

The Cultural Revolution

THE WESTERN PRESS has tended to treat what the Chinese call the 'Great Cultural Revolution' almost entirely in terms of 'purge politics'. In doing so, the pundits have largely ignored the drastic changes which have been and still are taking place in several important and closely related sectors of Chinese life. Nevertheless, in order to understand the background to recent events, it is essential to say something about the accusations that have been levelled at certain leaders and intellectuals associated with the Peking Municipal Party. Selected details of this ideological controversy are readily available to Western readers in an important two-part pamphlet entitled 'The Great Socialist Cultural Revolution in China' (Foreign Languages Press, Peking).

The attack is primarily directed against Teng To, who from 1961 onwards wrote a series of 'anti-Party and anti-socialist articles in three publications—the *Frontline*, the *Peking Daily* and the *Peking Evening News*. The accusations against Teng To are wide-ranging but the main theme of the argument is that he insidiously criticised Party policy on some of the major issues of recent years—notably the Great Leap Forward, the attitude towards the Soviet Union and the attempt to create a more proletarian popular culture. He also doubted the wisdom of some of the statements of Mao Tse-tung. For instance, in issue No 21 of *Frontline* (1961) Teng To wrote an article called 'Great Empty Talk', in which, referring in veiled terms to the Maoist doctrine of the East Wind triumphing over the West, he made the sardonic comment that 'Recourse to even the finest words and phrases is futile and the more such phrases are uttered, the worse the situation will become'. In February of the following year, in one of a series of articles entitled 'Evening Chats at Yenshan' which appeared in the *Peking Evening News*, he continued his offensive on a more personal level, insinuating, says the editorial

board which puts the case against him; that our Party leadership is "conceited" and "looks down on the masses". In the context of the experience of the Chinese people in the years since 1957 the writers of the pamphlet considered Teng To's criticism so fatuous as to be unworthy of detailed refutation.

The Party hierarchy also comes in for some severe criticism. In the *Peking Evening News* of 25 February, 1962, Teng To makes a reference to Party personnel who come to grief 'because they want to be tyrants and thus they make enemies everywhere and become very unpopular'. The editorial committee's reply is unequivocal. 'We would like to ask with whom we are unpopular? We are unpopular with the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. To these people, the dictatorship of the proletariat can apply only the "tyrant's way", not the policy of benevolence'.

But the Revolution has already had its more positive aspects. There has been a mass discussion on how best to carry out a reorganisation of China's cultural life, and not surprisingly, most of this discussion thus far has taken place on the educational front. One of the most interesting proposals came from seven arts students of the China People's University, and it was printed in the form of a five-point plan in the *People's Daily* of 13 July. The plan suggested that 'all those who have done at least two years' studies in the arts faculties should be graduated ahead of time and be assigned to take part in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experimentation'. Arts faculties 'should use Mao Tse-tung's works as teaching materials and take class struggle as a subject of profound study'. Arts students 'should adapt their course of study to one, two, or three years in accordance with Chairman Mao's in-

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ON THE OCCASION of China's National Day (1 October, 1966, the 17th anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic) SACU is holding a social and cultural event in central London. This will be in the St Pancras Assembly Rooms, Camden Town Hall, on the evening of Tuesday, 4 October.

Details will be given in the next issue.

BACK FROM CHINA

DURING THE LAST month many London members of SACU have had the opportunity to hear speakers who have first hand experience of living in China today. On 27 July the Camden branch organised a meeting at Holborn Central Library at which David and Isabel Crook, who have lived in China for 18 years, spoke to an audience of 175 people on 'China and its Young People'. On 3 August David Crook gave an extremely interesting talk on the background to the current Cultural Revolution at East Finchley Central Library. This meeting was sponsored by the Barnet branch and attracted an audience of over 50.

Connaire Kensit and his wife Ruth Buchanan, who have both been teaching in Peking since 1964, spoke to a small group at SACU central office on 10 August. They showed some very good 8mm movies of their travels in South China and their talk provoked a wide-ranging discussion.

Preparations are going ahead for David Crook's provincial tour. Dates have not yet been finalised but we print below a list of centres where members will have the opportunity to hear David Crook some time late in September. We also print the names of the organisers in the various areas whom members should contact for final details.

OXFORD: Mr R. Dawson, Oriental Institute, Pusey Lane, Oxford. Tel: 59272.

BRISTOL: Mr D. B. Buchanan, 140 Cotham Brow, Bristol. Tel: 46567.

MERSEYSIDE: Mr F. Brunson, 118 Becketts Lane, Chester. Tel: 3519.

MANCHESTER: Mr B. Pointon, 12 Baguley Crescent, Rhodes, Nr Middleton, Lancs.

LEEDS: Mrs Sybille van der Sprenkel, 66 Henconner Lane, Leeds 7. Tel: 42213.

Constitutional Amendments?

THE Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding is considering holding a special General Meeting later this year — if members submit proposals making it necessary to have one.

Readers will recall that the chairman, Dr Joseph Needham, in the June-July issue of **SACU NEWS** referred to the proposed holding of a special General Meeting in November to consider modification of the Constitution. It has now been proposed that such a meeting be held on a date between the 19 and 30 November.

In order to allow time for any proposals that members may have for amendments to be considered, drafted, and, if need be, collated, it is requested that they be sent in to the central office in Warren Street so as to arrive **not later than 3 October**.

Formal notice of the meeting will then be given in the November issue of **SACU NEWS**, which will be despatched not later than 28 October so as to provide the necessary 21 days' notice of an Extraordinary General Meeting.

Of course, should no proposals for amendment of the Articles and Agreement (the Constitution) be received by 3 October, the Council of Management will not call an Extraordinary General Meeting this year. Nevertheless, in that case, it would always remain open to any fifty members to requisition such a meeting. However, the Council's proposal — as outlined above — is intended to give individual members the fullest opportunity of proposing any constitutional amendments they may wish to bring forward.

In the meantime, members are reminded that copies of the Constitution can be obtained from, or consulted at, the central office.

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structions and the requirements of the country'. Emphasis should be placed on self-study and discussion 'and the cramming method of teaching should be abolished'. On the question of university entrance, the students held that 'the colleges should enrol new students from among young people who have tempered themselves in the three great revolutionary movements . . . and not necessarily just from those who have been through senior middle school'. Lastly, the students called for 'the complete smashing of the old bourgeois educational system'.

It is clear that these suggestions, if put into effect, would have a staggering impact on the structure of Chinese society. This is why the rather restrictive term 'Cultural Revolution' has led to misunderstanding; 'political revolution' would perhaps give a clearer impression of what is going on at the present time. The debate is really about the dynamics of social change and how quickly China's internal class contradictions can be resolved. Those, like Teng To, who have been censored for their 'wrong and criminal thinking', obviously doubt the wisdom of what amounts to a new 'Great Leap Forward' on the political front.

But the leadership is confident, and now more than ever invokes the teachings of Mao Tse-tung to prove that China is capable of adapting herself to the rapid social readjustment which the Cultural Revolution seems to imply.

Paradoxically, it was Lu Ting-yi, who has recently lost his position as Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, who most clearly hinted at the possible final objective of the present campaign. In his pamphlet **Education must be Combined with Productive Labour**, which first appeared as long ago as 1958, Lu wrote: 'We can so carry through our cultural revolution that all of our 600 million people will be able to do productive work and also able to study, changing them into new men who are both labourers and intellectuals'.

The events of the next few months will help perhaps to explain more clearly precisely how these 'new men' are to be created. But at the moment no one in the West is sufficiently well-informed to make any kind of meaningful prediction.

BILL LUCKIN

FILM SUCCESS

IN OUR LAST ISSUE we reported on the success of Felix Greene's brilliant film 'China!' which has been shown at both principal and specialist cinemas up and down the country in recent weeks. The distributors, Contemporary Films, now report increased interest in the 16mm version of the film which has recently been shown at Liverpool, Farnham and Welwyn Garden City. Future bookings have been arranged for the autumn at Dorchester, Bantstead and Greenock.

Greene's film is probably the best documentary ever to be made by a Westerner about modern China, and SACU members who have not yet seen it, are urged to do so. Details about hiring the 16mm version of 'China!' can be obtained from Contemporary Films Ltd, 14 Soho Square, London, W1.

FOR THE RECORD

SACU headquarters would like to have on record a list of those people who have visited China in recent years. The General Secretary, Mr Derek Bryan, would be most grateful if members who have been to China in the last four years would send their names to head office, indicating, if possible, the circumstances under which they made their visit and the length of their stay.

The compilation of this list is purely for record purposes within SACU office.

BOOK LIST

THE OFFICE has prepared a list of books on modern China, copies of which are now available free to members. Most of the books listed can be bought from SACU.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Poems of Mao Tse-tung. Translated and annotated by Wong Man. Eastern Horizon Press. Hong Kong. 1966. 20 shillings.

A Quarter of Mankind: an anatomy of China today. Dick Wilson. Weidenfeld & Nicolson. London. 1966. 45 shillings.

The Frontiers of China, by Francis Watson. Chatto & Windus. London. 1966. 30 shillings.

The Problem of China, by Bertrand Russell. Allen & Unwin. London. 1966. 25 shillings. (Reprint of original, published in 1922, with 1965 Foreword.)

Chinese Journey, by Jan Myrdal. (Photographs by Gun Kessle.) Chatto & Windus. London. 1966. 45 shillings.

SACU'S PLANS FOR 1966-67

THE COUNCIL OF MANAGEMENT have approved a programme for SACU activities during the latter half of 1966 and the spring of 1967. In considering this programme they had before them some proposals from various branches and working committees and some individual members who had responded to the invitation to send in suggestions which was printed in SACU NEWS.

One of the main proposals in the programme is to extend the activities of SACU into the provinces so that it becomes a truly national organisation. In addition to the existing branches and groups, which will in the future get more help from head office, efforts will be made to form effective branches in Southampton, South London, Sheffield, East Midlands (Nottingham and Leicester) and Sussex (based on Brighton).

Public Meetings

A series of public meetings and lecture tours is to be arranged, with special emphasis on the type of tour undertaken earlier this year by Han Suyin. A list of possible speakers has been drawn up.

It is hoped to have two central London meetings before Christmas and three in the spring of 1967.

As informal meetings at Warren Street have proved popular with members it is proposed to continue the series and devote them to specialised topics. Examples of possible topics are: Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 Revolution; the Chinese Language; the Story of the Long March; the Families in China; the Revolution in Education; Chinese Art; The Way We See the Chinese and the Way They See Us; Chinese Scientific Development.

Visits to China

Visits by specialised groups are under consideration. Possibilities include: women, social workers, penologists and archaeologists. These are groups not covered by existing arrangements through professional organisations.

Week-End Schools

The Week-End School Committee have submitted the following proposals for 1967:

A total of ten schools should be organised during the year, one of them a week's school. These would be of two main kinds.

(a) Introductory for new members or for members in areas in which schools

have not previously been held. The Committee recommend that the four sessions for these introductory courses should be selected from the following themes: China Pre-1949 (one or two sessions); Agriculture; Economy and Industry since 1949; Living in China Today; China's Foreign Policy; Social Developments since 1949; Democracy in China.

(b) On specialised themes: These would cater for members who have already attended introductory schools or who already have a background knowledge of China. Subjects suggested include: (i) Chinese Philosophy; (ii) Four Chinese of the 20th Century. The intention would be to illustrate contemporary China through the life of Sun Yat-sen, Lu Hsun, Pu Yi, and Mao Tse-tung. (iii) Technology & Science in China; (iv) China in the World; (v) The Arts; (vi) The Land and People of China.

Trade Unions

The Trade Union Committee make the following proposals for the development of SACU activity among trade unionists.

A series of meetings arranged jointly by SACU and interested trades councils.

Arrangements for SACU speakers to address interested trade union branches with a view to the affiliation of these branches to SACU.

A Trade Union Conference on China for London and the Home Counties in the Spring of 1967. Here the first step would be to consult a number of leading trade unionists to form a sponsoring group.

SACU Speakers Panel

A systematic campaign will be undertaken for SACU speakers to be invited to branches of appropriate organisations both by circularising the organisations themselves and by getting SACU branches and individual members to arrange for SACU speakers to be invited.

The development of this side activity will necessitate a review of the present panel of SACU speakers. Speakers need to be prepared to deal with aspects of China most in demand.

The effective extension of this work will also require a more systematic reporting of meetings addressed by SACU speakers. It is also suggested that occasionally during the year—perhaps once in six months—SACU speakers should be brought together in conference to exchange experiences

and to improve techniques, make suggestions for more effective presentation of material, etc.

Speakers' Course

The results of the first course for training speakers have been quite encouraging. Consideration will be given to arranging a second such course during the year 1966/67 with a view to training as speakers: tourists and others returning from China who are prepared to extend their knowledge by reading and discussions; graduates from departments of Chinese studies; and other members prepared to devote time to the necessary reading preparation.

Festivals and Exhibitions

In the light of the success of the Camden Festival of China other branches are considering the possibility of mounting China Weeks. In some cases a centre piece of such festivals can be existing collections of Chinese art, e.g. The Whitworth Gallery, Manchester, and The Walker Gallery, Liverpool. Galleries may be able to arrange loans of Chinese paintings and objets d'art from other centres such as the Victoria and Albert Museum. Paintings, prints and woodcuts for such festivals may be obtained on loan from China.

SACU already has a collection of photographs of China and more could be obtained. A working party should be set up to mount these for either a general exhibition or exhibitions on specific themes, for example, communes, children and schools, women in China, Chinese sport. These exhibitions could be prepared on panels for loan to branches and other interested organisations.

SACU Scholarships

In co-operation with the Anglo-Chinese Educational Institute, arrangements might be made for a SACU Scholarship possibly in the form of an essay competition or an article or thesis on a given theme, for which the Institute would offer a prize.

Information Service

Consideration will be given to the development of an Information Service, e.g. copies of reports concerning China not otherwise easily obtainable and special pamphlets written by knowledgeable people on specific subjects. A press analysis of reports concerning China also seems to be urgently needed.

PRESS STATEMENT

AN EMERGENCY MEETING of SACU's Council of Management, summoned by the Secretary at the request of three members, in accordance with the Constitution, was held on 10 August. The meeting was attended by 12 members of the Council, with Professor Joan Robinson in the Chair. The following press statement was issued:

The Council of Management of The Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding met this afternoon to consider their policy in regard to the distribution of literature. They considered particularly the question of one copy of a pamphlet on Vietnam which had been purchased by a member of the press. The Council was satisfied that the implications of

the incident as reported in the *Sunday Telegraph* had been exaggerated. The pamphlet referred to was one that had been received from Peking which had been placed in the Society's store, having been felt to be outside the sphere of the Society's activities. The enquirer, whom we now know was a *Sunday Telegraph* reporter, remained on the premises for two-and-a-half hours and only after persistent requests for literature on Vietnam was this one copy finally produced and sold to him. The Council re-affirmed that it is the Society's policy to distribute only such literature as is likely to create closer understanding between this country and China.

ABOUT SACU

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

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Chairman: Dr Joseph Needham

Deputy-Chairman:
Professor Joan Robinson

Vice-Chairman: Mrs Mary Adams

Joint Treasurers: Mr Alec Horsley and
Dr Nicholas Kurti

Secretary: Mr Derek Bryan

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New Activities

CHINESE CLASSES for SACU members held in the meeting-room at 24 Warren Street, have established themselves as a regular activity of the Society. The existing class will resume on Monday evening, 26 September, at 7.15 pm and will meet thereafter on alternate Mondays. It is also proposed to hold a Beginner's class, starting on Monday, 3 October. Members wishing to enrol for this should do so not later than 30 September.

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MEMBERS LIVING IN ISLINGTON interested in forming a SACU branch are asked to inform the Secretary at 24 Warren Street, London, W1.

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STARTING ON TUESDAY, 6 September, at 8 pm a regular fortnightly meeting and discussion group will be held at 24 Warren Street. These regular meetings will provide an opportunity for London members to discuss

current developments in China. It has been suggested that the exact form of the gatherings should be decided upon by members themselves on 6 September, but a fixed feature will be periodic talks and film shows by people who have recently visited China. The success of this venture depends entirely upon the support and interest of members themselves, and so if you live around London come to Warren Street on Tuesday, 6 September, at 8 pm.

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A GROUP OF MEMBERS and friends of SACU who live and work in Peking have offered to answer any questions about life in China today which members may like to ask. Questions should be sent to Central Office and then they will be forwarded to Peking. We hope that members will take full advantage of this new facility which could develop into an extremely valuable information service.

Weekend School

DINTON, near Salisbury, Wiltshire — Philipps House

Friday, 16 to Sunday, 18 September, 1966

'China, 1840 to 1911': Bernard Martin, WEA lecturer. Author of 'Strange Vigour'.

'China, 1911 to 1949' Derek Bryan, author of 'The Land and People of China'. Was in China from 1933 to 1951.

'China since 1949': Roland Berger.

'China, 1966': David and Isabel Crook, authors of 'Revolution in a Chinese Village', (1959) and 'The First Years of Yangyi Commune' (1965).

Cost: SACU members £4 15s 0d; Student members of SACU £4 0s 0d; Non-members £5 0s 0d. Send 10s deposit to 24 Warren Street, London, W1.

Council of Management: Mrs Mary Adams, Mr William Ash, Mr Roland Berger, Mr Geoffrey Carrick, Mr Raymond Dawson, Mr Andrew Faulds, MP, Miss Margaret Garvie, Mr Alec Horsley, Dr N Kurti, Professor Joseph Lauwerys, Mr John Longstaff, Mr Evan Luard, MP, Mr Ewan MacColl, Dr Joseph Needham, Mr Ernest Roberts, Professor Joan Robinson, Sir Gordon Sutherland, Mr Jeremy Thorpe, MP, Dame Joan Vickers, MP, Mrs Ethel Wormald.

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Believing that understanding between Britain and China is of the highest importance, SACU aims to make information about China widely available in order to help every interested person in Britain to make his or her own assessment.

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Membership of SACU is open to all who subscribe to the aims of the Society. Members are entitled to receive SACU NEWS monthly free of charge, use the library at head office, call upon the Society for information and participate in all activities of the Society.

Annual subscription: £1.0.0. Reduced rates for old age pensioners (5s), and full-time students (7s 6d).

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