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## Russian brinkmanship - China on guard

THE BLOODY incidents on Chenpao Island in the Ussuri River (China's north-eastern frontier with the Soviet Union) in March were followed by further incidents in June on the north-western frontier, and on 8 July by a clash on Pacha Island in the Heilung-kiang (Amur River) only 70 miles or so upstream from Khabarovsk, where Soviet and Chinese representatives had since 18 June been meeting to deal with matters relating to navigation on these very border rivers.

Evidence of Russian harassment and brutality to Chinese fishermen and other local inhabitants in the film 'New Tsars' anti-China atrocities' (soon to be seen in Britain) would of itself be sufficient to account for the fact that China wishes to discuss the whole question of a frontier on which her allegedly socialist neighbour is behaving in such an unfraternal way. But the whole climate of Sino-Soviet relations in recent months, the vituperative attacks launched by Brezhnev at the 'world communist conference', recently held in Moscow, and above all the threatening concentrations of Soviet armed might in Siberia and along the Sino-Soviet borders add up to much more than a matter of tension on a border, long and (in places) disputed as it is.

#### Who profits?

Bad relations on the border between any two countries are likely to reflect bad relations generally, and lead to incidents. But when clashes are repeated and escalate in seriousness, with heavy casualties, it is necessary to ask, who profits from them? The Sino-Soviet dispute has been going on for many years now, but it is only very recently that news of such serious

incidents has been published. Five years ago, Chairman Mao Tse-tung is reported to have said to a group of Japanese socialists:

> 'When it comes to wars on paper, in such a war no one gets killed. We have been waging such a war for several years now, and not one person has died. And we are ready to continue this war for another 25 years. . . . What is the crux of the matter? The crux lies in the fact that a certain large country is trying to control a number of smaller countries. When one country tries to control another, the latter will resist without fail. Now two large powers - ie the United States and the Soviet Union — are trying to become friends and take over control of the whole world. How can we approve of such a development?

(Sekai Shuho, Tokyo, 11 August, 1964)

Five years ago, many people found it difficult to accept the idea that there could possibly be any collusion between the Soviet Union and the US, even though Khrushchev made it abundantly clear that 'peaceful co-existence' (with its tacitly accepted corollary of permanent US world domination) was his dearest wish. But now that the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia has been accepted with such remarkable calmness by the US Government, there will be fewer to challenge Mao's argument.

Ever since the Soviet CP Twentieth Congress in 1956, the real common interest between the leaders of the US and the USSR has been fear and hatred of the influence in the world of a China led by Mao Tse-tung, and all that he stands for. History may show that the Liu Shao-chi line was, among

other things, basically one of acquiescence in United States domination of the world, with the inevitable consequence that socialism would be betrayed. Now that the Liu line has been defeated in the Cultural Revolution, the Soviet Union, with US approval, turns from attempting to subvert China to threaten and attack her. Hence the vilification of Mao as Genghis Khan, Hitler or Napoleon, the attempt to differentiate him from the Chinese people, and the lies that China is making huge territorial demands on the Soviet Union, when in fact, apart from an India aided and abetted by both US and the Soviet Union, China has been able to settle all her disputed frontiers - with Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Mongolia.

#### Collusion?

In 1965, according to an American scholar, Edward Friedman (Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin) 'Only the war in Vietnam . . . made it difficult for Moscow to consider a renewal of Washington's proposal — formally conveyed by Averell Harriman—to bomb China's nuclear installations' (Committee for Concerned Asian Scholars Newsletter, March 1969).

Whatever the authority for this statement, there has been plenty of such talk, and many not so veiled threats by Soviet leaders, in recent months again. It is a measure of the seriousness with which the British establishment views the situation that the London Times (which on 28 March could refer editorially to 'the 13-year-old war with the Russians—almost entirely of Chairman Mao's making',

continued overleaf

# Family: a changing concept

From an article by S. L. Endicott, 'Canadian Far Eastern Newsletter'

ONE OF THE GREAT cultural changes in China, perhaps second only in importance to the changes in the educational system, was the destruction of the old style clan-family unit. This clan family system collapsed when men and women were given equality—peasant women got land, and the new marriage laws gave the right of self-determination to both young men and women.

Many 'old China hands' regret this development, and feel that it has destroyed part of the 'Chinese essence' of China. In traditional China, one of the hallmarks was the close family tie and veneration of ancestors. The ideal family was one of mutual aid. When young men married they brought their wives into the family dwelling and continued to live under the same roof as their parents and grandparents.

The introduction of communes in the towns and villages further advanced the decline of the clan family. Many people in the West were shocked by the portrayal in our newspapers of the communes as huge dormitories, where husbands and wives were separated and children torn away from their parents. Subseqent information has shown how hasty and foolish this first reaction was. It shows the folly of not trying to see through Chinese eyes when attempting to understand their problems and aspirations.

#### Early attack

Long before the communes were introduced, as far back as the May 4th Movement in 1919, the family-clan system had come under attack by many sections of the people, especially the youth. Whatever beneficial purposes the extended family may have served in history, it was one of the most rigid devices for social control ever devised by man. Emphasis on ancestor worship placed the father in the position of a despot. A son was not supposed to own property or express different political or social opinions until his father had died.

Relations within the family became formal rather than voluntary, and jealousy, intrigue and unhappiness often resulted. Marriages were arranged by parents.

In the province of Szechuan, the first young man with western ideas who announced, back around 1900, that he would marry a girl of his own choice was publicly beheaded.

Women were in an inferior position. If his wife did not produce a son for him, the husband could take on a concubine as a second wife. It was always the woman's fault.

#### Surprising

In view of these characteristics of family life what is surprising is not that the system has broken, but that is was not broken earlier. The concerns and loyalties of the Chinese people have now been re-directed from narrow family or clan interests to the wider interests of community and nation.

There have also been some continuities in China's cultural tradition. For over 2000 years the outlook of China has been summed up as Confucianism. This word has many meanings and interpretations, just as the word Christianity has, but in a philosophic sense, if Confucianism were reduced to one word, that word would be humanism.

Confucius taught that the proper concern for a human being was fellow human beings. This did not deny other matters such as spiritual things, but they should be kept at a distance. When Confucius was asked 'What about death?' He replied, 'How can we know about death, when we still do not understand life?' The mainstream of Chinese thought has never been religious in the sense of being concerned with the supernatural or a supreme being.

To speed the modernisation of their ancient civilisation, the Chinese communists, in adopting and adapting the alien, Western philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, have continued the nontheistic, non-religious tradition of Chinese thought. In this sense the cultural changes in China represent a continuity of Chinese tradition and may in part account for the wide acceptance and appeal of Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese.

For many North Americans who have supported Christian missions in China, this result of the Chinese revo-

lution is a source of disappointment and in some cases bitterness, especially since the Cultural Revolution has apparently brought about the closing of of Christian churches in China.

The methods of the Cultural Revolution have been a disturbing question for many people. The emotionalism around the person of Mao Tse-tung and the prominence given to his thoughts apparently to the exclusion of all others, is difficult for many of us to understand or to accept.

This is one of the things on which it may be best to reserve judgment. It may be that sometime in the future the Chinese themselves may recognise this as an excess.

It is apparent that from time to time the movement got out of hand and the Chinese leaders had some difficulty in trying to guide the people along a constructive course. It might be of interest at this point, to quote from part of the directives which Mao Tse-tung wrote for the conduct of the Cultural Revolution. The following extract (Concluded from last issue)

### Russian brinkmanship

from page 1

and accuse him of 'setting going tension' in Russia) now (11 July) views with alarm Gromyko's attack on China, and, after emphasising the reasonableness of the Chinese case, concludes that 'the danger of further and greater classes must be a cause for grave concern.'

Gromyko's attack followed that of Brezhnev at the Moscow conference, at which he also hinted at the need for a new 'collective security' arrangement in South-east Asia. Perhaps the best comment on this is that of Harrison Salisbury, in the New York Times:

'Shades of John Foster Dulles! A decade after his death the concept of the Asian 'containment', to which he devoted so much of the time and energy of his last years, has suddenly been revived — in Moscow'

John Foster Dulles was also renowned for brinkmanship, and here too the Soviet leaders seem to be following in his footsteps. The Chinese people are prepared both morally and materially to defend themselves against any attack. Here in Britain we should be aware that the Russian leaders are playing with fire, but it is not only they who may get burned.

Derek Bryan

## 'Dear Meg'

Concluded from last issue

For next year their plan is to grow 200 mu of rice, levelling the land for it this winter. Plans for the future include fruit growing. They've already planted 5,000 wild fruit trees onto which they will graft pears, which grow very well in this area. They've also planted between 30 to 40,000 mulberry trees and will, in time, raise silkworms. Besides this they constantly plant more willow trees, as one of their side-lines is basket-making for sale to the state.

For the village kids there is a primary school for the first three years—after that they have to go to another village for the last two years. Most of them don't go to high school. Two or three have just graduated from senior middle school. There is one health worker who works as a regular brigade member—that is, he goes to the field with the others and attends to the sick (if any) at noon or in the evening. He has had 15 months training. On our last morning he came to give one of the kids in our house a shot against whooping-cough.

We older folk (there was an Australian of 66 and an Austrian of 60) spent most of our time on the thresh-

## Letter from Peking

ing ground shucking corn-I mean maize. The women with small children and the very old women worked there so they can run home quickly if necessary. In work breaks the team leader would read quotations from Chairman Mao (everyone had a 'little red book') or one or two items from the newspaper-usually one of them a foreign news report. Or we'd sing some songs. Two or three times there was a meeting to expose some bad element who had been uncovered during the cultural revolution. For instance there is one man who had seemed to be a very active commune member, but who turned out to have been trained as a secret agent by the KMT since he was 11 years old and had committed all kinds of crimes. Then there is another man who was in the puppet army under the Japanese and who has cheated and stolen from the collective since liberation. Then one night there was a meeting to recall the bitterness of the old society and contrast it with the happiness of the new. That same day we were served with very black looking buns made from sweet potato which was the kind of thing the peasants used to eat in the old days. Towards the end of our stay there was an evening get-together with members of two other villages. The young people put on most lively and vigorous songs and dances and some of the foreign visitors contributed three songs in Chinese. I think the former serfs of Tibet and the Mongolian herdsmen would be amazed and delighted to see how the children of poor peasants have learned and like to dance their dances.

There is no shop in the village but every other day a travelling one comes for two or three hours. For our benefit. I think, it even brought tinned meat, beer and jars of jam! We only bought some apples, a few sweets, and, two of us, caps to keep the dust out of our hair. I noticed the peasants mostly buying cooking oil and soya sauce, but one had a big piece of cloth, another a pretty head scarf and a small boy was the proud possessor of a picture.

### New houses

In another village we visited the peasants showed us their new housing with much pride. The houses were similar in style to the one we lived in but along the wall opposite the kang was a long, built-in series of chests, painted a brilliant red. Very bright and cheerful. The lower halves of the windows had big panes of glass. One of the stoves was a new-type one, burning coal-balls. Apparently coal dust is very cheap and in plentiful supply. In this village last year the peasants got 1.43 yuan for every day's work. This year, in spite of the drought being bad, they expect to get 1.50 yuan per day's work.

You'd be amazed at the amount of rice grown round here now. On our way to and from our village we saw fields upon fields of it, and it looked a magnificent crop. The secret is irrigation and fertilisers and this is only possible on any scale with the commune form of collectivisation.

There's lot's more I could write about but I just thought because you lived in and knew this part of the country you might find these facts of particular interest. I only wish you could see it all for yourself and talk to the peasants.

It is the aim of SACU NEWS to encourage free discussion. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the Council of Management.

## Family: changing concept

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comes from the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party of 12 August, 1966 on the tasks ahead, which says in part:

"... It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views.'

Athough this directive frequently may not have been honoured in the

course of the struggles which swept across China in the past two years, its very existence as an authoritative statement of aim, brings a certain quality of reasonableness about the possible future path in China.

Whatever one's view about the Chinese way of trying to achieve their goals, we gain nothing by closing our minds and denying the validity of an approach which differs from our own. Optimism for the future of China is encouraged by the report of Colin McCullough, correspondent of the Toronto Globe and Mail in Peking.

After reviewing Mao's 'great strategic plan for China' on 1 January of this year, McCullough suggests that 1969 will produce 'an extraordinary year for a country which celebrates on 1 October its twentieth anniversary of communism under the extraordinary leadership of Mao Tse-tung'. McCullough went even further and said that from what he senses in China, this 'promises to be one of the most remarkable years in history'.

## FANSHEN

## - A NEW PERSPECTIVE

CHINA'S CONTINUING REVOLU-TION, William Hinton. China Policy Study Group, 1969. 36 pp. 1s 6d. A KEY BOOK on New China is Wil-

A KEY BOOK on New China is William Hinton's well-known 'Fanshen.' On the surface, this is a detailed case history of the Revolution, and in particular of the mishandling of the Land Reform of 1958. It is set in the small village of Long Bow in North China, where Hinton lived and worked as a work-team observer for six months in 1958. At depth, 'Fanshen' is a study of how to correct a corrupt bureaucracy and how to mobilize the people to work for the collective good. In short, the Party rectification campaign in Long Bow village in 1948 was a smallscale model of the nationwide Cultural Revolution of 1966-69.

## New facts about the past

The book was written before the Cultural Revolution. However, the Cultural Revolution has revealed many new facts about the past, especially about high-level policy struggles in the Chinese Communist Party itself. In his new pamphlet, 'China's Continuing Revolution,' Hinton re-interprets the events of 'Fanshen' and of the postwar period in general in the light of these newly revealed inner-Party policy struggles. 'Fanshen' was written from the local village point of view, and Hinton's task now is to put the story into a national perspective. His analysis provides many new insights, regardless of whether or not one has read 'Fanshen'.

The first policy struggle concerned the post-World War II military programme. After the Japanese surrender, the vital question was: should the Liberation Forces fight the Kuomintang Army or should they try to negotiate a coalition government? The Central Committee itself was divided on this issue. The rightist forces, presumably headed by Liu Shao-chi, advocated military capitulation and a coalition government. Mao's group pressed for military victory so as not to let the enemy build up strength.

The second policy struggle concerned the Land Reform, and in particular the so-called 'poor-and-hired peasant line'. This line was a utopian left policy that advocated putting all power in the hands of the poor peasants and hired labourers. It caused widespread alienation among the influential middle peasants as well as

shattering many village level Communist units. 'Fanshen' dramatically describes the disastrous effects of this line in Long Bow Village, as well as its remarkable cure through public meeting for self and mutual criticism of the village cadres.

The Cultural Revolution, Hinton explains, has revealed the true origin of this left line to be in the 'bourgeois headquarters' inside the Central Committee, as manned by Liu and his group. Their motivation for such a line was to build up all peasants economically so that each man could stand on his own feet as an independent, and hence non-collective, farmer. Thus there was a right core to his left line. That is, the Poor-and-Hired Peasant line was 'left in form but right in essence'.

The third policy split concerned the rate of agricultural collectivisation. Liu's group favoured a long period of independent farming, until industry was developed to produce tractors, pumps, fertilisers and other tools of large scale agriculture. Hinton tells us that at this time Liu proposed a rightist programme of 'four freedoms - the freedom to buy and sell land, the freedom to hire labour, the freedom to loan money at interest and the freedom to establish private business for profit. Mao's group however, favoured early collectivisation and opposed such 'freedoms' on the grounds that they would lead right back to the old patterns of land ownership and class structure.

#### The rightist line

These splits apparently existed at all levels in the Party, and Hinton shows how they were reflected at the local level in 'Fanshen'. In all these disputes as well as in a number of more recent disputes he sees the everpresent rightist line of Liu Shao-chi.

Hinton's analysis is completely consistent with Lin Piao's Report to the Ninth Congress of the CCP of I April. Furthermore, he accepts without reservation the present categorical condemnation of Liu Shao-chi. This is a reversal of his opinion in 'Fanshen', where he favourably quotes Liu on many occasions. He concludes the new pamphlet by saying that if he were rewriting 'Fanshen' he obviously would not use 'the words of a person who has been thoroughly exposed as an enemy of the workers and peasants of

China and of the socialist revolution in China and the world'.

Reading Hinton and Lin Piao, the consistency of Liu's position seems remarkably clear. How then, we may ask, did Liu and his group stay in office so long? How is it that for several decades there could be two 'headquarters' inside the Communist Party? And why wasn't this split more visible? Hinton's answer of course is that 'Mao and Liu represent two very different but very real class interests. He finds it no surprise that proletarian and bourgeois should compete for leadership.

#### Liu as a symbol

However, there is, I am sure, more to the answer than that. After all, it is the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party we are discussing, not the leadership of a coalition government. Perhaps a further answer is that the bourgeois orientation of Liu's policies has only become clear recently, or more specifically that his policies have been made super-clear recently by giving them a very simplistic analysis. The Party leadership has now chosen to take a strong and unequivocal stand on Liu. They have condemned him and expelled him from the Party. In essence they have made him a symbol of a bad line and his expulsion is a symbolic exorcism of the bourgeois devil.

Nevertheless, if the past struggles and decisions were in fact so clear cut, it really does strain one's imagination to picture 'Liu and Mao even speaking to one another, let alone serving on the same Central Committee. Hinton refers to Liu's incredible 'four freedoms' which essentially give capitalists full reign; I find it hard to understand how a member of the CC could have advocated such a line.

A careful study of what really went on in the CC since World War II would probably reveal a much more complicated picture than we receive from the official sources. Nevertheless, while the picture may be greatly oversimplified, the basic trend of Liu's policies is clearly to the right, toward an authoritarian party that places greater emphasis on achieving socialism through technology than politics. It is Mao's political genius that he saw the long-term bankruptcy of Liu's basic trend.

There is much more that could be said about these issues. Perhaps this autumn the SACU Study Group can devote a series of evenings to 'Fanshen', the 'Selected Works' of Mao and 'China's Continuing Revolution'.

E E Berg

## 'CHINESE HEROIN': SACU STATEMENT

The following statement by the Society was issued to the Press on 21 July.

RECENT publicity concerning the serious effects on individuals in Britain of a particular type of heroin has been

noteworthy for its use of the term 'Chinese heroin', although the drug in question is said to be made in, and smuggled into this country from, Hongkong. The authorities in Hongkong (while disclaiming knowledge of any such smuggling) have stated cate-

gorically that there is no evidence of China exporting narcotics

The fact is that China has freed herself from a foreign-introduced scourge and is today certainly one of the most drug-free countries in the world. The present revival of an old smear (like the use of the term 'Mao flu' earlier this year) is to be condemned for what it is — an attempt to arouse prejudice and enmity against China in the minds of the British people, against which the Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding strongly protests.

## 20th Anniversary Plans

AS MOST SACU members will have realised, 1 October, 1969 is the 20th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. To commemorate this important anniversary. SACU will be mounting several special functions, of which the following are already in active preparation:

I A special celebration evening, to be held Saturday, 4 October in the Conway Hall, London, at which it is hoped that we shall obtain the services of musical and dramatic entertainers.

2 A series of lectures summarising China's achievements over the past 20 years, to be given by well-known speakers. Although the speakers have not been finalised yet, and this because

some of them cannot specify where they will be in the autumn (perhaps China!), the lectures will be a valuable addition to the celebrations.

3 An exhibition—large, if the necessary articles are received from China in good time, and small if they are not—will be arranged to coincide roughly with the twentieth anniversary celebrations. This exhibition will probably begin in late October or early November, and will feature displays of Chinese consumer goods and products as well as photographs illustrating the more monumental achievements of the CPR over the past twenty years.

4 A series of handouts to be sent to the press to encourage them to write, talk and think about the twentieth anniversary. This task is in the hands of a small group of SACU members, which will be sending the material to papers from about the middle of September. Each handout will deal with a specific topic—agriculture, industry, art, and so on—and will be concise, non-didactic, and completely factual.

There is still a shortage of helpers willing to co-operate in the completion of these projects, especially the exhibition and the celebration evening, which will both need the application of many alert and thoughtful minds if they are to be successful, we shall be glad to hear from you.

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## Party, Army and People

THE PLACE of the People's Liberation Army in the Cultural Revolution has been discussed at length by the western press, clearly with the aim of ascribing to it a coercive role. The following article by SACU member Tim Beal, is an attempt to put the PLA into its correct context with relation to the Cultural Revolution

One of the vanguards of the Cultural Revolution was the People's Liberation Army, and this has given the 'China Watchers' a field day. They inspect the new central committee presidium and feverishly work out percentages of 'military men' to 'civilians' and by a series of nonsequiturs draw any number of fanciful conclusions. There is not space here to go into the issue of 'red and expert' but a brief examination of the history of the PLA does show that one cannot automatically equate 'military' with 'expert' and 'civilian' with 'red'.

The army has always been rather neglected in Marxist theory. Engels, who was very interested in military science, thought that the days of street fighting were over and that bourgeois armies, as long as they did not disintegrate, could always crush insurrection. For Lenin the revolution was made by the Party and masses; the army only came on the agenda after the seizure of state power. Even Trotsky, who created the Red Army, had little to offer; his army was led by Tsarist officers and Red Commissars, each sovereign in his respective sphere - an institutionalisation of the red-expert contradiction.

But for Mao the revolution was to be won by the masses and two organisations — the party and the army. The first Civil War period had shown that 'without a people's army the people have nothing', that the Party without the army only leads to defeat - as in 1927.

Mao saw that a people's army was

SACU NEWS is published by the SACU NEWS 18 published by the Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding Ltd, 24 Warren Street, London, W1, and printed by Goodwin Press Ltd, (TU), 135 Fonthill Road, London, N4. both necessary and possible because of the particular pattern of State power in China - the imperialists, the warlords, the Kuomintang, and the rural gentry. Necessary because the reactionaries would not collapse and offer power to the Party. To take Shanghai, Peking or Canton in insurrection was not to take Petrograd. Possible because there were power vacuums where the Red Army could be formed.

What is Mao's conception of the army? 'The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution.'

In post-Liberation China the two organisations of army and Party are somewhat analogous to the monastic orders and diocesan clergy of the Catholic church. The parish priest performs a leadership function amongst the laity, much the same as the cadre, but since he is in the world he tends to be corrupted by the worldliness he is fighting against.

The monastery is cut off from the world and preserves the ideal to which the laity is to aspire. In time of stress when the parish priests are to be purged (the Reformation, for example) the monastic orders are thrown into the battle.

Now if the Party were to be purged by the masses (ie the Cultural Revolution) there was a need for another organisation to hold the ring, to preserve state power and, where necessary, to provide leadership (Support the Left). That organisation was the PIA

### USA: much to learn

AMERICA had much to learn from the Chinese revolution, Professor Franz Schurmann told an audience at Holborn Central Library on 3 July, at a meeting organised by SACU. Professor Schurmann is a member of the Centre for Chinese Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, where he is Professor of Sociology and History.

The speaker said that affluence had done nothing to solve the contradictions in American society. The first of these was America's colossal arms expenditure, on which her economy depended. Besides threatening world peace, this prevented her from tackling the problem of the cities which, deserted by the more prosperous whites, were quickly degenerating into black ghettoes. Secondly, despite the overall affluence there were still large areas of poverty. Other contradictions concerned racism, the decline in participation and community spirit, and education.

Professor Schurmann said the issues being discussed in China and the United States were basically the same; for example, community control of schools versus state control. The same arguments were being advanced, such as that in state controlled schools the teachers tend to give preferential attention to the best students.

Outlining the way in which China had dealt with contradictions existing in America, the speaker referred to her policy of guns and butter; the raising of backward areas; attempts to 'do

something about' cities like Shanghai (the 1958 experiment of creating urban communes had been an example); and the effects of the Cultural Revolution on participation, community relations and education.

Professor Joan Robinson of Cambridge, who spoke after Professor Schurmann, said the Chinese were more realistic than we because they did not believe the solution of any problem to be final. They also had the advantage of not having preconceived ideas about the way problems should be solved

Now that the Cultural Revolution had been successfully carried out and the Party was being reconstituted, one of the contradictions facing the Chinese people was how to reconcile democracy with political organisation. The Cultural Revolution had been a 'reassertion of democracy over Party'-the two opposing poles between which a balance must be kept. Liu Shao-chi's role in building up the Party had been a valuable one, and he was being held up as a bad example only because it was necessary to find a simple way of educating people in the danger of allowing too much organisation.

Professor Robinson said the contradiction of democracy versus organisation was not so great in the rural areas which were largely outside the control of the central authority. In the case of industry, the problem would be to strike a balance between spon-

continued on facing page

## NOTEBOOK

Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding Ltd (Founded 15 May 1965)

Office: 24 Warren Street, London W.1 Telephone 01-387 0074

Chairman: Dr Joseph Needham

Deputy-Chairman:

Professor Joan Robinson

Vice-Chairman: Mrs Mary Adams Secretary: Mrs Betty Paterson

Council of Management: Mary Adams, Premen Addy, Kate Allan, Isaac Ascher, Roland Berger, Sydney Bidwell, William Brugger, Derek Bryan, Hung-Ying Bryan, Patrick Daly, Douglas Greene, Richard Hensman, Frida Knight, Jim Little, Sam Mauger, Joseph Needham, Betty Paterson, Colin Penn, Ernest Roberts, Joan Robinson, Eve Sheringham.

Believing that friendship must be based on understanding, SACU aims to foster friendly relations between Britain and China by making information about China and Chinese views available as widely as possible in Britain.

Every member of the Society receives SACU NEWS each month, has the use of the Anglo-Chinese Educational Institute library at central offices, can call upon the Society for information and is able to participate in all activities of the Society. On many occasions SACU members get tickets for Society events at reduced rates.

#### Books received

THE INCLUSION of a book under this heading does not preclude review at a later stage.

IDEOLOGY AND ORGANISATION IN COMMUNIST CHINA: by Franz Schurmann. New enlarged edition. University of California Press, 1968.

SUN YAT-SEN and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution: Harold Z. Schiffrin. University of California Press, 1968. 90s.

MAO: edited by Jerome Ch'en. Great Lives Observed Series. Prentice Hall, International Inc. (London) 20s.

### Our readers write . . .

## That Shanghai sign

I WAS SORRY to see repeated in the June SACU News (page 5) 'No dogs or Chinese admitted' as a quotation from the Shanghai Bund notice. People in time will begin to believe that these words really were used. The meaning was the same (except for amahs) but the actual wording was kinder. I have a picture taken in May, 1926, and the notice is as follows (a few words which are not clear I have indicated):

## PUBLIC AND RESERVE GARDENS REGULATIONS

- The Gardens are reserved for the European Community.
- 2. The Gardens are open to the

### Summer holidays

THE Central Office of the Society and the Anglo-Chinese Educational Institute's Library at 24 Warren St WI will be closed for summer holidays from Monday, 4 August to Monday I September inclusive. The next copy of SACU News will be posted to all members about 20 September.

## Party, Army and People

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taneity and the discipline which the needs of the economy demanded.

Another contradiction would be in education, where the teaching of subjects like languages and pure mathematics could not easily be reconciled with the principle of workers' control. In science, too, the question must be faced whether Mao's approach of learning through experiment and the application of scientific method in daily life would be adequate in the field of pure, as opposed to applied science.

#### China's economy

by Nicholas Brunner with preface by Ioan Robinson

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- 7. No person is allowed within the band-stand enclosure (?).
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- Children unaccompanied by foreigners are not allowed in Reserve Gardens.
- 10. The police have authority to enforce these regulations.

By order. M. O. Liddell (?)

Secretary.

Council Room, Shanghai.

September 13, 1917.

The notice was first put up in 1917, the photograph was taken in May 1926. I wonder if anyone knows just when it was taken down.

William Sewell

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