

A close-up photograph of a young woman with a joyful expression, wearing a dark, intricately embroidered headpiece and a black garment with a wide, colorful, patterned collar. The background is a blurred outdoor setting.

EASTERN HORIZON

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August 1977

NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS
LAST YEAR OF GANG OF 4



Comes to you weekly in English

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VOL. XVI NO.8 August 1977

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EASTERN DIARY

The Rise and Fall of
the Gang of Four III

(Continued from our last issue)

Struggle in Education

As we pointed out earlier, the revolution in education initiated by Chairman Mao was of great significance to China's socialist development. But because of the insidious manoeuvring of the Gang of Four, the academic standards at universities and colleges, particularly in science and technology, suffered. In order to train large numbers of the working class's own scientists and technologists, this lamentable situation must be drastically rectified. In fact as early as 1972 Premier Chou ordered a study on raising the level of the teaching of and research on the basis theory of natural science. Following the Fourth National Congress a determined effort was made by the State Council to raise the academic standards in both comprehensive universities like Peking University and institutes of technology like Tsinghua University. It would be unavoidable, of course, that in the course of this readjustment, urgent as it was, there were people who, so to speak, threw away the baby with the bath water. In correcting certain mistakes made during the revolution of education, they, knowingly or unknowingly, refuted some of the achievements of the revolution. This led to disagreements and debates, but these, in comparison with the effort to raise the academic standards, were secondary and could be resolved as contradictions within the people so as to create a wholesome political atmosphere for the improvement of academic standards. But the Gang of Four deliberately chose to turn the differences into a campaign to refute the readjustment as a whole, not merely its excesses, which were after all on a very limited scale.

According to followers of the Gang of Four in the two Peking universities, the so-called 'wind to reverse verdict' was first stirred up in the circles of science and technology before it spread to the universities. So one of

the so-called 'three poisonous weeds' at which they directed their vicious slanders was the minutes of a meeting held in the State Council at which the Academy of Sciences briefed Vice-Premier Hua Kuo-feng and other members of the State Council. At the end of the briefing held in September 1975, Hua reiterated Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, highly evaluated the victories won in the Cultural Revolution, and sternly criticized the erroneous ideas which tended to harass the study of science and technology. He stressed the importance of correctly understanding Chairman Mao's concrete line, plan and policy concerning scientific and technological work. He called upon the Academy to carry out readjustments to rectify the confusion brought into the realm of science and technology, eradicate bourgeois factionalism and implement various policies set by the Party. He urged the Academy to give full play to all positive factors so that China's science and technology could press forward and make contributions to the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology.

The minutes were submitted first to Premier Chou and then Chairman Mao, both of whom wrote their comments, instructions, and suggestions on the margins. This document was to be revised in the light of these comments.

Early in 1976, a pawn of the Gang of Four in the Academy secretly passed the minutes to the Gang's lieutenants in Tsinghua. Soon they had the minutes reproduced in a large number of copies and distributed to grassroots units for 'criticism'. To channel the criticism into a course they intended, they lifted statements from the document out of context, including even those made by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, and compiled them into 'material for criticism'. Attributing the statements to whomever they wanted to attack by name, no matter whether the party was at the meeting or not, they denounced any encouragement to scientific and technical personnel to study hard for revolution, and any stress on the need for rules and regulations to ensure good results as 'reversing the verdicts of the Cultural Revolution and settling old scores.' Any criticism of those who practised bourgeois factionalism, created splits and engaged in intrigues and conspiracies was attacked as 'hitting at and suppressing the rising force of the revolution.' A

dozen or so remarks made by Chairman Mao were also included in the 'material for criticism'. One of such statements was made in July 1975. Criticizing the vicious attack at intellectuals as the 'stinking ninth' (the Gang of Four grouped what they considered 'the enemy of the people' into nine categories, of which the last was intellectuals), Chairman Mao pointed out that intellectuals should not be discriminated against although they had shortcomings, but should be given plenty of help, and that conditions should be provided for them so that they could devote themselves to their work. This, lumped together with a number of other statements, was denounced as 'opposing the socialist revolution in the superstructure and strangling new socialist things' and 'reversing the verdicts on the revisionist line for scientific research.'

When the Gang of Four found the criticism instigated by them made little headway among cadres and workers in the scientific and technological institutions, Yao Wen-yuan had an article written and published in *Red Flag* which flagrantly countered Premier Chou's assessment of the work in science and technology in the 17 years before the Cultural Revolution, refuted Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and openly attacked as a fraud Hua Kuo-feng's instruction that 'the role of professional scientific and technical workers should not be denigrated.'

Three Merged into One

In compiling what was called 'materials for criticism', the followers of the Gang of Four resorted to all sorts of tricks to put words into the mouths of revolutionary leaders, to quote them out of context, and to twist, distort or doctor statements they had made, in order to put them in the worst possible light.

In 'materials for criticism' compiled by Liang Hsiao, one finds for example the following quotation:

Bad blood has intensified and become irreconcilable after seven or eight years of struggle. Hell bent, I'll not hesitate to stake my declining life. Restoration—that's me!

Under this there is a note saying that this is a statement made by Comrade So and So. Reading this one would easily get the impression that this Comrade So and So must be a man who had been so exacerbated by the

Cultural Revolution that he openly declared war on it and was ready to give his life to restore the old order. But actually this was not a single statement. The three sentences were correctly attributed, but they were lifted from three different statements, made by the Comrade in question on different occasions and concerning entirely unrelated matters. The first sentence referred to the factionalism which had persisted for years. He was merely discussing a situation which he had to face when he assumed one of the top positions in the Party and the Government. The second sentence is a statement he made when assigned the task of bringing readjustments to various aspects of work in the country, and he vowed to do all he could to fulfil all that was expected of him. The third is a statement he made when the Party Central Committee's 1975 decision to strengthen railway work was accused by some people as a 'restoration programme'. This was a typical example of how the Gang of Four carried out the 'repudiation of the Rightist attempt at reversing verdicts.'

Premier Chou Dies

It was when this campaign was being vehemently distorted that Premier Chou died of cancer on January 8, 1976. The death of a man whom the nation had learned to trust and to love came as a great shock to the 800 million people and to revolutionary people throughout the world. The Gang of Four did all they could to restrict the scale and shorten the period of mourning. But an unending flow of people, with tears in their eyes, came to pay their last respects. The Gang of Four saw to it that the hall where the late Premier's body lay in state was not big enough to receive all those who wished to come to see him for the last time. But people kept coming, and once inside they were reluctant to leave. On January 11 when the hearse carried the late Premier's remains to the crematory scores of miles away, the entire route was lined by people who wanted to pay their last respects. Tough-looking PLA men unashamedly sobbed and cried like children. When the coffin was lowered from the hearse at the crematory in the Papaoshan cemetery for the revolutionary dead, large crowds of people had already gathered to have a last look at their beloved Premier. Milling around they actually retarded the removal of the coffin into the crematory. Tien An Men Square was for days a sea of white flowers. For days people just came of

themselves to lay their wreaths and on the streamers young people wrote before their own names the words 'your child'. Throughout the country people mourned their beloved Premier. Even before the memorial meeting was held in Peking on January 15, people all over the country had already held memorial meetings of their own over and over again. When finally his ashes were scattered in all parts of China, people felt themselves never so endeared to the rivers, the mountains and the vast land of their great country.

But this demonstration of love and grief for this great man sent the Gang of Four into a panic. They forbade the *Hsinhua* and *People's Daily* reporters to write about the funeral. Between the Premier's death and the memorial meeting held in Peking, only two reports concerning the Premier's death appeared in the *People's Daily*. Splashed on the front page of the *People's Daily* the day before the memorial meeting was a 5,000-word-long story which begins: 'All these days the people throughout the country have been concerned with the great debate on education revolution in Tsinghua University!' In *Red Flag*, there was not a single word about Premier Chou's death. Cameramen of the Newsreel and Documentary Studio were to produce a feature-length documentary on the mourning, but that was banned by Yao Wen-yuan, the boss of all media. The movie crew, however, went on with their shooting and concealed the resulting footage to prevent it from falling into the hands of Yao and possible destruction. To defile Chou's name, the Gang of Four did not stop at falsification. Soon after Chou's death, a newspaper they controlled in Shanghai came out with an article which heaped all sorts of abuse upon the late Premier. They even made it difficult for people to get black cloth or paper to make white flowers. But all this failed to stop people from mourning their beloved Premier. What this small group of schemers achieved was to be proved later their own undoing. Acrimony against them began to accumulate fast and before long it was to blast like a volcano right in their faces.

Chang Chun-chiao's 'Feeling'

But Chang Chun-chiao's disappointment came even sooner than that. After the death of Premier Chou, the Political Bureau adopted Chairman Mao's proposal to appoint Hua Kuo-feng as Acting Premier, and the decision was made public in the Party Central Com-

mittee Document No. 1 of 1976. With a bitterness he could not swallow, the long-time Premier-aspirant Chang Chun-chiao penned his 'Feeling on February 3, 1976' the day the Party document was issued.

'Another Document No. 1,' he began. 'There had been a Document No. 1 last year. What arrogance they betrayed, believing that they had arrived! But those who have risen fast and risen steeply will surely fall precipitously.' The 'Document No. 1 last year', i.e. 1975, was the one which sealed the Gang of Four's failure in their attempt to scoop important positions in the Government for themselves at the Fourth National People's Congress. Thus the Document of 1976 was a second blow to Chang's ambitions. Trying to shake off this feeling of defeat, he boasted that he was on the 'side of the people' and the 'side of the progressives'. Ending this incoherent essay of his, he quoted a poem by Wang An-shih, the Sung reformist Prime Minister, to assure himself that 'the New Year doorway decoration of last year will surely be replaced by a new decoration.'

'That Man Confucius'

Soon afterwards an article by Liang Hsiao appeared in the *University Bulletin* under the title 'More on that Man Confucius' and it was reproduced with some editing in the *People's Daily*. Earlier in 1974 Chiang Ching's scribes had published an article entitled 'On that Man Confucius', and that was aimed at Premier Chou. Now Liang Hsiao made little effort to conceal that the present article was aimed at Hua Kuo-feng. Though entitled 'More on that Man Confucius', the period the article dealt with was actually confined to the three months after Confucius was promoted to the office of Acting Prime Minister from Szukou (the chief law officer or in modern terminology Minister of Public Security). In the original manuscript the age of Confucius at that time was given as 56 (Hua was 56 in 1976), but, obviously, for not to make the comparison too conspicuous, this was dropped when the article appeared in the *Bulletin*, and later, when it was reproduced in the *People's Daily*, the offices held by Confucius at that time were not specified. Even so the intended insinuation was not lost to many. Confucius was said to be obsessed with returning to the old order, and have actually translated his hopes of returning to the old order into reality. Moreover, in the article Confucius

was accused of pretending to be 'well versed in agricultural production' (which he in fact openly held in contempt), of 'wanting to raise living standards and develop production' (most probably Confucius would have found all these accusations couched in modern terminology difficult to understand, not to say accept). But all such laughable accusations were necessary in order to drive at the conclusion that 'Confucius and his ilk actually never meant to grasp living standards or production; their real aims were to restore the old order, to retrogress.'

Coming to the end of that article, however, the authors cast off all pretension that they were writing about 'that man Confucius'. They wrote:

Today, aren't those in the Party who are still on the capitalist road following closely in the steps of Confucius? When they present their revisionist programme of 'taking the three directives as the main link'... they are in reality tracing the route chartered by Confucius... reversing the wheel of history and restoring capitalism.'

This was a declaration of war not merely on Hua Kuo-feng, but also the Government he headed and Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee who put him there. Towards the end of February Chang Chun-chiao told his followers in a comment he wrote on the margin of a document: 'Pay attention to the new direction in class struggle. Beware of the emerging of revisionism, within the Party, within the Central,' underlining the last three words. Central is a shortened expression standing for the Party Central Committee, but it often refers to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. In March he blatantly declared at a meeting: 'In our Party, first of all in the Political Bureau, there are bourgeois, compradore bourgeois.' Chiang Ching was even more vicious. On February 21, at a meeting with her minions, she fumed: 'I am the Monkey King. Last year he threw me into a cage for months, not allowing me to speak out. He put a cursed ring around my head; every time he chanted his incantation, I had a headache. It is now time for the Golden Monkey to wrathfully swing his massive cudgel.'*

* Here in utter arrogance Chiang Ching compared herself to the Monkey King, the hero in the 16th century novel *Westward Bound* who protects the Tang monk Hsuan Tsang against demons and freaks on their journey to India to fetch Buddhist Sutras. Comparing Monkey King to the

A Bourgeoisie in Party

On the question who are the main opponents to socialist revolution, Chairman Mao said in 1976:

You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where bourgeois are. They are right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road.*

Obviously the bourgeois mentioned in the statement refers to 'those in power taking the capitalist road', and Chairman Mao more than once stressed that they formed merely a small handful in the Party. He repeated again and again that over 90 per cent of the cadres are good or relatively good people. But trying to stretch the quoted statement to mean that there was a whole bourgeois class in the Party, the Gang of Four developed the theory that the old comrades who joined at the time of the democratic revolution were all democrats, that the democrats were necessarily capitalist roaders and that capitalist roaders would never show any repentance. Articles under such titles as 'From Bourgeois Democrats to Capitalist Raders' and 'The Capitalist Raders Are the Bourgeoisie in the Party' appeared in the journal *Red Flag*. Earlier when the nation marked the 40th anniversary of the Long March, *Red Flag* merely reprinted a joint editorial of the *People's Daily* and the *Liberation Army Daily*, a departure from the usual practice of joint editorials by the three leading journals including *Red Flag* on important occasions. The stage play *Long March* was actually banned by the Gang of Four for years. Other taboos for *Red Flag* included any mention of veteran cadres as 'the Party's treasured assets' and the affirmation that, through the Cultural Revolution, old cadres had been spiritually rejuvenated. The printing presses in Shanghai were kept working round the clock to churn out millions of copies of 'black dossiers' the Gang of Four had kept on leading cadres to be widely distributed as 'criticism materials'. Chiang Ching openly charged that

modern-day rebels against revisionism, Chairman Mao had written a poem in 1961 which ends:

*The Golden Monkey wrathfully swung his massive cudgel
And the jade-like firmament was cleared of dust.
Today, a miasmal mist once more rising,
We hail Sun Wu-kung, the wonder-worker.*

Sun Wu-kung is the Buddhist name of the monkey.

'75 per cent of the old cadres will definitely turn from democrats into capitalist roaders.' Chang Chun-chiao was not satisfied with a slogan coined by his subordinates which read: 'New people in the world will be replacing the old.' He told them to change the word 'replacing' to 'throwing out'. To 'throw out' the old cadres and the not so old ones like Hua Kuo-feng who was designated by Chairman Mao as his own successor, and even young cadres who firmly followed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and refused to do the bidding of the Gang of Four, Chang Chun-chiao mapped out a strategy of 'stabilizing Shanghai and throwing the rest of the country into chaos in order to seize power in the ensuing turmoil.'

At the very beginning of the movement to 'repudiate the Rightist wind to reverse verdicts', Chairman Mao asserted that it must not be allowed to affect industry, agriculture, commerce and the army. But going against his admonition, Yao Wen-yuan issued the directive that 'the expansion of criticism into industry and agriculture should be considered.' At the same time he inserted in an article on the mass debate over revolution in education in *Red Flag* the following: 'The content of the great debate over revolution in education will necessarily go beyond the repudiation of the Rightist wind of reversing verdicts and develop to cover the political and ideological fronts as well as other fronts.' Thus he instigated his followers and a handful of class enemies at large to bring chaos to the Party, Government and army. They were encouraged to 'drag out' what they called 'agents' of the capitalist roaders at all levels. Yao published an article in Shanghai on the struggle against the Rightists in the late fifties, revealing the intention of the Gang of Four to condemn large numbers of responsible cadres, both at the centre and in the provinces, as 'bourgeois Rightists'. Wang Hung-wen openly asked the public security departments to focus their attention on those higher up. He even lauded beating up people, smashing public properties and looting as 'revolutionary actions'. In early February, Acting-Premier Hua Kuo-feng began to introduce resolute measures to oppose the Gang of Four's scheme of dragging out 'agents' and 'capital-

* The word bourgeoisie is translated into Chinese as *tsu ts'an chieh chi*, which was what Chairman Mao used here. But in the Chinese language collective nouns like this can also refer to individual members of the groups represented by the collective nouns.

ist roaders' at all levels, thus protecting large numbers of revolutionary cadres, defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, stabilizing the situation in a number of regions and limiting the losses the Gang of Four tried to inflict upon the country by their subversive activities. Even so the damage done by the Gang of Four far surpassed any that Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao had wrought.

Revolution and Production

The tactics the Gang of Four adopted to disrupt production was to pass themselves off as 'Leftists' who bent on doing away with organization, regulations and rules as well as modern technology as an important link in modern industrial enterprises. This they had tried at the peak of the criticize Lin-criticize Confucius campaign in 1974, and now they resorted to it again on an even broader front. Once again they insisted: Take care of revolution and production will take care of itself. Chairman Mao's exhortation to promote production while grasping revolution was entirely unnecessary, as far as they were concerned.

Thus those who paid a great deal of attention to the smooth running of enterprises and the promotion of production were labelled advocates of 'the theory of productive forces', almost synonymous to revisionists. Those who conscientiously improved the technological levels of enterprises were treading the road of 'White and expert'. In fact even 'expert' alone had become a dirty word. Those preoccupied with the balance of their enterprises, their production costs, were practising economism. Those who tried to educate workers to voluntarily observe discipline were censured for their alleged attempt at control, check and repression. Thus in a few provinces and some cities, situation became chaotic. The rate of absence in factories rose as production went down. Work stoppage was not infrequent, and in some extreme cases it went on for months. Here and there hooligans exercised their 'revolutionary' prerogatives of smashing and looting. People like Weng Sen-ho, Wang Hung-wen's man in Chekiang, was in fact no better than hooligans. He was not above taking advantage of the breaking down of order to fatten himself with whatever he could lay his hands on. In the countryside, where the Gang of Four were much less successful than they were in cities, they tried to stop the spread of the movement to learn from Tachai wherever they could. In Szechwan short-sighted peasants here and there

were encouraged to help themselves to the collective-owned land to expand their own private plots. Criticism of capitalist tendencies was frowned upon, for, according to the Gang of Four, such criticism should be directed upwards and not carried out at the grass-roots. The ensuing polarization obviously pleased the Gang of Four, for it weakened the socialist base in the countryside.

Opposition Grows

But they did not go unopposed. Earlier we have mentioned how Acting Premier Hua Kuo-feng took all necessary measures to curb the damage they were wreaking. Here we can only give a few examples of how people resisted the manoeuvres of the four.

As the Railway Bureau at Chengchow was thrown into chaos, Liu Tung-chou, a demobilized PLA man now with the bureau began to ask questions. Since 1970 when he joined the bureau, he had noticed in admiration how large numbers of railway workers untiringly toiled for socialist revolution and socialist production. But now all of a sudden they were accused of being blind to the two-line struggle, 'working under the wrong line' and 'winning fame for the capitalist roaders'. The man who spread such slanders was a self-styled 'representative of the correct line' and 'hundred per cent rebel'. But only later did Liu traced the accusations of this man to the Gang of Four, particularly to Chang Chun-chiao. What specially bothered Liu was the theory about a drastic change in class relations in China which this man attributed to Chang. So Liu wrote a letter to Chairman Mao to propose the launching of a mass study movement and mass debate over the question of the communist movement. He made up ten questions, among them 'How to distinguish genuine Marxism from sham Marxism and what has this to do with the dictatorship of the proletariat,' and 'What is bourgeois right and what has it to do with the dictatorship of the proletariat?'

After Premier Chou's death and the appearance of posters in Shanghai which vilified the late Premier, followed by slogans supporting Chang Chun-chiao for the vacant post, Liu asked himself why this happened in Shanghai and not elsewhere. The only conclusion he could draw was that all this had been instigated by Chang. On March 28, when rumours were rife against leaders in the Political Bureau and a concerted attempt had been made with the obvious purpose of splitting

the Central Committee, Liu was sure that Chang must have been behind all this. So he wrote another letter to Chairman Mao in which he said. 'I believe that possibly some one at the centre is plotting and intriguing.' He was also sure that the political rumours 'may very well have been spread by that careerist who had failed to become Premier.' Under investigation, Liu was asked who he meant to be this careerist. He came right to the point. 'I meant Chang Chun-chiao,' he replied, and added, 'Chang represents a wrong line.'

For this Liu was persecuted for months, but his stand against the Gang of Four never wavered.

Last Attack on Taching

At the same time the followers of the Gang of Four mounted another attack on Taching, which was to be their last. Like all that they had done elsewhere, they disregarded Chairman Mao's admonition to confine the debate in the educational field, and made a bid for 'dragging people out at all levels'. The ten accusations Chiang Ching levelled at the film *Pioneers* was revived to be hurled at the oilfield itself. They went so far as to slander the large chemical fertilizer plant imported and set up at Taching as an example of 'being slavish to things foreign' and 'crawling', and viciously denounced Taching as 'a model for the theory of productive forces.'

But the cadres and workers at the oilfield were not deterred. They reviewed one by one Chairman Mao's directives issued since 1975 and documents of the Party Central Committee approved by Chairman Mao and issued during the same period. A two-month political review was initiated throughout the oilfield during which each had to ask himself the three following questions:

Have you devoted more time to the study of Marxist-Leninist works, Chairman Mao's works and Party Central Committee documents, or to the study of the 'reference materials'? (The 'reference materials' in all the three questions refer to articles written by the scribes of the Gang of Four like Liang Hsiao.)

Have you learned more from Marxist-Leninist works, Chairman Mao's works and Party Central Committee documents, or from 'reference materials'?

Have you guided your practice mostly

by Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's viewpoints or by viewpoints expressed in 'reference materials'?

The Gang of Four dictated that 'rectification is capitalist restoration'. Taching completed a rectification campaign before the holding of Taching's second Party congress in May 1976 and elected its second regional committee.

The Gang of Four slandered cadres who had worked for the Party for a long time as 'democrats' and cadres at Taching as 'hard-working capitalist roaders'. The Taching workers loved the old cadres even more, though they also warmly supported the new cadres and came all out to acclaim the good diligent cadres who buried themselves in work.

The Gang of Four spread their lopsided views in criticizing what they called 'the theory of the productive forces', and the erroneous view that 'make a good job of revolution and production will take care of itself.' Opposing this attempt of theirs at dislocating production, Taching was determined to toil hard and even harder for socialism. In 1976 it chalked up a new record for its production of crude oil. And in this item alone Taching's production went up six times between 1965 and 1976.

Instead of disrupting Taching's production, the subversion plotted by the Gang of Four only spurred the workers at the oilfield on to reach for higher goals.

Soochow v the Gang of Four

Soochow people have been well known for their soft speech, but they can be very tough fighters when it comes to defending socialism and the fruits of revolution. The city-bound Gang of Four had little influence in the countryside, but they knew that if they did not bring havoc to the countryside, they could never hope to throw the whole country into chaos. So they decided that they had to deal resounding blows to some of the most advanced units in agriculture, and Soochow prefecture had the honour of taking up the challenge of the Gang of Four.

In 1976 Soochow prefecture had 12 Tachai-type units and one of its counties had already doubled the target per-hectare yield of grain set in the National Programme for Agricultural Development by raising the average yield to 13.8 tons a hectare through-

out the county.

The on-the-spot conference on rice production for East China was held in Soochow prefecture, an honour awarded to that locality for its brilliant performance. Knowing that the conference was called by Hua Kuo-feng, the Gang of Four deliberately asked for an investigation into the 'political motive' of the conference. They insinuated that to hold the conference in Soochow was 'to prettify' the prefecture. They charged that Soochow was 'a black model of the theory of productive forces'. They insisted that all the 12 Tachai-type models in Soochow were shams. They also charged that sending large numbers of cadres to factories and villages to live and work among the workers and peasants was to provide capitalist roaders a refuge from political struggle.

But the conference was held on time and 17,000 cadres from the prefecture, county and commune levels went down to the countryside. Braving the accusation of 'producing for the wrong line', Soochow decided to more than double the programmed target of 6 tons of grain a hectare for the whole prefecture within three years and to push up the average unit yield to 15 tons a hectare in 1981.

Oil and Foreign Trade

In order to retard or even completely stop China's modernization, the Gang of Four also interfered with China's foreign trade, especially with the export of oil and import of complete modern industrial plants.

In industrialization, China has since Liberation always adhered to the principle of self-reliance. But self-reliance is not autarky, not a closed-door policy. More than once Chairman Mao had emphasized the dialectic relations between self-reliance and making things foreign serve China. When speaking about 'the ten major relations' in 1956, he said that 'our policy is to learn from the strong points of all nations and all countries.' He also urged the people to 'rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary.'

Following this principle, Premier Chou pointed out that, in importing foreign equipment and technology, one must adopt the scientific approach of 'one divides into two', one must use what is imported critically, remodel it and out of it devise something original. One must not follow it slavishly. One

must not make it into a fetish.

The fast development of China's oil industry made it possible for China to follow such principles on an even larger scale, which would help put China's modernization into a higher gear and thus making it possible for her to attain an even higher degree of self-reliance at an early date. But since her break with the Soviet Union, China has never accepted any economic aid from any quarter, or allowed foreign capital to develop in whatever form her resources or any other sector of her industry. China is certainly not going to change this.

But the Gang of Four, in order to slow down China's modernization drive, attacked both the export of oil and the import of complete plants. The former they accused as 'national sell-out' and the latter 'servility to things foreign.' According to them, the fraction of one per cent of the total world oil export that China accounted for had saved the capitalist world from an oil crisis! They even slandered the Ministry of Foreign Trade as 'Ministry of National Sell-out', knowing full well that both the import and export had been approved by Chairman Mao. In fact the import of the factories had also been approved by the Political Bureau and, at least in some of the cases, with the concurrence of Chang Chun-chiao, who actually picked the sites for some of the factories contracted.

To harass the export of oil, the Gang of Four deliberately created an oil crisis in China by suddenly adapting a large number of factories and other institutes in the Northeast and Shanghai to using oil as fuel. In Shanghai they also intercepted oil tankers in transit for Nanking, Hunan and Kwangtung. As to the imported factories, they did all they could to delay or even stop their construction and we knew at least one case where the four actually demanded the dismantling of a factory already completed. Such interferences caused in some cases a great deal of loss in time and money to the state.

Tien An Men Incident

So far little has been said in the Chinese press since the downfall of the four about what is called the Tien An Men Incident which occurred on April 5, 1976. One thing, however, is clear. The vast majority of the people at Tien An Men on that day and the days around Ching Ming festival to lay wreaths were there to express their love for

and honour the memory of the deceased Premier Chou, Ching Ming being a day for the Chinese to honour their dead according to her age-old tradition. Had the Gang of Four left them alone and done nothing to harass them, nothing would have happened, at least nothing on the scale of what did happen. Obviously the four deliberately instigated the incident to promote themselves. But the victory they thought they had won turned out to be a hollow one. It is true that as a result Teng Hsiao-ping was dismissed from all his posts. But the Gang of Four's hopes for self-promotion was completely dashed when Chairman Mao nominated Hua Kuo-feng for First Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee, a title never used before in the history of the Chinese Communist Party. Thus the Chairman had made it known to the whole country that Hua Kuo-feng was to succeed him.

Some three weeks later on April 30, Chairman Mao met in Peking the visiting Prime Minister of New Zealand Robert Muldoon with the new First Vice-Chairman present. After the meeting, Hua stayed behind to brief the Chairman on current situation in the country. Evidently referring to the Gang of Four's trouble-making in the provinces, Hua told the Chairman that situation was in the main good, but it was not so good in a few provinces. In reply Chairman Mao wrote down three separate remarks: 'Take your time. Don't rush.' 'Act in line with the past principles.' 'With you in charge, I have nothing to worry.' The Political Bureau was later on informed by Hua of the remarks, and Yao Wen-yuan saw them even in Chairman Mao's handwriting, while Wang Hung-wen and Chiang Ching both took notes.

But Hua and other members of the Political Bureau had hardly turned their backs when the four began to plot against them with renewed vigour. The four tried to throw everything they had at Hua, 'the repudiation of the Rightist attempt' and 'the criticism of *Water Margins*'.

Chang Chun-chiao Thought

More openly than ever the Gang of Four and their followers boasted about what they called Chang Chun-chiao Thought, which according to them consisted of three component parts: a new development in class relations, a new enunciation on the restriction of bourgeois right, and a new theory on the

transition of commune ownership. The first part, which was said to be the core of the 'thought' and to have dated not only Marxism-Leninism, but also Mao Tsetung Thought, was nothing but what Chang had been trying to put across for some time: if one believed him, it was no longer the proletariat versus the bourgeoisie, but the people versus large numbers of veteran communists, most of them in top positions at the centre and in the provinces.

With this 'new development in class relations', the content of class struggle had also changed. It was no longer necessary or even permissible to criticize the bourgeoisie or capitalism. The chief target of revolution and mass criticism should now be what they called the capitalist roaders—leading communists and cadres in their great multitude and at all levels. Literature and art, paintings, novels, films, operas, should depict and revile such capitalist roaders, the higher up the better. As a beginning an exhibition was arranged to show paintings on that theme, and a new movie, *Counter-attack*, was to be rushed through which would depict how a provincial Party Secretary is toppled by a woman 'rebel' modelled after Chiang Ching. The film was never shown in the way intended by the Gang of Four—to mark the beginning of their 'dynasty'. It was shown after their downfall so that people could discern from the film the distorted logic of these power-seekers.

According to the Gang of Four and their followers, capitalist roaders were to be found not only in the Party, but also in the army. One of the followers went from army unit to army unit to stress the necessity of writing about 'the bourgeoisie in the army', 'the capitalist roaders who wear red collar badges and red stars.' To make a good job of writing about 'the struggle with capitalist roaders in the army' is 'a task history has now bestowed upon us,' he said. In July 1976, he came out into the open to declare that the army's 'main problems are with the higher-ups' and to solve them it was necessary 'to replace the main leading cadres.' In August Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan sent words to their lieutenants to 'urgently mobilize' and 'concentrate manpower' on the compilation of materials on how Khrushchov came to the top, paying special attention to the circumstances under which he made the secret report and launched the military coup d'etat with the collaboration of Marshal Georgi Zhukov. Obviously they were moving close on Hua and

Yeh Chien-ying.

After the Earthquake

The earthquake which shook Tangshan, Tientsin and Peking on July 28, 1976, had brought heavy casualties and material losses to the people there but also revealed the inner unity of the people. Under the leadership of Vice-Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and the Party Central Committee, the whole nation rose as one to fight the catastrophe and its aftermath. Army-men, doctors and others converged upon Tangshan and Tientsin to offer their service. Cities in the north and in the south sent medicines and other necessary supplies to their fellow countrymen in need. Shortly after the quake, the Central Delegation led by Vice-Chairman Hua brought Chairman Mao's concern for the people who braved one of the most disastrous earthquakes in Chinese history. The arrival of the delegation gave them not only comfort, but also courage and hopes.

Totally oblivious of the sufferings of the quake-stricken people, the Gang of Four callously accused those who had plunged themselves into relief work of using the disaster to play down class struggle. Refusing to have any part in the relief work, Yao Wen-yuan chanted a poem of the Taiping Rebellion era which runs like this:

*The turning of the earth is in fact a new
terrestrial omen:*

*The revolution of the heaven brings forth a
new permanent heavenly kingdom.*

*.....
The time is opportune for the conquest
of the whole country;*

*May fellow countrymen set their minds at
ease and enjoy themselves to their
hearts' content.*

How would the people in distress react to such heartlessness is not difficult to imagine. But the Gang of Four was too much enraptured by the thought that the earthquake would help them disrupt the countryside more and thus facilitate their eventual coup to really care what the people thought of them. Unknowingly again they exposed themselves once again to the wrath of the people and further sealed their own doom.

Last Visit to Tachai

It was 45 days after the earthquake. Relief work was still going on and Chairman

Mao was on his death-bed. Yet Chiang Ching took time out to pay Tachai her second visit. She was not exactly pleased when she found only Kuo Feng-lien, the woman Party secretary of the production brigade, meeting her outside the village. In a menacing voice Chiang Ching told Kuo: 'You know why I'm here? I'm here to struggle with revisionism.' Even before she settled down, she asked to go to Tiger-head Hill to see the air-raid shelter she supposedly dug a year ago, and one can well imagine her rage when she found a pig farm instead. The air-raid shelter had been filled in to make place for the more productive installation.

'Where is my air-raid shelter?' she shouted, stamping her feet. 'Why did you put a pig farm on it? Who told you to destroy my air-raid shelter? Don't you know that this had a political significance? What impudence for you to destroy it without even clearing with me, Chiang Ching!' When Kuo Feng-lien talked back, Chiang became even angrier. 'To fill in my air-raid shelter was a political question....' She wanted Kuo to do self-examination, and threatened to investigate whether there was any back-stage boss behind the filling in of her air-raid shelter. For two days she roamed about Tachai, making trouble and berating people. One day she visited the marketing cooperative there. Having done some shopping, she called all the sales-girls to gather around her and began to lecture them on matriarchal society. 'In matriarchal society, people only knew their mothers, not fathers,' she told them. 'It was ruled over by an empress. Even in communist society there will be empresses, women assuming power.'

When Chairman Mao's condition became critical and the Central Committee summoned her to return to Peking, she was in no hurry. For two hours she played cards while her attendants packed for her. Even when all her luggage had been loaded, she went on with her card game for another half an hour before she finally picked herself up to set out for Peking. Back in Peking, however, her first concern was the seizure of power.

The Grand Fiasco

Chairman Mao died on September 9. This threw the whole country into deep mourning, as well as an uneasiness about the country's future. People had become growingly aware of the suspicious activities of the

Gang of Four. With Chairman Mao gone, would the four make trouble? If so, what could be done to stop them from throwing the country into greater chaos, for because of their intriguing, at least part of the country was already in a chaotic condition, if not totally paralyzed.

But actually they made more than trouble. Before even the mourning was over, the four started with their scheme to take over power. On September 16, an editorial in the *People's Daily* came out with the clause 'Act according to the principles laid down,' purported to be Chairman Mao's behest. For more than two weeks this quotation appeared again and again in the *People's Daily*, in news stories, in articles and in the box reserved for quotations from Chairman Mao. Then in a prepared speech submitted to him for approval on October 2, Hua found the remark 'act according to the principles laid down.' Writing on the margin, he commented that this was a misquotation, for what Chairman Mao had said was 'act in line with the past principles.' Chang Chun-chiao was told of the comment and he asked his informer not to let anyone else know about it. Two days later on October 4, the misquotation appeared in an article written by Liang Hsiao and published in *Guangming Ribao*, a Peking daily. Launching an oblique attack on the comment made by Hua two days before, Liang viciously declared: 'To tamper with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao is to betray Marxism, betray socialism, and betray the great teaching of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat', and 'any revisionist chieftains who tampered with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao will absolutely come to no good end.' In the same month *Red Flag* also came out with article after article quoting this remark and hailed this so-called death-bed behest as an intense crystallization and profound summary of the historical experience of our Party and the entire international communist movement,' and 'a guide for the eternal and continuous advancement of this generation and the next generation, this century and the next century, in the entire historical period of socialism.'

Obviously the impression the Gang of Four intended to create among the people with all such raving hyperbole was that it was to them that Chairman Mao entrusted his last testament and therefore it was they who were to carry on from where the Chairman had left off. In other words, it was they who should

inherit the mantle of the great revolutionary leader. But one little detail soon gave them away. It was pointed out that the quotation Chairman Hua had produced at the Political Bureau meeting was in relation to a specific situation and so it was natural that it was not included in any of the documents related to Chairman Mao's funeral. But if the quotation they produced was as important as they said it was, why then did they fail to have it written into the Party Central Committee message on the death of Chairman Mao, and into the memorial speech read by Premier Hua on September 18, two days after they had it published in the *People's Daily*? All the four of them, after all, had taken part in the drafting of the two documents. Obviously if they had raised it on any of the two occasions, they would have been exposed then and there. So they would rather throw the statement they falsified at the public to create misgivings among the people before the rest of the Political Bureau had a chance to release all the related facts.

In fact their manoeuvre to seize power had begun even earlier. On September 10, the very day after Chairman Mao's death, Wang Hung-wen telephoned in the name of the General Office of the Party Central Committee to all parts of the country the directive that all major issues should be reported to him. Done behind the back of Hua, who was then, as he is now, in charge of the work of the Party Central Committee, this was actually an attempt at intercepting communications between the provinces and the Centre.

Without clearing with the Central Committee, Wang Hung-wen and Chiang Ching visited factories, schools, army units and suburban areas in Peking to make incendiary speeches to discredit the Political Bureau. At Pingku on October 13 for example, Wang told peasants there: 'What are you going to do if revisionism has come up in the Central Committee? Bring it down, of course!' He then added: 'You must watch revisionism with your eyes wide open.'

While the two made speeches, Yao Wen-yuan was busy preparing 'public opinion' in a different way. In the two universities in Peking he and the Gang of Four's minions collected letters avowing allegiance to Chiang Ching and urging her to take over power. Some even openly suggested that she should assume the office of Party Chairman.

From Slave Society to Socialism

Rewi Alley

The Chengtu-Kunming Railway is a stupendous engineering achievement in its 1,085 kilometres of line, with 427 tunnels and 685 bridges. On the last four hours or so of our seven-hour journey from Chengtu, it seemed to be mostly tunnels—there were 134 of them—with fascinating glimpses of tall cliffs, waterfalls and river scenes in between tunnel entrances. The entrance to the Yi autonomous chou of Taliang Shan comes when one crosses the Tatu River and, at Chinkou, goes up a tributary. When arriving at Kanlo, one says, 'But where is the town?' for there is just a railway station, again between two tunnels. Leaving it by car, however, we had a good unposed welcome to Kanlo with the sight of a bunch of happy boys who had tossed off clothes and were having a big time under a waterfall, all looking like the spirits of the mountains in their natural beauty as they dashed around. We went on around various bends, admired the still snow-covered peak of Mihi Mountain that stood out above others around, suddenly turned a sharp bend and there up a comparatively wide valley was the county town of Kanlo, set amongst trees all in leaf, and very charming under a late spring sun. A nice place to come to, especially to a warm and friendly guesthouse, with a fine mountain view in front of it.

A Gymnastic Display

After we had had a rest, the local school

They did not neglect the military side of their plot. A secret order was issued to their sworn followers in Shanghai to arm the militia with rifles and guns. Six million rounds of ammunition were issued to the Shanghai militia the day after Chairman Mao's death. On September 28, Chang Chun-chiao sent a messenger to Shanghai to transmit his verbal mobilization orders for an armed rebellion. 'Shanghai is faced with big tests,' the order said, 'battle is imminent.'

But the battle never took place. The moves they made had only exposed and thus isolated them. In October the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng took

girls and kindergarten children put on a gymnastic performance for us. There was quite a lot of wind which affected their balance at times as they did stunts on the apparatus, but none cried after a fall, simply picking themselves up and doing the stunt through again. There was a large and appreciative audience of other children and townsfolk. It was the kind of show one would have seen in some big city a few years ago. But now, right up in the Yi mountains, the children are doing all the sophisticated stunts, and doing them with elan and grace. They were certainly pleasant to look at in their brief gym suits. Hard to realize that until 1950 the Yi people were living in a slave society, feuding at times amongst themselves, the 'Black Yi'—the slave owning aristocrats, oppressing the 'White Yi', who also served them, all living in the main on a slash and burn economy amongst the wild mountains of this Taliang Shan, and then too, spreading through the mountains into Kwangsi, Kweichow and northeastern Yunnan. The Long March opened up the people of Taliang Shan to outside influences in a very down-to-earth way. The old Red Army general Liu Po-cheng became blood brother to a Yi chieftain, who helped him and his men through. The Yis are a brave people who respect straight dealing and courage. Now they have worked with Han to put through the great Chengtu-Kunming Railway project, and naturally feel that what others have done, they can do too, even though their land is

the decision to overthrow the Gang of Four. Not a single protest was voiced on their behalf. Not a single shot was fired. Not a single drop of blood was shed. The Party was saved from a split. The revolution was secured against retrogression. The country was spared a civil war. The rejoicing of the people knew no bounds. When the population came out into the street to hail the smashing of the Gang of Four by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the whole country was immersed in a festival mood the equal of which had been rarely seen for years.

Lee Tsung-ying

(Concluded)

hard to farm, and their steep snow-capped mountains are so many.

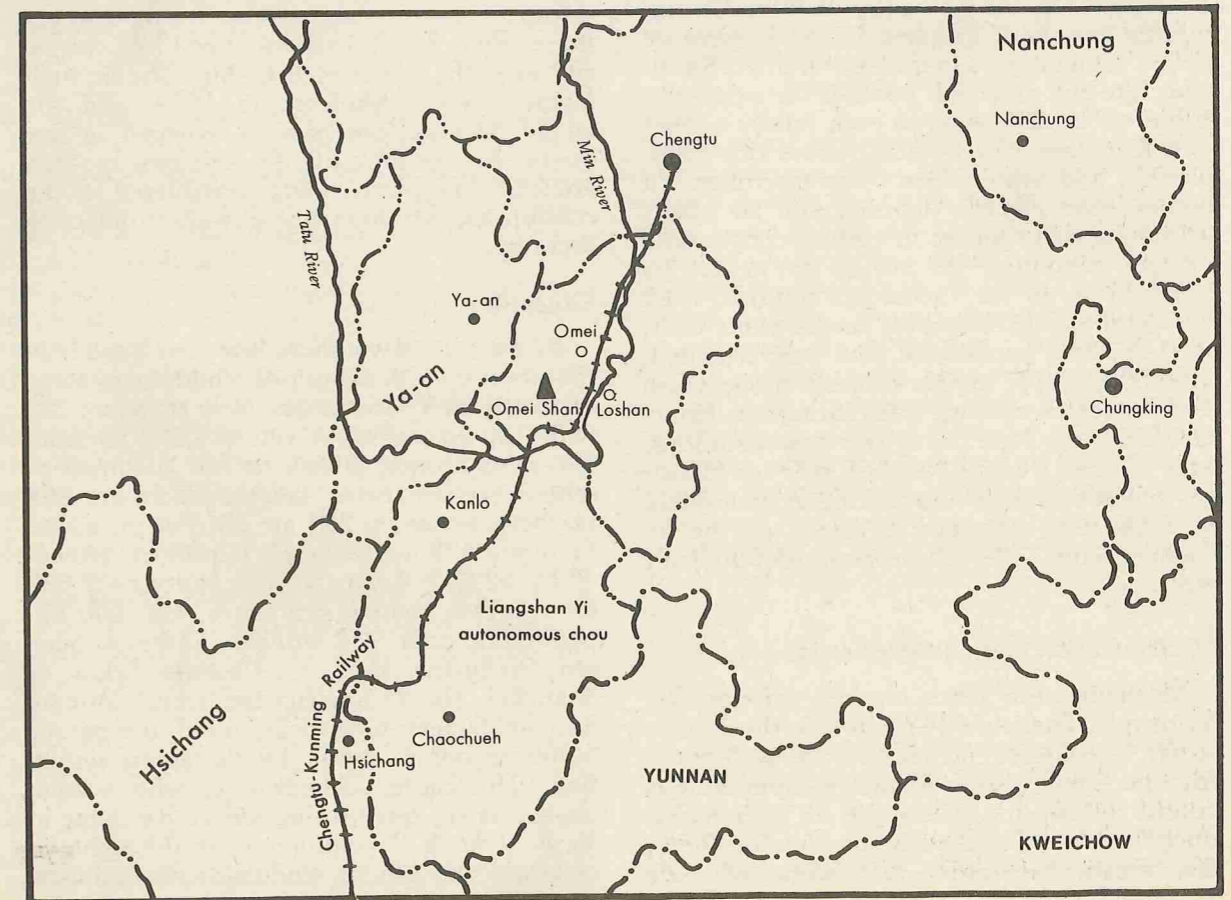
April weather amongst the peaks of Taliang Shan is usually cool and still in the early morning with clouds lying amongst mountain tops, warm at midday, windy in the late afternoon, with perhaps a thunderstorm and some rain at night. It was warmer than Chengtu at this period. Though most of the Yi people now have come down into the valleys, some still prefer to live up on the hill ridges as of yore. I liked the first breakfast in Kanlo—walnuts with rice gruel, bits of ham and fresh milk with black tea.

Kanlo—Before and After Liberation

Before one starts to look around a fresh locality, one must first spend a morning getting an introduction to the place. Kanlo in the Yi language means stones that have rolled down to the valley and cannot be pulled up again. Before the town was set up here, it was simply a piece of 'asake'—waste land. The Yis held stubbornly to the hilltops. A Black Yi chieftain would be given titles by the Kuomintang, and encouraged to fight against the

neighbouring chieftain. Divide and rule was the old concept. Communications were over mountain tracks by foot or hill pony. The economy, as a slash and burn one, gave very poor livelihood to the people, inadequate corn, potatoes and yams in the main. Disease was rife. In the old days it used to be said that a traveller, on getting deep into the mountains, would never be able to find his way out again.

To come to socialism from the old society has not been so easy anywhere. The first steps of necessity are always full of struggle. In the Taliang Shan chou, it meant coming from the ancient slave society in the space of a relatively few years. Szechwan was liberated in 1950, but the Liberation Army did not drive through Taliang Shan and bring work teams until 1954, though Yi cadre training had gone on in minority schools in Chengtu, Peking, etc. before that. In 1956, a county government for Kanlo was set up. By March 1957, the people could lift their heads freely, for the whole framework of slave society had been cleared away. The cadre school set up in the capital of the chou at Chaochueh was fast turning out graduates. The people were or-



quite heavily woven and often dyed black, for such were needed when they lived on their mountain tops. Taliang Shan means the Great Cool Mountains. But when they live and work with Han in towns, wearing common Han clothing, one would have to look twice before recognizing they were Yi. In town schools, the teachers know, but for outsiders it would not be so easy to distinguish who is who. While in Kanlo I wrote the following lines about them:

*Laugh with the sun
and the freshening breeze
laugh with the leaves
dancing on trees, laugh
for the people they call
the Yis, who now have come
down from hilltops to valleys
and set about to change
all again; folk out of a slave
society reaching for socialism
jolted out of the past first
by the Long March, then by
the Liberation Army which later
brought in engineers to build
the railway that has tied all
to the rest of China, bringing
new horizons, new challenge
so that Tachai is not just
a name, but a place farmers
can go to see, become fired
with the will to emulate.*

*No longer is it Han against Yi
nor Black Yi against White Yi
Lord against a crouching slave,
now it is Yi and Han together
building a new society amongst
the mass of mountains they call
Taliang Shan, bringing in
new ways new hope to the poor
and hopeless of a bitter past,
for those who were asleep have
awakened, and looking at their
own strong hands, smile.'*

Yang Shing Brigade in Tienpa Commune

It had been quite heavy rain during the night, so that the morning was fresh, with wonderful cloud effects among the mountain tops as we ran up the Tienpa river to the Yang Shing brigade of the Tienpa commune. There are three main rivers in the county, with many streams as tributaries, rivers where many fish are caught, and which now turn pump turbines, that hoist water up to terraced fields on the hillsides, and turn hydroelectric power generators. Tung trees in white

blossom dot the hillsides. Suspension bridges connected both sides of the river. The small, surefooted ponies of these parts pulled little carts, and child life was as rich as it is anywhere in China in the hillside villages we passed through. On the other side of the river as we approached Tienpa was the big commune middle school, and in the big village where the valley opened out, the Tienpa commune health station, where there seemed to be plenty of business going on with out-patients, three children just having had tooth extractions, and the dentist busy making dental plates for the older people of the place. She certainly did seem to know her job. And what a comfort it must be to old folk to have them! Good for the Chengtu Dental College which turns out graduates for the hinterland.

Repairing and Making Tractors

The Tienpa factory combinat is in the area of the Yang Shing brigade, but though it was started by the district, it has now been taken over by the county. Its principal product is the ordinary Chinese *kuo* or cooking pan, made in various sizes, and now supplying all nine counties of the Yi autonomous chou. At Liberation it was found that one of the great local needs was for this cooking pan. Even a small one would then cost 25 yuan, and would have to be ordered a long time in advance, having come all the way into the hinterland sometimes from the coast. The pan was made of white iron in the past, really a kind of low-grade steel, easily broken, so that replacements were continually needed. A Han technician named Chen Lu-min came in, and many experiments were carried out from 1959 onwards, using charcoal for fuel, and bits of the scrap of broken pans as raw material.

Then as the railway drove through and connected Kanlo with Hsichang, the coal and iron centre further south, it became possible to bring in iron ingots and coke, and technique improved fast so that the plant could soon meet requirements, and help to stock all the marketing and supply stores in the chou with a high grade cooking pan at low cost. The smallest ones retail for 1.50 yuan, the medium for 5 yuan, and the biggest family type for 7 yuan. Between 1973 and the end of 1976, 87,000 were made with a value of 360,000 yuan. In 1977 only it is estimated that 40,000 will be made. Soon the plant will be moved to near the Kanlo railway station, so as to minimize on transport costs. The



Yi commune farmers of the Taliang Shan, Kanlo, Szechwan.

plant also turns out plow shares, making 24,000 in 1976. The other two units are a tractor repair shop, and a smithy. The tractor repair shop hopes to become the basic unit for the first tractor-making plant in the county, as it proceeds. Housing for many electrically powered flour mills is also made in this combinat. It has been quite a triumph to train up ordinary village Yi lads to the technical perfection obviously attained there today. They are wonderful material for anything mechanical, having a natural affinity for such.

The Yang Shing brigade has 1,565 people in all, their labour force divided into six production teams. Practically the only flat land left them was a wide, stony river-bed. They have recently enlarged the river-bed holdings they cut out at first and dyked on becoming a commune, one of 3.27 hectares to 4.8 hectares, and another of 3.3 hectares to 4.7 hectares. Rice can be grown on these after the winter-wheat crop has been harvested. Then on the hillside near the village they have made 640 small plots into nine big, level ones, and then have taken terracing up the hillside as well. Their production record is spectacular. In 1976, they gained 8.04 tons of grain a hectare on their revamped land, with an average of 6 tons all over. Their 75-kw hydro-electric power plant gives enough lighting for the whole brigade, and operates their food-processing mills in the daytime. They now ask the factory combinat to turn out a cheap noodle-making machine, that can be easily installed in any home, and this is being done. Grain ration per head here is 250 kilo. Their 53.3 hectares of good arable land they plan to raise

to 100 hectares by new hill terracing. Sloping hill lands give very small return, for the fertilizer gets washed down, leaving the top part of the field without enough. They can, however, be used for fruit trees, of which the brigade has 3,500, or for mulberries, for raising silk worms. They already have 15,000 mulberry trees, and plan to raise the number to 50,000 inside the next two years. They run a small flock of sheep, and have 47 draught cattle. Only in memory now are the days when Black Yi aristocrats would rear buffalo bulls to be pitted against each other in prize fights, while White Yi slaves did the work a buffalo ought to be doing.

Tractors in Action

On the way back to Kanlo town from Tienpa, we halted at a brigade where one big bulldozer and two big tractors were carrying out terrace levelling, each with a driver and an assistant. The driver and assistant on the bulldozer were both Yi girls. The other two had Han drivers and Yi learners beside. The stoutish Yi girl is already well known as a capable, careful operator. Then we went to a brigade brick and tile kiln, which turns out 600,000 pieces of brick and tile a year and where reinforced power and telegraph poles are also made, these being so much better than the wooden ones which rot in few years.

Below the factory where all this was being done were the brigade vegetable gardens which help to supply the county town market. Water pumped from the river below by electrically operated pumps is distributed by spray pumps here very efficiently, and quite beautifully. In the old days, the Yi people hardly knew what a vegetable was, as such were never cultivated. They ate bracken sprouts and roots. When the vegetable gardens—4.7 hectares of them—were started, eleven varieties were grown. Now 33 are. The production team that works it, is one of the ten of the Shingssupa brigade, which is part of the Yenren commune. The team has 30 members, and produces 150 tons of vegetables a year.

The Shingssupa brigade which owns the bulldozer and two big tractors has also three small tractors, and a range of other farm machinery, as well as a small tractor repair shop. In population it has 471 households

making up 2,224 people with a labour force of 760, farming 141 hectares of land. In stock, they have 252 cattle which includes 79 buffaloes, and also have 515 pigs, 30 horses, and 95 sheep. In orchard trees, they have 258 walnuts, 3,500 pepper trees, 1,200 apple trees, as well as 3,700 tung trees, whose nuts are collected for wood oil. 'Yes, we are short on pigs still—but we plan soon to rectify this,' they say.



Yi tractor driver crew.

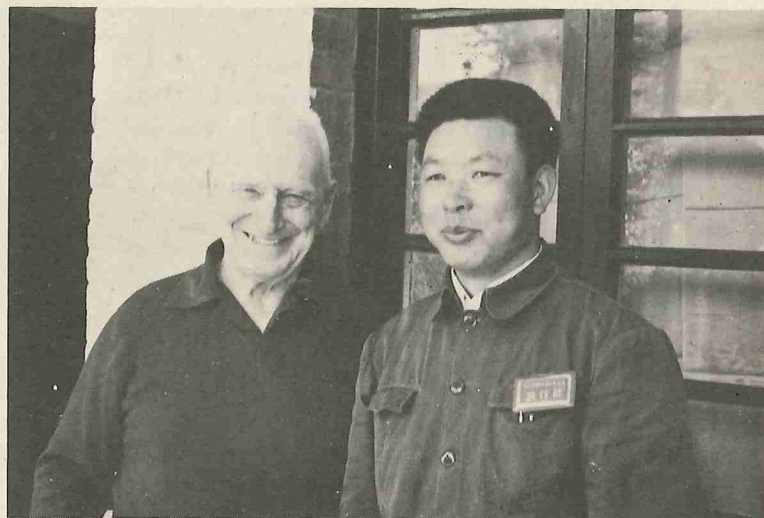
Old Society in Kanlo

It is hard to realize, in face of present conditions, what the old slave society was like. The first secretary of the Party committee of Kanlo county ought to know well, for he himself was a *watze*, or slave, of the old lords. Still looking young, the trim and able Chu Lin—Jimumchi in Yi—is a very busy man. The complete story about him would make a whole book. He was only six when poverty-stricken parents of a family of six children had to sell him to a lord. He was later often resold. Food never more than buckwheat and bracken fern roots. He joined in with the first work teams which came into the Taliang Shan, and was nearly murdered by the lords in consequence. Cadres, however, are too busy to talk much

about their past. From others however, many glimpses of what the old society was like often emerged in conversation. Slaves did run away often, but were usually caught, taken back to their master and beaten, though not so severely that they could not work, for they were a profitable chattel, able to carry where pack animals could not. Sometimes the lords would capture Han people or buy children in times of famine and make them into slaves, as was discovered after land reform had come in. A good strong boy able to work would be marketed for fifty ingots of silver, a girl of the same age for somewhat more. If slaves were Han, they were made to wear the poorest rough hemp Yi clothing, go barefooted, talk Yi, and wear chains. Houses of the lords were fortified with tall towers, some of which still stand. Lords had their own gunmen and could kill at will.

A Quiet Heroine

Chu Lin, the ex-slave, would be an outstanding person most anywhere the people are in control. He certainly is in Taliang Shan. He has been fortunate in those who have supported him well. Amongst them is a Han woman Chiao Feng-lan from Tatung in Shansi, who came south with the southern drive and, on her way north again, was given work in the Kanlo area, at that time in a very primitive state without roads and much else. She was made the vice-chairman of the county when it was formed, and worked along through the years until a gang of young ultra-Leftists came into the county in the Cultural Revolution, and organized struggle meetings against her amongst the Han population of the county



Author with Chu Lin, county Party secretary.

town, driving her from her post. However, she had the firm support of the Yi people, who rallied around her, so that it was not long before she was reinstated, only to become the target for attack by the minions of the Gang of Four later. Quiet, thoughtful, kindly and very observant, she has served the people well. She is the mother of five children.

Kanlo Power Station

Running south of the county town, and up the Kanlo River for a few kilometres, we went by jeep down a mountain road slippery from rains of the previous evening, until we got to the river bank where the Kanlo power station is situated. A beautifully tidy and efficient little plant that puts out 560 kw, enough to serve the county centre, some mines, and 32 production teams of eight brigades in two communes. Put up by Han technicians brought in to do the job, it has seven Yi amongst its 40 workers, three of whom were on duty in the station at the time of our visit. Workers are responsible for the upkeep of distribution as well as generation. They plan now to add another power house and double the capacity of their plant inside the next two years.

The power plant is in the area of the Puchang commune, so the leading cadre of that organization had come to the power station to tell us about one of the commune's most successful recent projects, a bridge over the river that has linked the major portion of the commune with the town side, supplanting a rope suspension bridge made of bamboo. The fall in the river here is a steep one, so that the torrent can only be crossed by bridge. 108 stone masons and technical workers came, and a thousand commune folk hauled in stone blocks for three and a half months, with the state supplying the cement and steel for the big arch that leaps across. Work went on day and night from March till June after which the water level rises sharply in these areas. We went to see the bridge, noting that it was being used a great deal, so realizing what a boon it has become. Two more such bridges will now be built to connect up brigades. The commune is not a big one, with but 3,600 people, all Yi. It covers a considerable area, however, both sides of the river, and gains an all over grain crop of 5.25 tons a hectare, able to give 250 kilo of grain a year as grain ration per head of population. It runs 3,200 animal stock. Leaving it, we went on to see the famous production team in its Hamocho bri-

gade.

Hamocho Production Team

This team takes the name of the brigade to which it belongs and is reached by going down a road from the main highway above even more steep and slippery than the one to the power station. A few boys were busy carrying out humic acid fertilizer from where trucks had dumped it by the highway. As there are big deposits of second-grade coal right near the town, most suitable for making this kind of fertilizer, its continued bulk supply is assured. Other lads were plowing the steep hillsides, real little heroes as they managed their draught cattle, their bare legs twinkling in the strong morning sun.

At the bottom of the hillside, much terracing had been done, while a big area, once covered with stone and rock deposited by a glacier in other times, had been reclaimed, and was all in rice paddy fields. We went to see a piece of the still un-reclaimed land, with trees growing up between the rocks. Soon it will be reclaimed also. Then on to a pumping station, where a turbine pump threw up water to a canal fifty metres up the hill.

The whole area of this production team was once a deserted no-man's-land, lying between the forts of two warring lords. The towers on the houses of one of these lords still show up on a ridge opposite. In one battle a fifty-year-old team member remembers, four people were killed and seven taken to be slaves. As late as 1958 the whole area was empty. Then two households were brought in, but they soon left. A year or two later nine households came and bravely tackled the task of reclamation, gaining 2.25 tons of grain a hectare. Their number increased. In 1968 they got 5 tons a hectare, 1971 7.25 tons, and in 1973 their triumph of 8 tons, on which total they decide to build further increases. They have now 52 households, 203 people in all. Their river flat accounts for 5.7 hectares of their 9 hectares of good arable land. They have two tractors, and a range of farm machinery carefully stored in good housing. They have four manually operated rice transplanters they say work very well. They have 58 draught animals, 43 sheep and goats, 125 pigs. Looking across the river, one sees the snow-covered Hunghung Shan—Rhyeh Ihungpo in Yi—which is 4,100 metres high and three waterfalls dashing down the steep hillside. Behind Hunghung Shan are other and

still higher mountains, but they are out of sight here.

The team has broadcasted pine seed over its hills which have had a surprisingly good take. They also have 2,500 fruit trees. In their primary school, 95% of all children who should be there are. They learn in Yi, and standard Chinese, which they pick up very quickly. Posters and slogans in the team compound, which serves also as threshing floor, and team mass meetings are in both standard Chinese and Yi as well. Goals for 1979 are to have over one pig a head, 100 yuan cash distribution a head, and to produce 500 kilo of grain a person, with more land being taken in from the hills, and small plots made into big fields. The team has one area covered in to raise the medical herb *sanchi*, which is quite valuable. It must have light, but not too much, so has to have a lattice roof above and around it.

Household Visits and Concert

We visited several households. The people had on their traditional clothing they use for holidays and festive occasions. The old wide pants the men once affected have been replaced by tight ones as working necessity demands. And most men have cut off the old top-knot. Houses had electric light and tiled roofs, so they do not leak, which is a big advantage. Yi friends lit a pan of pine chips tied to a bamboo pole, to show us the only lighting they once had. As industry progresses and more electrical equipment becomes available, the ample water power the river makes possible will be more and more used. But at present, the big thing is to make all the land produce to its fullest capacity. The folk showed us the folk wooden bowls, cups, and wine pots they make, painted in traditional patterns, and five pretty little girls posed for us to take pictures. They tried to keep serious,



Yi folk use wooden vessels they make themselves.

but as little girls do everywhere, broke down at times and giggled. The elders entertained us with hard white spirit, as customary in Yi areas. Bad manners to refuse, but as spirits do not agree with me, I had Wang Shuang-lin who had come with me from Peking drink my portion, which transfer of responsibility the Yi folk accepted politely.

The people put on a very colourful and fresh concert while we were in Kanlo. All groups from kindergarten to commune brigades were represented, primary schools, secondary ones, and too local organizations. It went with a swing and was over too soon. A primary school did the shovelling up of the Gang of Four by the combined masses, and rolling them away in a dust bin. A Yi commune brigade dancer played his pipes while he did his own wild dance to its rhythm, and girls sang sweetly in praise of Chairman Hua.

Festival

On our final morning in Kanlo, excitement ran through the town. Children dressed in their best ran around up and down paths. Silk flags streamed from the top of buildings, and a gun salute by a near-by army unit heralded the opening of a mass meeting to commemorate the publication of the fifth volume of the works of Chairman Mao. I had taken some pictures of men and women and of girls in the communes, but none of boys, so some come to have their pictures taken, dressed of course in their very best traditional costume for the parade they were about to take part in. I would have sooner taken those ones in open tunics and shorts with their plows on the hillside, but it is traditional everywhere in our world for people to want only their very best to be shown in picture, the ideas of what is very best, having of necessity to be those of the people of the locality concerned, whether it be Scottish pipers in sporan and kilts, and their bagpipes, or the Yi with his somewhat similar sounding pipes amongst the rugged mountains of Taliang Shan. The youngsters certainly looked though it was not at all overdone and, like most young people, loved to be all dressed up on a holiday. And, of course, it was great fun taking them. Three girls came together with the six boys, and gave added colour. After the picture taking, the eldest girl slipped off her heavily kilted embroidered skirts and ran off in her long pants slinging the kilted skirts over her shoulder, quite happily.

Solemn old Yi country folk, mothers carrying babies, fathers in their tasseled woollen capes, crowded the sidewalks of Kanlo as a parade of ten thousand swung past, behind decorated vehicles. Everyone was represented. The revolutionary committee with Chu Lin in the centre leading, then all the organizations following on, interspersed by the big groups of dancing children. Such demonstrations have been a feature of liberation all through liberation years when some important event has been demonstrated, but this one, amongst the mountains of Taliang Shan, carried its own, very special flavour. Chairman Mao and the fighters of the Long March faced immense difficulties coming through these rugged mountains, and now it is the ideas of Chairman Mao that still give spirit to the people to carry on their victorious march into the future. It was good then that they celebrated the publication of this new volume.

Chu Lin kindly saw us off to the railway station, which is quite a drive. On the way he told us of how it is planned to concentrate on flat terracing, Tachai style, then raising output on them, leaving the steep hillsides for tea and other economic trees, mulberries, walnuts, chestnuts and so on. The snow-capped Hunglung Shan stood out sharply, for the day was clear and warm, and the peak looked exceptionally beautiful. The same bunch of village boys who welcomed us to Kanlo were, as we went, down by a backwater pool in the river-bed below us, and waved us farewell. We all felt that the visit to Kanlo was a rich experience to a very gallant people, giving us new respect for the Yi common folk who are doing so much and so well.

More on the Yi Folk

Returning to Chengtu, where in the universities are those who study minority folk, I asked for some more information about the Yi people. It appears that there are now over three million of them in China, 1,200,000 of whom are in Szechwan province, the majority of whom are in Taliang Shan. They are also in two counties of Ya-an, nine counties in Hsichang, and some in Tukuossu. The rest are in Yunnan, Kweichow, and Kwangsi. Some went on with their southward drive and got to Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. It seems that their origin was up in Chinghai, around the source of the Yellow River, and that as their numbers increased, various tribal families moved down towards

the sun, into north Burma then Yunnan. This was probably in Neolithic times, around ten thousand years ago. Probably around the period of Tang (AD 618-907) in Chinese history they came into Taliang Shan, later spilling over into northern Yunnan and Kweichow, all connected mountain country. In the time of Han Wu-ti (140-87 BC) in Western Han, when the drive into southern China took place, they were called the Old Man people, Lao Sho, which probably referred to their chiefs. This became in Yi language Laosu, and on to Lolo by which they were referred to prior to Liberation. Han Szechwanese called all minorities Mantse or Fantse. Early Han soldiers in admiration for their skill with bows and arrows, called them Yi—after Yi 羿 the traditional archer hero. Then when a suitable name was sought for them that had no bad connotation, the character 彝 (read yi and meaning wine vessel or law), which has a pleasant meaning, was accepted.

The Yi written language was invented probably in the Tang period, and was the property of the *be-mo*, the powerful medicine man, not to be confused with the *so-ni* the shaman, or more common witch doctor. As the Yis were a slave-owning society, and slaves were valuable property, they enslaved many of the Miao people who also lived amongst the mountains and had to pay tribute to Yi chieftains. After Liberation some of these could return to their villages, but the older ones had forgotten their language and their old connections, having been enslaved when quite young and afterwards speaking only Yi.

When in Kanlo and seeing the brightly painted wooden wine pots, bowls and so on, I casually asked if there were any on sale in the town. No, they said, people made them themselves, cutting them out of chunks of hard wood, and painting their old time designs on. They were hunters, and not potters, and in the past did not feel the need for pottery much—until of course, they began to possess and use it. Now the wooden bowls and so on are more used for family festivals of one kind or another.

After return to Chengtu, imagine my surprise when I found that the Kanlo Yi folk had sent me three big pieces, a communal drinking bowl being the centre one. Two small wine cups came with them, and there was a wooden ladle spoon, to dish out the white spirits they are used to drinking.

Recent Archaeological Finds

Yin Bronzes

In our last issue (News and Views) we quoted a Hsinhua News report on the discovery in spring 1976 of a tomb of a woman commander who was also a spouse of King Wu Ting of the Yin dynasty of more than 3,000 years ago. The discovery was made at Yin Hsu, the well-known archaeological site which yielded for the first time large numbers of oracle bones towards the end of last century. From oracle bones one had known that one of the spouses of King Wu Ting was Hsin or Queen Hsin and also that during Wu Ting's reign there was a woman, Lady Hao, who led many campaigns against Wu Ting's enemies and who might also be one of Wu Ting's spouses. The discovery of the inscriptions 'Lady Hao', 'Queen Hsin' and 'Queen Mother Hsin' on separate bronze vessels found in the same tomb led one to the conclusion that Lady Hao and Queen or Queen Mother Hsin might well have been titles of one and the same woman.

The nearly 200 bronze ritual vessels unearthed are unusual for both the great number and variety of shapes. A number of vessels are also unusually large. Among the 30 *ting*-tripods found in the tomb, two large rectangular ones each measure 82 centimetres tall. Most of the vessels for cooking and serving food and ewers for washing are in sets each of several pieces and in different shapes.

70 per cent of the bronze ritual vessels are different kinds of wine vessels. All the large ones are in pairs and have designs in high relief and animal-head decorations.

A bronze table with three holes on its top and six legs is for holding utensils and chafing dishes. Along with it is a double rectangular casket-shaped bronze *chin*-vessel, a big vessel for storing wine. These large bronzes are unique in form and show a degree of bronze casting technique.

The jade and stone objects, 400 in total, are of fine workmanship. Among them are relief carvings of human figures, jade *kuei*-vessels used as food containers, ivory cups and bronze mirrors. Some are of the kinds which have rarely or never been seen before.

No remains of Queen Hsin were found, but bones of 16 slaves buried at the time were dis-

tributed on the top of the outer coffin and around it.

The archaeological finds are of great value for studying slave society and the political and economical conditions and culture at that time in China.

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The great extent of the practice of human sacrifice at the time of King Wu Ting was not revealed until later in June 1976 when 250 pits containing the remains of slaves thus sacrificed and occupying an area of 5,000 square metres were found not far away from the tomb of Lady Hao. So far 191 of the pits have been excavated and in them some 1,200 skeletons were found, most of them having had their heads chopped off. It is estimated that the number of skeletons could reach 2,000 when all of the 250 pits have been opened.

The skeletons found in the pits were mostly of young men between 20 to 30 years of age. Many bore marked traces on their cervical vertebrae showing that their skulls had been chopped off by axe. Some were mutilated and dismembered. It is estimated that the slaves were killed several occasions, ranging from a few dozen to several hundred each time.

In some pits the slaves were buried alive. There are obvious traces showing them being tied up. Some of the skeletons were in a struggle posture with their heads raised and mouths gaping. A small number were children about ten years old, including a few who were barely teething. Slaves were buried as sacrifices together with pigs, horses, dogs and birds by some slave owners.

Judging by their stratigraphical arrangement, the sacrificial pits were dug in a period covering the last years of the 13th century BC and the early years of the 12th century BC when King Wu Ting, one of the Yin-Shang dynasty rulers, reigned. This period was the most prosperous years of that dynasty. Much of the killing of slaves was recorded on oracle-bone inscriptions (characters carved on tortoise shells or animal bones, the earliest writing discovered in China) during the reign of King Wu Ting. One of such recordings shows that on one occasion the slaves killed for sacrifice amounted to 500 in number.

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Shihhsia Culture

An ancient cultural site dating back 3,000 to 5,000 years was found at Shihhsia in the South China province of Kwangtung. It covers an area of 30,000 square metres. On a 1,600-square-metre area explored, a cemetery with 110 tombs and nearly 3,000 relics have been unearthed.

Cultural layers of three different periods have been excavated on the site. The upper layer is characterized by the co-existence of 'hard pottery of *kuei* design (*kuei* dragon, an often used animal motif) and thunder and cloud patterns' and bronzes (800-400 BC, that is, of the period between the Late Western Chou dynasty and the Spring and Autumn period).

The middle layer is dominated by the co-existence of 'impressed design soft pottery' and stone artifacts (circa 16th-11th centuries BC, that is the time of the Shang dynasty).

The lower layer is abundant in earthen pottery, pottery mixed with sand and polished stone artifacts, dating back 4,000 to 5,000 years to the Late New Stone Age.

The cemetery was found in the middle of the site and has a fairly high terrain. The largest number of graves found in the cemetery are ordinary ones consisting of shallow pits or pits of medium depth. But there is another type of graves which are of special interest. One tomb for example has two sets of burial accessories. Obviously one set had been moved there from another grave and the other was placed there at the time when the first set was reburied. Among the accessories are many tools. Stone tools are in a diversity of shapes, some of which are unconventional. The pottery has distinctive characteristics. Archaeologists are of the opinion that the finds in the second type of graves (including the cultural relics found at the lower layer) are different from New Stone Age cultures found in other provinces in China. They were therefore given the name 'Shihhsia Culture'. The finds show that the culture was linked with New Stone Age cultures along the East coast and even those in the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River.

While the Shihhsia Culture reveals its own special characteristics, it also displays features similar to other cultures of the same period. The differences and similarities between the Shihhsia, Tawenko (2,000-3,000 BC in pre-

sent-day Shantung) and Chuchialing (circa 2,000 BC in present-day Hupeh) Cultures illustrate that China's rich and multiform culture was created by different nationalities in the country.

The Shihhsia Culture provides valuable relics for the study of the disintegration of the primitive society in China. Quite a number of hoes were found at the site and in the tombs. Rice growing through artificial breeding shows that primitive agriculture was already developing. The graves of men had more burial accessories than those of women. This reflects that agriculture had advanced from the slash and burn farming method mainly used by women to the 'plough culture' mainly done by men. Patriarchal economy came into being in this period. The stone artifacts and ornaments were made by hand and the wheel technique was widely used for pottery. There was already a division between agriculture and handicrafts. The division of labour, the emergence of the exchange of commodities and of the patriarchal economy led to the disparity in possessions and private ownership of property. This process is manifest in the Shihhsia Culture. In the earlier graves there is little distinction in the size of the pits and number of burial accessories. But many fine quality burial accessories were found in part of the later graves. Apart from a great number of tools and pottery ware there are also stone *tsung* (a hollow tube of cylindrical section enclosed by a rectangular body), stone pi-discs, bead ornament and jade plaques. The stone *tsung* was an object which symbolized the great wealth and high social standing of the chief occupant of the grave. But very few burial accessories were found in the great majority of graves. This explains that with the development of the disparity in possessions in the clan society of that time, radical changes also occurred in the relationship between the people, and the primitive society was gradually disintegrating.

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Ancient Bird

A well-preserved fossil bird dating back 12 to 23 million years was recently discovered in East China's Shantung province. This fossil of the miocene epoch was found by a worker in a diatomite mine while mining in Shanwang of Linchu county.

The rare fossil bird was preserved in a

shale in diatomaceous beds. The shape of the beak, skull, neck, wings, trunk and legs of the bird can be seen. It was identified by the Institute of Vertebrate Palaeontology and Palaeoanthropology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences as a new genus and species of the family Phasianidae of Galliformes and named *Shandongornis shanwanensis* after the name of the locality.

As birds have fragile bones and live in a special environment, their fossils are rare. Of vertebrate fossils, bird fossils discovered are the fewest. The good state of preservation of the fossil of *Shandongornis shanwanensis* is closely related to special environmental conditions. About twenty million years ago, the area of Shanwang diatomite mine was a fresh

water lake in a warm and humid climate and there was a luxuriant growth of algae in the lake. This type of algae had an outer siliceous shell and after death the siliceous shell together with mud was deposited layer upon layer at the bottom of the lake. In the process of decomposition, the plant remains deposited at the lake bottom reduced the amount of oxygen in the lake and provide conditions for preservation. Animals which sank accidentally to the lake bottom were preserved more or less intact and become fossils.



Specimen of the fossil bird skeleton *Shandongornis Shanwanensis*

More than ten localities with fossils of the miocene epoch have been found in China and the fossils buried in diatomaceous beds in Shanwang are in the best state of preservation. Among the fossils found there are *Leuciscus* and *Barbus* of the fishes; frogs, toads and salamanders of the amphibians; snakes, tortoises and turtles of the reptiles and bats, deer and rhinoceros of the mammals. There are also fossils of many insects and stalks, leaves, flowers and seeds of a great variety of plants.

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Fossils in Tibet

Thousands of fossils of more than 30 types were collected after four years of surveys conducted by an expedition sent to the Chinghai-Tibet plateau by the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

The fossils are valuable for research on the stratigraphy and changes of land and sea in the region, the geological development of the plateau and the distribution of mineral resources.

Many previous wrong notions about the stratigraphy of Tibet have been corrected through identification of the fossils collected. For instance, the discovery of fossils of orbitolina (a sort of tiny disk-shaped marine protozoans) and rudistes (an extinct bivalved molluscan) living in the shallow sea of the cretaceous period (dating back 140-70 million years) indicates that strata of a big expanse of land south to the Pangong Lake in Ari prefecture are 100-200 million years younger than the originally assumed carboniferous (dating back 350-270 million years) and permian (dating back 250-220 million years) periods.

In northern Tibet were discovered fossils of fusulinids, a kind of tiny spindle-shaped marine protozoans—index fossils for the permian-carboniferous period—and land plant fossil of the permian period. This discovery may be significant for locating coal in Tibet.

The scientists found some fossils typical of the subcontinent of South Asia, including brachiopod (a marine bi-valve shelled invertebrate) and glossopteris (a kind of seed fern with tongue-like leaves). These help in research on the formation of the Himalayas and the uplift of the plateau.

The fossils suggest that the whole of Tibet had a hot humid climate with numerous lakes and luxuriant vegetation ten to three million years ago. With the continuing uplift of the mountain ridge, the towering range blocked the humid air from the south, bringing a decisive change in the climate.

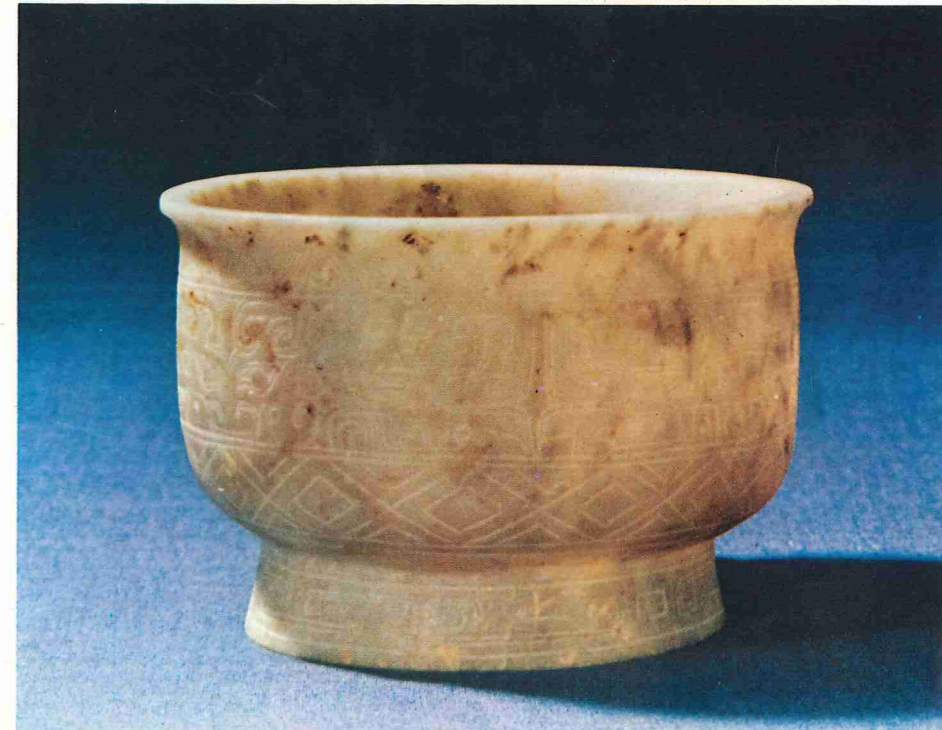
Cultural deposits and skulls of neanthropus (man 50,000-10,000 years ago) of the Old Stone Age and the New Stone Age found by the expedition prove that man was living in the Himalayan area during the later stage of the formation of the range.

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Above: A unique double-square *yi* (wine container). An out-sized bronze never seen before, it stands 60 centimetres and measures nearly one metre long.

Right: White jade *kuei*. A rare food vessel of jade, it attests to the remarkable jade-carving workmanship of the Yin dynasty.





A one-metre long bronze table with three holes on its top and six legs. It serves as a heater for food.



A well-preserved green nephrite food containers, 20.5 centimetres high.



Inscribed on this big bronze cauldron are the characters 'Tai Hou Hsin' (Queen Mother Hsin).

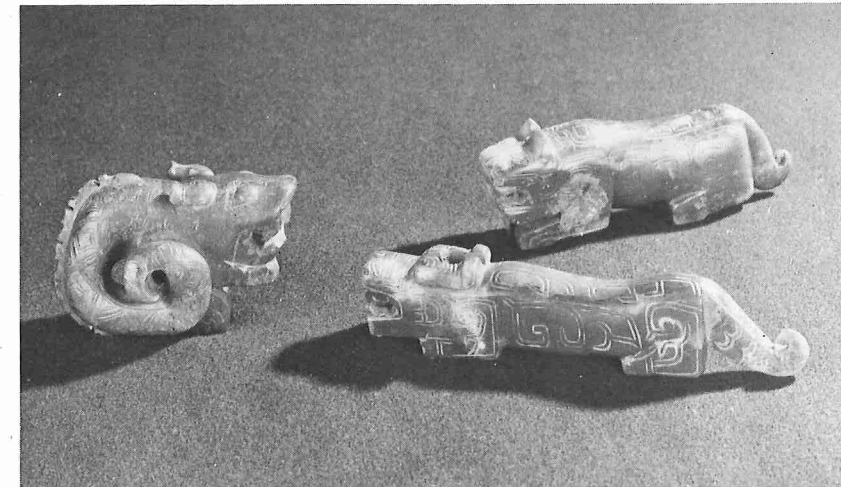


Jade dragon, 8 centimetres long.

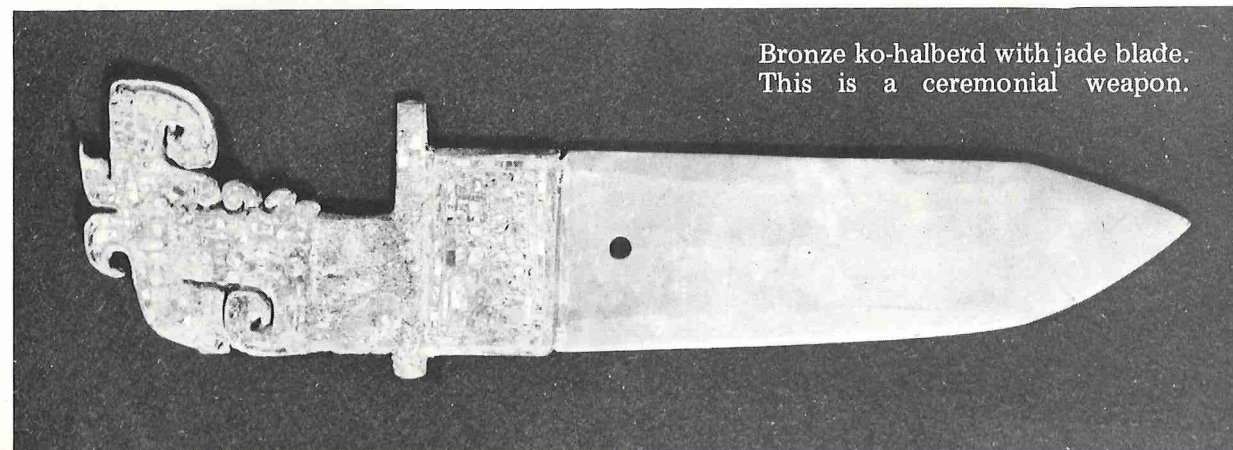
Ivory cup with inlaid turquoise, 30 centimetres high. Many jade containers, ivory cups and bronze mirrors unearthed this time are the first to have been found among Yin dynasty relics.



A 7-cm-high crowned jade figurine in a kneeling position.

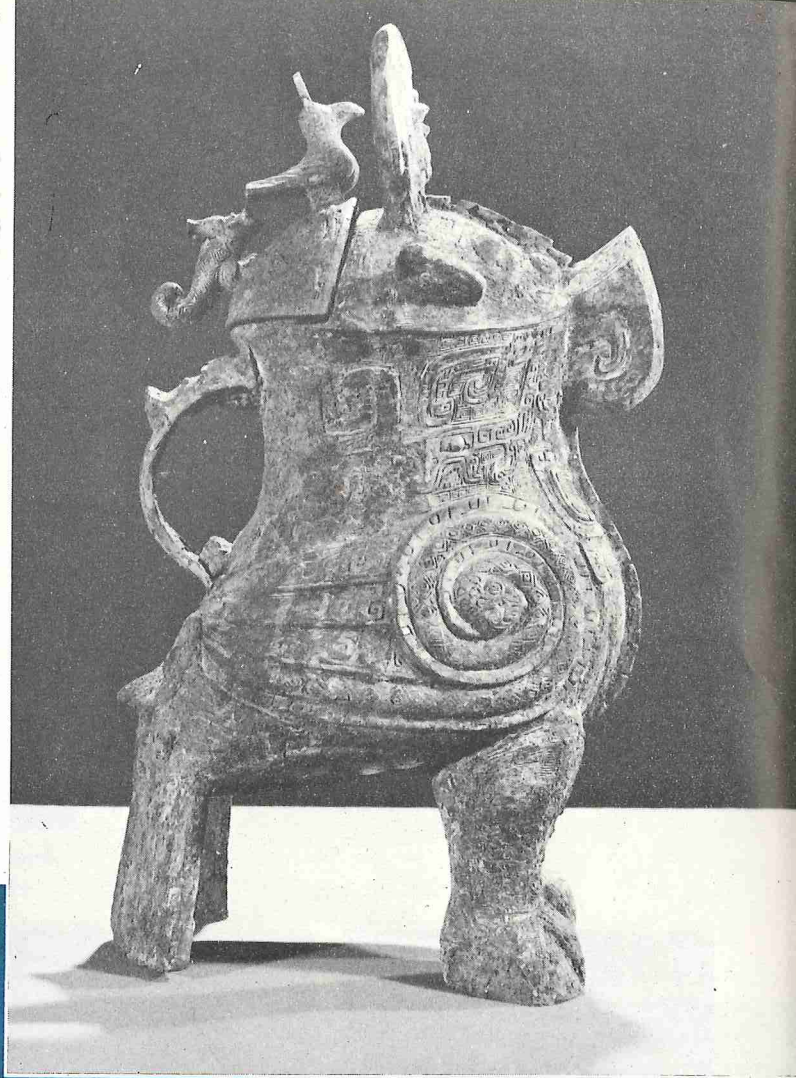


Jade dragon and jade tigers.



Bronze ko-halberd with jade blade. This is a ceremonial weapon.

Bovine-shaped *kung*, a rare animal-shaped wine container of the Shang dynasty. This bronze, bovine-shaped in the front part and owl-shaped in the back part, is complicated in structure and displays lively decorations. It is of great artistic interest.



Jade owl (left) and jade elephant. Dozens of jade objects in the shape of bird, animal, fish and insect were excavated from the tomb. This is the first time that so many animal-shaped jade carvings were excavated from Yin Hsu. They shed new light on the study of the jade carving of that time.



chinese revolution: 1919-1949

The Struggle in Chingkangshan

Our Staff Writer

By late October 1927, the Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Army under Mao Tsetung reached Chingkangshan and started to build this mountainous region into a revolutionary base area. This marked the first step towards the victory of the Chinese revolution under Mao's leadership.

Chingkangshan is located in the middle section of the Lohsiao Mountains running along the borders of Kiangsi and Hunan provinces. The main centres in the region are the villages known collectively as Five Wells, and Tsuning, Paiyin Lake and Hsiachuang. There are five big passes here, namely Tungmuling, Chushachung, Shuangmashih, Pamienshan and Huangyangchieh. They were called the five big outposts after the arrival of the revolutionary army. Chingkangshan is of great strategic importance. Its main peak rises as high as 1,800 metres.

Chingkangshan was sparsely populated in the 1920s. Irrigation then was poor and the soil was infertile. Peasants led a very hard life. Because it was quite far away from the main cities in the two adjacent provinces, the Kuomintang could maintain only a precarious rule in Chingkangshan. Moreover, peasants here had a rather high consciousness, having organized peasant associations and peasant self-defence corps to struggle against

local bullies and bad gentry during the Northern Expedition war period. This provided a good basis for carrying out revolution.

But by the time the revolutionary army arrived in Chingkangshan, most of the Party organizations had been crushed by the enemy. Peasant self-defence corps had been disarmed by landlords and the revolutionary ardour of the masses had been stifled.

It was difficult for the revolutionary army to get 'settled down' here. They were faced with the tasks of restoring and building up local Party organizations, and Party organizations in the army, to make them the leading force in all work. They had to launch guerilla wars while consolidating and expanding the revolutionary army and local armed forces. They had to wage an agrarian revolution, establish the people's political power, so as to economically and politically liberate the peasant masses, and mobilize them to struggle in defence of their own rights.

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In January 1928, the forces which had taken part in the Nanchang Uprising under Chu Teh and Chen Yi proceeded to northern Kwangtung. After a replenishment of arms and manpower, they moved on to Hunan pro-

Archaeology and Yangtze Development Scheme

The wealth of hydrological information about the Yangtze River basin from ancient to modern times collected by Chinese archaeologists in recent years has been made available to industrial and agricultural departments and to those in charge of the long-term development scheme of the Yangtze River basin.

Archaeologists have determined the exact dates of several major floods and droughts in the basin from the 7th century onward, the water levels of the river during those floods and droughts, and the flow at some sections of the river during the floods.

Studies were made of many ancient inscriptions, buildings, tombs, sites, unearthed stone artifacts, pottery, bronzes and animal fossils that provide clues to hydrological conditions along the Yangtze, China's biggest river, and its tributaries. Archaeologists checked the results of their studies against historical records and data.

During a survey of the upper reaches of the Yangtze, archaeologists found dated inscriptions concerning floods in more than 100 places from the Sung (AD 960-1279) to the Ching (AD 1644-1911) dynasties.

In one case, they found 83 inscriptions

vince where they defeated the reactionary Kuomintang forces under Hsu Ke-hsiang and Pai Chung-hsi. They mobilized peasants in southern Hunan and northern Kwangtung to riot, fight local despots and redistribute the land. The landlord class was suppressed. Peasant armed forces expanded and most of them joined the revolutionary army, which was then enlarged into three regiments. These events were later known as the Southern Hunan Uprising.

In March 1928, Chu Chiu-pai, the Party secretary, in collusion with some other people, abolished the Party Front Committee of which Mao had been the secretary, and appointed him commander of the First Division of the revolutionary army, making Ho Ting-yung secretary of the Division Party Committee. Thus depriving Mao of any say in civilian Party matters, they sent the division into the southern Hunan front to join the uprising forces there. This resulted in a military setback in Ching kangshan. Enemy troops occupied the area for a month in March. The Red Army was reduced to half of its original strength. Innumerable houses were burned and peasants were killed.

Troops under Mao's command remained loyal to him and obeyed his orders. When they reached Kueitung in Lingsien county after descending from Ching kangshan, Mao asked them to stop. He sent Mao Tse-tan, his younger brother, to take one company along to contact the uprising forces then in southern Hunan. In a letter to the Hunan forces, Mao wrote: An analysis of the situation shows that it is unwise for the southern Hunan up-

carved on stone concerning an unusual flood in 1870. After referring to historical records, they verified this as the worst flood since 1153. They worked out the recurrence of major floods and the places, time and scale of the floods in the Yangtze Gorges and some sections of the river above the gorges in Szechwan province. This furnishes important data for the giant Yangtze Gorges water control project under consideration.

Pictures of fish carved on stone and inscriptions recording the conditions of the Yangtze during drought years were found by archaeologists on White Crane Ridge in Fuling county of Szechwan province. The stone ridge is in the middle of the river, running parallel to its southern bank. Two fish carved on the surface of the ridge have been used by local peo-

rising forces to stay long in their present positions, because the enemy is bound to contest them. Therefore I advise the uprising forces to withdraw to the north.

Mao ordered his two regiments to remain in Kueitung and mobilize the masses. He spoke to the troops every day for a whole week. The theme of the speeches was—Why is it that red political power can exist in China? Commanders and fighters of the whole army were inspired and were confident of victory.

On April 28, 1928, Chu Teh and Chen Yi's troops joined forces with Mao's in Lungshih of Ning kang county. Together they were reorganized into the Fourth Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, with a total strength of about 10,000 men, half of them forming the main attack force. This was in fact the first Red Army. It was named the Fourth Army in memory of Yeh Ting's troops, who had fought in the Northern Expedition war period and were also called by this name.

A rally was held on a square in Lungshih on May 4. Mao was appointed Party representative (renamed political commissar after 1929), Chu Teh, army commander, and Chen Yi, head of the political department.

Mao addressed the rally and drew up for the army three big tasks to fulfil, three rules of discipline to observe and six points for attention.

The three big tasks were: fight the enemy to eliminate it; struggle against local despots to accumulate funds; do propaganda among

ple as water-level marks. On the rocks around the 'stone fish' are 163 inscriptions recording information about the dry seasons of 72 separate years during the long period of 1,200 years from the Tang dynasty (AD 618-907) onward.

In addition, archaeological workers have helped determine when and how the present-day Shanghai area in the Yangtze estuary rose above sea level through their studies of ancient cultural sites and relics. Results of their archaeological survey show that the western part of Shanghai was above sea level as early as 4,000 to 5,000 years ago. An earlier estimate made by foreign scholars put the time at 2,000 years ago. The new conclusion helps in the planning of Shanghai's industrial development and control of land sinking.

L. Y. K.

the masses, organize and arm them, and help them set up revolutionary political power.

The three rules of discipline were: obey orders in one's actions; do not take a single thing from workers and peasants; turn in anything captured in fighting against local despots.

The six points for attention were: put door planks back in place and bundle up the straw*; speak politely; pay fairly for what you buy; return everything you borrow; pay for anything you damage; treat captives well.

As the revolutionary situation changed, the content of these rules varied slightly. The General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in October 1947 issued a standard version as follows:

The Three Main Rules of Discipline:

- (1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- (2) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
- (3) Turn in everything captured.

The Eight Points for Attention:

- (1) Speak politely.
- (2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- (3) Return everything you borrow.
- (4) Pay for anything you damage.
- (5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- (6) Do not damage crops.
- (7) Do not take liberties with women.
- (8) Do not ill-treat captives.

After the rally, the Red Army led by Mao won one battle after another. In May the same year, they put two Kuomintang regiments to rout, first in Wutouchiang in Sui-chuan county and then in Tsaoshihao in Yunghsin county. Mao summed up the Red Army's fighting experience and adopted the following guerilla tactic: The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue. The great victory at Lungyuankou was won precisely by putting into practice this tactic.

Lungyuankou is 23 kilometres from Yunghsin county in Kiangsi province. To the southwest of it are two mountains called respectively New and Old Chih-siling. Each of these mountains had a path. Before the construction of highways, these paths were the chief link between Yunghsin and Ning kang. They were also important entrances to Ching kangshan. In June 1928, Kuomintang troops in Hunan pressed on to Ning kang from Cha-

ling. In the meantime, Kuomintang troops in Kiangsi led by Yang Chih-sheng and Yang Ju-hsien charged Yunghsin from Chi-an. Mao decided to take the defensive in dealing with the Hunan enemy troops, while assuming the offensive against those from Kiangsi. To eliminate the enemy's effective strength, Mao employed the tactic of luring the enemy in deep. He sent one detachment to attack Lingsien county. After fighting for a while, the detachment withdrew to Ning kang. This gave the enemy in Kiangsi the false impression that the Red Army had left Ching kangshan.

On June 22, Kuomintang division commander Yang Chih-sheng led two regiments to set out from Yunghsin to attack New Chih-siling, leaving behind one regiment as reinforcements. Another division commander Yang Ju-hsien directed four regiments to invade Old Chih-siling. The main peaks of New and Old Chih-siling are Wangyuehting and Maochia-ao respectively, which are five kilometres apart.

At dawn on the 23rd, Chu Teh led the 29th Regiment and one battalion of the 31st Regiment to take Wangyuehting and set up a temporary headquarters there. Meanwhile, the 28th Regiment under Wang Erh-chuo battled the enemy in Old Chih-siling, which was the Red Army's main stronghold. Yuan Wen-tsai took one battalion of the 32nd Regiment to Wukungshan to ambush Kuomintang troops. The Red Army first defeated the enemy on Old Chih-siling. Then a dare-to-die corps of 200 men swooped down upon the enemy and chased them away.

In this battle, the Red Army, much smaller in number, eliminated one whole Kuomintang regiment and defeated seven more. More than a thousand rifles were captured.

On August 30, the Red Army crushed a joint attack by Kuomintang troops from Hunan and Kiangsi and won victory in the battle to defend Huangyangchieh.

Huangyangchieh is located in Kiangsi province's Ning kang county. At 1,342 metres above sea level, this precipitous region is the main passage to Five Wells. Kuomintang generals Wu Shang and Wang Chun planned to launch a sudden onslaught on Ching kangshan.

* When the Red Army reached a place, they had nowhere to stay. They asked the local people to let them take down the door planks, which were removable, so that they could sleep with straw spread over them.

They took with them four regiments of the 8th Army, to thrust into Huangyangchieh from two directions. At that time, only one battalion of the Red Army was left behind to guard Chingkangshan. But their morale was high. At 3 p.m. on August 29, Party representative in the army Ho Ting-ying called a mobilization meeting of cadres above the company rank. Addressing the cadres, he said, 'Chingkangshan is now the only area left in the whole of China with red political power. We had to defend Chingkangshan with our lives. Only by keeping this small base area and upholding this red flag can we prove to the people of the country that the reactionary ruling class can never stamp out the revolution!'

The army and people in Chingkangshan had already chosen advantageous positions to build fortifications. On perilous mountain paths they set up rolling rocks and beams, held by ropes, which they could let loose upon the advancing enemy, and laid numerous concealed 'nails' made from bamboo on the bushy land in front of the fortifications.

Early on the morning of August 30, two Kuomintang regiments started to climb up from mountain gullies. They were unable to spread out on the narrow and hazardous mountain paths. One by one they scrambled up with difficulty. Although bugles behind were sounding the charge, the advance of the Kuomintang troops was slow. On the other hand, Red Army men stood firm on their positions. When the enemy troops were within the firing range of 20 to 30 metres, Red Army commanders issued the firing order. In a short while, a great number of Kuomintang soldiers were shot dead on the mountainside. The Red Army did not have much ammunition. They loosened the ropes which fastened the rocks to the hillside and let them crash down on the enemy troops, who fled and found themselves trapped in a sea of 'bamboo nails'. Many were wounded in the foot and unable to move. The Red Army charged and fought the enemy courageously. On this day alone, the Red Army countered four onslaughts of the enemy and annihilated one enemy regiment.

On the afternoon of the following day, the Red Army transferred to the mountain base from Tzuping a mortar which had just been repaired. This mortar had been carried up Chingkangshan by Chu Teh after the Nanchang Uprising. Of the three mortar shells they had, two were inoperative. At the strategic mo-

ment, the Red Army fired the only shell left and hit the enemy squarely. Thinking that Red Army reinforcements had reached Huangyangchieh from Hunan, Kuomintang troops withdrew eighty to ninety li backward.

In May 1928, the Communist Party of China held the First Party Congress of the Hunan-Kiangsi border area, in Maoping. It was pointed out at the congress that the red flag could be held aloft permanently. First, economic development in China was lopsided. Manpower and material resources were found in rural areas and not cities. Cities failed to have complete control over rural areas which were thus able to maintain a certain extent of independence. Therefore, it was entirely possible to set up and develop the Red Army and revolutionary base areas in rural areas. Second, this lopsided economic development had resulted in uneven political development. China was dominated by several imperialist countries which placed warlords under their control. Contradictions among the imperialist countries greatly deepened contradictions among warlords, thereby weakening the counter-revolutionary political power. Third, China was a big country. The Red Army could always move to another area if they could not stay in the place where they were. They had plenty of space for manoeuvring.

However, at that time the 'Left' adventurist line kept interfering with Mao's correct military line. In mid-July, the Hunan Party committee sent Tu Hsiu-ching (vice-president of Hunan University before the Cultural Revolution) to Chingkangshan to pull the Red Army out and take it to southern Hunan. They were met with disastrous defeat. Half of the men perished and a great number of middle class people went over to the enemy. All county capitals and lowland areas were taken by enemy troops. Most of the Party and mass organizations were crushed in this period, which was later known as the 'August Defeat'.

Fortunately Mao was leading one regiment to wage guerilla wars with the enemy. For 25 days they encircled eleven Kuomintang regiments from Kiangsi, in a place 30 li from Yunghsin, crushing the enemy's attempt to capture Chingkangshan. Hearing that the Red Army suffered setbacks in southern Hunan, Mao called an emergency meeting and decided to take one battalion with him to southern Hunan to bring back the remaining troops. In late August, the defeated troops met the main forces of the Red Army. In September they returned to the Kiangsi-Hunan border.

A Chinese Factory—1976 and Now

David Crook

I worked in a Peking factory for a while when the Gang of Four was at the height of its power. Recently, several months after the fall of the four, I went back on a visit. What changes had taken place? What effect had the gang had on this particular plant? What could its workers tell us today which it wasn't safe to talk about in April-May 1976?

At that time, acting on Mao Tsetung's instructions to 'run schools with the doors open'—that is, with staff and students merging with and learning from workers, peasants and soldiers—the college where I teach English sent some of its teachers and students for four weeks work in a synthetic textiles plant.

I was one of a group of teachers and students assigned to a machine maintenance and repair section. There the workers took on the job of training us highly unskilled intellectuals with a patience and thoroughness which I, as

David Crook worked for a while in the summer of last year at a synthetic fibre factory near Peking from where he wrote us an article (*The Gap Between Brain and Brawn*, EASTERN HORIZON, Vol. XV, No. 5). Recently he visited this factory again and made comparisons.

In October 1928, the Communist Party held the Second Party Congress of the Hunan-Kiangsi border area, again in Maoping. The meeting adopted the resolution drafted by Mao, 'The Political Problems and the Tasks of the Border Area Party Organization', summed up the experience of fighting in Chingkangshan in the past year, criticized the ultra-Leftist line which had caused great losses to the Hunan-Kiangsi border area, and explained again the fundamental question of why red political power was able to exist in China.

*

At the time when Mao left for Hunan to rescue the Red Army units ordered erroneously into Hunan by ultra-Leftists, he left word with Peng Teh-huai, Yuan Wen-tsai and Wang Tsuo for them to guard the mountain

a teacher, appreciated; and under their guidance we stripped, cleaned and re-assembled machines and replaced defective parts. But the pace of work was by no means fast and there seemed to be a lack of that drive and creative initiative which one might have expected after the Cultural Revolution. In our section the men's newspaper reading and chess games did not stop too promptly when lunch hour came to an end; nor did the crocheting of the one girl in the section, even though both she and the men struck us as competent and conscientious. In a number of other sections and workshops the atmosphere was observed to be much the same.

On entering the factory gates we had seen an exhibition of pictures honouring the memory of Chou En-lai, who had died three months before. On blackboard newspapers in the workshops we saw stories of how the late premier for 60 years had 'bent his back to the task until his dying day.' There were stories of his modesty, his frugality, his love of the common people, his uprightness and integrity, his devotion to Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party. We did not fully realize at the time that these stories and the picture exhibition were acts of opposition to the Gang of Four.

headquarters. Under no circumstances were they to move their troops elsewhere and leave the place open to the enemy.

Yuan, Wang and their men were survivors of armed struggles of local peasants during the period of the Great Revolution (1925-27). When Mao took his men to Chingkangshan, he worked on the two and their undisciplined band, raised their political consciousness by explaining to them who their real enemy was and what the Communist Party fought for. Finally they were incorporated into the Red Army as the 32nd Regiment of the Fourth Army, with Yuan as regimental commander and Wang his deputy. They were soon admitted into the Communist Party.

Peng Teh-huai was born to a rich peasant family in Hunan. A very ambitious man, he first served under Kuomintang warlord Ho

Chou had been the central figure of the mourning for revolutionary martyrs to which the traditional April festival of 'Clear and Bright' is nowadays devoted. (In the past it was an occasion for sweeping the graves of ancestors.) Not long before our arrival at the plant some two million people had spontaneously flocked to the Square of Heavenly Peace, the heart of Peking, to place wreaths and poems in praise of him at the foot of the monument to revolutionary martyrs. The Gang of Four, whose boasting and brashness, extravagance and corruption and brutal suppression of opponents of their personal ambitions have now been revealed by a nationwide mass movement, sought to efface from history the very name of Chou En-lai. They stirred up violence in the square, then mobilized militia to suppress it. When at that time we asked a worker if any of the plant's militia had helped 'restore order in the square', he replied: 'No, we don't beat up our class brothers. But a lot of us went to show our love for Premier Chou.' One of them had placed a poem at the foot of the monument. At a first glance it looked harmless enough; but if the first word of each line was read from top to bottom in the old Chinese tradition, it read:

*Keep our good premier in your hearts.
Let your bow never leave your hand.
Sweep away the devilish foe
And make China a happy land.*

The writer was caught by followers of the Gang of Four, beaten to the verge of death and is only now, a year later, recovering his health. This attitude towards the incident in

Chien as battalion commander and then regimental commander. In 1928 he switched his allegiance to the Communist Party, and together with Huang Kung-lueh took an uprising force in Pingkiang, Hunan, to Ching kangshan, where his troops were incorporated into the Fifth Army. Peng supported the adventurist ultra-Leftist line in the Party.

As soon as Mao was away, Peng embarked upon an adventurist campaign to expand the base area. When Yuan and Wang insisted that they should comply with Mao's order not to leave Ching kangshan under any circumstances, Peng had them both shot, and took his men down Ching kangshan, leaving behind only a battalion to guard the place. Taking advantage of this situation, the enemy mounted an attack upon Ching kangshan. Had it not

the square in April 1976 was not exceptional, either on the side of the gang or on that of the people. The gang issued orders prohibiting the wearing of black armbands and the holding of memorial meetings in factories, government offices, schools and colleges. (These orders were widely disobeyed and there was a record turnout at the memorial meeting in the Foreign Languages Institute where I teach.) They played down reports and pictures in the media, which they then controlled, of any demonstration of the people's grief at the death of their premier.

This was in keeping with what is now revealed to have been their overall plan. This was: to bring production to a standstill, create nationwide economic and social chaos and then, by putting themselves forward as China's saviours, to seize power, condemning the existing Party and government leaders as 'capitalist roaders' leading the land to ruin. The main obstacle to their success were the old revolutionaries—personified by Chou En-lai—who had been close associates of Mao Tsetung for 40 or 50 years. They had stood up to the White Terror when Chiang Kai-shek switched sides in the revolution in 1927, fought the 8,000-mile running battle of the Long March, set up a base in the caves of Yen an from which to throw back the Japanese invaders, and fought the War of Liberation against Chiang's US-backed armies, which ended in the setting up of the Chinese People's Republic in 1949. While the Gang of Four's general strategy was to sabotage production in China as a whole, they planned to make an exception of the country's biggest city,

been for the heroic resistance offered by that battalion, which led to the routing of the enemy units, Ching kangshan could have been lost. But in the meantime the enemy was able to sneak from behind into Small Well and murdered all the wounded soldiers in the army hospital there.

Chu Chiu-pai's 'Left' adventurist line was met with defeats. Mao and most of the Party members boycotted it. In April 1928, this erroneous line, which had dominated Party policy over six months, was brought to an end. In March 1935, Chu was arrested in Changting in Fukien province. While in prison he turned traitor and wrote a confession by the title of 'Unnecessary Words'. In June the same year, he was shot by Kuomintang reactionaries.

Shanghai. This they hoped to turn into their stronghold and then, by pointing to their bailiwick as an island of order and prosperity in an ocean of chaos and ruin, to set themselves up as alone qualified to run the country. To slow down and eventually stop production they sought to undermine industrial discipline, spreading the idea that rules and regulations were a means of 'suppressing the masses', while indiscipline and anarchy were 'revolutionary'.

In 1975 the gang had called for mass movements in the factories to criticize a draft set of 18 rules and regulations drawn up by the State Council, then headed by Chou En-lai, Yao Wen-yuan (a member of the Gang of Four) saying at the time: 'What we need are factories that run without any rules or regulations.'

On our recent visit we were told that the plant had not responded to all this. Workers and management agreed that especially in such a modern plant as theirs (the original machinery had been imported from Japan in the '60s) they could not get along without organization and discipline, and they could see nothing wrong with the draft rules and regulations. So the plant's leadership sent a delegation to Taching Oilfield (which Mao Tsetung had urged all China to take as its model of a socialist industrial enterprise) to find out what it did about industrial discipline. This was another act of resistance against the Gang of Four, which was denouncing Taching as a 'revisionist enterprise'. The delegation found that the oilfield workers, so far from finding rules and regulations oppressive, considered them an important factor in their outstanding production record.

Nevertheless, the gang's plugging of its slogans in the media and its repeated calls to criticize the State Council's draft rules did cause some confusion in the plant for a time, especially among a few of the younger and less politically mature workers. So although rules and regulations remained on the plant's books, its management did not feel in a position to enforce them and there was some increase in lateness and absenteeism. There was also a falling off in maintenance of equipment, quality of products and observance of safety precautions—with a corresponding rise in the accident rate as well as in production costs. While production had been high in 1975, in 1976, when the Gang of Four was at the peak of its power, it was the lowest in the plant's 15-year history.

The set of 18 rules had been issued by the State Council when Teng Hsiao-ping (because of Premier Chou's illness) was its leading member. Later, when he had been removed from office, the gang called on people all over China to 'dig out Teng Hsiao-pings, big and small, at all levels.' Again, we were told, the plant did not respond and 'did not find a single little Teng Hsiao-ping anywhere.' The gang had linked Teng's ouster to his campaign to 'overhaul' several major national institutions, including the Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army. In the media they referred to Teng's speeches and articles on 'overhauling' as 'poisonous weeds' and tried to make 'overhaul' a dirty word all over China. Yet at that very time, when our teachers and students were working at the plant, its leadership had started to prepare for a general overhaul of all equipment. This we now learned was not just routine; it was a symbolical act of defiance.

Another of the gang's methods of sabotaging production was to undermine expertise. Just as Mao had called on workers to 'grasp revolution and promote production', he had urged them to be both 'Red and expert'. But the gang maintained that so long as you were red there was no need to bother about being expert. Nevertheless, when we were at the plant a year ago, we were proudly shown round its attached technical college, run by the factory for its workers. Now, a year later, we found that this school had been kept going in the face of all the gang's propaganda.

Everywhere we went on our return visit to the plant, we were reminded of the spirit which had pervaded Chinese factories just after Chou En-lai's inspiring call at the 4th National People's Congress, in January 1975: 'Made China into a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the 20th century.' Workshop walls and even machines were now plastered with charts and diagrams recording attendance at work and at political study, maintenance of quality, economizing in the use of material and lowering of costs. Industrial discipline, despite the gang's denunciation of it, was apparently in good standing. And on enquiry we found that rules were not simply handed down from above. They were worked out in consultation between rank and file workers, technicians and management at section, workshop and factory levels. They were enforced not simply by administrative measures

but by criticism and self-criticism on the shop floor involving both workers and management. All this fitted in with a broad campaign for emulation to stimulate production. 'Doesn't emulation smack of material incentives?' one of us asked. 'Isn't competition typical of capitalism rather than socialism?' 'No, ours is socialist emulation,' we were told. 'There's nothing capitalistic about it. The workers, teams and workshops compete for honour rather than for money. The most highly prized reward is a red pennant. You might call that a "spiritual incentive"; it's hardly a material one. Lenin himself approved of socialist emulation.'

In spite of all this, during the first two months of this year, the plant's production was not high. This was due to a shortage of material caused by power shortage at the raw material processing plant. This problem, created by the Gang of Four's 'don't work for the revisionist line' slogan was solved by the time of our visit, and production of power, processed material and synthetic textiles was on the upswing.

Other problems, however, remain. For although the Gang of Four did not directly penetrate this particular plant, its general strategy and activities had some indirect effect over almost the whole of China. This effect cannot be wiped out all at once. As somebody at the plant put it: 'The Gang of Four were like a delayed action bomb. Some of the harm they were responsible for didn't make itself felt until after they fell.'

This applies especially to the gang's cultivation of anarchism and their opposition to the Communist Party's traditional moral education or 'ideological remoulding'. Planning to organize strong-arm squads of hooligans to help them seize power, the gang praised indiscipline as an expression of 'going against the current', and they condemned discipline and social conscience as 'lack of rebel spirit.' Not long before our recent visit to the plant two of its young workers had been caught ripping open the seat cushions of the factory's trucks so as to sell the foam rubber inside them. They defended their action by saying that the state owed them a living, where else should they turn for it? The plant leadership had handled the case as a means of educating people in the difference between socialist and capitalist morality—the latter being exemplified by the Gang of Four. They said that the influence of the gang was largely to blame for the crime of the two young

workers and warned them that if they went on in this way they would become 'little Wang Hung-wens'.

The stealing perhaps reflected an economic as well as a social and political problem. Wage increases and promotions were overdue (this is a nationwide problem), the last upward adjustments having been made in 1972. Meanwhile single workers had married and had children and the families of these already married had grown—without corresponding increases in income. Members of the maintenance and repair section where I had worked in 1976, now more outspoken than then, stressed the need for ending wage anomalies. At the same time they emphasized that increased wages must depend on increasing production, which the Gang of Four had obstructed. But changes in the wages structure, they thought, would probably have to wait for the next Communist Party and National People's Congresses, which ought not to be far away.

A perhaps more complex problem is a certain wariness of what, since the Cultural Revolution, have been termed 'new-born socialist things'. One of the chief gains of that revolution is a heightened political awareness on the part of working people, who are now more alert than ever against being taken in by any future Liu Shao-chi's, Lin Piao's or Gangs of Four. But such awareness can, of course, be overdone. In 1976, for instance, we were impressed by the plant's welfare, cultural and sports facilities. We now learnt that these were built up partly by withdrawing some workers from production—with a corresponding effect on output. In setting this right and making sports and culture strictly spare-time activities, there have arisen doubts in the minds of some workers about having them at all. This applies to one activity which had particularly impressed us in 1976: the Workers' Theoretical Study Groups. These took up the study not only of technical subjects but also of history, literature and even philosophy generally in co-operation with intellectuals from colleges and universities, coming like ourselves to do a stint of manual labour at the plant. The majority of both workers and management still consider that these study groups help to close the gap between mental and manual labour, which is one of the goals of communism. Their idea is to keep the groups going, but to run them better. But a few steer clear of them, feeling that they smack of the Gang of Four's efforts to undermine production.

Poor Bugger Black Fellah

Molly G. Elliott

Sixteen hours after the big Pioneer bus had left Darwin on the 1610-kilometre haul to Alice Springs, it stopped at Elliott. The Aboriginal girl and her baby to whom the Darwin booking clerk had spoken as if she had been caught with her hand in the till, and whom the white passengers had studiously ignored, got out into Centralia's vast, silent midnight. An American couple with a small boy got in.

The woman found a seat near the front. The man and child ploughed through the fug of sleep and sweat to a back seat by me.

They'd had an accident with their car and caravan, the man explained. He'd left salvage instructions at Elliott. They'd fly home from Alice.

'Where's home?' I asked.

'Yuendumu,' he sighed and followed the child into exhausted sleep.

But that name jolted me awake. Not one Australian I know has heard of Yuendumu; yet, there, 200 kilometres north-west of Alice Springs via a dirt road, University staff members (my seat neighbour among them), have conducted a five-year research into Aboriginal infant mortality, which stands at six times that of other Australian children. Hospital records, home hygiene, food stuffs and other factors added up to evidence that gastrointestinal and respiratory diseases cause most deaths.

Ill-nourished, more often sick than well, those youngsters that survive beyond five live

The general feeling at the plant, a year after our first experience there and seven months after the fall of the Gang of Four, seems to be this: The fall of the gang does not automatically and immediately solve all problems, for the damage they did throughout China was great. But with the gang out of the way, the ground has been cleared for tackling old and new problems. The plant Party committee stressed that this must be done step by step and can be guaranteed only by systematic

mainly in insanitary conditions and exhibit inferior behavioural development. Divorced from tradition and without necessary means, many Aboriginal mothers, nevertheless, battle to maintain accepted child-care norms, but poverty leading to poor living standards and inadequate education completes its fatal curving course back to poverty.

Aboriginals have an acute need for education; yet, perhaps, the greatest educational deprivation exists among whites who adopt towards these fellow-countrymen a small-Boer aversion as cruel as any more widely publicised and legally enforced apartheid.

I first encountered this outlook 11 years ago. On frequent Australian visits, I had rarely even seen an Aboriginal; neither had my Australian friends. By chance, in Sydney, I met Aboriginal poet Kath Walker, a vividly intelligent woman from Stradbroke Island, near Brisbane. Her colour had prevented her training as a nurse. Staying with friends, I hurried home elated after this stimulating encounter.

My friends could hardly have been more horrified had I confessed to heroin addiction. That I had actually shaken hands with this loathsome creature shocked them profoundly. Though I protested, defended and argued, I felt like a deaf man answering questions that no one has asked him. From then on as my interest in and sympathy with Aboriginals grew, I encountered similar reactions. Delivered with the taut heartiness of people who have little in common, their reactions ranged from 'We should have left them in the bush' to 'They

study and application of the Thought of Mao Tsetung, as the new Chairman Hua Kuo-feng urges. This together with the recently held National Conference to Learn from Taching do seem at last to be releasing a potential untapped in 1976. The current aim is to 'turn the plant into a Taching-type enterprise within two or three years', so that it can play its part in turning China into 'a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the 20th century.'

should be exterminated. They contribute nothing.

In Alice Springs, a tourist bus driver sneeringly pointed out to passengers 'our first-class citizens', a group from the outback camped in the Todd River's dry bed. Sure, they looked scruffy but what encouragement had they to look otherwise? A slew of skinny dogs romped with snotty-nosed children, a sad contrast to the well-fed orphans, smiles like rows of pearls dropped into cups of chocolate, in the care of Roman Catholic nuns.

Occasionally, a white, feeling a little fond or guilty, will admit that the Aborigines have received callous treatment, but this sympathy is more of the gullet than the gut. Few regard the Aboriginal as human with the same basic tenants of the mind: love and hate and fear and hope and pain.

Yet, many dedicated Australians try to help the Aborigines, and to some purpose.

In the Northern Territory, which has a 25% Aboriginal population, the infant mortality rate dropped from 88.5 per 1,000 live births in 1970 to 68 in 1974, putting it ahead of Queensland and Western Australia. This improvement is attributable to 85 rural health service nursing sisters and 170 Aborigines employed in health clinics. Other factors include improved shops in more affluent outback communities, better communications and education.

Yet, to many Aborigines, the education system has little relevance to their needs. If the country's colour bar excludes them from worthwhile jobs, why worry about schooling?

Nevertheless, education has begun to consider Aborigines, with teacher aides ensuring emotional security for Aboriginal children whom various schemes encourage to stay at school beyond the minimum leaving age. In the Northern Territory, Queensland, Western and South Australia, bi-lingual education relegates English to a second language in schools with a predominantly Aboriginal roll. Indeed, in these schools exemplified for me by Guthalunga in Queensland, the children seem to get along well together until parental prejudice exerts itself increasingly as they grow up.

In a proposed outback pre-school network, active parental involvement should help children of both races. Besides expanding bi-cultural education in mainly Aboriginal schools, the Government favours Aboriginal history and culture in all school curricula

from primary level up.

Aboriginal parent-education programmes will lead to consultation in dealing with alcoholism, drug abuse and similar problems.

For the Aborigines, liquor has become as mortal as unclotting blood, a fact that does not concern average Australians, among the world's heaviest boozers. They regard the Aborigines' recently granted right to drink in pubs as the ultimate step toward equality.

'What more do they want?' they ask, bewildered. 'They've got to behave like us now.'

Having seen the conduct in some Australian pubs, one adds, 'God forbid!'

In the Northern Territory, Aboriginal alcoholism rises 50% above the national average, even doubling it in some areas, according to a Government survey published last October. Many Aborigines spend half their weekly income on grog. This leads to under-nourishment in children, wife beating, rape, promiscuity and prostitution.

You can appreciate this in Cairns, Katherine, Alice Springs, Oodnadatta, where Aborigines, unkempt and grey with late nights and long drinks, wait with terrible resignation for the pubs and wine shops to open. They swill cheap, fierce-throated, cirrhosis-inducing plonk sold even in dairies. Like plaintive turtles, they lie drunk on park seats and in gutters, dance on pavements, fossick for dogends, loll in the shade singing monotonous tribal songs in voices with a woodwind glow, congregate in noisy groups round public toilets. Speak to them and they reply with prickly-voiced diffidence. Normally a considerable distance off from the husky, admired norm of modern Australian life, many have grown unhealthily fat like black plastic bags filled with jelly.

Many Australians attribute this alcoholism to the former Labour Government's efforts to eliminate social injustice with improved welfare benefits. These, with royalties from mining operations on tribal reserves, have given many Aborigines more money than ever before, but with no guidance in handling it. As with whites, a shiny new car or station wagon has become a status symbol. At night, these stand parked round the pubs in scungy outback settlements like Renner Springs.

The full-blooded Aboriginal population numbers about 40,000; part-Aborigines total

about 100,000. In some isolated communities, the population doubles every 15-20 years. Far from a dying race, by this century's end, people of Aboriginal descent should number about 300,000, the same as 200 years ago when the first white settlers hunted them like dingos and with the same intent—to wipe them out which they did in several areas including Tasmania.

Over the last 15 years, Aborigines have increasingly moved into towns. Sydney alone has 10,000 mainly living in ghetto areas like tired sepia sets of a second-rate opera.

The present Government backs their right to retain racial identity and to choose either a traditional or European life style. Indeed, it has undertaken to develop Aboriginal self-sufficiency and to institute schemes to enhance their dignity, self-respect and self-reliance starting with continuing community education for all age groups, a programme that will also boost claims for self-management, land rights and additional funds.

The self-management aspect means attention to housing, health, employment and legal aid.

As regards land rights, the Government has sworn to ensure inalienable rights to tribal territories with significant sites protected as has happened at tourist attractions like Ayers Rock, the Olga Mountains and the Standley Chasm. This will also entail strictly controlled mining activity, yielding a fair proportion of royalties paid into trust.

Available funds and expertise will assist in land development, with health, housing, education and employment opportunities in relevant areas. In addition, an Aboriginal Entitlement Account will receive annual allocations with funds from it invested for Aboriginal benefit.

In 1970, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs introduced a special work projects scheme which gave Aborigines employment in the improvement of reserves and in fisheries, forest administration and trades. The Commonwealth Public Service employs 1,500. The appointment of more Aborigines to liaison, advisory and training positions in education, health and community development plus the expansion of Aboriginal medical and legal services, housing, building and pastoral projects will boost self-sufficiency.

Housing, however, remains of prime importance as anyone, who has seen the corrugated

iron shacks hungry for paint in places like Pine Creek, realizes.

To obtain suitable housing, Aborigines can approach not only their own housing societies but also State housing schemes financed through their own Loans Commission. In Central Australia, they may choose an easily assembled and dismantled portable home suited to their nomadic background; a village concept, however, seems better suited to the north of Western Australia.

Aboriginal Legal Services have offices in many centres. In Alice Springs, for instance, field officers work with solicitors, visit police stations and prisons and help prepare statements for Aborigines, inarticulate, semi-literate and unaware of their rights. This has led to a marked decrease in charges and convictions against Aborigines.

Besides a few dedicated whites, numerous Aborigines, believing that the humble and meek are due for exaltation, have begun battling for their rights, among them Kath Walker's firebrand son. Nevertheless, the heart-injured majority, having grown up over generations to regard themselves as inferior, see everything through dung-coloured spectacles. This shows in their cowed attitude, their tragic lack of basic human dignity.

It takes enormous heart to break out of this mould, but some do manage it. Even at a very simple level, this represents a tremendous victory: the swaggering stockmen, older women in charge of Aboriginal art centres, Alice Springs camel farmers, housewives with bonny, beautifully kept children, often of mixed blood. Those who cling to their traditional life gain stature from that also. Spare, silent, they come in from their reservations to Cairns and Darwin. Though numbly naive as regards the city's classes, crowds and confusions, their self-awareness expresses itself in a don't-you-dare look in their eyes.

Nevertheless, most Aborigines feel as powerless as a calf trapped in a dry well. Blank sheets on which society can scribble violent graffiti, they exist in a vacuum 6,000 years wide separating a nomadic, Stone Age tribal life and modern, jet age Australian society.

In 1975-76, the Government spent \$42.7 million on Aboriginal housing, \$9 million on education, \$16.5 million in health. Though this indicates an awakening of the Australian conscience, these amends may have come too late.

Volcanoes

Husein Rofé

If we ignore most of the underwater volcanoes in the Middle Atlantic Ridge, there are about 500 known active ones in the world, most of them close to the sea and about two-thirds of the total in the Pacific region. They are generally to be found near earthquake epicentres in comparatively recently formed mountain areas, as is also the case for the 10,000-mile-long Middle Atlantic Ridge.

Volcanoes result from underground stress and instability and from radio-active energy released within the earth's core. Basically, a volcano contains a reservoir of subterranean molten rock mixed with liquids and gases, which is known as a magma; it is under immense pressure, which is further intensified in periods of cooling and crystallization. When pressure becomes excessive, the magma is forced upwards through the cone and transformed into lava as it pours through the opening of the crater and down the mountain slope. The cone is often surrounded by a basin known as a caldera, which may be the result of volcanic débris from earlier eruptions. Sometimes fresh-water lakes are formed by the rain which collects in all or part of a caldera.

When the matter ejected is solid, it is known as pyroclastics, though it may also be lava which is molten rock, or gas. The solids include blocks that can weigh several tons but also comprise ashes that can be wafted to great distances by the wind.

Indonesia

More people have died as a result of volcanic eruptions in Indonesia than in any other country. Shortly after 6.30 a.m. on August 31, 1951, I was myself awakened in the central Javanese town of Djogjakarta by the eruption of Gunung Kelut, a hundred miles to the east. At the time, I had no idea what caused the noise that awoke me, but the shaking of the windows reminded me of bombs falling in air-raids ten years earlier.

Within three or four hours, the town was plunged into pitch darkness despite the usual intense brilliance of the tropical sun, which was then completely blocked by a blanket of volcanic ash passing over the area. Electric

lights were burning everywhere and most people in the streets wailed that the resurrection day had arrived. Eventually the daylight returned, revealing that much ash had settled on the roofs, forming a glistening layer reminiscent of a carpet of snow. The eruption only accounted for seven deaths and damage was local and slight.

In near-by Bali, Gunung Agung (the Great Mountain) so completely dominates the lives of the villagers, who regard it as a powerful god, that they take it as their magnetic compass point instead of the north, always relating their bearings to the direction of the peak. Cases are even known where Balinese leaving their island for the first time were thrown into utter bewilderment and dismay when it was no longer possible for them to orient themselves by this mountain.

Gunung Agung erupted three times between February and May 1963, when Gunung Batur, the great volcano of central Bali, followed suit. The ground on the mountain's lower slopes in south-east Bali was still hot when I trod it 6½ years later. One-twentieth of the entire population of the island, or some 40,000 persons, were left homeless. It is not surprising that the Balinese, whose intensely religious cult is directed to the propitiation of natural forces, live in especial awe of their mountain gods, and have built their most impressive sanctuaries on the slopes of the volcanoes that ensure fertility to the crops when well disposed, but may at any instant belch forth fire and destruction if angered.

In many primitive cultures, the north-east is the place of honour and it is noteworthy that the island capitals have generally been located to the south-west of Agung. In fact, in everyday speech the people rarely give directions with the equivalents of left and right, but rather in relation to the sacred mountain.

It has been said that in pre-Christian times the cult of the mountain was widespread and its significance had as complex associations in the popular mind as has the cross for Christians. Freud pointed out that the experience of Moses on the mountain referred to volcanic conditions, while present Mt Sinai is at least a thousand miles from any known volcano, ex-

tinct or active. Most mountain cults are ultimately to be traced to volcanic deities. The subject probably deserves deeper study in the case of the Central and South American religious practices of the Olmecs and Toltecs, Maya and Incas. The latter ruled over a portion of the 4,500-mile-long volcanic Andean range, while Mexico has its own famous volcanoes such as Popocatepetl. In Chile, the fire mountains are in a straight line nearly 1,000 miles in length, which corresponds to a geological fault in the earth's crust.

Returning to the vicinity of Bali, we may note that 50 miles to the east, Gunung Rindjani, Indonesia's highest mountain outside Irian, was threateningly active in 1964. However, none of those mentioned is as violent as Tambora on Sumbawa, the next island eastwards from Lombok, where 12,000 persons representing almost the entire population died in the eruption of April 5, 1815, at the time when Java was under the governorship of the British Lord Stamford Raffles while Napoleon occupied the Netherlands.

The sound of this explosion carried 1,000 miles and the resulting dust orbited the earth for a year, so that 1816 was referred to in Europe as the year without a summer. Plague and famine killed about five times as many inhabitants as fell victim to the eruption itself. For the last 162 years, Tambora has remained quiescent. However, its 1815 explosion was one of three volcanic catastrophes that killed between them more persons than died from all other volcanic outbursts in recorded history. The two other eruptions were those of Krakatoa and Mont Pelée, which we shall examine next.

Krakatoa

Java is variously reported to have anything from 32 to 49 active volcanoes. A few miles off its west coast, 150 km from Jakarta, is the small island of Krakatoa which became world famous for its eruptions of August 26 and 27, 1883, which followed three months of rumblings and other activities such as the spewing out of dust that reached a height of over 50 km and continued to be blown about in the earth's atmosphere for another two years before dissipating.

The group of three small islands known as Krakatoa lies between Java and Sumatra in the narrow Sunda Straits. At the time of the disturbance the islets were uninhabited, the main one being eight km long and 850 m

high, with three cones and no history of any misbehaviour for the previous two centuries, since May 1680. It has been linked with references in the semi-mythical Babad Tanah Djawi, or History of Java in the Javanese language, concerning a catastrophic eruption in AD 416, which, the history tells us, severed Jave from Sumatra. While there is no geological confirmation available for the corresponding period, it does appear that the Sunda Straits have only been open to navigation for about eight centuries.

Before its great eruption of a century ago, Krakatoa (known to the Indonesians as Krakatau, perhaps corrupted from Kerakatan and deriving ultimately from the Sanskrit Karakatta, the constellation of Cancer) produced a cloud of vapour 10,000 m high, accompanied by explosive flashes and showers of ash, which eventually darkened the midday sky. All this took place a few months before the grand finale, the clear portents of disaster included the surrounding sea being almost solid with floating pumice, while by early August hardly any plant life survived on the normally very fertile island. The vapour was then rising from 12 different foci in a crater 1 km in diameter, and part of the peak had already subsided.

When the final outburst occurred, people in Singapore, Penang and New Guinea thought ships were firing guns in distress, and even in far away Ceylon vessels put out to sea to seek the cause of the noise, the farthest report of the sound being heard came 3,000 miles away from near Mauritius, while people were awakened by the noise in South Australia. The ashes circled the earth several times and the world mean temperature fell.

A wave was generated which flooded the neighbouring coasts of Java and Sumatra, reaching heights of up to 30 m, caused by the subsidence of the island beneath the waves. The explosion was produced by the impact of molten rock and cold sea water and was the loudest noise known in modern times, perhaps the greatest explosion in history. The great wave raised aloft a Dutch warship 80 km from the volcano and carried it three km inland to a place 10 m above sea-level. Tidal disturbances were recorded in South America and the English Channel. Almost the entire volcano was swallowed up beneath the waves, though a new island has been forming in its place and a cone issued above the waves in 1952.

Krakatoa is part of a volcanic chain that traverses Java and Sumatra and consisting of about 500 such mountains, mostly extinct. Merapi, the famous mountain of mid-Java may have been responsible for the annihilation of the first Hindu kingdom of Mataram in 1006. As we have seen, the chain continues eastwards from Java, passing successively through Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa.

Mt Pelée

The eruption of Krakatoa and the waves it triggered off claimed 37,000 lives, yet it was not quite 19 years before a comparable volcanic disaster again struck the world in the opposite hemisphere halfway round the world in the Caribbean. The culprit was the 1,800-metre high (but mainly submarine) Mt Pelée on the island of Martinique, one of the French islands in the Lesser Antilles group. This time the number of dead is variously estimated between 28,000 and 40,000, many of them being African slaves employed in the sugar-cane fields.

Once again, there had been enough warnings to avert the catastrophe; the danger was greater since the mountain overlooked the populated island capital of St Pierre. For a full year, jets of sulphurous steam (officially known as fumaroles) pierced the sky, accompanied until 12 days before the denouement by minor explosions, while a dry crater suddenly developed into a lake 650 m long. Ash fell in abundance for ten days, together with irritating and noxious fumes while the local fauna had the instinctive wisdom to heed the signs and made good their escape. Further portents included six days of explosions violent enough to compel schools and shops to close their doors. Brilliant lightning illuminated the skies as rain fell in torrents. Even the rain-water lake that had formed in the dry crater now boiled over and poured 900 m down to sea-level in the form of a raging and scalding flood that travelled at 100 kph a distance of five km, sweeping 50-ton boulders along in its mad path of destruction and disturbing the tidal patterns.

In the face of such unparalleled signs of wrath, nothing could have been more astonishing than the apathy of the French authorities, who persuaded the population of human beings—unlike the animals—that they had nothing to fear. Finally, lava poured in abundance from a fissure torn apart in the

mountain's side, killing in an instant some 30,000 persons in 'one great flash of fire' as the mountain blew apart in a tremendous explosion.

Many items, including corpses, were preserved in a petrified and carbonized state, since lack of oxygen delayed ignition in spite of the intense heat. Straight in the path of the destructive torrent lay St Pierre, France's Paris of the Caribbean. Within a matter of seconds, the entire population was dead except for two inhabitants, who remained alive badly burned. One of them was an imprisoned murderer who had the luck to be chained in an underground dungeon.

Eruptions persisted for another year, wreaking further havoc in other neighbouring directions and killing off another 2,000 persons. The earth's crust must have been shaken rather violently since a whole series of Central American volcanoes erupted 'in sympathy' at about this time. Since then, Mt Pelée showed some minor activity in 1929/32, but its threat is probably not yet over although St Pierre is once more densely populated.

Mediterranean Volcanoes

Such were the great killer volcanoes of the last two centuries. In ancient times, the most famous were Thera and Vesuvius. The former was on the island also known as Santorin in the Aegean Sea, and the eruption occurred in about 1450 BC. The resulting waves are thought to have ended the advanced Minoan civilization of near-by Crete. A city was destroyed that is said to have housed a population of about 30,000 persons, yet no bodies were found; so it is suggested that the population took warning from two big earthquakes before the eruption and moved elsewhere. If so, they were more prudent than the civilized men of the present. However, a theory has recently been advanced that the palace of Knossos in Crete never was inhabited; that it was in fact the immense and central necropolis of a people devoted to a cult of the dead. The whole question of the meaning of Cretan civilization remains a puzzle: it was rediscovered by the wealthy and forceful British archaeologist Sir Arthur Evans and his own interpretation of its meaning is now thought to have been coloured by the life of his own times, but to have long been accepted unquestioningly. The relationship of the civilization he named Minoan to the eruption of Thera-Santorin remains an enigma.

The eruption of Vesuvius overlooking the Bay of Naples took place in August AD 79 and is better documented thanks to the writings of the younger Pliny, whose famous uncle perished in the disaster. Even 15 years before, there was a serious but not isolated earthquake in the region. Quantities of falling ash buried everything for miles around and there was a day of total darkness. The eruption blanketed Pompeii under a layer of ash 3 m deep, so thoroughly that its site remained unknown for 1,800 years until it was rediscovered and became a major tourist attraction. Some 2,000 persons died there, calcinated bodies.

Iceland

The great volcanic disasters all took place in the tropics. Iceland has the curious destiny to be a focus of great heat in an arctic environment. It might with greater justification have been named Lavaland since its soil consists of little else and the constant and generous outpouring has bestowed on it about one-third of all the surface lava in the world. Estimates as to the number of volcanoes there vary from 22 to over 100. Not surprisingly, the island history is punctuated with eruptions, the most serious of which killed off 20% of the total population or 10,000 persons in 1783, together with most of the domestic animals; the latter were in most cases either trapped or poisoned by volcanic ash. Consequently, famine and plague compounded the disaster. Another characteristic peculiar to Iceland is that of eruptions under glaciers, resulting in serious flooding and rapid movements of icebergs below the surface. Iceland is also well known for its geysers, and the very name is of Icelandic origin.

Hawaii and elsewhere

The consistency of lava varies greatly with the volcanoes. Those in Hawaii are far gentler, for the lava seeps out as a liquid scarcely more viscous than water, in such cases as the 9,000-metre-high Mauna Loa (one half submarine). This may be contrasted with Krakatoa and Mt Pelée, where lava was practically solid, so that it blocked the exit passage, producing a powerful explosive pressure from the gases denied natural outlets. It is this kind of build-up that represents the greatest potential threat.

We left the region of South-east Asia to record in succession the world's greatest vol-

canic disasters. Now we may return to examine the Philippines region, not far from Indonesia, and similarly an island group or archipelago.

For the tourist the main attraction is Mt Mayón, claimed to be a far more beautifully proportioned cone than Fuji San (wrongly known as Fujiyama in the West) yet lacking its snow cap. Far more deadly is Taal volcano, 60 km south-west of Manila, in the middle of a beautiful caldera lake and a popular tourist resort. The history of the Philippines is virtually non-existent before the Spanish colonization, so the first major recorded eruption dates only from 1754, though the volcano has been active ever since.

In 1911, there were violent eruptions and lightning flashes following seismic waves early in the New Year. No attempt at evacuation was made by the Americans, and the outburst claimed 1,335 victims. In 1965 history repeated itself and 500 more died in a small eruption. The population has a habit of always returning to the world's most fertile soils since people never wish to believe they themselves will be struck by disaster. In the seventies there have been more eruptions and Taal remains active. The inhabitants of Manila are unconcerned since activity has always been localized, unless related to earthquakes, which periodically jolt the capital.

Finally, we may consider the Middle Atlantic ridge of the Atlantic, running north and south off the coast of Africa, and including the Azores, Madeira, Canary Islands and Cape Verde group, all volcanic. More romantic is the tale of Tristan da Cunha, lonely British outpost between Buenos Aires and Cape Town, in mid-Atlantic. Volcanic activity in 1962 led to the evacuation to Great Britain of its few inhabitants, who did not enjoy being thus propelled into the industrialized world of the twentieth century, and returned home as soon as conditions permitted.

Most of the mid-Atlantic volcanoes belong to a single chain of mountains extending in mid-ocean from Arctic to Antarctic. In geological terms this is a comparatively young chain, only a few million years old, while its outward extension is related to changes in temperature as the molten rocks well up from below the ocean floor crust. This spread is related to volcanic activity and has in recent years been connected with a fast-developing branch of geology known as Plate Tectonics, which demonstrates that the earth's crust,

Two Brothers

Rewi Alley

Part of the province of Kwangtung, and lying off its southern coast, is the island of Hainan. Its history before its liberation in 1950 was a stormy one. Up under the Five Finger Mountain in the centre of the island, there were once conflicts between the Li and Miao minority folk who lived there. There were many uprisings amongst the poor and dispossessed on the coast. The Japanese invaders drove the Kuomintang back into hill areas. The peasant guerillas who had been fighting from there now came out to work underground amongst villages in occupied districts. Kuomintang soldiery crudely suppressed the big, now combined, Li and Miao uprisings in hill regions which they had occupied after being driven from the coast. The one good thing which emerged from all of this was that the common folk of the whole island learnt better who were friends, who enemies, so that with liberation the strength of the ordinary people went as one together into construction.

Amongst the poor folk in the coastal areas was the son of a Hakka immigrant who had come to Wenchang on the eastern coast and married a local wife. The immigrant was from Meih sien in eastern Kwangtung. At liberation the son found himself in Ngai Hsien on the south coast of the island, where he joined up with a fishing group which finally became a fishing commune. He married a sturdy and very beautiful lass whose parents had fought for the people in the revolutionary war along with his own. She was of mixed stock, being the daughter of a Li minority father and a Miao minority mother, themselves thrown together in the struggle. At the same time as bringing up a family, she worked in Ngai Hsien salting the small herring caught each day by the fishing commune. The couple had

whether oceanic or continental, is formed basically of six major plates or slabs. The crust is not stationary and the plates do not move in identical directions. Their interacting movements are responsible for seismic and volcanic disturbances and they appear to support Wegener's continental drift theory. This postulates that the continents formed a single compact mass and have gradually drifted apart. Nowadays it is believed that the

four children. Their eldest son Li Pin was nineteen at the time our story was written, the second, Li Chiang, sixteen, then one girl Li Hsiang was twelve, and another Li Mei, ten. Both of the little girls were pupils at the local seven-year commune school.

Li Pin, rather a bookish type, had graduated from upper middle school, and was working on a rubber plantation for a period, to gain practical experience in his last school years. He had become supremely correct in his appearance, fashioning himself on one of the school teachers he admired most, using the same words, even down to handling a cigarette just as he had seen his idol do, and wearing a permanent slightly superior smile. His ambition, like that of not a few of his schoolmates at the time, was to become a cadre in the local administration after he had gone through all the various stages. 'Get on the bottom rung of the ladder,' his teacher had urged.

Li Chiang was a different lad entirely. In summertime, when he was smaller, it was hard to ever get him to wear any clothing at all in the heavy Hainan heat. He knew all the fishing boats and all the fishermen, and every kind of local marine life that was. He also went out with his mother into the jungle and from her learnt much of the lore of her people, animals, insects, snakes, plants, birds, even avid to know all he could about them all. The outwardly prim and proper schoolmaster Li Pin copied did not like him, calling him 'wild', so he was not sent on to the upper middle school, but graduated from the lower middle and went out to the fishing fleet for work. It was exactly what he wanted. Though intensely practical, he was an avid reader. By hook or by crook he got maga-

function and heat generated as the plates slide over one another melt and force upwards rocks in the lower portion of the plates, gradually impelling them towards the crust where they eventually form into volcanoes. If such recent scientific theories are correct, they help to explain the origins of both earthquakes and volcanoes, as well as the past and possibly the future relationships between the various continents

zines and books on all kinds of subjects, from politics to medicinal herbs on to electrical appliances and engines. It was he who was always able to fix the fishing trawler's radio set and help with diesel engine repairs. Sometimes when he found a beautiful shell, he would add it to a little collection he made to take it home for his little sisters who both adored him. When he was a child, he used to hang his *dodo*, or three-cornered pinafore children there wore in the hot summers, on a nail by the house, to be worn only when ceremony demanded. When out with the trawlers, he would usually wear just bathing trunks so that the skin of his whole body was tanned a rich brown. The only other clothing he had much interest in was a very baggy pair of patched pants and a jersey with holes in it, for wear if there was a chilly wind from the north. Said he liked the pants baggy so that he could pull them on quickly, roll up the legs easily, while holes in the jersey were important for ventilation! Shoes and socks he left to his elder brother Li Pin, who always wore immaculate white socks and black cloth shoes as did his teacher. Li Chiang's feet were strong and well formed, with no distortion, while his hands were supple and seemed as if always waiting to make, create. Often they would carve out little wooden boats for his sisters to play with, that were really little works of art, and joyously appreciated.

The plantation, organized as a state farm, where Li Pin had been sent to work, was not so far away from his home. Trucks often came into the town, and there were highway buses also, so that the boy came in quite often, especially at weekends. His old teacher had recommended him to friends in the state farm administration as a hopeful young friend. Said the teacher to him, 'Now in China it is youth like you who must take power. Old cadres have become a stumbling block with all their talk about the need for experience. You must keep close to those who follow the leadership of Chiang Ching and her supporters, and then you will have the chance to do great things. You are different from your brother. He will always be just a fisherman. If you care to and if you rely on your friends, you can climb as high as you like, but you must remember to make the right alliances. Beware of those who push for production—do not let yourself be classed as one who supports the "theory of productive forces". Memorize important quotations, and find ways to repeat them

in what you write and say, and you will get along well.'

Sometimes at weekends when Li Pin came home, his father would question him about the production results the rubber plantation was getting, but the lad would toss his head and say, 'What does it matter if there is more rubber or less? To think about that is simply revisionist. The main thing is to concentrate on raising more understanding of class struggle!' The father would say, 'Of course class struggle is important. So is production!' and then quietly get up and go out. 'What you think is the most important thing for me to do?' Li Chiang asked. 'Carry out class struggle, of course,' said his brother rather pompously. 'Then what you are saying is that you and your old teacher are one class, and all of us here are in another. We work and produce, you talk!' And with that he turned his face away from Li Pin, and looked at the wall, only changing his mood when the two little girls came and took his arms, saying, 'Do not fuss! Come out and play with us!' The mother, sensing that there was some division in her family, bustled around and was equally nice to all, but the strain was evident.

So did things go, until on one early autumn day a typhoon warning came. The typhoon was passing south of the island, but the edge would hit it. The fishing fleet—motorized junks converted to trawlers—was ordered into shelter. At that time Li Chiang was on a different boat from that of his father, helping out with repairing the diesel engine which had developed trouble, so that the craft lay immobile, there not being enough wind to fill its sail and bring it in. The big *yuloh* oar was put to use, but soon typhoon winds rose and began to blow the craft west, with high waves breaking over her. The engine spluttered and finally went into action, but by this time, the trawler was well past her home bay and was running along the coast. The fishermen knew of a cove some kilometres to the west, and made for that, but the going became increasingly tough. Rain fell in sheets and the wind was terrific. To get too close to the shore they might be piled up on the rocks, but they had to be close enough to be able to run into their planned haven. An immense wave came over, and washed one of the fishermen away, throwing Li Chiang bodily against the diesel engine, and cutting his head so that his body was soon covered with blood and salt water. No one had time

to help to tie it up. The battle went on until there came the final struggle as they were abreast of their bay. The trawler climbed up to the top of a giant wave that then carried it shorewards at terrific speed. The steersman was good, and the trawler was taken high up the strand of the bay far above the usual waterline, the crew throwing out the anchor which caught around the roots of an old banyan tree, so that the wave receded without carrying its victim back into the raging sea. The fishermen made their boat fast with extra ropes, and then one of them tore a strip from his trouser leg to bind up Li Chiang's head before they all crawled off for shelter. After the fury had past, they went to the local commune, where doctors gave Li Chiang proper attention, one of them sewing up the wound on his scalp. Then the typhoon had blown out, the trawler crew was loaded on a passing truck, and taken back to their home in Ngai Hsien town, leaving the least battered crew member to look after their boat. Everyone had cuts and bruises, and all were completely worn out.

Li Chiang was helped into his home by two local friends, though protesting he could walk. His father and mother both wept with the joy of having him safe and sound again, for they had feared the worst. All the boy could do was to relapse into a deep sleep, his mother sitting by him all night, hot towelling his face and body at intervals. He rested for several days, but then was out and around again. Li Pin came to see him, and Li Chiang asked him how politics alone could have made that diesel engine come to life when needed. Li Pin reddened and said nothing. Li Chiang said, 'Fishermen's politics helped us to work together, but our politics had to go with the technical knowhow of the crew leader at the steering wheel and fixing of our diesel engine.' Li Pin said shortly that he had to be going. He had been invited to travel with a group of students in the countryside to Kwangchow, the provincial capital. Li Chiang and the rest of the family around politely said 'Goodbye!' The father said, 'Li Chiang, would you not like to travel too?' The boy replied, 'Well, I have been all the way to our Hsisha Islands, and I am young still!'

The months ahead were filled with incidents. For one thing, there came the downfall of the Gang of Four and all they stood for. Everywhere over the land the people smiled. Li Pin's once adored teacher friend was accused of belonging to a gang working to split

unity in the county, and in school circles, causing groups to attack each other. His past was inquired into, and it was found that he belonged to a once rich and powerful family in Kwangchow, most of whose members had left China. He had been a student at one of the universities in 1966, and had joined in with an ultra-Left anarchistic group, which made many serious mistakes before it was disbanded. With some of the friends he had in it, he came to Hainan, and all used the influence they had there to get small positions for themselves, all still following the same political line. Actually the teacher had taken many words from the revolution and used them for counter-revolutionary purposes. His exposure and that of his friends led to their being sent off to a centre for retraining. Like many of his kind, the teacher also held on to many Confucian ideas, obsessed by pretty clothes, pretty talk and at the same time specializing in dirty tricks. He criticized all intellectuals, especially the older teachers, but could talk so cleverly that he fooled many students.

Li Chiang soon had the stitches out of his scalp wound, and was back with his trawler. One day the crew went ashore at the bay the Gang of Four operator Chiang Ching had marked off for her own private swimming, demanding that the previous occupants get out of it. Li Chiang went to see her beautiful luxury bathing house, with its plate-glass windows, its bathroom, and so on. Lay on the spring mattress for a while to see how soft it was. Then did a job for himself sitting on her private water closet, the first time he had used such. 'So much water to wash away so little,' he said, 'and what a waste if everyone had to have a thing like this! Where would we get compost for our fields? It's more comfortable and more profitable sitting over one of our new Kwangtung commune latrines than it is over that thing!' But he liked the flower garden, and the water taps set beside the path up to the house. In fact the next time he came to the bay, he swam ashore carrying the rope for the pullers stationed on the beach to start to haul the big net in. After passing the rope over to them, he went and sat under one of the taps and washed off all the salt water from his body luxuriously. 'You could not have done that when Chiang Ching was around,' he was told. 'She even stationed armed men out in the bay in case a shark should come! When she demanded big tailed flat fish, the whole fishing fleet had to get out to try and catch some,' the narrator going on

BOOK SECTION

Lhasa, the Open City—a Journey to Tibet—
by Han Suyin (Jonathan Cape, London).

This is a small book, and with the wealth of illustrations included in it, particularly those of the well-known monasteries in Tibet and statues found there, it may look like a travelogue. But a travelogue it is definitely not. It is actually a book about the quiet revolution which has been and is still going on in Tibet. The revolution in Tibet has been one of the most maligned and a great deal of noise has been made about it in the outside world. The deepening changes which began with the arrival in Tibet of the People's Liberation Army, however, have been as quiet as they are earth-shaking. Alongside them the 3-day insurrection which took place in March 1959 was nothing but a farce in spite of all the outside support it had managed to obtain.

The changes occurred almost as soon as the People's Liberation Army entered into Tibet. This is not to say that such changes were imposed by the army. The army simply brought with them a new way of life which was to be slowly and gradually embraced by the people who had known no other way of life but that of their own, the way of life of the serf. Where there is opposition, there is rebellion. For centuries there had been no lack of scattered, spontaneous revolts on the Roof of the World, but invariably these were put down. It was the Liberation Army which brought with them new hopes and showed Ti-

to many more lurid details of the private life of this would-be empress of a latter-day China.

After the downfall of the Gang of Four, Li Pin did not come home for a long time. When he did, he had changed. For one thing he was now comfortably barefooted, Hainan style, and did not wear the stiff, hot, buttoned up tunic. It was a weekend, and when Li Chiang came in from the fishing fleet, he took in the changed brother in one glad appraising glance, sat beside him, wrestled a while, pulling off his brother's shirt and then his long pants, leaving him with red shorts only. There the two sat, Li Chiang throwing an arm over his brother's shoulder. Father coming in, and seeing the two brothers friendly again, rubbing their heads together affectionately. Li

betans a way out of the sufferings inflicted upon them by a theo-autocracy which had become an insufferable anachronism.

And Han Suyin tells the story of the changes well. It is a gentle story, for the changes themselves came gently, so gently that they were at first not even noticed. Here is, for example, a story told to Han Suyin by Tsomo, vice-chairman of the women's federation in Tibet, 'a beautiful woman of thirty-four, and a Memba, from a border region in Tibet':

'The soldiers camped near our village. We expected them to take away everything, to burn our fields and houses; but after a day or two, we saw they did not touch our fields. So I came down a little lower (from the cliffs she and her people had been in hiding).

'They were working; I know now they were making a road, but away from our fields. I could not understand. My mother said: "Don't go, don't go," but I came down again the next day, and I saw among them women in uniform. One of them perceived me, hiding behind a rock, and called to me in my own language to come down, not to be afraid. She was a woman interpreter.'

Tsomo came down, and was given food, water, and told not to be frightened. 'The Hans told me they had come to build a road. I saw then that they had fed and milked the cows, and taken nothing. They

Mei the youngest entered with a basket of wild herbs she had been gathering, her straw hat tied over her head, wearing athletic singlet and coloured print short pants, her pretty little face peeping out under the hat looking sweet as she smiled. She, too, looked at the boys and happily turned around to call in Li Hsiang, who, alike dressed, was carrying in two pails of water on a carrying pole. Li Pin finally said, 'I must get back to the plantation tonight, because I am on duty rubber tapping at 4.30 tomorrow morning.' The father brightened, and with that the whole family fell to preparing the evening meal, laughing and talking happily with each other, Li Chiang feeling that still another victory had been won. And out over the bay, moonlight glittered, magically changing the wide sea to silver, and all around was peace.

gave me milk and butter to take back, and food. I returned and told my mother, but she would not believe me. "This is a trick; when we come down they will kill us." But two young boys believed me, and came down with me the next day. And they also believed the Hans, and the three of us went back to the mountain to tell the others; and in a week all our village came down.'

After that there was no stopping Tsomo. 'Chingdrolmami (Liberation Army) treated us well; did not beat or shout; helped us with the reaping and threshing; never looked at the women. Never had anyone been like this to us before. My heart began to glow with a great fire. I wanted to be like them. I told them: "What can I do to help?" An officer said to me: "Would you like to learn something? To read and to write?" I had never dreamt this could happen.

'My mother stopped saying: "This is a trick." And Chingdrolmami told me they would send me to school in the inland. My mother at first did not want me to go; but later she said yes, and I went.'

Building a road in Tibet is a new thing. A

serf's child, not to say a girl, going to school had simply never been heard of. Tsomo had to be sent to school in the inland, which means Szechwan province, for the local government then was still opposed to the setting up of schools in Tibet. Children from the aristocratic families learned to read and write under the lamas and the children of the serfs had to go uneducated.

Then came the first wage-earners. In building the road, the army also employed local Tibetans, who, for the first time in their lives, were not doing corvée, but being paid wages. The wages they received, as Han Suyin points out, the fair and kindly treatment they got, were already a revolution.

With the road, the supply of manufactured goods from various parts of China became more abundant and cheaper in prices. That broke the back of the monopoly of trade and commerce by nobles and lamas. Whereas previously a box of matches cost a sheep, now it could be purchased at low cost.

After 1959 coal was mined for the first time. This was again a new breakthrough. For as far as the lamas were concerned, earth

was divine ground, and even deep ploughing was forbidden, not to say mining.

Then came machinery and industry. Tibetans first marvelled, then adored and finally mastered the machines, lorries, tractors they were encouraged to tinker with. As if by divine power the primates of the lamaseries saw the danger of industrialization to their rule of ignorance. Even the small changes made before 1959, such as introducing some spinning wheels and foot-treadles were 'impiety' and artisans were forbidden by the lamas to enter 'factories', even if these were only primitive cooperatives with some simple machinery. But there was nothing they could do to blind the Tibetan people to this new alternative to serfdom. At first factories and plants were manned almost exclusively by Han workers brought to Tibet, but soon the first generation of Tibetan industrial workers began to appear, and they were to fill the increasing number of factories after the crushing of the insurrection. In Han Suyin's words:

I see how suddenly the old myths were exploded, the old world of belief crumbled, and a new logic, a new understanding of the world took its place. On the faces of these Tibetan workers, and in their speech, is all the excitement, the triumph of a new discovery, Science. 'We now know that it was not gods, not demons, that made the motors work. We handled them and we saw that it was not the blood of children that made them run, as the lamas told us.'

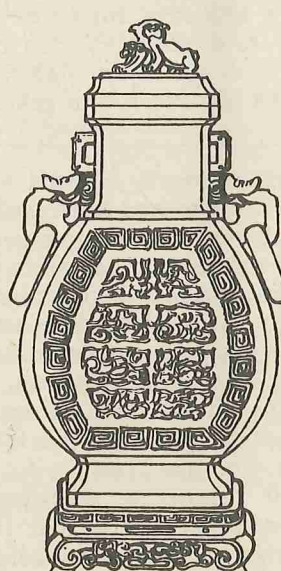
In the course of this awakening the theocracy, and even lamaism, was doomed. Obdurately standing in the way of progress it brought upon its head its own destruction. The policy of non-interference adhered to by the army (it was strictly enjoined not to interfere even when they felt revolted by the beatings and the maimings, which were the usual punishments for offenders in Tibet) proved correct. Revolution cannot be imposed. But when the chips are finally down, an awakened people will always stand on the side of progress to make the defeat of reaction more certain than ever. This process of awakening in Tibet has been scoffed as indoctrination. If it is indoctrination, it is an indoctrination against stagnation and oppression. Without this the Tibetan people could not have leaped out of the medieval times into the modern world. But because of the patient work done by the army in the eight

years following the liberation of 1951, the leap was made in such a way as cost the least trauma. The enemy of progress was completely isolated. The unity of the Tibetan people was strengthened. Virtually no destruction or damage was done to their cultural heritage. All that is good in their culture has been preserved and continues to flourish. 'Also the dancing,' Han Suyin quoted a Comrade Chen, a Han, as saying. 'Our Tibetan sisters dance so much better than we do. And how they sing!' In a film made by Felix Greene in Tibet last year, one can see that the Tibetans, even school children, boys and girls, dance the way only the Tibetans can.

Autonomy, Han Suyin correctly implies, is closely related to language and cadres. After all how can a people fully participate in the running of their own affairs if their own language is not used as the means of communication between the cadres and the people, and their own cadres do not man most of the posts in the local administration. And she shows that on both accounts Tibet has been making great progress. Today, below county level all cadres are of Tibetan nationality. At county level, 60 per cent of the cadres are of Tibetan nationality, and 50 per cent at the top level. Out of 8 top-level leaders, 4 are Tibetans, of whom 2 are women; and of these 4 Tibetans 2 are in their thirties. Here is how Han Suyin describes Jedi:

I meet Jedi, also in the revolutionary committee, and Party secretary, so handsome that I stare. Jedi is in his early thirties; he is the son of a slave herdsman, and tells me about the high plateaux of Ali, 4.5 kilometres to 5 kilometres high. 'You must come there next time...there are yaks, sheep, and horses, the most beautiful horses.' Everything Jedi learnt he learnt when the PLA came to the high plateaux and the herdsmen were liberated. Looking at Jedi, I feel the banked fire and passion under his mild, polite exterior, and suddenly the word liberation takes on weight and power. People like Jedi are New Tibet. 'Where would I be, what would we the people of Tibet be like, if Chairman Mao and the Revolution had not come to us?' says Jedi. 'There is no future for us except in our great common motherland. The imperialists have tried to separate us for a long time. But that was only to swallow us piecemeal.'

Lan Yu



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ON MANY HORIZONS *news and views*

A Stadium

The Chinese and Gambian Governments signed in Banjul, capital of Gambia, on May 25 the minutes of talks on the construction of a stadium and a sportsmen's hostel in Banjul with Chinese assistance, according to a report from that city.

Hsinhua, Peking, 27 May

Kampuchea Today

After liberation, general hospitals and maternity hospitals were set up in northeastern Kampuchea. Medical workers of these hospitals tried their best to collect materials from the local areas with which they produced a lot of medicines for curing malaria, tuberculosis, hepatitis and many other diseases. They also made vitamins.

Hsinhua, Peking, 28 May

Acupuncture in Laos

A number of hospitals in Laos have achieved fine results in using acupuncture therapy.

The acupuncture department set up in Mahasoi Hospital here in February last year had since treated 6,700 patients by the end of last year the patients receiving such treatment in the first quarter of the year numbered more than 5,100.

Now, the hospital has effectively applied acupuncture to a dozen of diseases ranging from toothache to hemiplegia.

Hsinhua, Vientiane, 29 May

Cottage Industry

Surveys reveal that there are about 555,700 cottage industry units employing 1,170,000 persons in Bangladesh. Many of the industries have a long history and are widely known at home and abroad.

Hsinhua, Dacca, 10 June

River-blindness Disease

Ghanaian Commissioner for Economic Planning R. K. A. Gardiner has appealed to the Ghanaians to join in a campaign for the eradication of onchocerciasis or river-blindness disease, reported the Ghana News Agency.

He made the appeal while launching an education and publicity campaign of an onchocerciasis control programme in the Volta River basin area on June 7.

He announced that seven African countries—Ghana, Benin, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Togo and Upper Volta—have joined in a 20-year programme to control the river-blindness disease which affected more than 70,000 people in the Volta basin area.

Hsinhua, Accra, 12 June

Sanaa-Sada Highway

A celebration rally was held in Sanaa on June 14 marking the opening to traffic of the Sanaa-Sada Highway.

The Sanaa-Sada Highway, 244 kilometres long, is an asphalt road linking the capital of Sanaa with the important city of Sada in the north. It was built with Chinese aid under an agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the two countries.

Hsinhua, Sanaa, 14 June

Women Officers

Thailand will assign women officers to all of the nation's 565 district offices, a senior government official said today.

Director-General of the Local Administration Department, Winyu Angkhanarak, said the appointments will mark the first time women have been allowed to work at the district level of government.

UPI, Bangkok, 16 June

Afforestation

About 30 million Filipinos are required to plant close to two billion trees under the tree-planting decree recently issued by President Ferdinand Marcos, officials today said.

Natural Resources Secretary Jose Leido Jr. said the decree aims at restoring the ecological balance which has been upset by the massive depletion of forest resources in the country.

Reuter, Manila, 18 June

Toy Gun Robbery

Two teenage boys robbed a rural bank with a toy machinegun.

The youths burst into the bank brandishing a black plastic toy machinegun and ordered a woman, the only member of the staff present, to open the safe and got away with rupees \$3,150 in cash and jewellery valued at rupees \$15,750.

The toy gun was later found.

AFP, Colombo, 19 June

Birth Control Must Be Voluntary

Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai said in an interview published here today his country would never progress without an effective birth control policy.

But, he told the weekly news magazine L'Express, the policy must be voluntary.

'The population of India increase each year by an

amount equal to the peoples of Australia and New Zealand combined. We attach the highest importance to birth control,' Mr Desai said.

Reuter, Paris, 19 June

Jakarta Birthday

Jubilant Indonesians rocked central Jakarta early today with fireworks explosions and threw thousands of hats and shoes into the air as they sang and danced to celebrate the 450th birthday of the capital city.

Reuter, Jakarta, 22 June

No Jeans in Colleges

Education Minister Pinyo Sathorn has firmly declared that the ban on blue jeans in technical colleges would stay despite recent protests.

The minister said that lifting the ban would be 'against the ministry's regulations' and said he thought if the students were allowed to wear jeans there would be more 'disturbances'.

AFP, Bangkok, 23 June

First Time in 20 Years

China will import a Japanese movie for the first time in about 20 years, a Japanese motion picture company said yesterday.

The Shochiku Motion Picture Company said a film it made in 1972, Furusato, will be released to the Chinese public in August or September.

A formal agreement on the sale of the movie will be signed at the end of this month, Shochiku said.

UPI, Tokyo, 24 June

Peasant Paintings

Peasant paintings from China's Huhsien county aroused general interest here during their five-day exhibition which closed today.

The display, sponsored by the United Nations Chinese Book Club in Geneva, took place at the Palace of Nations, site of the United Nations office here.

Many UN representatives now meeting here and tourists from various countries said that they were impressed by the works of the Chinese peasant amateurs. The visitors generally acclaimed the 50-odd exhibits done in a variety of styles, traditional Chinese or otherwise, reflecting the new life in China's socialist countryside.

Hsinhua, Geneva, 24 June

Herbs in Vietnam

VNA reported that by the end of May this year, the total area planted to medicinal herbs in the northern provinces in Vietnam has reached 3,200 hectares. Herbal medicines produced in the country have taken the place of some imported medicines.

Hsinhua, Hanoi, 24 June

Kangaroos Were Much Taller

Kangaroos, the Australian national animal, were taller than telephone poles once in central Australia.

Archaeologists digging over the remains of Ice Age lakes in western New South Wales have found what are thought to be the upper jaw teeth and bone fragments of procoptodon goliah (or giant short-faced kangaroo) which was three metres tall and became extinct at least 15,000 years ago.

AFP, Canberra, 26 June

Thailand 6,000 Years Ago

A village in northeast Thailand has been proved as the site of a highly developed prehistoric civilization, more than 6,000 years old, Radio Thailand reported today.

The state-run radio quoted Director General of Fine Arts Department Decho Sawananond as saying that human skeletons, archaeological objects, artifacts and pottery excavated from Ban Chiang Village in Udorn Thani province has been sent to the universities of Hawaii and Pennsylvania in the United States for scientific tests.

Reuter, Bangkok, 26 June

Instant Millionaires

A 1,000-US dollar money order mistakenly transmitted as a 1,000,000-dollar remittance has turned a Filipino husband and wife into millionaires overnight, it was reported today.

The Manila daily, 'Bulletin Today', said the remittance for the couple was received last month by the Manila correspondent bank which immediately cabled the remitting American bank asking if the amount was correct. The answer from the US was in the affirmative.

The mistake—it was not clear whether it was human or computer error—was discovered two weeks ago. By then much of the money had already been withdrawn by the couple who, according to the daily, preferred to remain anonymous for their own reasons.

AFP, Manila, 28 June

Secret of Longevity

'Never worry too much' is an advice for longevity by Shigechiyo Izumi, who will celebrate his 112th birthday tomorrow, according to Japanese news reports.

Known as Japan's oldest man, Izumi enjoys a walk with his dog every morning and downs nearly a litre of liquor every night, Kyodo news service said.

UPI, Tokyo, 28 June

Seato Dies

It was enough to break the heart of any cold warrior the way they were selling off Seato in Bangkok today.

Hundreds of people converged on the Bangkok

headquarters of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (Seato) looking for bargains, mostly in office furniture and equipment.

Mixed among the crowds were a few men looking for nostalgic items.

It was they who snapped up the bright red waste baskets with a huge, white confidential sign on each of the four sides at \$10 each.

Seato had a lot of burn baskets in its time. There's no more use for them now.

Seato dies officially Thursday, a treaty whose members never agreed, even once, to go to war, even though that was its ultimate purpose.

UPI, Bangkok, 28 June

Hippies Not Welcome

An immigration official told a Bangkok newspaper today his department might opt for the Singapore line towards unkempt foreign visitors—barring them from entering the country.

AFP, Bangkok, 28 June

A New Port

China and Mauritania will build a port in Nouakchott, according to the minutes of a meeting signed between the two Governments here yesterday.

Hsinhua, Nouakchott, 29 June

Quintuplets in Argentina

A 33-year-old woman gave birth to quintuplets and hospital sources said today they were all well.

The five boys born prematurely yesterday to Dora Arias are in an intensive care unit, their weights averaging about two pounds each.

Reuter, Buenos Aires, 29 June

Barefoot Medicine

China has published six volumes of a basic medicine series to help barefoot doctors improve their theoretical knowledge, the New China News Agency reported today.

The books, compiled by the college of new medicine in Hepei province, summed up the experience in treating and preventing common, recurrent and endemic diseases in rural China, the agency said.

Reuter, Peking, 3 July

100 Years' Jail

A provincial court has sentenced three men to 100 years each in prison and a fourth to 50 years for the fatal abduction of a 15-year-old boy.

Official court records said the Saraburi provincial court acted over the weekend to pronounce verdict on the November, 1975, crime.

The kidnapers had demanded \$3,500 ransom for the youth.

UPI, Bangkok, 3 July

Cancer Check on Babies

An early-stage check on babies less than one year old is the most effective in preventing cancer, it has been proved by Japanese doctors.

A team of doctors of the Kyoto Prefectural University of Medicine recently saved a baby boy suffering from neuroblastoma by conducting the early check.

AFP, Tokyo, 4 July

Coconut Tree Trunk Useful

A Philippine architect has perfected a technological process converting trunk of coconut trees into useful lumber, according to a report of the Philippine Technology Resources Center.

Coconut trees of 40 years old or more are not fruit-bearing and were once thought to be useless. The new product invented by the Philippine architect Calderon can meet some domestic lumber requirements and are available for export.

Hsinhua, Manila, 6 July

Chinese Team in N. Yemen

A seven-man Chinese geological team arrived here yesterday to carry out a comprehensive survey of mineral deposits, including oil, in north Yemen, the official newspaper Al-Thaura said today.

The Chinese have built a textile factory in Sanaa and are in the process of building another in the Red Sea port of Hedeida. They have also built a number of roads in north Yemen.

Reuter, Sanaa, 9 July

Reading Competition

A group of Bible readers from an Adelaide Christian centre set a new world record today by reading the entire Bible in 62 hours and 36 minutes.

Forty members of the Bethesday Christian Centre read the Bible in half-hour shifts.

The previous record in the Guinness Book of Records was 96 hours set by an English group of Bible readers.

Reuter, Adelaide, 10 July

Imprisonment for Rumour-mongers

'Rumour-mongers' may now be arrested and detained without trial in Thailand, a report quoting a 'very high-ranking military source,' said today.

AFP, Bangkok, 11 July

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Yi girls and boys and two mothers, Kanlo, Szechwan.