to integrate into the local economy. Contract regulations have been changed to allow these 'US-invited and affiliated defence contractors' to re-orient part of their activities to local enterprise, either in the form of a joint venture with a local company or as a wholly-owned local firm. These companies are doubly important because they attract other foreign investors through the advanced services they provide (such as computers and sophisticated maintenance) which other countries in the region lack. In fact, the ACCV has recently approached the US Embassy and has received a favourable response, with the request for a government-business Business Advisory Council to assist in this re-orientation, on the theory that 'it seems inconstant to encourage new foreign investment in Vietnam without simultaneously taking steps to preserve that which is already here and which would be inclined, under proper circumstances, to transfer their operations to the commercial economy.' The Embassy response was favourable, a letter from Ambassador Bunker stating that 'it is the policy of the US Mission to encourage just such participation (of contracting companies in the local economy).'

Nevertheless, many US businessmen are reluctant to make major investments in South Vietnam and need concrete assurances and guarantees from the US Government. In a letter from the ACCV to Secretary of the Treasury Connally, written in November 1971, three courses of government action were requested: first, the 'absolute necessity' for a continued high level of economic aid; second, the US Government should show confidence in the South Vietnamese economy by activating the guarantee programme under jurisdiction of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to facilitate the 'systematic transition from direct public dollar aid to guaranteed private investment.' According to American economic experts here, the OPIC at present does not actually refuse to guarantee investment in South Vietnam, but holds that investments must be considered on a case by case basis. Private business and local US officials would like to see a more open policy. If this is not forthcoming, the Asian Pacific Council of American Chambers of Commerce has recommended that multilateral organisations (such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations be utilised to provide investment guarantees against expropriation. Third, the US Government should make development funds available in local currency to American investors through a loan programme.

In a letter replying to these requests, Donald Syvrud, Director of the Bilateral Relations Program Office of the US Department of the Treasury stated that OPIC insurance guarantees had been 'temporarily' suspended and the OPIC board was presently 'reviewing its policies, with the hope that it would soon resume expanding its activities in Vietnam.' The letter also held out the prospect of loan funds from PL 480 Title I sales in South Vietnam. Previously the proceeds were used partly for US expenditures and partly for Saigon's military budget and the letter

hinted that, as the military use of these funds decreased, they could be made available to US private investors.

In general, therefore, the future for foreign investment in South Vietnam is still uncertain and firms are still hanging back to wait and see or demanding improved investment conditions and concrete guarantees. If a large influx of foreign investment were to take place (and this is a big if), it would very likely be concentrated in two main areas: in the production and extraction of primary products, notably fish, livestock and lumber; second, taking advantage of cheap Vietnamese labour, in the setting up of assembly plants for light industrial products such as radios, motor bikes, TVs and the like, the parts for which are mostly produced abroad. According to local economic journals, for example, Singer is interested in setting up a sewing-machine assembly plant and Ford plans to pool funds with the Vietnamese for a truck assembly plant. The Japanese are particularly interested in assembly plants and have run into some criticism from Vietnamese who regard this kind of investment as a disguised import programme of little value to the development of a balanced South Vietnamese economy. Honda has already encountered some problems in 1971 in obtaining Saigon's approval of an assembly plant because Saigon resented the fact that nearly all the parts would be imported. In early 1971, Toyota received permission to invest here, but the conditions of investment were unacceptable to them because Saigon wanted them to enlarge the portion of components to be produced in South Vietnam.

But Saigon is becoming more 'realistic' and the new investment law is a step in that dubious direction. Some local businessmen are alarmed at the prospect of increased foreign investment. One can judge this from some of the questions raised at a seminar on economic development, held in Saigon in early December 1971: 'If the free enterprise system is followed, will foreign capitalists govern the economy of Vietnam?'; 'If a free enterprise system emerges, will not the majority of Vietnamese play but the role of production employees, while foreign capitalists, by their investments, become the employers?'.

In the words of John R. Mossler, Director of USAID, South Vietnam has decided to 'specialise and trade, rather than close off and try to produce all of its own needs. This, as Adam Smith pointed out, is the key to the Wealth of Nations.' In other words, even if the transition from governmental to private investment ever does take place in South Vietnam, a process which ultimately depends upon the security situation, it would result in a new kind of economic dependence as a subordinate entity in the international capitalist system and make it impossible for South Vietnam to build a balanced and self-sufficient economy.

In sum, the US strategy of Vietnamisation involves a complicated juggling act which attempts to defend requests for massive economic aid against political pressures in the US, encourage reluctant or wary foreign investors to make financial commitments, bring about gradual economic changes in the South Vietnamese economy without endangering political stability and fight a war from a military position which is deteriorating. The probabilities are that this cannot succeed: the military strength of the NVA/NLF and the political strength of the Provisional Revolutionary Government are still impressive. Moreover, a public opinion survey conducted in four major South Vietnamese cities in late 1971 showed widespread discontent (69 per cent) concerning the economic policies of the Thieu government—findings which clearly contradict official US optimism about the improvement of the South Vietnamese economy and cast doubts on the future viability of the Thieu regime.

In discussing the problem of economic aid, moreover, we enter a realm of prac-

tical relevance to the US anti-war movement. It is clear that the continued success of the US strategy depends on a continued high level of American economic aid which is also a precondition for major US and Japanese private investment here. If the US anti-war movement could exert effective political pressure on US aid policy, it would seriously hamper the politico-economic strategy of Vietnamisation. A significant decrease in the amount of aid funds available to South Vietnam would undermine many of the institutional pillars of the Thieu government, would increase pressures on Saigon to carry out potentially and would intensify many of the destabilising economic reform contradictions discussed above; for example, exacerbate discontent in the cities as a result of inflation, obstruct rural 'development' programmes, threaten the salaries of bureaucrats and soldiers, increase pressure on Saigon to generate revenue internally by increasing taxes, etc.

The US attempt to transfer part of the financial burden to private capital should also be spotlighted and firms intending to make financial commitments to South Vietnam could be publicly denounced.

If the US anti-war movement threw part of its muscle behind a concentrated campaign on the above issues, it could both aid in the American withdrawal from Indochina and have a crippling effect on the 'Vietnamised' political system which the Americans have helped to build and maintain in South Vietnam. This campaign would accompany calls for total withdrawal and the cut-off of military aid, of course, but the economic dimension is increasingly important and should receive increasing attention.

Rice Seeds for Guinea

On the morning of March 2, the Party committee of the Takang Commune in Kiangsu Province received an urgent notice, asking it to prepare 210 tons of rice seeds of the high-yielding strain 'Chingkang No. 30' and have them packed for shipment to Guinea in two days.

The Takang people were greatly inspired by the fact that they could help the Guinean people grow rice. But some people said that the local transport agency could not possibly finish loading the goods on schedule. The commune Party committee called an emergency meeting and mobilised the local people to pitch in.

Chou Hai-kuan, secretary of the Party committee, said to the workers, peasants and rural cadres who volunteered for the work: 'We should look upon the assignment as our bounden duty and the trust placed in us by Chairman Mao and the Party.' Referring to Chairman Mao's article 'In Memory of Norman Bethune', he added, 'Comrade Norman Bethune, a member of the Communist Party of Canada, made light of travelling thousands of miles to China and dedicated his life to the cause of the Chinese people's liberation. Chairman Mao called on us to learn from his spirit of internationalism and we should act accordingly.'

Communists in the cereal and edible-oil service centre took the lead and raced against time to pack the rice seeds.

Many women workers and housewives came to help with sewing gunny bags.

Veteran poor peasant Pao Kai-tsai, chosen by the poor and lower-middle peasants for checking on the work, carefully examined the quality of seeds package by package. He and other commune members had since 1966 undertaken to cultivate the rice strain that was grown on large areas in northern Kiangsu.

The retired worker Wang Chi-jen, whose son was working in Mali, also came to help with the work.

The task was finished on time.

Hsinhua, Nanking, 7 April

What Is Happening in China

as seen by a group of Hongkong University students

Industry

In our 29-day stay in China late last year we visited 18 industrial plants, some of which are in heavy industry (Peking Petroleum and Chemicals Works and Wuhan Steel Works), and others in light industry (textile mills in Shanghai, Hangchow and Soochow, and electric cable and cement boat factories in Wusih). Apart from these, we also saw small local industrial set-ups which produce such items as fertilisers, pig iron, agricultural machinery and cement.

Everywhere we went the first thing that struck us was the spirit of self-reliance. We saw peasants and factory workers working diligently in that spirit. The building of Hsinankiang hydro-electric station was the work of thousands of Chinese workers and technicians. In April 1957 the construction began, and to complete the project some 7,000,000 cubic feet of earth was excavated. Another instance is the Wusih Electric Cable Works which began with only 21 workers and now there are 1,700 workers. A sizable part of the equipment there was manufactured by the workers themselves. They were, at first, necessarily very simple.

Thrift is always encouraged. At a fertiliser factory at Nanhai near Canton we saw the production of pig iron extracted from ferrous sulphide. The ferrous sulphide they used was leavings engendered in the process of making fertilisers and was regarded as 'waste product'. But such 'waste product' created a problem—the dumping of it had caused pollution in the surrounding fields. The workers at the plant put their heads together and decided that they should make use of this 'waste product'. As a result a furnace was built by themselves, and the 'waste product' was turned into iron.

So along with thrift there is now the transformation of the 'waste product' into something useful as well as a solution to the problem of pollution. At the Petroleum and Chemicals Works in Peking 14,000 tons of oily water flows out from the machines daily. What to do with the oily water is a big problem. Finally a method was devised to render the oily water harmless through some physical and chemical processes. The water thus filtered is now collected in ponds to raise fish or ducks or used to irrigate the fields.

At many factories we saw posters reminding workers of the importance of saving electricity. There were other posters publicising the safety rules. Most plants had good ventilation and machines shielded in order to safeguard the health and safety of the workers. At a silk-threading factory in Soochow the woman workers have to dip their hands in an alkaline solution before and after work in order to protect their hands against the acid solution with which they come into contact during work.

As to the welfare of the workers, each and every factory has its own hospital or clinic. In some factories there are even mobile medical teams. There are also can-

teens, nurseries, primary schools and secondary schools. Living quarters for workers are being built. In Shanghai we visited one such estate. The average rent a family has to pay is about five to six *yuan*, or about a pound sterling.

Another thing that struck us is that the workers we met all showed a very positive attitude to their work. On their faces we saw determination. From their talks we felt that they had a very strong conviction in what they were doing. They were working hard to contribute as much as they could, and fulfilling what they have promised themselves: The Chinese should make greater contribution to mankind.

Agriculture

The general impression we had once we were in China is her gigantic size. The ploughed land seems to be endless. Fields are regularly patterned, alternating with streams, rivers or dykes. There is a great deal of terraced land irrigated by water pumped up by pumping stations. Acreage of cultivated land is also increased by draining marshes and reclaiming land from lakes. In Wusih we saw a very big stretch of land reclaimed from Taihu Lake.

Another feature of Chinese agriculture is collectivisation. Following collectivisation is mechanisation. Though not all fields are ploughed by machinery we saw machines being used on many of them. At the two communes we visited there are factories producing machines and fertilisers. The welfare of the communes members is not neglected. There are clinics, barefoot doctors, medical workers, nurseries and schools. Mobile movie teams come to visit villages there from time to time.

The immediate effect of collectivisation is that in China, as we were told, 80 per cent of the cultivated land has good irrigation. Together with increasing mechanisation and the use of fertilisers, this has given China good harvests in the past ten years. This is no mere luck or chance, but rather it is the result of good irrigation and the raised political consciousness of the peasants. Most peasants are beginning to learn that they are ploughing the land for a revolutionary cause. Each commune or village has become a self-contained unit. In such a way the Chinese people have taken the first step to eliminate the difference between cities and villages. It should be admitted that to attain this goal there is still a long way to go. There is still a gap between cities and villages. For example, the income of a peasant is not a fixed one. It varies from production brigade to production brigade. (The average income for a peasant is based on the total income of the brigade.) In most cases a factory worker gets more than a peasant. But once the development of agriculture comes into full swing, it is only a matter of time before peasants in China will fare much better.

Education

Some aspects of Westernised education have been criticised. It is felt that China should have education geared to her own needs. The normal 6-year course of the primary school has been cut to 5 years. It has been proposed that secondary schools do the same. Many secondary schools are believed to have been converted into vocational schools. In both primary and secondary schools students are brought up in the belief that they should make use of what they have learned to serve the motherland. Even at primary and secondary school levels theory and practice are highly integrated. A school usually sets up a factory where the students work and learn all sorts of skill. There would be a small stretch of land where students plant different crops and vegetables. Periodically they would go through a period of apprenticeship (not necessarily for vocational training). Apprenticeship in the Chinese context re-

fers only to a period during which students have a chance to familiarise themselves with the actual process of production as well as the life of peasants and workers.

As university students, we are naturally very much interested in university education in China. The university students we met at Dr Sun Yat-sen University (Canton), Tsinghua University (Peking) and Wuhan University have a very strong sense of responsibility towards their motherland. The university students who accompanied us in Shanghai showed the same attitude. To most of us they were very mature and I should say far more mature than students in Hongkong. They were very much aware of what they should do. They went to universities because they had a very strong desire to learn more in order to give more to their country. When an applicant for university education hands in his name, his application would be examined by his colleagues working in the same factory or commune. If he is chosen, he would feel that he has been entrusted with a responsibility. Learning at a university does not merely mean passing examinations and getting degrees or diplomas. In Hongkong we do not care much whether we have learned a great deal or not in our university. What we learn could be very abstract and could hardly be applied in our everyday life. Once we have passed all examinations and had our degrees, we would be quite content to forget what we have learned. So passing examinations has become an art or even a trick. If you know the trick, you do not need to be very 'learned'. But for university students in China what they have learned will immediately be made use of. If a student does not understand what he has learned he has to make sure that he will do his best to solve this problem. His teachers and fellow-students will help him only too willingly. After graduation he returns to his own unit and his theory and practice which he has mastered at the university can immediately be put to work. It seems to me that China cannot afford to give further training to a university graduate who has already spent three years in studying. China will not benefit much if the university graduates represent only an élite who aim at personal interest and not the interest of the people. But that does not mean that there are no researches done at the post-graduate level. Professor Chien Wei-chang of Tsinghua University told us that China had not neglected researches and he himself spent one-third of his time on teaching and two-thirds on research work. But the point is that construction has to go on, which needs armies of skilled workers and technicians. Universities as well as polytechnical colleges have produced many graduates to feed the growing industry of China. We see there are indeed great changes in education in China. Schools and universities are no longer institutions where an élite or scholars are produced. The aim of education in China, at the present time, is geared to the immediate needs of China. Universities are not places for prestige-building; they have a role to play in the overall national construction, and they are playing it marvellously well. With the disappearance of illiteracy and the development of higher education, with the general awakening of political consciousness, it is expected that science and technology will have another breakthrough and this, when it comes to pass, will prove the success of the Chinese model of education.

Living Standards

On the whole the people in China are free from hunger and want. In cities like Shanghai and Peking people wear more colourful dresses. In villages clothes are plain and their quality is somewhat rougher. We think clothes of such quality can wear longer. Occasionally we saw people's clothes patched here and there. But in China people with patched clothes are never looked down upon and thrift is considered a virtue. Though there is

much room for improvement we must not forget that China is still a developing country. If we overlook this fact and the misery of old China, we can never gain a balanced view about China.

The ration system is still in force in China. The reason behind this is that commodities such as cereals are put under state control. This prevents private hoarding, and cereals are put aside for emergency (e.g., in time of war, natural calamities, etc.). This is in line with the policy of 'Be prepared against war and against natural calamities, and serve the people.' At present only food containing carbohydrates and cotton cloth are rationed. Everyday commodities are very cheap. Rice is sold at 5 cents US per *jin* or 1.1 lb, flour 10 cents and pork 40 cents. On Sundays and when people have their days off, they can relax themselves. Many go shopping and we saw, for example, department stores in Shanghai and Peking thronged with people. At the markets we found that all sorts of fish, meat, vegetables and fruits in season were available.

Housing is not a very urgent problem in China. As a result of good planning and depopulation of the urban areas we found there are no slums. Urbanisation often goes beyond the sphere of a city and it spreads out to the suburbs. Many buildings are in a Chinese style, with red bricks and traditional roofs. They are three or four storey high. The drainage system is always good. In some workers' quarters we found that there are primary schools, clinics and cooperatives selling all kinds of goods. The rent ranges from US$1 to 20 cents per month. There is an additional US$1 for running water and gas. In rural areas houses are somewhat older but they are far from shabby and as a rule owned by the peasants themselves.

During our tour in China we never came across any traffic jam. Roads in China are very wide. Besides, we think the Chinese Government deliberately discourages the ownership of private vehicles. This decision not only shows that the Chinese Government always has the interest of the people in mind; it also prevents air pollution and traffic congestion. Nonetheless we saw many public vehicles such as trolleys and buses. The fare is always cheap, ranging from 2 cents US to 15 cents. Villages are also linked up by 'people's buses'. At times we saw motor tricycles and one-wheel or two-wheel carts pulled by horses or men. It was felt that there is always room for further progress and China needs more mechanisation.

Spiritual Outlook

We felt a different psychological climate once we entered China. Everywhere we saw construction. You find iron determination amongst workers and peasant to do their best to serve China and mankind. We have a feeling that China has really been on her feet. Gone are the misery, hunger, humiliation and disunity. In their place we find welfare, confidence and a general rise in political consciousness. In Hangchow one of our members asked an old woman in the street what her son was doing. She replied: 'Oh, my son? He is in the People's Liberation Army—to defend our country. . . . ' This is an example of how more and more people have understood what they are doing. Doctors and nurses have also come to realise that they are trying to cure patients and not merely 'disease'. They will do their best to cure their patients so that they can recover soon. Then the patients can return to their work and again be useful to the people. At a school for deaf-mutes in Canton the teachers have to shout in order to make themselves heard. Though the students there have gained better listening power after acupunctural treatment their ears are still not sensitive to sounds. Their speech organs are also too stiff to make sounds correctly. The teachers must be very patient in teaching them to pro-

nounce words correctly and distinctly. What lies behind their care and patience? It is unselfishness and the spirit of serving the people that keep the teachers going. They hope that one day when the students leave the school they can, within their capability, do their part in constructing a richer socialist country. Even the handicapped have a right to serve their motherland and they are no longer 'outcasts'.

Historic Sites and Antiques

It is always the policy of the Government that historic buildings and monuments are well protected. The old temples we saw in Hangchow, Soochow, Wusih and Peking all have notices which read: 'Historic site—to be protected against damage—issued by the State Council.' Most of the notices were placed there in the early '60's. It is true that some historic structures were damaged but these were acts performed by some radicals. It is never the policy of the State to allow historic sites to be damaged or destroyed. And the very little damage that was done showed in a way that new ideas did come into conflict with tradition. Behind the damage we see a force breaking from the out-dated aspects of tradition. To the people they now repeat that old temples are only traces of the corrupt feudal system and superstition. The workmanship displayed on such buildings, however, shows the ingenuity of Chinese working people. The old temples and buildings should be kept as evidence of the luxurious and corrupt life once led by nobles and the élite and as sources for historical research.

Intellectuals and Science

What China is now doing is to eliminate the abyss between workers and intellectuals. But old intellectuals like Professors Chien Wei-chang, Fei Hsiao-tung, Li Kuo-ping, Wu Wen-tsao, Hsieh Ping-hsin are faring very well. It was said that China owed much to the old intellectuals and scientists trained abroad. But according to Professor Chien Wei-chang, there are only 2,000 scientists who have received education abroad and come back to China, but there have been hundreds of thousands of scientists trained in China.

Publications

The publication of books and magazines came to a temporary halt during the Cultural Revolution. It was revealed that novels, science and technology textbooks and classics are now under compilation and editing. Many new publications appeared as we frequented the book stores during our tour. We saw many books and magazines which had not been available in Hongkong. In universities we visited libraries where we saw many classics, science and humanities textbooks and journals. Amongst them were novels which had been criticised. We were told that they were to be read critically. In each of the libraries of Dr Sun Yat-sen University and Tsinghua University the number of books amounts to more than two million respectively. Western journals are also available. Domestic information on scientific development is exchanged, propagated through journals published by various industries and institutes.

The Way Geography Should be Taught

The Transformation of the Chinese Earth: Evaluation of the Chinese Earth from Earliest Times to Mao Tse Tung

By Keith Buchanan.

(Praeger Publishers, New York, Washington, 1970.)

At the inaugural of his windowless, pyramid-like mausoleum in Austin, Texas, ex-President Johnson declared that his library records 'the time when liberty was challenged in Europe and Latin America and Asia' and 'America's responses to those challenges'. Let us not polemise against such obscenities. The Vietnam disclosures in the *New York Times* are sufficiently revelatory of the scale and duplicity of every American administration since 1945. And their only *differentia specifica* are the escalation of the myths and mythologies that they have been erected with such rhetorical solemnities.

It was the American negro rebel Nat Turner who once defined a slave as anyone who accepts his condition; but he ceases to be a slave from the moment he repudiates slavery. In Turner's case the price extorted for such repudiation was his execution, and recalls the poignancy of Marx's utterance: 'The civilisation and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters; then this civilisation and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge.' Yet when any attempt has been made to reshape the horrendous realities of life the full force of counter-revolutionary violence is used on them. Myths and mythologies are parts of the engine of counter-revolutionary violence.

Was not the October Revolution the creation —the special creation of Lenin and unscrupulous German agents; the Chinese revolution the work of Russian troublemakers; the Vietnamese revolution the product of Chinese infiltrators; and the second Vietnamese war of liberation the work of North Vietnamese bandits, etc? We can only look in speechless ire at the breadth of such ignorance. Ignorance it is, and even worse a travesty of the historical record, but more to the point it is ignorance to a class design that stands forth. Listen to Mr Rostow (a former close associate of L.B.J.) explicitly declaring that the KMT in China was transforming the nation successfully, but unhappily only the red usurpers and the Japanese invasion prevented China from following the road of capitalist 'democracy'.

'The Kuomintang,' he writes in *Prospects for Communist China*, 'made important and now often forgotten progress over the decade 1927-1937 . . . Progress was made in agriculture, industry, transport and public health. . . . In evaluating the weaknesses of KMT rule over this period it must be borne in mind that internally the Communists were never crushed, and difficulties with warlords persisted; and that, externally, Chiang Kai-shek enjoyed peace only for the period 1929-1931. In 1931 the Japanese moved into Manchuria; in 1932 Shanghai was attacked and from that time down to 1937 when full-fledged invasion began, North China was progressively infiltrated.'

From such 'scientific' historiography other pathways followed including the inimitable 'explanation' of Dean Acheson 'that the communists took over China at a ridiculously small cost. What they did was to invite some Chinese leaders who were dissatisfied with the way things were going in their country to Moscow. There they thoroughly indoctrinated them so that they returned to China prepared to resort

to any means whatsoever to establish communist control. . . . These agents then mingled among *the people and sold them on the personal ma*terial advantages of communism', a myth not far removed from another empire builder of another epoch. Lord Curzon pontificating to the House of Lords (Nov. 18, 1918) gloated that 'the British flag has never flown over a more powerful or a more united empire: never did our voice count for more in the Councils of the Nations, or in determining the future destinies of mankind.' The mass genocidal policies of the British Raj in India and elsewhere found their natural racist imitators in the third reich and today the mass professional killers of another imperial power. Where now are the representatives of 'the tiger race' to use Lord Curzon's description of the British colonial predators?

Like the recognition of China in the assembly of nations, Chinese studies have been victimised in the capitalist West from the bias of traditional mechanisms of the cold War; and more recently in Russia and Eastern Europe from the imposition of the dual hegemony. In Western countries there are, at least, antidotes to the official mendacities; in the Russian empire the antidotes are non-existent and Chinese 'studies' have once more become a justificatory scaffolding for Kremlinesque aggrandisement of Chinese territory.

The geographical diversity of China with more than a hundred million families, most of peasant origin, is the base of the social structure. It is this massive phalanx of humanity, which has now moved into motion that has made China one of the centrepieces of our contemporary world, and one of the crucial epicentres of the revolutionary world. In many areas and regions of this vast heterogeneous land mass, and an even vaster concourse of humanity tens of thousands succeed with their garden agriculture to obtain a living from the land, and these in areas where only a dozen of European or New Zealand farmers would exist.

Keith Buchanan's work is ambitious with an even more encompassing title: The transformation of the Chinese earth, with its pivotal actor, the Chinese peasant—the 'children of the yellow earth'. China's past is now being rediscovered and re-written and Professor Buchanan's work summarises much of the distinguished scholarship of Joseph Needham and William Watson. But it is much more than a summary of the work of others; in its own right it is a genuine contribution to our comprehension of *the historical geography and current social en*gineering of China. In its presentation, and stylistic design it is an inspirational contribution to our knowledge. Until quite recently the writing of Chinese history in the imperialist West (and now today in the Russian empire and its tributary states) accepted implicitly the dictum of *The Economist* (October 31, 1862) that 'the Chinaman' was 'an inferior race of malleable orientals.'

In the human setting he straddles the demographic and migratory shifts, the ethnic and minority patterns, the administrative structures. In the physical setting we are given a necessarily brief treatment of the nation's relief, its surface geology, the climatic environment, the altitudinal zonation of vegetation and soils amongst other topics. His coverage is exhilarating, and I have seen no better short overview of the subject.

It is obvious, however, that various specialists given the immensity of Buchanan's canvas (and he is geographer by *métier*) will carp and pick holes with various points. But the work is not geared to a specialist audience, but to an educated and literate one. Yet the very broadness of the canvas with its wide impressionist brushstrokes enhance its evocative powers.

If China has ceased to be a 'commonwealth of poverty' or a 'fellowship of the dispossesed' this has not been due to tax-dodging foundations that have researched into the 'causes of poverty'. Such foundations, which as the Vietnam and Indian experience have shown, have a much wider frame of reference than their innocous philantropic titles would suggest. Socialist acendancy has, unfortunately, closed the gates for such 'social scientists' to whom poverty and exploitation (as in all or almost all Third World countries today) were objects of neocolonialist scholarship; the research of the *obermensch* into the servitudes of the *untermensch*. Writes one such 'researcher' nostalgically, 'Unfortunately for Western social science research in China, the nation was swept by the Communists just at the time when interest in the area had reached significant proportions.' Significant proportions for whom? It would be all too easy to dismiss such claptrap of the Western academic social scientist as trivial for we have seen that the Vietnam war has mercilessly exposed that hoax of 'objectivity'.

Buchanan does not make his genuflections to such 'objectivity', for his politico-ideological coordinates are plotted. It is precisely those who have clamoured loudest about academic 'objectivity' who have remained the literal slaves of a moribund social order. Invariably such 'objectivity', so glaringly seen in most social science departments and their ruling class sponsors has meant underpinning the goals of a power oligarchy, and is therefore not independent of policy objectives. Andreas Papandreou, a former gradualist politician lacerated by the whiplash of the counter revolution now sees things more perceptively, in retrospect. For his new turn in effect mirrors a scientific 'objectivity' of existing social formations.

'The revolutionary character of the Third World,' he now writes, 'reflects the indisputable fact that change can be brought about only through a prior alteration in the structure of power in the make up of the Establishment. . . . Thus in Greece a breakthrough in the political front, a liberation of the country from the stranglehold of its reactionary establishment was a necessary condition for its successful cultural, social and economic development.'

As Buchanan notes such modes of 'objectivity' will clearly find no acceptance in China's system since 'a system motivated by moral rather than material incentives can, it will be demonstrated, never work and the Chinese concern with the "quality of life" rather than material production must be a fraud or a hoax. It will be abundantly evident from what I have written that I lay no claim to this sort of "academic objectivity".'

What is novel in our historical epoch is the sheer mass of numbers that are being catapulted onto the stage of history as active participants in the grand design of the historical mosaic. The 'inferior race of malleable orientals', and other 'lesser breeds' have ceased to be by advancing the struggle to new heights, for in so doing such men and women have assumed promethean proportions. Thomas Carlyle depicted this force in his portrayal of the propellants of the French revolution in the mid 19th century, a force that was to become a thunderous avalanche in our times.

> *Hunger and nakedness and nightmare oppression lying heavy on twenty five million hearts; this, not the wounded vanities or contradicted philosophies of philosophical advocates, rich shopkeepers, rural noblesse, was the prime mover in the French revolution; as the like will be in all such revolutions, in all countries.*

If only Carlyle were with us today his unfortunate description of history as 'the biography of great men' would have been majestically qualified. In our time it is the upsurge of the peripheral world of black, brown and yellow men that has become the moral catalysts and revolutionary lance. As with the Cultural Revolution this is politics of a special kind—revolutionary politics of a magnitude that lay beyond the boundaries of Carlyle's perceptions, or rather the revolutionary politics of the mass and the mass in motion, one of the fundamental desiderate of Leninist thought, which Russia and its empire have now relinquished because of its apprehension of mass democratisation on élitist parasitism.

'Politics,' noted Lenin, 'begins where the masses are; not where there are thousands, but where there are millions, that is where serious politics begin.' This is the quintessential description of the Cultural Revolution and the backdrop against which the transformation of China's earth must be projected, for to fail to see its democratic unfolding in this way is to embrace Lord Chesterfield's conception of history as 'a confused heap of facts'. In short there was no such thing as a Chinese 'miracle', but rather mass democratisation that welded the masses to their own commonly established goals and priorities. The 'miracle' of the Cultural Revolution was that the masses became the ultimate decision makers of their own conditions.

The modes of planning that evolved since the setting up of the second Chinese republic, and more specifically the innovational dynamic released by the Cultural Revolution, are an outcrop of special Chinese conditions, which means that the mechanisms both human and institutional of China cannot be taken over and applied globally without rigorous adaptations to novel special milieus, particularly so in the African and Latin American regions, and even in the developed capitalist countries themselves. In this respect the Chinese have laid no claim to institutional omniscience.

What, then, were these specifically cultural and material factors which operated in China and which are present in varying degrees today in Indochina? Central in this respect was the duration and intensity of the oppression matched

by the dimensions of the struggle which spawned tens of thousands of steeled cadres, a force not very much in evidence in most peripheral countries, and strikingly so in Africa. The tradition of militant and sustained struggle is part of the historical specificity of China's heritage. More directly pertinent, however, for the countries of the peripheral world are the techniques harnessed in China, such as the intensive utilisation of the labour force to maximise yields; the choice of technology and the labour-capital mix, etc. Can such structural shifts given the dual compulsion of our time—the accelerative thrust of population growth and technical change—be carried through within the present stultifying framework of their state capitalist structures? What postwar development has dramatised (which is a reversal of the 19th century sequence) is that social change can only be furthered within an egalitarian framework, and consequently the problem of the choice of techniques and social engineering is not independent of the national design of income distribution and ideological purpose. Even bourgeois economists compulsively blinkered in their vision as they are recognise this; but they falter and stumble when faced with the politico-ideological corollaries which follow from it.

The Chinese realise the need for the permanency of struggle recognising that institutions no matter how 'perfect' they may appear at a certain nodal point in time become senescent and anomalous with the onrush of contradictions which time administers to all social systems. Further, merely admitting the sons of workers and peasants to universities and other higher institutions of learning is not in itself enough. And Chinese experience (not to speak of the experience in the West and in Eastern Europe) has revealed the shattering corruptibility of such workers and peasants' children given the values and mechanisms of an acquisitive society. Articulating this problem Yuang She-ming, rector of Tsinghua University, noted:

> *Pendant dix sept ans, de 1949 a 1966, notre université prenait des fils de paysans et d'ouvriers, et en six ans elle les transformait en parfaits bourgeois, qui ne revaient qu'a se faire une renommé et à obtenir de gros salaires, et oubliaient totalement qu'il fallait avant tout servir le peuple.*[1]

If this state of affairs is to be changed (and reference to egalitarian claims is not enough) what are the implications the Chinese have drawn from this? The blueprint is already there: not a blueprint for the New Jerusalem, a Utopia or millenium, but one which places mass and individual struggle at the epicentre of the evolutionary process, a struggle against self, struggle against imbecile institutional forms, and a struggle against the sycophants, the opportunists, the *arrivistes* who run them. Mao amplified this idea in December 1967 when the Cultural Revolution was underway.

> *The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be more in the future. In the last ten years we have said repeatedly that the issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by an Party member or anyone of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four.*

In many ways China's Cultural Revolution has become a line of historical demarcation. In retrospect, it is the greatest social movement that our universe has ever witnessed; by comparison the reformation and the splitting of the *Christiana Res Publica* remains an infinitely small drop in the historic bucket. The reformation was a final act; it consumated a schism, but it left untouched the realities of class exploitation not to speak of the nature of man himself.

For the first time a geographer has come to grips with problems much wider than his own setting and in so doing he has broken from the petty arid professionalism of his caste. This is the way geography should be taught in our secondary schools and universities, and indubitably this work cuts a swathe in the right direction.

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1 The Swiss educator Alexandre Casella noted: 'Il faudrait ajouter que le systeme éducatif chinois a demontré qu'il était particulièrement coriace et refractaire aux tentatives de "revolutionarisation". Le culte des dissertations savantes et abstraites, le respect inconditionel de l'autorité du maître, le mépris pour le travail manuel, toutes ces manifestations, d'un passé culturel fort recent, marquaient encore le monde des études.' See, *Le Monde*, 12. Feb.

Frederick F. Clairmonte

Keen on the Past

Wenhua Ta Keming Chichien Chutu Wenwu (Cultural Relics Unearthed During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution), Vol. I.

Edited by the Work Team for the Exhibition of Unearthed Cultural Relics.
(Published by the Cultural Relics Publication Society, Peking.)

Szuchou chih Lu—Han Tang Chihwu (The Silk Road—Fabrics of Han and Tang Dynasties)

Edited by the Museum of the Uighur Autonomous Region of Sinkiang.
(Published by the Cultural Relics Publication Society, Peking.)

Historical sites, ancient monuments and cultural relics, now people abroad have begun to know, were treasured and kept in as good condition in China during the Cultural Revolution in China as they had been since Liberation. Not only that, archaeological work was not ever interrupted by the sometimes tumultuous revolution. In fact, because of the stepping up of construction work, especially in the countryside, archaeological finds have multiplied rapidly during the past few years.

The first inkling of this for the outside world was the discovery of another Peking man's skull in Choukoutien in 1967, made known in the *People's Daily* of Peking towards the end of that year. Neolithic sites have since been discovered in Shantung, Kiangsu, Honan, Hunan, Heilungkiang, and even as far as Neram County in Tibet, some 4,300 to 4,900 metres above sea level. It is learnt that more than 3,000 neolithic sites have been discovered spread all over China, but mostly distributed over the basins of the Yellow River and its tributaries.

Along with the discovery of Eastern Chou period (770—221 BC) tombs and tombs of the Kingdom of Chu of the latter part of the Spring and Autumn period (722—481 BC), the discovery of the tombs of a Han prince and his consort in Hopei probably yielded one of the richest treasures of ancient artifacts. Among them are the two burial cases made of thousands of square jade pieces stringed together with gold thread. These are the first complete sets of such extravagant burial suits ever found.

But what is even more interesting is the discovery of the Astana tombs of the Tang Dynasty near Turfan, Sinkiang. They were first found by members of the Huoyenshan Commune while building a reservoir in the area. An old poor peasant of Uighur nationality, for example, found a fragmentary manuscript of the Cheng-annotated edition of the Confucian *Anecdotes* made in 710 in a crumbling Tang tomb and reported this to the Bureau for the Protection of Cultural Relics of Turfan County. This discovery is invaluable, for the copy is the earliest manuscript now known of the Cheng-annotated edition, which has been lost except for a few fragments, all of a later period. The manuscript has now been reproduced in a volume published recently in Peking. With this and the other fragments, which have all been smuggled out of China, we have now about half of the well-known edition edited and annotated by Cheng Hsuan of Han Dynasty.

A note in the copy shows that it was made by Pu Tien-shou, a 12-year-old student of Kaochang County (now Turfan) in the fourth year of the Chinglung reign of Emperor Chungtsung of Tang (or 710). The handwriting is good indeed for a boy of Pu's age. He was obviously a Han. But most of the ancient Chinese editions found in Turfan since Liberation consist of fragments of the *Anecdotes*, some even of an earlier period. This seems to indicate that the classic must have been widely circulated in Sinkiang at the time of Tang or even earlier.

However, a manuscript of the Tang poet Po

Chu-yi's 'The Old Man Peddling Charcoal' was found at the site of an ancient building near Rochang, at the eastern tip of the Tarim Basin in 1959. Together with this was a manuscript of three poems written in the same handwriting. At the end of the three poems, apparently the work of the copyist himself, is the inscription 'Kan Man Er of Hu (Uighur) in the tenth year of the reign of Yuanhe'. That put the writing on both sheets in the year 815, amazing because at that time Po was only 43, and it was only 53 and 45 years after the death of Li Po and Tu Fu respectively. Yet in one of the three poems the writer professed: 'The poems of Li and Tu I appreciate.' This shows how much Sinkiang, or at least part of Sinkiang, was within the pale of the Han civilisation as early as the 9th century.

Furthermore, also found in these tombs are documents showing that the Tang system of land distribution was in force about the same time and that a great many business transactions were carried out in the Han language.

Some of the main archaeological finds made during the Cultural Revolution are now collected in a 152-page tome entitled *Menhua Ta Keming Chichien Chutu Wenmu, Vol. I.* The 200-odd photographs, including 34 colour plates, depict articles, a great number of them bronzes, ranging over almost the entire span of Chinese history, from Shang to Ming (circa 16th century BC—AD 1644). The regions where these discoveries were made spread over a wide area in China, including Hopei, Hunan, Shensi, Hupeh, Peking, Honan, Anhwei, Sinkiang, Shantung and Shansi.

In the sister volume, *Szuchou chih Lu*, one sees in 66 colour reproductions silk and woollen fabrics of various periods between Eastern Han (25—220) and Yuan (1279—1368). The materials were found along the Silk Road in Sinkiang and Kansu, hence the title. Most of the designs displayed on the materials look ancient, but some do have a modern appearance.

The two volumes not only record some of the new developments in archaeology in China, but also show how keen the Chinese are, as they have always been, on their past.

T. I. M.

China Standardises Shoe Size

Chinese working people wore home-made cloth shoes before Liberation. Now they buy shoes.

In the process of unifying the numbering of shoe sizes and the shapes of shoe-trees, China's fast developing shoemaking industry is confronted with the problem of finding the most suitable shapes of shoes for working people doing different types of work. This is a key issue concerning how the shoemaking industry can best serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

The workers, cadres and technicians of the industry made investigations during the Cultural Revolution. They organised teams with other departments in 1968 to make investigations in factories, villages and barracks.

In six months, the teams visited 20 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and measured the feet of 250,000, including the people of the Han, Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan, Uighur and Chuang nationalities.

Their method was to go to the workshops, fields and barracks in summer and take the foot measurement of the workers, peasants and soldiers in a standing position. The idea was to get the most accurate measurement of the feet of the people at work with their feet in maximum dilation. For several months they made an analytical study of the measurements and picked out some 40 of these as the basis on which to make standard shoe-trees and numbering of shoe sizes.

The new numbering of shoe sizes was based on the length of the foot from heel to toe, measured in centimetres, and for each size there are shoes of three to five different widths to choose from.

Hsinhua, Peking, 9 April

ON MANY HORIZONS *news and views*

Two Apeman Teeth

Chinese geological workers have made their first discovery in South-west China's Yunnan Province of two fossil teeth of an apeman.

This is another important discovery following the discovery of fossils of Peking Man which dates back 500,000 years and of Lantien Man, still earlier, in Northern China.

The two fossil teeth were found in a red loam stratum in the Shangnapang area of Yuanmou County in Yunnan Province on May 1, 1965. Greyish white and deeply fossilised, they are two upper medial incisors of an apeman.

Hsinhua, Peking, 23 February

Indian 'Victory'

India is plundering East Pakistan of its raw jute in a big way and selling it to other countries for foreign exchanges.

More than one million bales of raw jute which might have been sold for more than US$65 million have been smuggled out of East Pakistan into India since the Indian troops invaded and occupied East Pakistan in mid-December last year, according to a UPI report on February 22.

The jute was being sold to the State Trading Corp. of India, a government concern which recently concluded a deal with buyers in England and Scotland to supply jute at a price $78 a bale higher than the Bangladesh (meaning East Pakistan) price for the fibre.

Hsinhua, Peking, 24 February

US Build-up in Thailand

Senate investigators reported there has been a heavy build-up of US troop strength in Thailand as American forces leave Vietnam.

James G. Lowenstein and Richard M. Moose, consultants to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, recommended legislation to put a strict ceiling on the number of American personnel in Thailand.

In a 96-page report to the committee, the two said Thailand was becoming the base for all US operations in Southeast Asia and soon will have half as many American military personnel as there are in Vietnam.

UPI, Washington, 2 March

The Real Thing

'This is the police,' said a voice on the telephone to an agricultural cooperative association here. 'We are going to conduct a robbery drill at your office.'

Sure enough, two hours later a masked man carrying a shotgun appeared at the association office yesterday and helped himself to 410,000 yen (512 sterling).

He tied up one official, then disappeared after giving office girls a receipt for the money.

It wasn't until several hours later that the truth finally dawned—the robbery was the real thing.

Reuter, Mito, Japan, 2 March

Cultural Invasion

Japanese reactionary and decadent culture and ideology are flooding into South Korea through the medium of over two million copies of books and periodicals each year. 80 per cent of all the books and magazines imported into South Korea are of this type and come from Japan.

Pornographic novels and reactionary works of fiction advocating pro-Japanese thoughts and the Japanese militarist Bushido spirit are on display everywhere in South Korea.

These books have been translated into the Korean language with the help of the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique. Sales of some of these reactionary novels run into hundreds of thousands of copies.

Hsinhua, Pyongyang, 10 March

Congolese Wood Utilised

President Marien Ngouabi of the People's Republic of the Congo attended a hand-over ceremony of the Chinese-aid Chacona small-

sized wooden boat building yard here yesterday.

Handed over together was a cargo boat, the first one built by the yard.

President Ngouabi said that it was of great importance that the boat was made of Congolese wood. He said that the Congolese people now find themselves capable of utilising Congolese wood for processing locally. He expressed the conviction that the Congolese people will certainly be able not only to build wooden boats but also to turn out various products with their own timber as the Congo is rich in timber.

Hsinhua, Brazzaville, 10 March

Jailed for 198 Years

A former policeman accused of belonging to the notorious Death Squad was convicted of nine homicides and sentenced to 198 years in prison in a marathon trial that ended yesterday.

Helido Rocha was also found guilty of concealing bodies and of torture.

AP, Rio de Janeiro, 12 March

Rallies Against Rising Prices

Nearly 100,000 people including many children, held a rally in a drizzle in Central Tokyo today, demanding that the Government check rising prices and that businesses pay higher wages.

Similar 'Consumer Price May Day' rallies were held at 150 places throughout Japan, said the organisers, a committee organised by major labour unions.

Consumer prices rose 6.1 per cent and price of perishable foods climbed 18.8 per cent in 1971 compared with the preceding year.

AP, Tokyo, 12 March

Minamata Disease

A crippling disease is so prevalent in Minamata city, South-west Japan, that it has become known as Minamata disease.

One of its victims is a 15-year-old girl. When visited she was sitting beside her mother, her deformed legs folded beneath her, monotonously rubbing her deformed hands together and rocking herself to and fro.

Her mother tearfully described how the girl was struck down by the disease when she was only three years old. At its onset the child's hands, legs, lips and tongue felt numb. As the disease progressed she became almost deaf and dumb. She has been unable to walk for more than 10 years.

There are a number of nitrogen fertiliser factories in Minamata. The factories discharge waste water containing mercury into the bay and this poisonous matter has accumulated in the fish, including shellfish. People who eat this contaminated food are liable to suffer mercury poisoning, which can seriously damage their central nervous system.

Hsinhua, Peking, 13 March

10,000 Drug Addicts in PI

A police official said that 10,000 Filipinos, most of them young students, are incurable drug addicts.

Leonardo Gonzales, assistant director of the National Bureau of Investigation, said last night 75,000 others smoke marijuana and use drugs but are not yet addicts.

AP, Manila, 18 March

Japan Interested in Indian Ocean

Self-interest could require a Japanese naval presence in the Indian Ocean, the US Defence Secretary, Mr Melvin Laird, said yesterday.

Mr Laird, interviewed by US News and World Report magazine, was asked about growing Soviet naval activity in the Indian Ocean.

'The Russians have a greater presence there than we do,' he said. 'It is of concern to us, of course. It should also be of interest to Japan, and I've told the Japanese that.'

Mr Laird responded with an unusually terse 'it could' when asked if this would call for a Japanese naval presence in the Indian Ocean.

UPI, Washington, 20 March

Bricks Made of Waste

Workers of the Fushun No. 1 Brick Kiln in North-east China are using industrial waste to make bricks and burning them without using coal.

After hundreds of experiments, they used the stripping from the open-cut mine for clay, and cinders and sand and mixed them with black slate powder to make mud bricks. The black slate powder released heat when being burned with gas from a neighbouring enterprise, which helped save coal.

Hsinhua, Shenyang, 20 March

No Operation Needed

A medical group in Shansi Province, North China, has treated pregnancy outside the uterus by a combination of traditional Chinese and Western medicine without operation since 1958 and achieved good results in 570 cases.

Except a few cases, ectopic pregnancy can now be dealt with by decoctions of medicinal herbs. Some patients can be treated without hospitalisation. The new method avoids surgical intervention and the attendant dangers and protects the patient's reproductive function. It can also deal with common complications. The method is simple, inexpensive and easy to popularise.

Hsinhua, Taiyuan, 23 March

Cavemen Discovered

A Philippine-sponsored scientific expedition which included General Charles Lindbergh reported today the discovery of the first known living cave dwellers.

The cave dwellers are members of the Tasaday lost tribe in south Cotabato Province, about 500 miles south of Manila. The Tasadays were first found in dense forest last June but their cave dwellings were not discovered until last Thursday.

UPI, Manila, 27 March

Ancient Stone Choppers

Stone implements probably dating back to between 200,000 and 300,000 years ago were found in Tayeh Administrative Region in the Central China province of Hupeh.

While working on an irrigation and drainage project, peasants of Tayeh County of Huangshih City in the province uncovered a cave with a deposit containing fossil bones of animals on a limestone cliff. Scientific workers of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Hupeh Provincial Museum went to the place to excavate the cave. In the deposit they discovered stone implements, including choppers, stone cores and flakes, chipped from quartz pebbles, quartz sandstone or flint.

Hsinhua, Wuhan, 28 March

Back Again

In less than a week after the much publicised 'passing-out retreat ceremony' was held to announce their withdrawal from East Pakistan, the Indian aggressor troops have returned stealthily to suppress the people by force.

A foreign news agency in a March 20 dispatch from Dacca said, 'Indian troops returned to Bangladesh (East Pakistan) within a week of their official withdrawal and are in action against tribal rebels in the Chittagong hill tracts of southern Bangladesh.'

It said, 'The Indians have set up a headquarters in the cantonment (military base) at Cox's Bazaar, located about 60 miles south of the port of Chittagong on the shore of the Bay of Bengal.' It added, 'Indian troops and equipment have also been flown into the airport at Chittagong.'

Hsinhua, Peking, 28 March

Sato Apologises

The Prime Minister, Mr Eisaku Sato, today issued a formal apology over a secret deal in which Japan apparently agreed to finance America in damage claims by residents of American-ruled Okinawa.

Mr Sato's apology ended a one-week suspending of business in the Japanese Parliament. Opposition parties have boycotted debate on the 1972 fiscal year budget since March 29, following the leak of a secret Japanese Foreign Office telegram on the Okinawa problem.

It was a six-point message from the former Foreign Minister, Mr Kiichi Aichi, to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington, Mr Nobuhiko Ushimba. The message implied that Japan would put up US$4 million (HK$22.4 million) to pay damage claims by Okinawa property owners who leased their land to the US Defence Department.

UPI, Tokyo, 3 April

Malacca Straits

Every foreign warship wanting to pass through the Straits of Malacca should give notice to either Indonesia or Malaysia, Indonesian Navy Chief-of-Staff Admiral R. Sudomo said here.

Both countries claim the long, narrow straits between Sumatra and the Malaysian peninsula as territorial waters.

Admiral Sudomo told reporters last night that Indonesia and Malaysia had agreed that either country should be notified of any foreign warships wanting to use the Straits—one of the

main passages between the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

Reuter, Djakarta, 5 April

Soviet Pattern

The Soviet Union and its East European allies have penetrated 15 Mediterranean and Middle East countries in the last few years in a campaign to establish an unmistakable naval presence in the area.

The move is gradual and, according to Western diplomats, follows a distinctive pattern.

First, they say, an occasional merchant ship or fishing vessel makes a visit. Once this practice is established and the Soviet ensign is familiar, the visit of a warship is arranged.

Further 'business' calls follow but not enough to cause alarm.

Finally the visits become so commonplace that host countries find it difficult to deny access, particularly if their economic dependence has grown in the meantime.

UPI, Beirut, 6 April

Malaysia's Population

The government's Statistics Department reported last Thursday in Kuala Lumpur a census conducted on August 24, 1970, showed that Malaysia had a population of 10,439,530 persons then.

Of the total, 4,886,912 persons or 46.8 per cent were Malays, 3,555,879 or 34.1 per cent Chinese and 942,944 or nine per cent Indians and Pakistanis. The rest were mainly Dayaks.

The bulk of the population—8,810,348—was in West Malaysia, the department added.

AP, Kuala Lumpur, 6 April

'Mock Sun'

Farmers in the northern part of West Malaysia claim to be seeing doubles—at least at sunrise. What's more the meteorological department backs their claim.

Farmer Haji Yaakub bin Haji Ahmad, 45, said that for the past five days he saw two suns of equal size and brightness and slightly red in colour, rising in the morning.

Ho Tong Yuen, director of the meteorological services in Kuala Lumpur, said the occurrence was known as 'mock sun' and is fairly common.

He said it was due to the reflection of the sun's rays on the ice crystals of cirrus which acted as a sort of mirror.

AP, Kuala Lumpur, 8 April

Human Sacrifice

India is perhaps the only remaining country in the world where four or five times each year cases are reported in which humans, usually children, are sacrificed to propitiate various gods or goddesses or to satisfy spirits of the dead.

The sacrifices are usually carried out stealthily in the dead of night with kidnapped victims. Often they are dismissed as hard to verify tales from isolated areas.

But within the past few days, police have reported a bizarre incident in which a father publicly sacrificed and dismembered his 3-1/2-year-old son so that the soul of the child's grandfather might rest in peace.

The killing took place within 250 miles of New Delhi in Gurdaspur district of the Punjab, which in many ways is one of India's most enlightened and forward-looking states.

Hongkong Standard,
Hongkong, 12 April

Seeger on Chinese Music

Among the many things Peter Seeger, one of America's top folk song singers, brought back from his two-and-a-half week tour to China were two Chinese gongs.

One thing which interested Seeger is the attempt made by the Chinese people to combine Chinese traditional music with Western music.

'The head of the Central Philharmonic Society in Peking, Mr Li Teh-lin, is surely one of the world's great musicians. He is trying one of the difficult things in the world, to make a good combination of two different traditions. I heard a magnificent symphony arrangement of "Shachiapang" by a chorus of 80 voices, and an orchestra of 80 instrumentalists, with a gong, er-wu, and pi-pa integrated with European-style symphonic music. This is very difficult.'

Having pointed out that he had seen this kind of blending done badly, he went on to say that Li Teh-lin, 'working with many others, made a, I believe, magnificent synthesis.'

Ta Kung Pao,
Hongkong, 13 April

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