

IN FUTURE ISSUES

Owing to pressure on space some items have been held over including a report from a member of the SACU group which recently visited China, a résumé of Isaac Ascher's lecture on the Cultural Revolution, and an article by Jane Gates on 'Thoughts about Mao'. They will appear in future issues.

HONG KONG, PEKING & LONDON

—The Recent Events—

THE RECENT EVENTS involving the British and Chinese diplomatic missions in Peking and London respectively, cannot be judged and understood if they are seen as isolated incidents in the relations between Britain and China.

They have, of course, taken place within the general context of a serious deterioration of relations, but their origin must be seen in relation to events in Hongkong and the impact of the Chinese Cultural Revolution on people in London and Hongkong as well as in Peking.

Any consideration of these recent events must start with an understanding of the situation in Hongkong.

Hongkong, Kowloon and the 'New Territories' are some 400 square miles of China. The island itself (29 square miles) was occupied by Britain in 1841 as part of the operation to force the Chinese to import opium. 'It was not an episode that did credit to the British nation. And it is one that no Chinese has forgotten to this day.' (Evan Luard, *Britain and China*.) The Manchu governments were forced to cede Kowloon (1860) and to lease the 'New Territories' (1898) to Britain as part of the general carving up of China between the imperialist powers.

Ninety-eight per cent of the population of Hongkong (now about four million) is Chinese. These are not 'overseas Chinese' in the normally accepted meaning of the term, since Chinese people have traditionally entered and left Hongkong freely. Despite all the talk of 'refugees from China', the natural increase of population (births over deaths) is greater than net immigration into Hongkong. The number of journeys both ways across the border annually is comparable to (in 1957 it may have exceeded) the total population of the colony. Under the nationality principle of *ius sanguinis*, Chinese residents of Hongkong are Chinese nationals. Even

under British law, less than one-fifth might be eligible for British citizenship and when in 1951 these were invited to register or forfeit their claim to British status, a large proportion chose not to register. The present Chinese Government, and the governments before liberation, always insisted that 'the Hongkong authorities must understand that the Chinese Government have every right to demand the protection of Chinese people in Hongkong and Kowloon'.

As a colony Hongkong is unique in that it is an essential part of the mainland of a great power and the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants are nationals of that power.

Under the Charter, member states of the United Nations are required 'in the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government' to 'recognise the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount'. How far has this principle been applied in the case of Hongkong?

In 1946 the people of Hongkong were informed that the Labour Government had 'under consideration the means whereby in Hongkong, as elsewhere in the Colonial Empire, the inhabitants of the Territory can be given a fuller and more responsible share in the management of their own affairs'.

In fact the Constitution of Hongkong is today in essence exactly what it was when it was introduced in 1843. The colony is governed by the Governor, and an Executive Council consisting of five ex officio members, one nominated official member and eight nominated unofficial members. 'The responsibility for deciding which questions should come before the Council and for taking actions afterwards, rests with the Governor.'

(*Hongkong Report for 1966*, Government Press) and a Legislative Council consisting of the Governor, the same ex officio members, eight nominated officials, and thirteen unofficial members nominated by the Governor.

'Hongkong is a place that takes a good deal of running' says Richard Hughes (*Sunday Times*, 21.5.1967) 'and there is no nonsense about democracy. The only elected representatives are eight members of the Urban Council, whose basic responsibilities—as abridged by gubernatorial diktat—are the administration of the garbage collection and the approval of street names.'

Social conditions

Most reports agree that the conditions under which the Chinese population live in Hongkong are appalling. Richard Hughes (*Sunday Times*, 21.5.1967) refers to 'a jumble of millionaires' mansions—and horrible slums . . . a teeming mass of humans without any proper resources in food, water, coal or oil'. In another article (28.5.1967) he refers to Hongkong's pettifogging expenditure of 1.1 per cent of the budget on social welfare. The budget provision for police and prisons is HK\$131,280,500 as against HK\$19,348,400 for social welfare. (16 HK\$ = £1.) Approximately half the population is under fifteen. 150,000 children do not receive even primary education.

Considerable numbers of people have, it is true, been re-housed in huge tenement blocks, but in these, as well as older houses and hovels in Hongkong, overcrowding is still worse than almost anywhere else in the world.

One of the representatives on the Urban Council, Mrs Elsie Elliott, has reported on the traffic in drugs. She states 'Hongkong was set up originally

to promote the drug trade. . . This drug trade has never ceased . . . drugs only became illegal when imported in small quantities but somehow big business in drugs went on unchallenged. The wholesale slaughter of people, including teenagers, throughout the world, continues to stem from Hongkong, an entrepôt for drug distribution. Hundreds of thousands of Hongkong people are also miserable slaves of drug addiction.' She concludes: 'The Hongkong Government has shown clearly that it has no intention of trying in any way to stop the drug traffic or to take strong action on corruption, especially where higher civil servants are concerned.' (A copy of Mrs Elliott's report of 39 pages (June 1966) can be consulted in SACU Library.)

Dennis Bloodworth has also commented on the scale of bribery in Hongkong (*Observer*, 21.5.1967) 'The Chinese accuse the police of treating the poor with brutality and contempt, tell scandalous tales of bribery in the immigration and police and the public works department. They can quote the prices that must be paid on all occasions, and the sum that must be given to a building inspector to sanction a new block as habitable according to whether it has four, five or more storeys.'

Conditions of Labour

The *Hongkong Yearbook* states that one-and-a-half million people are at work in Hongkong, 600,000 of them engaged in the manufacturing industries. The textile and garment industry accounts for 41 per cent of the industrial labour force and the plastics industry is the second largest employer.

The conditions under which the one-and-a-half million work are of particular interest since it was a labour dispute at one of the plastics factories that touched off the riots last May. Much information concerning the Hongkong textile industry has been collated by Mr Jack Greenhalgh, secretary of the International Textile and Garment Workers' Federation which has its office in London. Mr Greenhalgh has visited Hongkong from time to time and is regularly receiving reports from the Federation's representative in the colony. From the volume of data which Mr Greenhalgh has brought together it is possible, for reasons of space, to quote only the following:

'Many textile workers actually work 359 days each year.'

'When I questioned the Commissioner of Labour (Mr Wakefield) about this, he replied that he saw no reason why anyone should not

work if they wished to work.'

'Women and young persons in the garment industry work a ten-hour day with a permitted overtime of 100 hours per year. . . '

'Many violations of the law relating to the employment of women and young persons take place, but as the penalties are so ridiculously low, they do not act as a deterrent.'

'This means that the workers, having no vote, no effective representation and no hope of obtaining justice, either have to endure existing conditions or rebel.'

'In the past, it has appeared that the Hongkong Government by giving employers police protection to break strikes, have demonstrated that it is futile for workers to offer any protest against the inhuman conditions that exist.'

'There is a total lack of evidence that the Hongkong Government is interested in the well-being of the workers generally. This point is made by the apparent attempt to phrase the proposed new legislation in such a way as to make it completely useless.'

According to the official figures published in the *Hongkong Yearbook*, unskilled workers are paid from 6s to 15s a day, semi-skilled from 7s to 26s and skilled workers from 10s to 35s a day. On this basis an unskilled worker would receive £107 for working a 359-day year.

Dennis Bloodworth, in the article already quoted, refers to unemployment in the colony. 'According to official statistics there is almost no unemployment; pay packets are winning the race up the wage-price spiral; mortality rates are satisfactorily low. But in a Chinese community under-employment, not unemployment, is significant, for anyone given a broom to use and a bowl of rice a day by a second cousin twice removed can be described as employed.'

Riots and disturbances

Many historians have referred to the feeling against British occupation of the island with the rise of nationalism in China in the early part of the century. Labour and social unrest has been a feature of the colony, certainly since the strikes and boycotts of the 1920's. There were student demonstrations in Shanghai and Nanking in 1946 demanding that the colony should be returned to China. In the same year there were demonstrations against the RAF constructing an airfield in Hongkong, it being assumed that this implied that the British intended to stay on in the colony. In 1948 when squatters were evacuated to make room for

the Kai-Tak airfield, several thousand Chinese in Canton attacked and burned down the British Consulate General. In April 1966, there were riots against the rise in ferry charges, an indication both of the poverty level at which the majority of the Chinese were living and the smouldering resentment against the authorities. The *Yearbook* states that a curfew was imposed and the entire police force, including the auxiliary police was 'mobilized into its riot structure'. Four regular army companies assisted the police together with the Hongkong Regiment and the Hongkong Auxiliary Air Force. 'The 7.1 per cent increase in crime during 1966,' the *Yearbook* states, 'was due almost entirely to offences committed during the riots in Kowloon in April'. Two weeks after the Kowloon riots the Queen's Speech to Parliament (21.4.1966) included the following remarks: 'Further steps will be taken to assist my peoples in the remaining colonial territories to reach independence or some other status which they have freely chosen.'

The reaction of the Hongkong authorities to unrest has been to use more violence and repression. To quote the *Yearbook* once more, 'The Kowloon disturbances re-emphasised the importance of having an adequate internal security structure . . . many improvements had been suggested, aimed mainly at increasing the number of police available for riot duties'. Lord Lansdowne in 1963 concluded that the present system is 'workable' a judgment which, says Endacott (*Government and People in Hongkong*) rests on the assumption that being 'workable' is the sole criterion and ignores the fact that in the long term, government can be based only on the alternatives of popular consent or the security forces'. There is no doubt which the Hongkong authorities have chosen.

The Riots of May 1967

Given the situation described above, it is not difficult to imagine the feelings of the Hongkong Chinese as news reached them of the developments of the Cultural Revolution. The large-character posters carrying their criticisms, the mass meetings in schools and universities, factories and communes; the encouragement to speak out against bureaucrats, petty tyrants and jacks-in-office; the mounting and enveloping interest in the works of Mao Tse-tung — in fact all the features of 'extensive democracy' — would surely bring home to the Hongkong Chinese the vast gulf between their own status in society and that of their compatriots across the border.

It was in this highly-charged setting

that the Hongkong Artificial Flower Works issued new regulations (13 April, 1967) which the workers interpreted as a lowering of working conditions. After requests for discussion with the management had been refused and various protests lodged, several hundred workers were dismissed (28 April). The management were employing a practice normally adopted by Hongkong employers to curb labour unrest. A protest meeting at the Sanpokong Branch of the Artificial Flower Works met with police action and twenty-one workers were arrested. The President of the Federation of the Rubber and Plastic Trade Unions, who went to a police station to represent his arrested members, was himself arrested.

From 6 May the usual pattern of police action—the 'riot structure'—began and has continued through the following months. Several deaths resulted, a new weapon firing wooden projectiles against demonstrators was introduced, trade union offices sacked and journalists and press photographers imprisoned. *The Times* said that 2,568 persons had been arrested by September of this year. Jack Greenhalgh, Secretary of the International Textile and Garment Workers' Federation, stated in May that in his opinion there was ample justification for the riots. (*Sunday Times*, 28.5.1967.)

There have been many such actions of police and troops against the Hongkong Chinese in the past. There is, however, a difference today stemming from the influence of the Cultural Revolution. The Little Red Book which the Hongkong Chinese now wave aloft in their demonstrations is a symbol of political identification and dedication. These are riots of a different order which are not likely to be suppressed by the methods used in the past. The Hongkong authorities and the Colonial Office having failed to deal, even partially, with the economic and social root causes of unrest and discontent, must take the responsibility for this situation.

The US and Hongkong

To the conditions which have been described and which provide the seedbed for revolt, must be added another feature which provokes a sharp reaction from the Chinese; the use of Hongkong by the United States. Doak Barnett, a former official of the State Department, has put into words what may well be implicitly understood in Washington as the US policy towards Hongkong:

'Even though the United States has apparently not assumed any direct commitment to defend Hongkong, a strong argument can be made that

the future in this area—with a population larger and far more productive than that of many countries such as Laos where the United States has assumed major defensive responsibilities—should be a matter of concern to American as well as British policy.' (*Communist China and Asia*, 1960.)

Thus Hongkong would be added to Taiwan, Quemoy and Matsu as areas under United States 'protection'.

There was a time when Mr Harold Wilson showed some concern with the American penetration of the colony. He questioned the Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons on 20 October, 1954, and elicited the information that the US Consulate-General in Hongkong had a staff of 115 (compared with five in 1938). The US nationals in Hongkong at this time numbered 1,262 so that there was a consular official for roughly every ten Americans. Mr Wilson, in a supplementary question, suggested that 'this horde of officials' was employed there 'for the sole purpose of spying on British trade'. If in the comparatively relaxed international conditions of 1954 this number of US consular officials were stationed in Hongkong it does not require much imagination to judge what is happening today, with the war in Vietnam only a few miles from the Chinese border.

It is known that the US intelligence activities in Hongkong directed against China are conducted with the active collaboration of innumerable Chinese agents of the US-protected Chiang Kai-shek regime in Taiwan.

The build-up of US activities and interests in the colony was described by Dennis Bloodworth in the *Observer* of 21 May, 1967: 'It was not only that a quarter of a million American soldiers went ashore in Hongkong last year or that American military purchasing agents spend millions of dollars there. They saw American money and American-trained Chinese on all sides; in proliferating political research institutes, in the press, in the Chinese University and other educational bodies, in commercial enterprises from factories supplying Vietnam to tourist agencies.'

The Reaction in China

To people in China engaged in the Cultural Revolution attacks on the Chinese in Hongkong could not fail to evoke a vigorous response. It is inconceivable that the people and Government of China, imbued with a spirit of internationalism and with support for liberation movements as one of their principal tenets, should not have reacted energetically when

their own nationals were under attack. Demands to the British authorities by the Chinese Government, which were substantially those put forward by the Federation of Trade Unions in Hongkong, were ignored. This was the background to the burning of the cars and buildings of the British Diplomatic Mission in Peking. There is no reason to think that this was engineered or desired by the Chinese Government; it was a spontaneous manifestation of popular indignation, which can be understood only if it is seen as a consequence of the Hongkong situation.

The youth of China in ferment, and in the midst of their own revolution, were outraged. To think that the authorities in Peking could have resorted to force to restrain the actions of these persons who were attacking the British mission is entirely to misconceive the relations of the army and police with the people of China.

The Events in London

There have been numerous cases in recent years in Djakarta and the Middle East, for example, in which British diplomats have been attacked and missions burned down. These have normally been met by diplomatic protests and demands for compensation. Are there any instances when such events have been the occasion for attacks on diplomatic missions and personnel in London?

Nor is it possible to ignore the lead given by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on 8 February, 1966, and at Sussex University on 13 July, 1967, when, challenged on his attitude to students demonstrating against US action in Vietnam, he suggested that the demonstrators should go to the Chinese Embassy in Portland Place.

There is much circumstantial evidence to suggest that the incidents in Portland Place on 29 August were part of a British Government policy. The fact that the Foreign Secretary, Mr George Brown—not the Home Secretary—paid a visit to Portland Place to congratulate the police on their conduct is an indication of the Government's attitude.

The Chinese account of the incident at 1.30 pm on 29 August differs widely from those published in the British press. It is as follows. The Chinese Mission garage their cars in Devonshire Mews. The police cordoned off the mews so that members of the public would have no access. A police car was parked in front of the garage door in which the cars of the Mission are housed. When members of the Chinese Mission remonstrated with the driver, they were attacked by other police. It

was then, the Chinese state, that they returned to the Embassy and took up any weapons which were to hand.

During the same period other Chinese offices in London were being harassed by the police. The Commercial Office in Gloucester Gate, Regent's Park, found it impossible to conduct their normal trade work owing to the actions of the police in preventing the movement of Chinese cars and interference with visitors.

Since the August incident, police have been stationed outside the Chinese Mission in Portland Place and other Chinese offices in London. Visitors are interrogated, and asked for their names. It has been observed that the attitude of the police varies from the aggressive and provocative to the excessively polite, according to the age and apparent social status of the caller. It seems that these actions are deliberately calculated to suggest that to be friendly with the Chinese or even to have any sort of contact with them borders on the subversive or is little short of treachery. A Commonwealth visitor was prevented from calling at the Mission unless he vouchsafed his name and address. A member of the **SACU** Council of Management after making a business call was followed by a plain-clothes man. Another caller was told by a police inspector that although he was not obliged to give his name, when next he called at the Mission he might be in for some 'unpleasantness'. The *Financial Times* on 3 October carried a letter from two directors of firms who complained at the police interrogation which they stated 'causes unpleasantness and gives the impression that the authorities wish to hinder businessmen trading with China, a policy which has certainly never been enunciated by the Board of Trade'.

As members of **SACU** well know there is a widespread interest in Britain in the Cultural Revolution and in modern China generally. There are many politically-minded young people in London who are now selling Chinese literature. They too have been harassed by the police and there are numerous instances at Hyde Park, Earl's Court and elsewhere in which sellers of other literature are allowed to continue without interference whereas the sellers of Chinese literature are arrested for obstruction.

The incident at Tilbury on 5 October also needs examination. The Chinese say that it was provoked by the snatching of a Mao badge from one of the seamen of the freighter *Hangzhou*. It is clear that British Press reports of the origins of the fight can only have been gleaned from dockers who were

themselves involved in the incident, or from the police. In a subsequent interview on BBC television news, one of those concerned said in so many words that they 'got stuck in' and that the fight was very enjoyable. He displayed a markedly racist attitude, referring several times to the 'Chinks' whom he and his friends had beaten up.

The British Press version of the origins of the fight, ie that the Chinese seamen attempted to force a Mao badge on a docker, is hardly credible. As the Chinese themselves explain, a badge bearing a profile of Chairman Mao is regarded as a precious possession. It is extremely unlikely that the seamen would have wished to cheapen its value by forcing it on an unwilling recipient.

The Chinese have explained that their seamen, as well as Chinese workers generally, hold to proletarian internationalism as a vital principle and that they have expressed their strong sympathy with the endeavours of the British dockers to improve their working conditions.

That the attitude of the docker involved in the original incident is not shared by his workmates seemed to be borne out by a report from the shipping agent who stated that when the unloading of the *Hangzhou* began several days later, an atmosphere of friendliness prevailed between dockers and seamen and that the British dockers were asking for copies of the Little Red Book of quotations from Chairman Mao.

The incident at Tilbury fits in with the general pattern of events in many countries in recent months. Apart from attempts to provoke incidents among the crews of foreign ships sailing to China there has been the issue of the forged questionnaire purporting to ask French and German businessmen intending to visit the Canton Fair for political assurances as a condition for the grant of visas (see *Financial Times*, 10 October, 1967).

These examples of anti-China activity are probably mild in terms of what is to come. It must be expected that further and even more serious anti-China incidents will be created.

The events in Hongkong, Peking and London must be interpreted in relation to the overall foreign policy of the British Government and the US-UK anti-China campaign. Only thus can the logical and most dangerous thread be traced from one event to another. **SACU** cannot merely react to one incident or the other in isolation. It is necessary to examine the whole line of policy within which these events have taken place, and take appropriate action to counter it.

ABOUT SACU

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

Office: 24 Warren Street, London W.1
Telephone EUSton 0074-5

Telegrams ANGCHIN London W.1

Chairman: Dr Joseph Needham

Deputy-Chairman:
Professor Joan Robinson

Vice-Chairman: Mrs Mary Adams

Secretary: Mrs Betty Paterson

* * *

Council of Management: Mrs Mary Adams, Mr Roland Berger, Mr Frederick Brunson, Mr Derek Bryan, Mrs Hung-Ying Bryan, Mr Andrew Faulds, MP, Miss Margaret Garvie, Lady (Dorothy) Haworth, Mrs Susan Leach, Dr Joseph Needham, Rev Paul Oestreicher, Mrs Betty Paterson, Mr Colin Penn, Mr Ernest Roberts, Professor Joan Robinson, Dame Joan Vickers, MP, Mr Ronald Whiteley.

* * *

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.

* * *

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 central 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).

SACU NEWS is published by the Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding Ltd, 24 Warren Street, London, W1, (EUSton 0074-5), and printed by Goodwin Press Ltd, (TU), 135 Fonthill Road, London, N4.

SACU Celebrates the Anniversary of the Peoples Republic of China

NEARLY a hundred persons assembled in the Holborn Assembly Rooms on Tuesday, 3 October, for a celebration evening organised by SACU to mark the eighteenth anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic.

Those present — more than a quarter of whom were guests of SACU members — were entertained by a programme of international folk singing followed by a buffet.

The meeting was opened by SACU's chairman, Dr Joseph Needham, who welcomed all members and guests. After referring to the currently troubled world situation and emphasising the vital role that SACU had to play, he extended a special welcome to three Chinese guests, Mr Wang and Mr Liu, from the Embassy, and Mr Wu, from the Bank of China.

After his speech, Dr Needham pre-

sented Derek Bryan, who was SACU's first Secretary, with a gift — The Times Atlas of the World — from the members, in gratitude for all his work for the Society. In thanking the members, Mr Bryan said: 'In times like these, SACU must show its friendship and I hope the Society will find the way forward.'

Entertainment was provided by folk singer Peter Dukes; David Hung, of Cambridge, who played a Chinese two-string violin; Leon Rosselson with his repertoire of satirical folk songs; and Ivan Delay, assisted by his brother and sister-in-law, with more songs.

Apart from being a friendly and convivial evening to mark a great occasion, the celebration event also helped the work of SACU in another very welcome way. It introduced many new people to the work of SACU.

Letter

DEAR EDITOR,

May I through SACU News explain to members — for holiday and other reasons it was not possible in the last issue — why I resigned as secretary of SACU?

I had in fact for various reasons been wanting for a long time to give up the Secretaryship and devote more of my time and energies to other work with the same aims as those of SACU: making known the Chinese point of view and promoting friendship with China in Britain. I finally decided to make the break in July so that I could be freer to undertake work of a more politically committed nature than I could as secretary of SACU.

Since then a great deal has happened affecting relations between China and Britain for the worse. I believe that in the present crisis SACU has an important role to play in informing its members, and as far as possible a wider public, about the real causes of the events in Hongkong, Peking, and London. The article in this issue of SACU News is a most valuable contribution towards this end. I hope that it will not only help members and the public to understand the situation, but will lead on to the Society's taking the 'more resolute stand' in support of China referred to by the Chairman at the AGM on 20 May this year (see

SACU News, Vol 2 No 6).

May I conclude by thanking everyone who contributed to the most generous and quite undeserved, but very much

appreciated gift of the Times Atlas presented to me by Dr Needham on 30 October. I am grateful to all those many members who gave me invaluable help and support during my period as Secretary, and I know that Betty Paterson and her colleagues can count on similar support in the new situation of SACU today.

Yours sincerely,

Derek Bryan

Studying China in Depth

A SERIES of fortnightly study sessions on Tuesday at 7.30 pm at 24 Warren Street, London W1, has been organised.

It is not visualised that everyone will wish to come to every session but we hope that there is something of interest to everyone during the coming months.

Members intending to join in are advised to read selected material beforehand so that the discussions can be really fruitful.

Reading lists may be obtained from SACU office.

A fee of 2s 6d for each session will be charged to help cover expenses.

For further details see SACU DIARY on page 7.

Policy Statement

THE COUNCIL of Management at its last meeting had before it a comprehensive statement of SACU's policy. The Council agreed to the document in substance and a final version is being prepared for the approval of the Council at its next meeting. This statement will then be issued to all branches and members.

The Council also considered, among other matters, the question of press and information work. A press officer and other volunteers are still needed and members interested should contact the secretary.

There are now a number of vacancies on the Council. Mr Alec Horsley, who was one of the Society's joint treasurers, has resigned because his business in the north of England is now demanding more of his time. Resignations have also been received from Mr William Ash, Mr Geoffrey Carrick, Mr John Lloyd and Mr Martin Tomkinson. Mr Evan Luard, MP, resigned some months ago. The Council have co-opted Mrs Betty Paterson, honorary secretary, and will be co-opting other members to fill the vacancies still outstanding until the formal election takes place in May 1968.

Press Statement

ANY MEMBER wishing to have a copy of the text of the Press Statement on China's H-bomb test drafted by the Secretary and issued by the Chairman on 18 June, 1967, together with a copy of the resolution, amendment and decisions of the ensuing Council Meeting on this question, may obtain it on application to the secretary, 24 Warren Street, London W1.

CORRECTION

IN THE September-October issue of SACU News a mistake occurred which altered the meaning of a sentence. In the last paragraph of the article headed 'Nuclear Policy' on page one the second sentence should read 'What must be said in this context, however, is that if nuclear disarmament is to be achieved it cannot be done without China'.

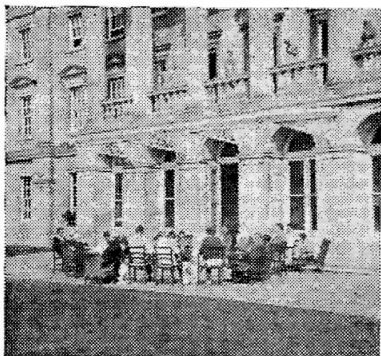
GLYNLIFFON MOSAIC

A Summer School Report Compiled by Mary Brittain

AT SACU's SUMMER SCHOOL in North Wales (25 August to 3 September), nineteen students and six lecturers talked, listened, watched, walked, ate, and argued together in a once magnificent but cavernous mansion, now turned Agricultural Institute. On busy Clynog road near Caernarvon, we were not in the Wales of coal mines, slag tips, and social protest, but in George Borrow's Wild Wales of rocky crags, rushing waters, slate quarries and Welsh-speaking people. That week Bank Holiday crowds came from the Midlands, and the Beatles attended their school in Bangor. Hard by at Clynog Fawr, St Beuno, second only to St David in zeal, had made his social protest, but that was in the seventh century.

Yet lovely countryside; Bank Holiday traffic; dearth of soap, towels, and small nooks to settle into comfortably; even the resonant Welsh songs in pubs took second place: 'Who would have dreamed,' writes Frida Knight, 'that a week in Snowdonia could bring you so close to China?' By some magic the SACU school achieved just this. The intensive course got more and more absorbing during the hours spent on it. Kate Allen also felt a 'quality of depth' and was impressed by 'the amount of concentration that went into the lectures and discussion concerning the cultural revolution'. For P N Addy, graduate from Calcutta, 'Bill Brugger spoke with an assurance born of personal experience of China, yet never did he inundate his audience with an endless array of facts. He was able to place recent events in China in their proper perspective, and I for one felt enlightened about much that I had only half understood before.'

From the other side of the desk, Bill Brugger confessed surprise 'at the keenness; not that I didn't expect any,



An Open Air Session

but I thought that people would have more equal a motive for coming; sight-seeing and interest in China. In fact, interest in China far outweighed the other.' For Tim Beal 'the special thing about the school was its length. Though there were disparities between us there was sufficient common ground for us to form a community for a while.

Disparities of age mattered little 'When all decry the young,' writes a not-so-young, 'I must say I was greatly comforted by the tact and friendliness of many younger members towards us older folk.' David Bruce, student at University College, suggests in future 'a more pronounced accent on group discussion', since 'an atmosphere of uncritical acceptance is both unwelcome and unhelpful'. Neither China's bomb nor her views on the Middle East were accepted uncritically. It was thought that this was most helpful since the heated discussion threw some light on the 'paper tiger' thesis, and the question of what is a 'peoples' war'.

The oldest and most enthusiastic of us, H H Jones from Liverpool, affirmed that it was 'a school that was very appreciative of first class lectures, and of the wonderful views and films that brought everything so near to you'. This was echoed by Frida Knight and her daughter Sofka (back on leave from Shanghai, and contributing something special by her presence): 'Of all the delights the one which will stick in our minds the longest was John Bell's film of Southern China, brilliantly colourful, teeming with healthy happy crowds. "Funny thing" said the projectionist, "He only showed the better-off people"—not realising that in China everybody is "better-off". Incidentally, John Bell, petroleum geologist from Lancashire, gave us not only an excellent running commentary on his film but shared his 'geologic' journey on the Trans-Siberian Railway. Despite a bad back he managed to stay the course because the school was 'intensely interesting'. Tim Raper found it difficult to choose a high point, 'it was all so informative'. Derek Bryan felt it 'sadly ironical that while SACU members were learning in a necessarily academic way in North Wales, the Chinese diplomatic Mission in London was being harassed by British police'. Ironical too was Bernard Martin's account of the 1896 kidnapping of Sun Yat Sen. Kept on the roof of the Embassy at Portland Place, about to be sent by Chinese officials to be

REVIEW

China in the year 2001, by Han Suyin.
New Thinkers Library. 15s.

'THE RE-DISCOVERY of China by the West is of paramount importance. . . . It is 'the wilful refusal of the West to accept her as she is, which obscures our understanding. . . . China is not isolated except by the exertions of others to isolate; and there is nothing complex about her which cannot also be ascribed to many another nation; but there are many built-in conditioned complexes in those who slander her, which must be overcome.' So saying, Han Suyin sets out to break down the Western refusal to accept China, and to destroy the complexes, by a valuable and lucid study of China as she is and will be between now and 2001.

A short account of pre-revolution China precedes the main chapters describing the process of transformation of the country since Liberation, with much detail and documentation, and analysing the basic philosophy which has been inseparable from the transformation.

She compresses the exciting story of changes in agriculture, industry, trade, scientific research into three chapters, for her main purpose is to assess and explain the transformation of the whole society through ideology and the
(continued on page 7)

locked up as a lunatic, it was British friends who helped to effect his rescue.

Was Glynllifon 'necessarily academic' in its effects, however? Not if one is convinced that 'theory only becomes thought when it has practical application'. Hertha Christie sent a brief note: 'Tesserae for a mosaic I cannot offer you. All I can offer is glue or cement to hold them in position. It was the school that activated me. Until then I was a subscription paying member; now I feel a responsibility to help, personally, in my own small way.'

In a poem written in 1963 and addressed to Kuo Mo-jo, the feelings of many of us after Glynllifon are expressed eloquently by Mao Tse-tung:

So many deeds cry out to be done,
And always urgently:
The world rolls on,
Time presses.
Ten thousand years are too long
Seize the day, seize the hour!
The Four Seas are rising, clouds and
waters raging
The Five Continents are rocking, wind
and thunder roaring.
Away with all pests!
Our force is irresistible.

(continued from page 6)

present cultural revolution, in the first serious study of all its aspects published in Britain so far.

She points out that in spite, or perhaps because of, tremendous material advances, old attitudes, and 'deep feudal roots of bureaucracy' had remained. The new society, industrial and agricultural, could not function properly without a re-orientation. Hence the Cultural Revolution, based on Mao's thinking, aiming at persuading every section of the society to combine theory and practice, to become 'red and expert', and achieve 'the immense transformation required of a whole people to pass from a world of feudal superstition to a world of science', doubled by 'the transformation of emotion, attitude and behaviour needed to pass from an exploiting to a non-exploiting society'.

Hence the rift with the USSR which to the Chinese appears to have turned its back on revolution. For anyone who wants to understand the split, Han Suyin's exposé gives a clear and convincing explanation and shows how it was inevitable: the Russians were seen by the Chinese to be turning to the West, and making agreements with the USA at a time when the Pentagon and State Department were planning ever increasing aggression in S E Asia, and intensifying the anti-China campaign. (The author who has many contacts in high places cites some telling unofficial comments bearing this out.) She explains something which often puzzles the Westerner: the Chinese lack of fear of war — even of nuclear war. 'To Mao (and thus the Chinese people) the threats of containment, encirclement and bombing by the USA are not new but old themes . . . it is not so much the enemy without as the enemy within China, and especially within the Chinese Communist Party, that is dangerous; revisionism in China could squander all the hard won gains of the people in one short decade.'

The Cultural Revolution was designed to make sure that the next generation, the young, would be worthy successors of the Revolution. 'The psychological and physical preparation of the whole population, including the young, for a long protracted war upon Chinese soil had to be made. Ever since 1958 this possibility (now a conviction) has been taken into account.' The decisions not to build any more big plants or cities, and the establishment of the communes were strategic considerations. Increasingly, it seems, war cannot be

SACU DIARY

November

- 7 **Study Course.** Mao Tse-tung — 'On correct handling of contradictions among the people.' Introduced by Colin Penn, 24 Warren Street, W1, 7.30 pm.
- 10 **Barnet branch.** 'The US-China Containment Policy.' Speakers: Bill Ash, Derek Bryan. Hendon Town Hall, The Burroughs, NW4, 7.45 pm.
- 11 **Film Show.** 'The East is Red' (dance-drama film of scenes from Chinese revolutionary history). Kensington Central Library, Campden Hill Road (Children's Library entrance), nr Kensington High St underground.
- 13 **Manchester branch.** Meeting and Film Show. Talk and film on their recent SACU sponsored visit to China by Sir Geoffrey and Lady Dorothy Haworth. Friends Meeting House, Mount Street, Manchester.
- 15 **Film Show.** Camden branch. Holborn Central Library, Theobalds Road, WC1, 7.30 pm.
- 17 **Merseyside and North Wales branch.** Film Show on his recent SACU sponsored visit to China by Sir Geoffrey Haworth. Royal Institution, Colquitt Street, Liverpool, 7.30 pm.
- 19 **Social evening.** Films: 'China, August 1967' with introduction and

commentary by Sir Geoffrey Haworth. 'The New China' colour and sound, from Myra Roper, Australia. Entrance 3s including coffee and biscuits. 24 Warren Street, W1, 7.30 pm.

21 **Study Course.** 'The Role of the Army in the Cultural Revolution.' 24 Warren Street, W1, 7.30 pm.

23 **Public Meeting.** York Hall, Caxton Street, SW1. Details to be announced later.

Bristol branch. Public meeting and film show. 'China's Red Guards and the Little Red Book.' Speaker: Mrs Hung-Ying Bryan. Chairman: Prof H D Dickinson. Alfred Marshall Building (Dept of Economics and Politics), Berkeley Square, Bristol, 7.30 pm.

December

1 **Film Show** — title to be announced later. Kensington Central Library, Campden Hill Road (Children's Library entrance), nr Kensington High Street underground, 7.30 pm.

5 **Camden branch.** 'China-USSR Relations.' Holborn Central Library, Theobalds Road, London WC1, 7.30 pm.

12 **Study Course.** Dictatorship of the Proletariat and its development in the Cultural Revolution. 24 Warren Street, W1, 7.30 pm.

averted, and the only reasonable course is full preparedness.'

The blood runs cold as one reads, but the Chinese face threats and dangers calmly — certain of their 'shining future' and determined to clear their country of possible traitors.

To the question 'Would the next generation, say by the year 2001, be degenerate, ally itself with imperialism, return to selfishness, become . . . frustrated and aimless? Would a new class emerge, exploiting the Chinese peasant?' The answer is no, because of the Cultural Revolution: 'What China will be like in 2001 depends entirely on the Red Guards of today, on the Cultural Revolution today; what the world will be like in 2001 also depends on what happens in China today.' So writes Han Suyin, and with authority and conviction that will make you want to buy at least two copies of her book — one for yourself and one to present to friends as a cure for doubt or pessimism.

F K

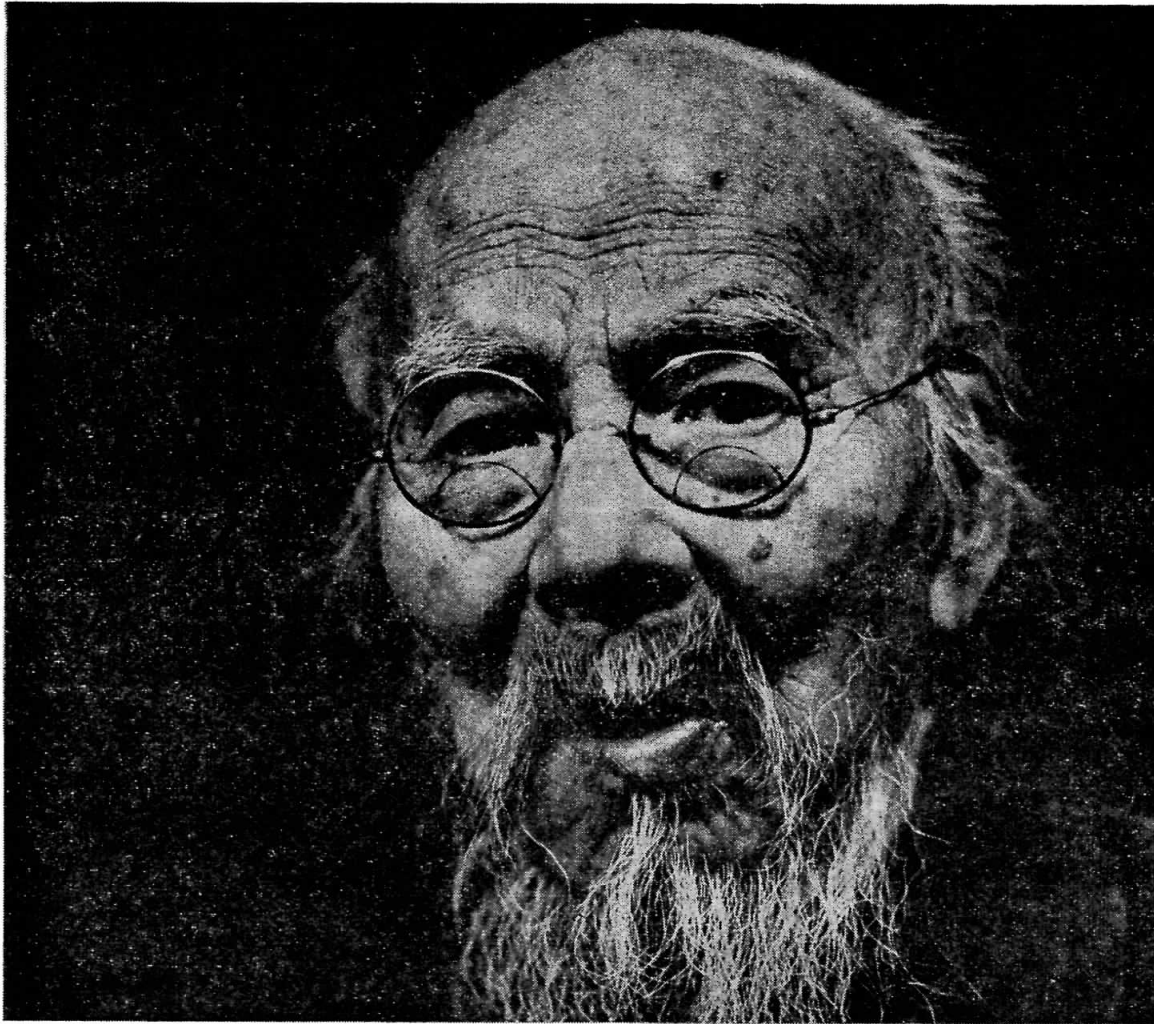
Comment

ON THE STRENGTH of the review in SACU News I got **Chinese Looking Glass** by Dennis Bloodworth and was rather surprised by the recommendation.

The author appears to have collected every bit of historical, mythical and colonial gossip with which to denigrate the Chinese. After reading the book one could be left with a feeling that they were a particularly repulsive people now under the domination of an equally repulsive dictator. That the author has no real knowledge of Communism is obvious to a Communist but the book is for the general public.

The falseness of the whole picture is perhaps not intentional — colour blindness obtains in colonials. Perhaps the book is intended to be humorous — regrettably I am allergic to that form of humour — denigration is so very simple. The book does not seem to serve any purpose useful to China.

A Member (London W9)



Chi Pai-Shih, most celebrated national painter of this century

Shanghai - a new route on the Air France world network

The new Air France weekly service to Shanghai, flown by Boeing Jet Intercontinental, gives businessmen, exporters, diplomats and official travellers fast, direct access to the heart of industrial areas. The flight leaves Orly, Paris at 11 a.m. on Mondays and the Boeing reaches Shanghai on Tuesdays at 3.20 p.m. The return flight departs Shanghai on Tuesdays at 6.20 p.m. and arrives at Orly at 9.30 a.m. Wednesday. London-Shanghai jet economy return fare is £395.4.0. (1st class return £676.8.0.).

Air France is the first West European airline to be granted a route to Shanghai, and the new service brings to six the total number of flights a week by the company to the Far East. Countries served by Air France include Iran, Pakistan, India, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Hong Kong, the Phillipines,

Japan - and now the People's Republic of China. Destination in many of these countries may be used as stop-over points on your journey to Shanghai. Full details can be obtained from your Travel Agent or nearest Air France office,

à votre service

**AIR
FRANCE**



THE WORLD'S LARGEST AIR NETWORK

AIR FRANCE, 158 NEW BOND STREET, W.1. GRO 9030

Birmingham CEN 9251/4 • Bristol Lutogare A'p'l. 444 • Manchester DEA 7831/5 • Glasgow CEN 8054/5/6 • Dublin 779073